

YOUTH CRIME PREVENTION

Proceedings of a Policy Forum
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Edited by Boronia Halstead



Australian Institute of Criminology

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Introduction

Boronia Halstead, Research Assistant
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A Youth Crime Prevention Policy Forum, sponsored by the Youth Bureau (DEET), and convened by the Australian Institute of Criminology, was held over two days in Melbourne in late August 1990. Participants were invited from a wide variety of agencies from all states and territories - Aboriginal Children's Services, The Australian Institute of Sport, the Victorian Good Neighbourhood Program, South Australian Crime Prevention Strategy, education, police, corrections and so on.

The forum followed the completion of a report published as *Young People and Crime: Costs and Prevention* by Ivan Potas, Aidan Vining and Paul Wilson, as the first part of a project undertaken by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the Youth Bureau. This report was officially launched by the Hon. Peter Baldwin, MP, Minister for Higher Education & Employment Services at the forum. In his speech, the Minister mentioned the cost of juvenile crime to the community and the numbers of juveniles held in corrective institutions. He went on to state:

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 among the most disadvantaged in our society.

The aim of the forum was to examine and assess youth crime prevention policy models in federal, state, local and non-government contexts. Prior to the Policy Forum, State Position Papers on youth crime prevention were prepared and circulated to all participants. In many cases, this exercise itself revealed the need for increased coordination of programs for youth, and improved communication between service providers.

Dr Paul Wilson, in his opening address to the forum, stressed the need for creative solutions to youth crime problems outside of the expensive criminal justice system, as discussed in *Young People and Crime*. He emphasised that most young people "grow out" of crime, and that incarceration of offenders may obstruct this maturation process.

The release of *Kids in Justice* (Youth Justice Coalition 1990) a few months prior to the forum provided a central reference point for discussion, particularly relating to the need for the development of national standards in Australia, taking 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*.

General themes raised at the primary prevention level included the need for a realistic level of income support for young people, along with the attendant problems of youth homelessness; recognition of the special educational/employment needs of minority disadvantaged groups, including Aboriginal and non-English speaking background (NESB) youth; and the need for realistic allocation of funds to permit evaluation of programs.

There was considerable discussion about the possibility of modifying the Bonnemaison model as a national crime prevention strategy with many state groups recommending the establishment of state-based youth crime prevention strategies.

The forum was particularly inspired by the after-dinner address given by Ms Faith Denny, Senior Program Adviser Youth, from the New Zealand Department of Social Welfare. She described some of the far-reaching changes in juvenile justice in New Zealand, developed through the *Children and Young Persons and their Families Act 1989*. These changes particularly relate to the care of Maori young offenders, as the Act itself is consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. The new legislation emphasises the shift away from the use of welfare services to family responsibility for young offenders, through the use of Family Group Conferences which recognise the special concept of extended family in Maori society.

The Australian Institute of Criminology and the Youth Bureau are examining the recommendations arising from the forum, and hope to be able to incorporate them into future policy in this area.

Opening Address: Youth Crime Prevention Towards Creative Strategies

Dr Paul R. Wilson, Acting Director
Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra

This forum is an important milestone. Over the last four years I have assertively attempted to promote the concept of crime prevention throughout Australia, if only to counteract the obsession with using the police, the courts and the prison system to deal with crime.

In Australia a vast crime-control enterprise, approaching 100,000 people, is assembled, which firmly believes that it is making a contribution to the crime problem. In the area of penology alone, roughly 20,000 are employed to deal with a daily offender population of over 12,000 and a budget in excess of \$3 billion annually.

It would be foolish to assume that we do not need police, courts or prisons or that they do not serve some deterrent effect. But the issue is whether any increases in expenditure on the criminal justice system will reduce our youth or adult offending rate. I believe that the evidence unequivocally demonstrates that it will not.

Beating the law and order drum - whether for political or ideological purposes - is especially damaging when we consider juvenile offenders. There is the danger that the public will become captive to such music and believe that only harsh and uncompromising punishment will reform youth offenders and deter others from committing crimes. And, equally importantly, as a community, our negative pre-occupations with criminal justice solutions to youth offending lead us to ignore alternative and more positive approaches to dealing with crime.

Despite rhetoric to the contrary, it should always be remembered that the overwhelming majority of violent crimes are committed by adults and not by juveniles - in fact, only about 12.7 per cent of all assaults and robberies (the two most frequent violent crimes) are committed by juveniles, at least in the four major states. The view that violent crime by juveniles is increasing sharply is not supported by recent research data.

Rates of property crime by juveniles have increased dramatically in recent years, but it has to be realised that most young people "grow out" of crime and do not offend as adults. Thus criminal justice processing of juveniles can backfire on the community, propelling young people into a life of crime.

As the population of Australia ages and the "baby boomers" grow older, we can expect a lower rate of crime generally and a smaller number of juveniles involved in crime. The crime scenario is not entirely pessimistic.

This forum is about some of the alternative to the criminal justice system and more positive approaches to crime prevention. Papers in this volume represent a shift in the way that crime is perceived, or rather, the way that we approach crime.

There are encouraging signs suggesting that Australia is gradually moving away from the carceral approach to crime to one where we devise new ways of dealing with criminal behaviour. These new ways are based on a number of principles, the most important, perhaps, being community crime prevention.

"Community" is an often over-used and vacuous word with little substantive meaning. Because people live in a certain proximity to each other does not mean that they constitute a community. But the word does represent, ideally at least, a feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood, genuine concern about others and a sense of commitment to others. There are some hard questions about community crime prevention schemes that still have to be answered. Is the concept of "community" simply a historical relic of the past that cannot be successfully reconstructed again? If there are communities - or if such entities can be created - do such social organisations wish to devote their energies to preventing crime? If community policing is introduced to deal with youth crime, is it the police or the community who dictate policy? And, if community crime prevention is thought to be worthwhile, who implements it and with what methods?

This collection is concerned with various models of community crime prevention: Bonnemaison, the South Australian approach, the Dutch model and so on. While a consideration of the models is important, we should not forget the problems of implementing successful crime prevention schemes. Community crime prevention schemes fail, I would suggest, when one or more of the following factors is present.

The community program becomes heavily politicised.

The program is dominated by the police or is not coordinated by a "neutral" agency.

The program targets a large geographical area rather than the smallest geographical area possible (a "community" or "neighbourhood").

The program has little genuine and binding input by young persons themselves.

The program ignores other forms of crime prevention such as opportunity-reduction.

The program directors do not attempt to actively "sell" themselves to the media.

The program is never properly monitored and evaluated and is therefore unable to respond to changing social, political or crime conditions.

The program is deliberately sabotaged by those either in, or outside, the criminal justice system.

Finally, the program fails because those who work in it lose their enthusiasm, their resources, or both.

You might ask why so much emphasis is placed on crime prevention schemes. The answer can be found in the report prepared for the Youth Bureau (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990).

This report attempts to calculate the costs of juvenile crime. It is estimated that approximately \$500 million is spent annually across the country in the administration of juvenile justice - that is, on police, courts and juvenile corrections. The total private security industry budget spent on preventing juvenile crime is about \$230 million while the direct costs of juvenile crime itself is \$600 million.

Altogether an expenditure of \$1.35 billion is devoted to dealing with juvenile crime; yet when the effectiveness of many of the traditional methods of handling delinquency (police, institutionalisation, counselling) were surveyed there was little evidence that they were significant in preventing delinquency.

The study finds that the greatest hope of preventing juvenile offending is in strategies outside the criminal justice system. Specifically, the following strategies appeared to be effective.

Pre-school and school-focussed programs that improve the quality of education offered to young persons in low income areas.

Parent-effectiveness programs.

Job training and placement schemes.

Particular sporting and recreational initiatives.

Opportunity reduction schemes employing environmental design, management, target reduction and other situational measures.

These programs may not deal directly with the macro-economic issues of poverty, a widening gap between the rich and the poor, and a youth underclass. But they do deal with the effects of these problems and all of them are elements of crime prevention programs.

What *Young People and Crime* does state is that there is at least empirical evidence supporting the measures suggested. Whether such evidence exists for other programs remains to be seen.

It is not good enough to simply advocate crime prevention measures as an alternative to the traditional law and order approaches to deal with youth offending. Nor is it especially useful to argue that our traditional agencies - the police, the courts and juvenile institutions - stand on the opposite side of the fence to crime prevention philosophies. What we have to do is to offer, whenever possible, evidence for our assertions and to bring the criminal justice agencies under the prevention umbrella.

Both in terms of the theoretical underpinnings of conceptualising youth offending and in beginning new programs to prevent it, this collection of forum papers is an historical one as it gathers together people from a variety of backgrounds who are dealing, on a day-to-day basis, with the practical problems of delinquency. This collection of papers has a real chance of influencing policy-makers and in positively shifting the way that the community perceives youth offenders.

New South Wales Position Paper Summary of Youth Crime Prevention Models

John McDonald, Client Consultant for Youth
NSW Police Service

The New South Wales Government has given a high priority to preventing the involvement of young people in crime. Following is a summary of models existing and planned in the state which aim to prevent the involvement of young people in crime.

New South Wales Police Service

Programs existing in the Police Service which are aimed at preventing youth crime include the following.

The General Duties Youth Officers Program. A patrol approach to preventing youth crime, it provides a framework for General Duties Police to work constructively with young people at risk of offending or presently involved in offending. It operates in 90 police patrols and has been judged successful by those police involved. Details of this program are outlined in the chapter The New South Wales Police Service and Youth Crime Prevention, p. 121. The program costs the police service \$1.5 million p.a.

Federation of NSW Police Citizens Youth Clubs. This is a registered charity run by a community based board of directors. The Federation has 125 police officers attached to the 50 clubs throughout NSW. Their role is to ensure that the programs which operate in their clubs are actively preventing crime. The cost to the police in wages comes to \$6.7 million p.a.

Crime Prevention Workshops. These are two to three day forums involving young people, police, teachers and community workers. After analysing the types of reported crimes young people are involved in in the local community, the police work

with the young people and others to decide how best to reduce and prevent the anti-social/criminal behaviour in the area. The workshops cost approximately \$3,000 each.

The NSW Police Service has a number of other programs which indirectly aim to prevent youth crime: the Safety House Program; Blue Light Discos; police acting as Authorised School Attendance Officers; police involvement in drug education programs; police involvement in combating the abuse of alcohol in the community; the use of cautioning by police; and the Police Child Protection Program and general policing.

In addition to the above, the Service employs a Client Group Consultant/Youth to provide advice to the minister, commissioner, State Executive, and police generally, on how to police effectively, efficiently and appropriately young people in New South Wales.

The organisation is in the process of developing the NSW Police Service Youth Policy, a set of guiding principles which will determine the way in which police work with young people.

A state-wide Advisory Body on Policing Youth has been established which acts as an independent, non-government advisory mechanism for the Police Commissioner and the State Commander.

In New South Wales there is a significant over-representation of Aboriginal youth in the criminal justice system.

The Department of Family and Community Services (FACS)

The Department of Family and Community Services has a commitment to crime prevention which is evidenced by the programs which it either runs or funds, in relation to crime prevention.

Funding to community groups for drop-in centres, information and referral centres, legal advice, street-work, life skills and recreational activities. \$7.226 million in the 1989-90 budget went to these projects.

Sydney City Mission's Wilderness Project with a grant of \$1 million.

Kings Cross Adolescent Support Referral Service which diverts unattached young people away from the inner-city/Kings Cross area.

Home School Liaison Officers target students of compulsory school age who are non-attenders. This is a joint program with the NSW Department of School Education.

Supported Accommodation Assistance Program at a cost of \$12.7 million. This program develops, delivers and coordinates policies and services specifically for homeless young people.

Program for Adolescents and Their Parents costing \$2.39 million. This program aims to prevent family breakdown and subsequent youth homelessness.

Drug and alcohol prevention programs costing \$2.6 million. These programs provide diversionary support services targeting "at risk" youth vulnerable to alcohol and drug abuse, or at an early stage of involvement in drugs, prostitution and/or a criminal lifestyle.

The Department of School Education

Home School Liaison Officers. This is a joint program involving FACS, Education and Police aimed at getting chronic non-attenders back to school.

Child Protection Program. The Department of School Education has policies and programs aimed at reducing the likelihood of a young person becoming a victim of crime as well as policies and procedures for assisting young people who do become victims. The Department of School Education is a part of the NSW Child Protection Council together with Health, FACS, Police, Attorney-General's and community representatives.

The Behaviour Disorders Program targets students who are anti-social in their behaviour. The aim is to assist these students to integrate into the mainstream classroom through: the Itinerant Support Teachers for Behaviour Disorders; classes for students with behaviour disorders and emotional disturbance; and joint education/health/residential facilities and services for students with conduct disorders.

Behaviour and Attendance Programs involve local community groups working with schools.

Drug Education. The Department of School Education works with the Department of Health (the Directorate of the Drug Offensive), TAFE and the Police Service to coordinate drug education in New South Wales schools.

Personal development. The Department works with the Department of Health, the Family Planning Association and other non-government agencies on personal development issues in schools.

The Office of Youth Affairs

The Office of Youth Affairs has the role of coordinating government policy as it relates to youth. In addition they occasionally initiate programs and projects.

The Start to Life program is an umbrella initiative which has a number of components that fall directly or indirectly under crime prevention. These include:

The Helping Early Leavers Program (HELP) which is a \$4 million program funding community groups, which targets disadvantaged young people, and conducts literacy, numeracy and self-esteem courses.

The Circuit Breaker Program, piloted in New South Wales in late 1990, targets young people of non-English speaking background (NESB) who are likely to leave school and enter the spiral of unemployment. It assists these young people to move from school to further training. There are proposals in-train to develop meaningful models for young people who are of Aboriginal descent and for young people who have been involved in criminal behaviour.

The Office of Youth Affairs (OYA) holds regional consultations with young people to ascertain their response to the quality of government services. To date these consultations have been held in the Illawarra region and in the western Sydney region.

OYA chairs and services the inter-departmental Committee on Youth Affairs which meets monthly to monitor and coordinate government policy and programs as they relate to young people.

The Department of Industrial Relations and Employment (DIRE)

The DIRE has a number of programs which assist disadvantaged young people to gain access to employment.

The Community-based Employment/Training program. This is a \$2.5 million program that provides intensive training and job search assistance for young people who have been unemployed for a long period of time.

Additional programs targeting employed youth include the Skills Gap Program (\$1 million) and the Jobs for Youth Program (\$2.46 million).

DIRE also funds programs dealing with people in minority groups and has a number of initiatives presently involving joint ventures between government departments focusing on disadvantaged young people.

Housing

Public Housing for Singles. The program provides secure, affordable and appropriate housing for disadvantaged, single young people at a cost of \$11.88 million.

Health

Clinical and Educative Services, at a cost of \$2.1 million, deals with the treatment, prevention and reduction of substance abuse among young people.

AIDS Programs for Youth. An allocated \$500,000 funds programs for young people identified in high priority group as being at risk of infection.

Community-Based Crime Prevention Programs

Apart from programs run by government agencies there are a number of community-based crime prevention programs in New South Wales.

The Youth and the Law Project is crime prevention based, and is funded annually by the Law Foundation of New South Wales to the tune of \$160,000. It has a full and part-time workforce of three people. It aims to reduce crime by enabling young people to have a positive influence on community development. To achieve this it provides opportunities for them to identify and discuss concerns, and encourages young people to

take a positive and active approach to creating change and solving problems. It was independently evaluated in November 1989 by consultants Robertson & Hockley and judged to be successful in achieving its aims.

Fairfield and Waverley Councils have been provided with funds by the Federal Government to initiate local government activities which prevent crime.

The Youth Justice Coalition has recently completed a study of the juvenile justice system in NSW (Youth Justice Coalition 1990). The study, funded by the Law Foundation of New South Wales, examines the following: the system of juvenile justice; territory and equity; families in the juvenile justice system; rights and responsibilities in juvenile justice; young people and policing; and community-based corrections and detention centres. It made 233 recommendations and the government is presently considering its response to these. There are a number of recommendations in the report that, if acted upon, will significantly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the juvenile justice system in New South Wales and act to prevent youth crime.

How the Models are Working

Each government agency is responsible for evaluating its own programs and justifying the continuation of funding for them. A number of agencies bring in external consultants to evaluate programs, the most notable recent example being the evaluation on the Start to Life program done for the Office of Youth Affairs. The programs mentioned above will all continue to be funded.

References

Youth Justice Coalition (NSW) 1990, *Kids In Justice: A Blueprint for the Nineties*, Overview and Full Reports of the Youth Justice Project, Sydney.

Victorian Position Paper

Vaughan Duggan, Director
Youth Support Branch, Community Services Victoria

The following is more of a summary of the range of models, programs and practices assisting with youth crime prevention than a complete picture of each element and how they relate to each other. (For further information on particular elements contact the relevant department or agency.)

Mediation Centres

This program aims to provide local informal opportunities for disputes between neighbours or family members to be negotiated and resolved in a non-adversarial setting. It aims to reduce the number of inappropriate disputes brought to court. It also aims to reduce the level of tension and conflict associated with such disputes and thus prevent escalation, often resulting in severe cost to property or personal health.

The program is funded by the Attorney-General's Department and operates in Geelong, Bendigo, Morwell, St Kilda, Preston, Wantirna South and Frankston. The neighbourhood mediation program has operated for three years and the family mediation program is just commencing.

Good Neighbourhood Program

The Good Neighbourhood Program was initiated in September 1988 when the state government announced the Building a Law Abiding Society Together (BLAST) program. Modelled on the French Bonnemaison program, the Good Neighbourhood program's aim was to develop community initiatives which would reduce the likelihood of young people getting into a position where they might offend.

Representatives from local, state and federal government bodies met together with other interested members of the community and a number of young people, to form the

Sport & Adventure The Adventure-Based Challenge Program

Paul Saunders, Youth Program Coordinator
Office of Corrections, Victoria

The problem of locking up juvenile offenders appears to be that in so doing you remove the one thing that they must at some point learn to handle for themselves - personal responsibility. (Geoff Sanders, Coventry Intermediate Treatment Association)

Due to the ever increasing concern about the negative effect of institutionalisation on people, there has been a move by governments towards finding suitable alternative programs. At the same time, urban dwellers have been rediscovering their ties with the natural environment. The expected result of this new approach of government policy, and renewed lifestyle, has been the resurgence of recreation and outdoor adventure activities as therapeutic, educational and training programs.

The supporters of recreational and outdoor adventure programs claim that such programs can:

- increase self-esteem in the individual;

- improve health and well being, physically and mentally;

- improve learning ability;

- decrease criminal behaviour; and

teach people leadership, problem-solving, goal-setting team work and social skills, as well as responsible social behaviour (Weeks 1985; Burdsal & Buel 1980; Kimball 1980; Jones 1989; Schoel Prouty & Radcliffe 1988; Greenwood & Turner 1987).

Outdoor adventure programs provide opportunities to experience success and a sense of achievement; to take responsibility for one's actions; and to experience personal relationships and communication with others in a positive, sociable manner.

The opponents of outdoor adventure programs are not necessarily opponents of the outdoor adventure model but may disagree with the methodology used, or the lack of evaluation of such programs. Some argue that the impact of such programs is short-lived (Winterdyk & Griffiths 1984).

Today white-water rafting, skiing, and bushwalking are activities not only available to those who can afford the colourful ski outfits, but also for the disadvantaged youth in Victoria through such programs as The Outdoor Experience (TOE), Outdoor Education programs, the Turana Experience Adventure Module (TEAM) program, and the Adventure Based Challenge program. These programs are Victorian, but there are similar types of programs operating all over Australia and overseas.

As most in the field of outdoor education would agree, the recent resurgence developed from the establishment of Outward Bound programs created by Dr Kurt Hahn, a school teacher from Germany who emigrated to England prior to the Second World War. Hahn believed that the traditional school curriculum was not enough for the development of the total child (Schoel, Prouty & Radcliffe 1988). From this belief Hahn developed an educational course involving outdoor activities, calling it Outward Bound, a nautical term describing a ship leaving port. Programs such as Visionquest and Project Adventure have developed from the Outward Bound concept as has the Adventure Based Challenge Program.

The Adventure Based Challenge Program

In many ways the Adventure Based Challenge has evolved its own model of operation, combining the concepts of various outdoor programs and the experiential learning model. This program, and model, is still in its infancy and continually changing and developing as activities are conducted.

The program is designed for young adult offenders or prisoners presently under the jurisdiction of the Office of Corrections - young being defined as under 25 years of age in accordance with United Nations standards. The Adventure Based Challenge Program was designed in accordance with the mission statement and the five year plan: *The Way Ahead* of the Victorian Office of Corrections

The program aims to develop self-esteem; teach goal setting and problem-solving skills; and allow participants to experience positive social behaviour. The theory behind the program is that by experiencing these attributes in a positive, challenging environment the individual will nurture these attributes in themselves. In other words, by allowing young people to experience these skills through designed activities they will have these experiences to draw on in future experiences in life.

The program uses outdoor activities - wilderness treks, skiing, rafting or kayaking, orienteering, first aid courses, community work and conservation work - as well as initiative exercises, trust games and other confidence-building exercises as used in

outdoor education programs. The activities are used as tools to achieve the needs or goals set by the participants and/or the goals set by the staff responsible for the participants.

After each main activity the group are taken through a debriefing session to process the experiences learnt in the activity. The program uses the Adventure Based Counselling model of debriefing as developed by Project Adventure Inc. (Schoel Prouty & Radcliffe 1988). The debriefing aims to transform the experience of the activity, and the sense of achievement, to the person's normal work or home environment. The debriefing uses the experience to overcome a person's individual problems by contrasting negative experiences with the new positive experiences (McKay & Fanning 1987; Boas 1990).

Because of the restrictions on prisoner's access to outdoor activities, attempts are being made inside prison to develop initiative activities, trust and team-building activities combined with short-term leave programs based on the above model. To date there have been two major community based correctional programs and one open camp prison program. Evaluation of these programs is still being undertaken.

Adventure Based Challenge as a Crime Prevention Model

Winterdyk and Griffiths (1984) state that "Wilderness experience programs for delinquents are premised on a perspective of juvenile offenders as the product of their environment and delinquent behaviour as a consequence of their interaction with the environment." This would suggest that the outdoor, adventure model views human nature as being determined by the environment. However, Winterdyk and Griffiths fail to clarify the basis for this theory and the statement oversimplifies the concept of outdoor-adventure.

The Adventure Based Challenge Program is based on the experiential learning model. Therefore, the Adventure Based Challenge model would view human nature as being evolved from a combination of the environment and the individual's ability and desire to learn from the experiences in the environment.

The Causes of Crime: Individual versus Society

The literature refers to self-esteem and social development of the individual as being the main aims and benefits of outdoor, adventure programs and, in so doing, the model focuses on the individual rather than society. However, this is not to claim that socialisation has no affect on the individual. Literature on outdoor adventure programs generally discusses case studies in a way that reflects the individual versus society dichotomy.

People in the field have viewed the cause of crime as being the result of a combination of the individual and society. As Eric Erickson states: "the primary task an adolescent faces is identity formation; that identity is primarily shaped socially" (Mixdorf & Pough 1989).

The causes of crime in relation to young people need to take into account the developmental stage of the individual and the social environment which may or may not be allowing the individual to grow.

If one were to ignore the heredity view of positivist theory then such a theory as to the cause of crime would suit the Adventure Based Challenge model.

Policy: Punishment versus Treatment

The Adventure Based Challenge model has been designed to "reform the offender (that is, improving his character so that he is less often inclined to commit offences even when he can do so without fear of the penalty)" (Walker 1980). However the Adventure Based Challenge model also includes the principle of retribution: "no penalty without culpability" (Walker 1980). The model accepts that the individual has responsibility for his or her actions and teaches people to think consequentially. The program includes community and conservation work as part of its activities to teach responsible social behaviour.

A.B.C. Objectives and Criminal Behaviour

The next stage in establishing the Adventure Based Challenge model as a model of crime prevention would be to clarify the relationship between the main objectives of the program with criminal behaviour, in particular, the relationship between self-esteem and delinquency.

The objectives of the Adventure Based Challenge program are to develop self-esteem, goal setting and problem solving skills, positive social skills, and responsible social behaviour. "Carl Rogers defines self-concept as the way an individual perceives himself in relation to the world around him" (Schoel, Prouty & Radcliffe 1988).

Low self-esteem has been directly linked with delinquent behaviour by several researchers (for example, Mason & Wilson 1988). However, other research has shown that some types of criminals may have higher self-esteem than others, for example violent offenders to non-violent offenders (Laufer & Day 1983). Also, research has shown that women offenders are more likely to have lower self-esteem than male offenders (Mason & Wilson 1988). Other research has shown that self-esteem may not be a direct cause of delinquent behaviour but rather a related factor. "The association between self-esteem and delinquency is due to (a) their conjoint association with third variables, and (b) the contribution of personal success and failure to self-esteem". The third variable being family relations, academic achievement, and/or I.Q., all of which have been linked with delinquency and low self-esteem (Henggeler 1989).

Improvement in a person's self-esteem and social competence can affect academic achievement and family relations (Feldman & Orford 1980). Therefore the improvement of self-esteem will directly or indirectly affect a person's behaviour and sets the groundwork for introducing positive learning and increased social competence.

"Self-esteem and social competence" and "psychological health and well-being" are viewed as being the main attributes in developing positive social experiences (Feldman & Orford 1980), social competence being achieved through the development of problem solving skills, goal setting skills and communication skills.

The relevance of positive social skills and responsible social behaviour to criminal behaviour can be best explained through social learning theory. "Observational learning" has been shown to relate to offending behaviour through individuals and or "social settings in which crime is learned" (Feldman & Orford 1980). Therefore, to counteract the negative influences prosocial behaviour needs to be learned through designed activities and the experience of positive social environments.

Addressing Special Needs Groups

Taking into account that the Adventure Based Challenge model operates on the basis of the experiential learning and social learning model, the programs should be able to be adapted to the special needs of any minority group. At the present the program has targeted young offenders, male and female, including young Aboriginal offenders. Mason and Wilson (1988) suggest that wilderness camps may be a suitable option for Aboriginal youth.

The model can be adapted to any group as it is a learning model and once the needs of the group are identified the activities can be designed to meet those objectives. It must be noted that experiential learning or adventure based activities are not the only model of learning and it may be found that certain groups may address their needs better through the use of other models. The model proposed should not be the only approach to take to address the needs of young offenders.

Cost effectiveness of Adventure Based Programs

Adventure based programs are essentially a type of residential, high intensive program and as such should be compared to other residential programs or intensive supervision programs. As with all residential type programs, the initial establishment costs are the highest, plus staffing costs. The ongoing program expenses are minimal as adventure programs tend to be conducted in rough accommodation facilities or tents with equipment maintained to a minimum due to the need for mobility.

Costs can be kept to a minimum by individual departments if programs were jointly funded and thus available to a wider cross-section of youth. Trust funds and private organisations are generally receptive towards youth adventure programs and can be additional sources of funds to maintain programs. Some adventure programs, established as non-profit organisations and charitable groups, have shown through their own fundraising that programs can be self sufficient, although these are generally low budget, small operational programs.

The actual costings for the Adventure Based Challenge program has not been determined as the programs have varied and are still being piloted. To date, the

program has accommodated approximately 60 offenders at a cost of \$15,000. This has included some establishment costs, publication material, food, the hiring of equipment, and the hiring of qualified leaders. The programs have amounted to a total of 44 days. Camp sites, equipment, vehicles, and program staff have been obtained through existing resources within the department or relevant community agencies.

Conclusion

As stated, the Adventure Based Challenge Program is still a pilot program and requires further research and evaluation. Taking into account the reports on other similar programs or outdoor, wilderness programs in general, the program has potential to be a viable alternative for young offenders, and possibly a new crime prevention model.

The program has accommodated the need to have a theoretical framework that relates its objectives to addressing criminal behaviour as well as enhancing the general well-being of young people. The model of Adventure Based Challenge views the cause of crime to be a mixed responsibility shared between the individual and society. Therefore, human nature is determined by both individual choice and determined factors such as the environment. The model is a rehabilitative one rather than based on punishment, but it takes into account that the individual does have some choice in their behaviour and as such are responsible for their actions. In so doing the model also accepts the policy of retribution.

The program has been developed on the experiential learning model and with such a model the program can be adapted to accommodate the special needs of various groups, such as Aboriginals youth. In addition, the program can also be used to address those factors related to juvenile crime - such as family problems - as the program has the potential to involve family members in group work activities. The program could also be used for employment training as it is essentially a learning model, using the outdoors as its tool for development of the individual.

The costs of the program need to be compared to other residential-type or intensive supervision programs to assess the cost effectiveness of the program.

At least we are trying to do something about young people under our jurisdiction, at least we are not giving up on them, and lets face it, we can't do any worse than before because previous programs have not worked as well as we thought. We must continue to be creative and innovative in our approach to young offenders and towards correctional programs in general. (Denbigh Richards, Director of Community Based Corrections, Victoria).

The Adventure Based Challenge program is an example of the innovative programs offered to youth by the Office of Corrections, Victoria. An alternative to locking them up and a program that allows young offenders to learn how to accept personal responsibility.

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committee in November 1988. The committee developed a range of integrated activities covering the issues of information dissemination, non-alcoholic entertainment, discounted cinema, safe public transport, self-development adventure programs and facilities for young musicians to meet, mix and practice.

Programs commenced include: The Safe Train; Student Information Officers; No Wine Bars; Garage Bands; Challenge '89 Adventure Camps; Discount Movies; and the Shuttle Bus. (See Viktor Urjadko's chapter, Community Based Corrections: A Social Problem Approach, p. 133, for details, including the results of evaluations to date.)

Youth Lawline

Lawlines were established in response to reported harassment of young people by police. Young people's lack of knowledge about their legal rights was also important in the decision to establish the original Lawline.

Protective Services for Children and Young People

As at 30 June 1989, there were 3,974 children on protection court orders (53 per cent of whom were males). 43 per cent of this total were adolescents, that is children aged between 13 and 18 years inclusively. The major elements of the service include:

court advice;

removal of children from "at risk" situations;

mediation between the client and the young person's family;

assessment of needs and provision of direct care to meet those needs; and

promoting the family's capacity to remain as a positively functioning unit (as far as is possible).

One major objective of the service is to eliminate the "dual-track" system, bringing protective services under the one agency, that is CSV. To date six of the 18 regions have developed the "single track" system and another six are soon to follow. Other initiatives recently introduced are: a pilot program focusing on skill development for adolescents; an educational and community awareness campaign to highlight protective issues; a 24-hour crisis service.

Strategies focus on the "needs" of young people rather than responding to "behaviours" or "deeds". Case planning, in conjunction with community-based programs, aims to provide young people with appropriate services to meet their needs and to reduce the likelihood of inappropriate or anti-social behaviour.

It also highlights the need for young people to be dealt with in a protective rather than a juvenile justice setting where appropriate.

Provision of Generic Services

A significant contribution to the prevention of youth crime is made by the provision of generic/mainstream services such as education, health, employment and accommodation.

One of the key advances in Victorian education to the prevention of youth crime is a demonstrated commitment to participation and provision of relevant learning styles for at-risk groups. The raising of educational standards through the development of the Victorian Certificate of Education and expansion of TAFE provide young people with expanded opportunities to receive education which assists with the prevention of crime. The apparent retention rate of young people entering Year 7 and continuing to Year 12 in Victoria has gone from 30 per cent in 1982 to 60 per cent in 1989.

The Health Department provides many services that assist young people to maintain healthy lifestyles and reduce the chances of at-risk groups contracting infectious diseases such as HIV-AIDS and Hepatitis B and becoming problematic substance users (alcohol, drugs, nicotine). Further information is available from Health Department of Victoria.

Community Services Victoria (CSV) provides a wide range of accommodation services - both directly and through non-government organisations: Facility Based Services, Residential Care, Family Group Homes, Adolescent Units, Hostels, and Home Based Services, Foster Care, Adolescent Community Placements. Some 1,851 children and young people are accommodated because their own families are having difficulties in providing care or meeting their developmental needs. In addition to provision of accommodation per se, these services also provide:

advocacy for young people accessing education, employment and training opportunities;

referral to specialist health and psychiatric services;

support to maintain family contacts and re-establish the long-term care role of families.

The joint Commonwealth and State Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) provides both crises accommodation (youth refuges) and transitional supported accommodation ("detached" support to young people in Housing Ministry flats/private rental).

A total of 814 people between the ages of 16 and 25 were accommodated on one night in SAAP Services (March 1990 - Census).

Both the Department of Labour and CSV provide extensive employment placement and support services for at-risk young people.

Employment Access Program

In the experience of the Employment Access Program, a key factor in assisting young people to (re)integrate into the community and become independent of the statutory system has been their access to "quality" employment, education and training.

The Employment Access Program (EAP), operated by the Department of Labour, assists young people aged 15 to 21 years on corrective and protective court orders (i.e. Wards of State, young people on Supervision Orders, Probation, Parole and other institutionalised young people) to increase and maintain long-term employment and training opportunities and outcomes. This target group is particularly disadvantaged in the labour market with an unemployment rate of approximately 60 per cent, and very low educational levels - 75 per cent have Year 9 or less, 36 per cent have Year 8 or less. Many have considerable histories of offending, institutional backgrounds and unstable or severely damaged family relationships.

Employment Access Officers work directly with the target group, employers and training providers assisting with employment and training preparation, placement and post-placement support. EAOs also provide a resourcing and consultancy role to youth and welfare workers in CSV and funded agencies who supervise young people in the target group.

In 1989-90, 1,377 young people were referred to and assisted by Employment Access Officers with 75 per cent being placed in education, training and employment options.

Department of Labour Services

The Department of Labour funds the following employment and training services for at-risk young people.

The Youth Guarantee Employment Counsellor and Placement Service. This is a state-wide one-to-one employment and training counselling and placement service for young people aged 15-18 years who have been unemployed for six months. (Homeless youth, or extremely disadvantaged and unemployed youth may also receive assistance.)

Youth Guarantee Information Service which includes phone-in services for school leavers, dissemination of careers information, and preparation of information brochures.

Pre-employment courses for long-term unemployed youth offering literacy and numeracy skills in a particular industry or vocational area (e.g. hospitality, electronics, etc).

The Second Chance Business Register for ex-offenders, which predominantly focuses on adults but also offers services for younger ex-offenders.

Support for Koori Youth

The Victorian Government funds a range of services that assist with the prevention of crime among Koori youth.

Bert Williams Accommodation Hostel, which is directly managed by the Aboriginal community, provides short-term accommodation for young Aboriginal offenders, establishes links with education/employment options and offers assistance to young people wishing to return to their families.

Aboriginal Youth Support Unit which provides support, advocacy and special advice for parole plans and links to Aboriginal community for young Aboriginals in CSV Youth Training Centres.

Legal Aid: the Victorian Aboriginal Legal Service provides specialist representation and advocacy for young Aboriginal offenders in CSV Youth Training Centres and regional locations.

Community Justice Panels are made up of members of Aboriginal communities throughout Victoria. These panels provide individual support, court advice and supervision of court orders for young Aboriginal offenders.

CSV Justice System Initiatives in the form of the rural Youth Support Program now provides a broader range of community-based programs to prevent further offending and reduce representation of young Aboriginals in Youth Training Centres. (Further details are available from Alf Bamblett from VACSAI).

Police Warning System

On 1 February 1990, the Victorian Police commenced a cautioning program for adult and youth offenders. A pilot program at this stage, it operates in the Prahran area of Melbourne. As at 5 August 1990, some 54 youths and 124 adults have been given police cautions. Discretion to give a caution is exercised at a local level and in the case of young offenders is given by a senior police officer (sergeant or above) in the presence of the young person's parent or guardian only after that person has given consent to the caution being given. Criteria which must exist for a caution to be given are: there must be sufficient evidence to prove the matter; the young offender must admit to the matter and; no substantial prior criminal history must exist.

A second caution may be given if circumstances justify it but only in the case where a caution has not been given in the previous five years for a similar offence.

CSV Community Juvenile Justice System

The CSV Community Juvenile Justice System has a number of features which assists in the reduction of juvenile crime. Most of these features collectively - including those services outlined above - have resulted in a marked reduction of sentenced youth entering the juvenile justice system.

As an indication of the reduction in youth crime, the number of appearances by young people in the Children's Court has reduced from 6,267 in 1985-86 to 5,298 in 1988-89. Youth Attendance Orders - as an alternative to detention in Youth Training Centres - have remained constant over recent years.

The key principles governing the juvenile justice system in Victoria include:

systematic, credible and sound court advice;

diversion from or further penetration into the system;

aiming for the lowest possible tariff sentence taking account of the offence committed;

linking young offenders to community programs and services;

emphasis upon rehabilitation including family issues;

professional supervision where necessary; and

operation of Young Offender Services Advisory Council.

The chapter, Interagency Integration of Programs by Pam Mansfield, p. 71, also is relevant on this topic.

With the Youth Training Centre and the institutional component of CSV's juvenile justice system, the prime emphasis in reducing the chances of youth crime is rehabilitation. Youth Training Centres (YTCs) aim to rehabilitate all young offenders through:

case allocation responsibility to ensure systematic case management;

provision of programs that increase life skills, develop self-esteem, assist family and community integration and reduce substance abuse;

linkage to Youth Supervision Units while in YTCs and on parole; and

support and counselling.

Further details are available from the Youth Support Branch.

Queensland Position Paper Crime Prevention Programs

Michael Tansky, Community Support Services
Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs

This paper summarises some recent initiatives by the state government departments of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs; Police; Education; Employment, Vocational Education, Training and Industrial Relations; and Tourism, Sport and Racing (Division of Youth); as well as the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs and the Youth Justice Coalition. The views expressed are not to be read as formal government policy, but as a government and community contribution to policy debate and program development in Queensland.

This overview is based on reports provided by officers in government departments and community agencies throughout the state. As a result 100 programs were identified. The information has not been verified for accuracy, nor is it totally exhaustive. As a precise definition of crime prevention was not used, the content of this paper reflects the range of meanings given to the concept.

Most crime prevention activity in Queensland appears to use a recreational model. However, four recent developments that are currently under consideration concern inter-departmental cooperation on crime prevention; community sector activity through the formation of a Youth Justice Coalition; collaboration between government departments at the local level with participation by community and young people in program operations; and State Government legislative reforms in the juvenile justice area.

Two Queensland ministers - the Minister for Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, and the Minister for Tourism, Sport and Racing - have both expressed support for the introduction of crime prevention strategies modelled on the Bonnemaison approach. The need for a coordinated strategy that addresses crime prevention at the local level, as well as legislative reform that reduces the use of custodial sentences in the Children's Court, has been recognised. The structural effects of poverty, unemployment and inequalities in access to education and skills must be addressed in order to reduce the incidence of juvenile crime.

Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs

This department operates and funds a wide range of initiatives that directly impact on youth. The proposed Juvenile Justice Bill will provide a basis for the administration of juvenile justice in Queensland. The juvenile justice model envisaged for Queensland is expected to recognise the need for three broad types of preventive strategies:

Primary prevention aimed at changing the physical, social and economic conditions that lead to crime, rather than targeting particular individuals or groups.

Secondary prevention aimed at diverting young offenders away from the formal prosecution and court processes. Police cautioning is recognised as an effective and sufficient response where further intervention is not warranted. Other strategies include increasing the availability of and access to supportive services for young people.

Tertiary prevention aimed at preventing further offending after it has been detected, prosecuted and proven by the courts. The aim is to divert young people from custody and assist them to form bonds with family, school, work and community networks. To this end, sentencing options are expected to include a range of community correctional orders such as immediate release, and probation and community service orders. It is also expected that provision will be made to prepare young people detained in custody for reintegration into family and community life.

It is expected that the establishment of a Community Services Development Division within the Department will assist community groups to gain more equitable access to the Department's resources, including its state-wide funding programs and regionally-based resource staff.

The Youth Section of the Community and Youth Services Branch within this Division is expected to be responsible for a variety of functions including: consulting with agencies at the local and regional level, as well as across the Department's Divisions, inter-departmentally and inter-governmentally regarding issues that marginalise young people; and developing and managing funding programs and resource development aimed at addressing state priorities. Effective community involvement is seen as essential to this process.

During 1989-90, the Community Support Services section of this Department administered \$15.9 million to community agencies providing services to young people throughout the state. This money funds the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (for youth); the Youth Initiatives Program (Burdekin); the Crisis Accommodation Program and SAAP-Burdekin capital expenditure for youth; the Youth Family Work Program; and the Licensed Residential Care Program.

Queensland Police Service

The Police Service is committed to community policing through the active participation of police in their local community. To this end, police are involved in a process of

consulting with community groups; for example, police are participating in the Ipswich Youth Action group's plans to establish an off-campus school for truants and a diversion program using an adventure-based model of experiential learning.

The Police Service has been diverting young first offenders from court through the use of police caution since 1963. As part of the cautioning process, officers are encouraged to address the reasons behind the offence. Responses may include mediation between parents and young person, or referral to an appropriate agency. The Queensland Police Citizen's Youth Welfare Association is responsible for the operation of Police Youth Clubs throughout the state. These clubs now aim to provide a wide range of welfare and support services to young people contacted on the streets. The clubs organise outreach patrols to contact and encourage young people to participate in programs that are developed in collaboration with community organisations.

Department of Education

The Education Department is committed to responding to the needs of "at risk" students by implementing preventive school practices which meet the educational, social, personal and vocational needs of all young people.

Current initiatives are directed at increasing the flexibility of school organisational practices; and making the school curriculum more relevant for at risk students. To this end, specific responses include the following.

An increased focus on student welfare, life skills and personal development by guidance and counselling services..

An increased focus on the provision of a modified curriculum in regular classrooms. Many schools offer practical, vocationally-oriented subjects in years 11 and 12 to cater for non-academic students. For example, one school offers courses in catering, fashion, practical manual arts and applied small business studies. Many schools also offer community service programs in hospitals, aged persons' homes, child care centres and facilities for disabled people.

The development of a coordinated, inter-departmental approach to intervention in cases of school absenteeism. To this end, an Inter-departmental Working Party on Absenteeism from Schooling is developing models of intervention to reduce school non-attendance. Membership consists of senior officers from the Departments of Education, Police, Health and Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. Schools are represented through the Principals' Association.

Increased provision of special programs for at risk students. Special Needs Support Groups offer tutorial assistance to students, support for parents and in-service training for teachers within the school program. Other programs are provided at a district level which build self-esteem and vocational preparation.

An increased focus on the development of literacy and numeracy. Teachers are being trained to diagnose and respond to individual learning needs. A policy is currently being implemented in early primary school to identify and remedy students' learning problems in this area.

Coordination of programs between secondary schools and TAFE colleges. Many schools and TAFE colleges cooperate to offer accredited courses in which students learn life and work skills. A working party addressing the education and training for 15 to 19-year-olds is investigating ways of accrediting many different educational pathways.

Increased provision of in-service strategies which support the continued involvement of young people in mainstream education. This is a service to teachers that is designed to assist students experiencing adjustment difficulties in schools while maximising their learning opportunities. A Consultative Committee on student-school relationships has also been established to encourage positive student-school relations.

Participation in the Students at Risk Program to enhance services for especially disadvantaged students. Initiatives are focussed on:

teacher/student/parent relationship projects covering areas such as parental training and student motivation;

screening strategies to identify students "at risk" of prematurely leaving school, and provision of student and parent counselling; and

the development of flexible timetabling, supportive organisational structures and links between schools and TAFE colleges.

Vocational Education, Training and Industrial Relations

The Youth Employment Service was established to assist long-term unemployed young people aged 15 to 21 years enter training and employment. From October 1988 to July 1990, 6,274 have been assisted with 55 per cent placed in jobs and 33 per cent placed in vocational orientation programs.

The Innovative Employment and Training Scheme provides \$1 million annually to community-based organisations to provide job placement assistance and training for employment or access to further education. One example of a project funded under this scheme is Logan City Employment Training Inc. which provides work-preparation skills for young offenders, including training in semi-skilled trade and retail areas.

The Access Education Branch is coordinating programs providing part-time, day and evening courses for people with literacy and numeracy problems in 33 venues throughout the state. One example is a joint project involving three non-government youth services, the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, the CES and a TAFE College. This project will address the literacy and numeracy needs of young homeless people in the inner-city area.

In addition, the Youth Employment Service has funded five courses specifically designed to provide vocational orientation programs for homeless young people. It is expected that 50-60 young people will be assisted with 50 per cent achieving expected outcomes.

Division of Youth, Tourism, Sport and Racing

The Division of Youth provides four major services to the government and non-government youth sectors in Queensland.

Coordination of services through 12 regional field services officers located throughout the state. Their task is to bring together young people, community organisations and government departments to build an integrated and equitable service for young people. To assist in this objective, Youth Initiatives Grants up to \$3,000 will be provided as seeding funding to young people's clubs and community agencies. Field Services Officers also provide direction to the IDC on Youth Affairs and the Youth Sector Training Council by facilitating the participation of service providers from the fields of housing, education, employment, health, justice and law, family support and domestic violence, and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs.

Through a bi-monthly newsletter information is circulated to 2,000 youth service providers around the state. In addition, an Information Services Working Party is examining more effective ways to circulate government information to young people and youth service providers by taking special account of the literacy levels assumed by publications, the appropriateness of presentation styles aimed at young people, and the effectiveness of distribution channels. Recommendations were made to the IDC on Youth Affairs in September 1990.

A Youth Sector Training Program is administered by the Division of Youth in cooperation with the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs and the community sector. The program has established training teams in seven regions of the state.

Grants and subsidies are provided, including subsidies to community organisations, to assist in the costs of constructing, renovating, extending or furnishing buildings used for social, recreational and training programs for young people. Over \$400,000 was allocated to 48 projects around the state. In addition, Youth and Community Grants are provided to support community-based projects for young people in the areas of homelessness, employment, education, health and family support. Projects are expected to involve young people who are disadvantaged by social, cultural or economic conditions in the planning and implementation of the program. During 1988-89, \$220,000 was allocated to 59 organisations around the state.

Inter-Departmental Committee (IDC) on Youth Affairs

This IDC established a Crime Prevention Working Party in June 1990 consisting of representatives from the following 10 state government departments: Attorney-Generals; Education; Employment, Vocational Education, Training and Industrial Relations; Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs; Health; Housing and Local Government; Justice and Corrective Services; Police; Premier, Economic and Trade Development; Tourism, Sport and Racing.

The Crime Prevention Working Party has been investigating models that could be adapted to the Queensland context. The Bonnemaïson approach to crime prevention has

been unanimously endorsed by the group. Its translation into Victoria's Good Neighbourhood Program is therefore of particular interest. The Working Party is currently examining indicators useful for identifying crime prevention priority areas in the state. To this end, the methodology used to develop Victoria's Youth Disadvantage Index is being examined. In addition, other indicators such as Children's Court appearances and outcomes as a result of offences proven in court are seen to be relevant. The Working Party also recognises that the implementation of a crime prevention model in the Queensland context must take account of a decentralised population dispersed over vast distances. In addition, the nature and flexibility of the available human service infrastructure needs to be examined.

Because the Bonnemaison approach calls for a coordinated response from both government and community sectors, the Working Party recognises the need for a model that brings together government and non-government agencies, and community members in regional and local partnerships. Consideration is currently being given to how this might be best achieved.

Youth Justice Coalition

The Youth Justice Coalition is made up of individuals and community organisations interested in justice for young people. It is currently operating with the following four strategies.

The Coalition has requested that it be formally consulted about legislative reform in relation to juvenile justice provisions, and that it be kept informed about structural and policy developments relating to juvenile justice in the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs.

The Coalition lobbys for the implementation of alternative sentencing options and the development of supervised accommodation units for the purposes of remand, diversion from custody after sentencing and early release for reintegration into the community;

The Coalition lobbys for the establishment of legal services for young people throughout the state. The Coalition favours the youth advocacy centre model recommended in the *Burdekin Report*. Rural areas may be best resourced by providing legal training to adults who have contact with local young people.

The Coalition plans to request funds to pilot a community crime prevention project based on the Bonnemaison model and has written to the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs outlining the necessity of community involvement, government collaboration and funding, evaluation and regular consultation to ensure the project's successful implementation.

Overview of Crime Prevention Models

Queensland is characterised by a decentralised population dispersed over vast geographic distances. Therefore, this overview of crime prevention models examines

those which may show promise in rural Queensland, urban and outer-metropolitan areas, and in provincial centres. The overview is based on information obtained from about 100 programs which is summarised in David Jefferies chapter Police Models for the Prevention of Youth Crime. The following represents the opinions of those consulted and do not necessarily represent the views of the Queensland Government.

Rural Queensland

Juvenile offending in Western Queensland is petty in nature, involves regular alcohol use, and is primarily a response to boredom. Boredom is seen as a consequence of a lack of recreational facilities, culturally relevant educational programs for young Aboriginal people, and a lack of job training opportunities. It was reported that in most towns there are no recreational facilities. Cinemas closed down years ago. There is sport, but there is nothing else. Young people are said to congregate on the streets at night and drink. Blue Light Discos appear more attractive to the 6 to 13 year age group, while older teenagers prefer to go to venues where alcohol is available.

Shire councils are not generally involved, both for historical and territorial reasons. The development of activities, programs and facilities appears to depend on the interest, energy and effort of local police, teachers, clergy or young people themselves. When police, teachers or clergy are transferred, programs often fold.

It is claimed that people in isolated parts of the state are unaware of funding programs. Although small amounts of funding are sufficient to generate community participation and the involvement of young people, most resources are distributed along the Queensland coast. The needs of young Aboriginal people are generally overlooked. Heavy alcohol use and the need for detoxification was reported among children as young as eight years old.

One participant in this survey saw the economies of mostly western communities as relying on local government, cattle stations, shearing, kangaroo shooting, fencing or other rural work, with some communities dependant on Social Security benefits. With the threat of falling meat and wool prices, the employment outlook appears bleak. Fears were expressed that the situation may deteriorate further if the number of local authorities is reduced following the review of their boundaries. Even with high unemployment, people are disinclined to leave their towns. In addition, young people frequently seemed to lack the confidence and skills to go elsewhere to compete for jobs.

On the basis of the information gathered for this paper, the following models may show promise in rural Queensland.

Aboriginal community responses which bind young people to their culture, their people and their land. The Yuenmanda and Moyinda Aboriginal Companies on Mornington Island are introducing young Aboriginals to traditional roles, cultural activities and tribal responsibilities. The Injilinj Youth Club in Mt Isa is teaching young people Aboriginal dancing.

Rural work training programs are reported to be very successful in attracting young people from rural areas, equipping them with a diversity of rural skills, and moving

them into jobs. The Richmond Rural Placement Scheme, Gervoise Station and Petford Training Farm are examples of this model.

Outreach youth and community workers have a peripatetic approach regularly visiting and getting to know key people in all the towns throughout a region and is one way to inform communities about sources of available funding, thereby facilitating community involvement in crime prevention strategies.

Collaboration between police officers, teachers, clergy, local councillors, community members and others could have an impact on maintaining program continuity after individuals leave a town. Involvement in the community appears to be crucial for developing appropriate responses to young people at the local level. This has occurred in Hughenden where the Catholic priest, police and the business community work together to help young people.

At present, the human service infrastructure in rural Queensland appears to rely on police officers, teachers and clergy. Together, they could play a major role in involving local government. In the face of resource constraints, it would make sense to build a partnership between local authorities, teachers, police and clergy to help them engage young people in creating the facilities they need. In addition, all four groups, with appropriate training, could play a part in reducing the numbers of young people entering the criminal justice process, as well as reducing the number of custodial sentences received by young people who enter this process. The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, the Police Service, the Education Department, the Local Government Association, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs, the churches and Youth Justice Coalition could all play a role in developing this type of initiative.

Urban, Outer-Metropolitan and Provincial Centres

There is no single model characterising crime prevention initiatives in the major population centres around the state.

Many programs appear to be structured group activities involving camps and other outdoor activities. Most of these focus on building self-esteem, confidence, personal development and social interaction. One group does this through drama/theatre workshops, while another incorporates a number of components such as community service to disabled children and the elderly, environmental awareness activities and job preparation skills. One program operated by the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs provides adventure-based counselling through outdoor activities and expeditions using an experiential learning model. Programs are tailored to group needs. The learning process is maintained in the home environment through the support of the involved worker. The program also trains youth workers to use its facilities.

Three groups specifically focus on the provision of alternative education for persistent truants and minor offenders through individualised tutorials and small classes, and the involvement of young people and families in program design and management. A second group focuses on the meaning that young people give to their

offending through the use of outdoor activities, while a third uses group discussions for the same purpose.

Some projects are particularly interested in forming community-based committees with involvement of local police, teachers, business, churches, and officers of government departments. One project is focusing on developing recreational space and activities; another on police-community relations; another is to focus on family and school-based problems; while another is taking a particular interest in the Bonnemaison approach to crime prevention and is in the early stages of development.

Some agencies are involved in providing welfare services - family mediation and counselling; community-based accommodation services; advocacy, support, information, transport for parents and follow-up services - to young people detained in custody. One project, operated by the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, organises regional workshops to inform government and community workers of ways to divert young people from the criminal justice system, examine causes of crime, and coordinate alternative responses to offending. The Honorary Supervision Officer Scheme is being piloted jointly by the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs and a community-based agency (Youth and Family Services, Logan City), to link approved adults with young offenders in a one-to-one court ordered supervision relationship.

There are a large number and variety of clubs, groups and recreational activities, such as Blue Light Discos, to which young people and children have access. They are usually organised by churches, schools, sporting clubs and Police Youth Clubs and all play a role in the primary prevention of juvenile crime.

Listed below are models which may show promise in urban centres.

The off-campus educational model aimed at persistent truants and minor offenders may be worth developing based on early indications. The Centre Education Program at Logan City has achieved a 95 per cent attendance rate and a high degree of parental involvement. The Ipswich Youth Action Ltd proposed for Ipswich will be of great interest, particularly in terms of its broad community involvement, participation of young people and families in program design and management, and its linkages into mainstream training venues such as TAFE and Skillshare.

Adventure-based programs which use an experiential learning model to provide counselling in the outdoor activity context, and ensure that issues are followed-up and addressed on return home, appear to have an impact on reducing recidivism, as indicated by the Outlook Community Resource Centre at Boonah. Other experiential programs, such as the Pioneer Centre at Wynnum, offer a broad range of programmed activities (including group discussions, craft and trade activities, community service and environmental awareness) which appear to have an impact on minimising offending. Over four years, only one or two out of 70 participants have offended while in the program. It will be of value to monitor the impact of groups involved in drama and art workshops. Feral Arts at Logan City, and The Kids Program at Wacol are examples of these types of projects.

Collaborative programs: there are a number of projects under development which call for broad community involvement and collaboration between the state government Departments of Education, Police, Community Corrections, Family Services and

Aboriginal and Islander Affairs and the Department of Tourism, Sport and Racing. The Youth Diversion Project at Banyo, and the Get Smart Program at Ipswich are examples which appear to involve young people and their families with community-based projects.

In general terms, to prevent juvenile crime there must be a coordinated approach that involves governments and local communities. Limited funds need to be dispersed with equity and fairness, and with sensitivity to local needs. Young people themselves need to be involved in designing, organising and implementing crime prevention strategies.

Some models which might maximise young people's involvement in this process are programs which incorporate community, parental and young peoples' involvement in the program. The Centre Education Program at Logan City and the Ipswich Youth Action Ltd are examples of this model in alternative school settings, although the latter is not yet operational; and programs which encourage natural peer leaders to play a key role in creating the facilities and organising the activities that they want. Adequate backup support from adults appears to be important. The Cunnamulla Youth-Community Coffee Shop is one example.

Conclusion

Most crime prevention activity in Queensland involves the provision of recreational activities. However, there are a number of important recent developments indicative of the commitment in Queensland to address juvenile crime prevention. These include:

- the formation of an Inter-Department Crime Prevention Working Party focusing on models that could be implemented in Queensland;

- the efforts of the Youth Justice Coalition to promote alternative sentencing options, legal advocacy centres, crime prevention strategies, and to be involved in policy analysis and formulation;

- the consideration being given to legislative reform in the juvenile justice area; and

- the collaboration between different government departments at the local level, broad community involvement, and the increasing participation of young people in addressing juvenile crime.

These changes reflect the broader reform agenda of the Queensland Government in the process of developing comprehensive and wide ranging social policies in consultation with communities.

South Australia Position Paper Youth Crime Prevention Policies and Programs

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At a conservative estimate, well over 100 distinct programs for young people operate at any one time in South Australia. Such programs have a wide range of objectives, including the "correction" of young offenders, enhancement of vocational skills, health and recreation, and providing drop-in centres and arts programs. All are aimed at improving legitimate life-chances and opportunities, and hence all have potential for crime prevention. It would not be possible in this chapter to provide an overview of all these programs and the policies that underpin them. The following pages address more limited objectives: to summarise existing justice systems for dealing with young offenders; to review broader community-based programs developed by the Police Department and other agencies; and finally to mention recent state-wide initiatives - such as the Youth Strategy, the Social Justice Strategy and the Together Against Crime program - which have relevance.

Programs for Young Offenders

Several recent papers (e.g. Vardon 1988; Newman 1990) describe and discuss the South Australian juvenile justice system, and are used as the basis for this chapter. South Australia was one of the first jurisdictions in the world to establish a separate Children's Court and to recognise the importance of providing punishment for young offenders which does not brand them as criminals and does not involve sending them to prison. Vardon points out that as long ago as 1869 a Minor Offences Bill, which provided reforms to this effect, was introduced into South Australian Parliament. Some 100 years later, in 1970, following the report of a Social Welfare Advisory Council, further sweeping reforms were made to the juvenile justice system, based on the principle that the welfare of the child should be of paramount importance. The basic philosophy of: "... protecting society from juvenile offending while at the same time helping children in trouble to grow into mature and law abiding persons" (Sarri & Bradley 1980) has meant that since the early 1970s, South Australia's juvenile justice

system has concentrated on providing community-based sanctions that help young people improve social skills and maturity. Average numbers of children in secure care have been reduced from 250 in the early 1970s to about 50 in the late 1980s - a trend also apparent in other states and which does not appear to have precipitated increases in serious or violent crime.

Legislation providing the framework for these reforms is the *Children Protection and Young Offenders Act*, which applies to all persons aged under 18 charged with offences. The Act provides that with the exception of homicide - which is tried in the Supreme Court - and certain road traffic offences, charges brought against a child will be heard initially by a Screening Panel, comprised of a representative of the Police Department and an officer from Family and Community Services (FACS).

The Screening Panel, after reviewing allegations and the child's background, decides whether charges should be heard by the Children's Court or a Children's Aid Panel. A third option, rarely used, is for the child to be cautioned by a police officer. Children do not appear before Screening Panels and are not represented.

Like Screening Panels, Children's Aid Panels comprise a senior police officer and a representative from the Department of Family and Community Services. They consider the reasons for appearances by children who have admitted to less serious offences, and recommend action. Aid Panels may warn or counsel the child and/or parents, or request that the child and/or parents provide written undertakings that specific directions or programs will be followed. Aid Panels can arrange assistance for families from within the local community, and must refer a matter to court if the child does not admit allegations or if undertakings are breached.

Children's Courts continue to deal with the most serious cases, with judges able to order up to two years detention in the Youth Training Centre.

Main responsibility for developing and implementing community-based alternatives has fallen to the Department of Family and Community Services (formerly Department for Community Welfare). Working with the Children's Court and the Police Department it has promoted a number of innovative programs, including Youth Project Centres, Intensive Neighbourhood Care and Intensive Personal Supervision.

Youth Project Centres (YPCs) are for serious offenders who have been ordered by Court to participate as an alternative to detention. YPCs provide group and individual programs to help young people develop vocational, educational and recreational skills. For example, during the mid-1980s a fibre-glass boat building initiative at one centre provided 26 young people from Aboriginal backgrounds with paid employment and skills. YPCs enable young people to maintain a normal life - including work or education - while providing intensive support and counselling.

Intensive Neighbourhood Care (INC) was introduced in 1979, and involves specifically recruited, trained and remunerated families taking young people convicted of serious crimes into their homes. Placements generally are for three to six months and help the young person acquire a socially responsible lifestyle through experiencing a stable family life.

Intensive Personal Supervision, one of South Australia's most recent community-based initiatives, is for young offenders who already are in secure care or who are likely to be placed there in the immediate future. It involves a young person's agreeing

to be supervised in the community by an approved adult who is not a FACS officer. The supervisor receives a small hourly fee and, assisted by a FACS worker, develops a contract with the young person to achieve specified goals and meet conditions relating to educational, recreational and vocational needs.

South Australia also has introduced community work by young offenders as an alternative to detention, either directly or in default of paying a fine. Suspended detention is available as a sentencing option, but now is used with caution due to a relatively high rate of breaches.

In introducing the above-mentioned programs, South Australia has tended to concentrate on young people already in contact with criminal justice and to be wary of early interventions which inadvertently may label individuals as potential delinquents. However in 1987-88, in recognition of the need for community prevention, the Family and Community Services Department established a range of specific services for adolescents who were at risk of harm through abuse, neglect, family breakdown, homelessness or substance abuse. Adolescent Support Teams have been established both in metropolitan and country regions, to provide counselling assistance and ensure more coordinated delivery of services. Neighbourhood Youth Workers have been employed, to help develop community support programs and networks for adolescents at risk, and an Intensive Adolescent Support Program matches adolescents who are considered to be severely at risk with adult mentors or counsellors. Such paid counsellors are drawn from the general community, and spend up to 10 hours per week with the young person concerned.

As mentioned earlier, South Australia's programs for young offenders have been very successful in reducing rates of incarceration and there is no evidence that they have led to increased crime rates. Some commentators are concerned, however, that the Screening and Aid Panel system may have had "net widening" effects and precipitated excessive delays between the time an offender is apprehended and a sanction applied (*see* Wundersitz 1988 & 1989; Newman 1990). Recently, the South Australian Attorney-General floated the idea of replacing Screening and Aid Panels with a formal system of prosecution guidelines which would enable young people who admitted to an offence immediately to be counselled or become involved in community-based programs without submitting to extensive criminal justice procedures. Such guidelines appear to have been applied with success in other countries (e.g. Great Britain and the Netherlands) and seem more consistent with current emphasis on greater community involvement in dealing with crime. They also would enable resources currently tied up in the Screening and Aid Panel system to be redirected to other crime prevention initiatives.

Community-Based Initiatives

In addition to Family and Community Services and Court-related programs, a number of community-based initiatives should be mentioned. From January 1989, a pilot Youth Support Group (YSG) has been working in Adelaide's inner city. YSG objectives include reducing rates at which young people come into formal contact with the justice

system and identifying "street kids" at risk of exploitation and abuse. Particular attention focuses on the needs of Aborigines, who are grossly over-represented in arrest statistics (Gale & Wundersitz 1987). The YSG program has received strong Police Department support, and early indications are that it has had a significant impact on youth arrest patterns.

With other organisations, the YSG has become actively involved in promoting alternative forms of recreation for young people frequenting Adelaide's inner city. The Police Department's Blue Light movement has been extended to weekend camps. More than six Blue Light camps now have been conducted, with local patrols and specialist squads such as the Star Force making significant contributions. Formal assessment has not yet been conducted, but the program enjoys strong support from young people and Police, and there are plans to extend to a state-wide program with potential for involvement by all youth agencies. Blue Light alcohol-free nightclubs have been established, with some success, in country centres.

Other exemplary programs include the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme, the Shaftsbury Youth Scheme operated in Adelaide's southern region by the Offenders Aid Service, the Seaton Youth Service. Seaton Youth has the particular objective of establishing contact with disadvantaged young people who lack access to existing services. For the last 18 months, Seaton Youth has been working with young graffiti artists to explore legal avenues for graffiti art and heighten community awareness of graffiti as an alternative art form. Some members have negotiated with the justice system to complete community service with the program, which is fully supported by local government. Several murals and banners have been approved or commissioned by state and local authorities.

State-wide programs

Finally, mention should be made of relevant state-wide programs, such as the Social Justice, Youth and Crime Prevention Strategies.

Launched in August 1987, the Social Justice Strategy has made significant progress in convincing government bodies to direct more resources and services toward the poor and disadvantaged, and has underwritten a wide range of initiatives relevant to crime prevention. In addition to the Youth Support Group, mentioned earlier, the Social Justice Strategy has provided for South Australia's Good Behaviour Program, announced in August 1988. Jointly funded by the Family and Community Services, Health and Education Departments, the scheme attempts to develop respect for law by helping schools and families instil relevant values. Each school is developing its own good behaviour code based on positive expectations, clear statements of values and strong sensible punishment for misbehaviour. There will be a state-wide reward system for outstanding citizenship or service by young people and special assistance will be provided for children experiencing difficulties adjusting to the school environment.

The State Youth Strategy, launched in 1989, is directed initially at young people aged 15 to 18, with the objective of ensuring their successful transition to economic

independence. Regional Youth Resource Centres are being established to ensure that young people have access to coordinated services, and youth strategy grants will fund special support and bridging programs. By addressing underlying economic and cultural causes, the Youth Strategy has significant potential to bring about long-term reduction in youth crime.

Together Against Crime, the South Australian Government's five year crime prevention strategy, was announced in August 1989. It complements and reinforces the Social Justice and Youth initiatives. Modelled on community-based approaches in France, Great Britain and The Netherlands, it puts emphasis on involving a wide range of government and non-government bodies in crime prevention. Under the Together Against Crime program local crime prevention committees, comprising representatives of police, local government, other key service providers and resident groups, are being established throughout the state. Such committees will be encouraged and assisted to analyse existing and potential crime problems, review programs and resources currently available in the region, and develop a coordinated crime prevention plan which builds on those resources. To help implement plans, local committees will be able to negotiate two-yearly crime prevention contracts with the State Government, and to receive funding from a \$10 million crime prevention allocation. Crime prevention committees must, as a condition of funding, accept independent process and outcome evaluation of their programs.

The Together Against Crime strategy does not specifically target youth crime - in fact policy documents (Sutton & Fisher 1989) acknowledge that young people are not responsible for the majority of serious offences. However, its emphasis on addressing problems "upstream" rather than relying on criminal justice responses is likely to reinforce the Youth Strategy's objectives of enhancing educational, training, employment and recreational programs for young people at risk and ensuring properly co-ordinated delivery at the local level. It therefore has significant potential to contribute directly and indirectly to youth crime prevention.

Summary

South Australian policy on youth crime prevention always has put emphasis on keeping the incarceration of young people to a minimum. This was given even greater impetus in the 1970s, with implementation of the Screening and Children's Aid Panel systems and development of innovative community-based programs for young people convicted of serious crimes. Assessment of these policies has put emphasis on the significant reductions achieved in numbers of young people in secure care and the absence of evidence of increases in serious or violent youth crime.

Recently, some concern has been expressed that the Screening and Aid Panel systems may have had a "net widening" effect and be causing excessive delays between the time some young offenders are apprehended and a sanction applied. Critics argue that current systems are resulting in excessive resources being tied up dealing with comparatively minor offences by young people who are, in any case, unlikely to

reoffend. Consideration is being given to streamlining the system - perhaps by introducing prosecution guidelines.

In implementing youth crime prevention programs, organisations such as the Family and Community Services Department have been wary of early interventions which might inadvertently label individuals as potential delinquents. Since 1987, however, there has been recognition of the need for community-based programs for adolescents at risk. State-wide initiatives such as the Social Justice, Youth and Crime Prevention Strategies also reflect a shift toward addressing youth crime problems "upstream" in the community rather than relying on justice responses.

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Western Australia Position Paper

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Over the last few years the media have presented a picture of a juvenile crime explosion; the public perceives juvenile crime to be out of control in WA. The likely reason for this perception is that the issue of law and order was politicised in the years leading up to the state government election of February 1989.

The available statistics show a different picture. Although there is more "reported" crime over the last few years, there is also more publicity on crime, and more police and police programs such as Neighbourhood Watch. The Children's Courts statistics show that slightly fewer offenders are appearing before the courts on slightly more offences. Looking at a five-year trend, the numbers of youth appearing before the Children's Courts and panels have been gradually declining but the number of offences brought before the courts is increasing. Police Annual Report figures on apprehended youths for major crimes for 1987-88 and 1988-89 show no increase in young offenders.

There is a danger in making generalisations about the juvenile crime problem. There are a range of juvenile crimes being committed and therefore the "causes" of this criminal activity must be widespread.

Some of the reasons for juvenile crime include:

- boredom/thrillseeking;
- family conflict and dysfunction;
- unemployment/poverty;
- over zealous policing;
- lack of due process and legal services;
- inadequate and inappropriate sentencing options;
- cultural displacement;
- low self-esteem;
- adolescent risk-taking behaviour; and
- school education curriculums.

Juvenile crime prevention programs in WA address many of these factors.

Primary Prevention

These are prevention strategies not connected to the court system and can prevent young people from entering the juvenile justice system. In the primary prevention category are: Local Offender Programs; Police Department Youth Initiatives; Worksyde Employment Program; and Parents Skills Training.

Local Offender Programs (DCS): This was the centrepiece of the State Governments "Kids 'n' Crime" package (1988) aimed at preventing juvenile crime. These programs aim to bring various government agencies and community groups together to develop services relevant to young offenders in regions with high offending rates. It draws on many of the ideas of the French Bonnemaison approach. At present there are three projects based in the Perth metropolitan region and three in country centres, all of which received around \$60,000 per annum in funding. The Government aims to expand this program.

Each Local Offender Program has developed unique responses to the needs of their target group. The services provided include: organising sporting teams (e.g. basketball) into established competitions; Aboriginal education; employment and training opportunities; drop-in centre activities; specialised education classes; camps and other outdoor activities; and streetwork services.

The results during 1990 include youth moving into constructive occupations, cooperation between Community Services, Education, Employment and the Police Departments, and local government involvement in youth affairs. The foundations are being established for meaningful long-term solutions to the community problems that lead to juvenile crime.

Police Responses: the Police Department has moved into youth affairs in response to youth problems with the law. There are school-based police officers, blue light discos and new Police and Citizens Youth Clubs. The aim of many of the police-youth activities is to provide constructive activities and positive role models for youth.

Worksyde Employment Program (YMCA): this program aims to place repeat offenders (with more than five Children's Court appearances) in meaningful education, employment and training opportunities. The young people are assessed for their skills level and are given the social and skills support required for the position. Initially intensive support is offered and this is gradually withdrawn as the young person moves into a routine and gains confidence in his/her ability to be self sufficient. Attendance at this program is voluntary. The program is highly successful.

Parent Skills Training (Marriage Guidance Council): This is a practical skills program for parents whose children are in trouble or are heading in that direction. Attendance is voluntary and referrals come from community and government agencies. Practical skills to assist parents with stealing, drinking, drugs, sexuality, moodiness, money, clothes and leaving home are provided. Ongoing support is also provided.

Secondary Prevention

These are programs aimed at young people in the formal police and children's court system. Cautions and other diversionary schemes; truancy patrols and legal services come under this category.

Cautions and other diversionary schemes: These initiatives will be introduced in 1991. The formal police caution scheme allows police to issue cautions to youth for minor offences such as street drinking, disorderly conduct and some minor traffic infringements. These youth will not be charged and should drop out of crime statistics.

Western Australia arrests 80 per cent of youth who are charged for offences. The remaining 20 per cent receive a summons. There are plans for an infringement notice or citation scheme to minimise arrests and lessen the likelihood of minor offenders being remanded in strict custody.

Truancy Patrols: The Police Department has developed Truancy Patrols which pick up truants and then link them back to the school system. The truancy patrols have found that there needs to be more alternative education and other support services for the "hard core" truants because they do not fit into the education system. The truancy patrols are connected to the CIB anti-theft squad which allow them to detect truants who are known offenders. The police believe that the truancy patrols deter the occasional truants from becoming entrenched with the hard core element.

Legal Services: The DCS funds the Youth Legal Service to provide a range of legal services to youth which are essential to ensure basic human rights are protected and that youth can defend wrongful charges. For young people to believe that they have a stake in society they must perceive and experience a just juvenile justice system. Legal services are also preventative because it can alert young people to laws and the consequences of breaking the law. At present legal aid services for youth are inadequate to meet the needs of youth in WA

Court Options

There are a large range of sentencing options available through the Children's Court especially in the Perth metropolitan area. The new initiatives are: Holyoake Institute Drug and Alcohol program; Law Education program; Education and training programs in institutions; Challenge for Youth; and Murchison Station program.

Drug & Alcohol Program (Perth metro): The program offers two streams of drug counselling (three sessions and eight sessions). The issues addressed are drug use and offending, decision-making and communication skills, health, sexuality, self-esteem and problem solving. Parental involvement is encouraged in a separate group session. The court refers offenders with drug issues related to their offending and the charges are dismissed.

Law Education (Perth metro): This is a one-off three-hour workshop for youth with minor offences appearing before the court. The workshop covers issues such as why we have laws in society, the consequences of offending, effects of crime of youth and society, youth rights in the system and how the legal process works. Parents are

encouraged to attend. Charges are dismissed on attendance. The workshops are conducted by the Youth Legal Service.

Education and Training in Institutions: Increased cooperation between the Department of Community Services, the Education Ministry and the Department of Employment and Training is resulting in the development of more effective education, employment and trainings options in juvenile institutions. This is now spilling over into other sentencing options such as probation and community service orders.

Challenge for Youth: This program allows youth on strict custody to spend their last month of their sentence on a bush "survival" trek. The program has been in operation for several years and last year developed additional support systems for the youth who return from the treks. "Mentors" provide ongoing support and there is strong involvement of Aboriginal communities in this program.

Murchison Station Program: As a conditional release order or alternative custodial option, work placements are found for youth on Murchison pastoral stations. The program mainly places youth from the Murchison region. At the end of May 1990, 28 individuals have been placed, of which only three had failed and have been returned to strict custody. This innovative program is relevant to youth from that region because the skills acquired can be of practical assistance to them and they receive ongoing support from mentors in the community. Nine youths have already found employment and training positions after their placements.

Evaluation

All programs funded by DCS are evaluated regularly by the Juvenile Justice Unit in the Department. Programs are evaluated by how they are meeting their objectives by the DCS staff. Most programs are pilot programs and are likely to be refunded.

The high level of publicity on juvenile crime has resulted in the government promising additional funding for crime prevention programs. The government recognises that WA has the highest incarceration rate of all the states and that incarceration is not the way to reduce offending. There is a commitment to developing creative projects and encouraging community ownership of the juvenile crime problem.

West Australian Advisory Committee on Young Offenders

This committee has been set up to review the juvenile justice system and make recommendations to government. The committee will be headed by Justice Walsh and includes the President of the Children's Court, the Police Commissioner, Director General of DCS, Chief Executive of Aboriginal Affairs plus three members of the community.

The agenda of this committee includes the review of existing prevention programs and investigating the feasibility of developing additional programs.

Tasmanian Position Paper Juvenile Crime and Crime Prevention

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It must be stressed that the present economic restraints being undertaken by the Tasmanian Government, and evident across the whole public sector, preclude the development of any new initiatives in this area. The emphasis in this chapter, therefore, is placed on a coordinated approach to the existing programs, bearing in mind the government's commitment to social justice.

The development of a Social Justice Strategy in Tasmania has broad implications for the area of juvenile crime and crime prevention.

From the community's point of view this process is about developing an attitude of encouraging self-help; giving all Tasmanians the opportunity to contribute to their communities by ensuring everyone gets a fair go; developing a stronger sense of community pride and responsibility; and making use of government programs and income support to assist individuals and families to be able to participate fully in their communities, but not relying on them to provide everything to make life better.

From the government's point of view, an approach must be developed which: coordinates its specific initiatives and provides an integrated framework for decision-making and priority setting; sets clear short- and long-term targets for the systematic reduction of social inequality and improvements to services and living standards; is directed at changing structures and attitudes which cause inequalities in both government and the community; and provides a comprehensive long-term plan for government and a clear demonstration of its vision for a more just Tasmania.

Major initiatives and innovative programs in Tasmania are outlined in this chapter. It is obvious that juvenile crime prevention has not been promoted as the primary objective of these programs. Rather, it is within the framework of a social justice approach, as described above, that these programs are encouraged and supported.

Programs in Tasmania have not, in the main, been developed in reaction to public alarm and demand for the control and management of juvenile offenders as juvenile crime, as an issue, has maintained a low profile. This has meant that the usual level of unreasonable public fear associated with the issue of juvenile crime has not had to be

faced, and negative policy reactions have not developed in Tasmania. Young people, in turn, have not been confronted with the same level of hostility as they may have been in mainland states which often results in negative self-concepts. The government has directed its attention to supporting adolescents, in recognition of the needs of young people "at-risk".

The government and the community are working in partnership in this field and are aware of the social conditions which could precipitate a range of anti-social behaviours by young people, especially alcohol consumption.

Outcomes of programs are positive and preventive in turn. Tasmania is satisfied that the programs in this category meet with social justice principles, and any program development is intended to maintain this supportive environment thrust.

Complementary to this work of a preventive nature, the government has been pursuing for some time an active policy of de-institutionalisation. Juvenile detention centres have been transformed to the extent that the one Tasmanian facility, Ashley Home, in 1989-90 had an average daily population of only 12 young people. That compares with approximately 32 young people in Ashley Home 10 years ago, and 75 young people 15 years ago. The number of under 17-year-olds committed to criminal courts has been minimised, and further reforms are planned for services to those young people involved with serious crime. Comparative figures for the number of young people found guilty of serious offences in Tasmania are: 1976 - 1453; 1980 - 1057; and 1986 - 790.

Although there is no evidence of an increase in violent crime in any age group in Tasmania, the broader issues involved with youth and violence and links between violence and crime, have been looked at by workers and agencies throughout Tasmania. The work of bodies such as mediation services has highlighted the need for further attention to preventative and educative programs. Schools are incorporating and developing materials on topics ranging as wide as dealing with conflict and coping with stress.

Coordination of these projects and approaches is being undertaken at local and regional levels, for example in Launceston a "loose" Task Force on Young People and Violence has been established to address the needs of workers themselves as well as program development.

Professional training committees and seminars are focusing increasingly on issues of violence.

Community Programs

Your Place - Hobart: a community-based organisation, funded through the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse, runs a day-time drop-in centre for assessments, referrals and ongoing one-to-one counselling for young people with drug and alcohol problems. The Centre has 1.2 workers and attempts to do outreach work including gaol visits.

The program, which is in its second year of operation, is deemed to be successful and is the first and only service of its kind in Tasmania. The success of the program is

gauged by its continued use by young people; the increased number of referrals by welfare agencies and word of mouth, especially by young people; and its ability to fill the perceived gap in the present networks and services.

The future of the program is still dependent on the level of funding received and therefore the number of staff that can be employed. It is perceived that a minimum of two full-time workers are necessary to more adequately address such issues as crisis counselling, young women's problems, support for young offenders in gaol, education and preventative program.

Youth Insearch Camps (state-wide). Recently established, this program is designed and run by young people with the assistance of a group of supportive adults. The main aim of the camps and the resulting follow-ups is to help young people learn the positive values of life and turn away from drugs, crime and despair. The camps provide an atmosphere of caring and support whilst identifying and understanding the feelings and hardships of the participants who are all young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Nationally over 5,000 young people have attended Youth Insearch Camps and the demand is increasing at a steady rate, with the program now established in New South Wales, Victoria, the ACT, Western Australia and Tasmania. An evaluation of the program in Tasmania is to be undertaken by a student at the University of Tasmania, as a thesis for her doctorate.

An increased number of camps is planned in addition to leadership training courses as the program becomes established in Tasmania.

Kids 'N' Cops runs the Arrows Youth Centre in Launceston, a venue for street-kids and other young people to meet and enjoy the facilities and programs provided. The programs are of a recreational, social and educational nature, and include trained personnel, both paid and voluntary. Amongst the organisation's objectives are two which specifically address the relationships of young people and the Tasmania Police. They are:

to create greater beneficial liaison between the youth of the Launceston area and the members of the Tasmanian Police Force and other civil authorities, and interested adult citizens; and

to assist young people to understand better the role of the Tasmanian Police Force and other civil authorities, such as local government, and to cooperate with them in creating a better and more enjoyable society in which to live.

The success of the program is evident from the fact that it has now been in operation for two years. The Centre is always well attended, and there has been a significant improvement of attitudes towards the police, by those who attend.

Whilst the program appears to be something that is wanted by the young people and needed by the community, it requires some official recognition and support to enable the employment of a paid full-time youth worker.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS

Department of Community Services, Corrective Services Division

Project Hahn (state-wide), is a challenge activity established by a community group but now managed by the Department of Community Services. Approximately 100 young people who are under Corrective Services supervision have participated in the seven to 10 day outdoor/wilderness type program, which includes such activities as rock climbing, abseiling, camping, bushwalking and canoeing. Probation Officers have been used as leaders, on occasions.

Anecdotal evidence from casework officers is optimistic in terms of observing immediate improvement in self-esteem and confidence in the majority of participants. An evaluation paper was presented at the first National Symposium on Outdoor/Wilderness Programs for Offenders, ACT, 2-4 October 1990.

The future of the Project depends on continued financial support by government and, to some extent, the result of evaluation. The general policy of developing recreational approaches in casework management is favoured both in the probation and parole and juvenile custodial areas. The Community Correction Division would anticipate sponsoring approximately 30 young people on Project Hahn courses this year.

Alcohol Education - Gagebrook (Southern Tasmania). A pilot program, commenced in late July 1990, provides alcohol education specifically for young offenders under supervision. Officers of the Alcohol and Drug service assist probation staff to conduct the program, which is a part of Community Service Order activities. The program will be evaluated after 12 months on the basis of: successful attendance; client feedback; subjective reports of casework officers; and impact on the rates of offending.

Skill Share Program (Burnie and Clarence). This program encourages young people who are subject to Community Service Orders and/or Corrections supervision, to participate in a 13 week training course involving such skills as woodwork, welding, furniture manufacture and metalwork. The entire range of courses available is provided by the local Skill Share, and is an avenue increasingly used for Probation and Juvenile Correction referrals. It is a program which promises well on the anecdotal evidence available, but it is too early for research or proper evaluation, in terms of probationers obtaining regular employment as a direct result of participation.

TASMANIA POLICE

Neighbourhood Watch Programs (state-wide, mainly in Southern Tasmania). A program to reduce preventable crime, particularly burglary, through residents' activities in a defined geographic area of approximately 600 households, with a significant crime rate and a demonstrable community interest in the program. The program is a joint police (in a liaison and information role) and residents (who are trained in basic crime prevention) involvement.

Whilst the program has only been recently introduced into Tasmania, it has a number of proven benefits. These being that Neighbourhood Watch:

minimises "opportunistic" and preventable crimes;

increases the reporting of crimes and suspicious activity;

increases the quality of information given to Police;

improves the level of personal security;

improves the level of household security;

deters criminal activity through signposting and increased probability of apprehension;

increases the positive interaction between police and residents;

increases community interaction and awareness; and

reduces the fear of crime.

Police and Citizens Youth Clubs (state-wide). There are 17 Police and Citizens Youth Clubs in operation around Tasmania which address the problems facing the young people in their respective areas by providing a wide range of leisure activities. The Clubs are becoming more community based and also give instructions in law, safety, and community and social responsibility. Evidence suggests that very few of the members of the Clubs come before the courts for offences and experience has shown that members have a much improved attitude towards the police. The number of offences committed by young people are lessened where Police and Citizens Youth Clubs are operating.

Northern Territory Position Paper Summary of Services and Programs

Tony Langmair, Assistant Senior Officer
Juvenile Justice, Correctional Services

The main thrust of juvenile justice administration in the Northern Territory is directed towards the diversion of young offenders (10 to 17 years of age) from the criminal justice system and, in particular, away from incarceration.

At this time, NT Correctional Services plays only a minor part in preventative programs - taking part in Civic Studies programs within the secondary education system. The authority to become involved with, or intervene in, youth "at-risk" only exists once the individual has reached the criminal justice system and been charged with a criminal offence against the Commonwealth or Territory. The preventative role is one of diversion to minimise the level of penetration into the "system" and provide the opportunity to learn and develop skills that assist the youth in re-establishing him/herself as a non-offending member of the community.

Juvenile Justice Programs

Probation; the offender is placed under the supervision of this service for any period not exceeding two years. The objectives of probation are normally met by the following:

surveillance, reporting conditions, curfew, home visits, liaison with other agencies;

assistance, identification and attempts to resolve problems experienced at home, school, place of employment and peers;

direction to enforce conditions of court order and to take part in programs and activities considered to be of benefit.

Station Placement Program has been developed with selected rural properties in the Northern Territory. Its aim is to help young offenders develop the work ethic and practical work skills that encourage self-confidence and reliance. It enables offenders

to survive on their own after the completion of their sentence. Participation in this program is voluntary.

Juvenile Offender Placement Program provides community placements for juveniles on remand. It is an alternative to detention for periods of up to 28 days while awaiting the outcomes of court proceedings. Juvenile Offender Placement Program families are recruited from the community and are provided with training and professional support.

Community Service Orders are essentially a punitive sanction which offers elements of rehabilitation and reparation. Wherever possible, work programs, with some educational component, are sought for juveniles. There are two types of orders: court made with set hours not to exceed 480 and Director made with a fine default/option, in which eight hours work can be undertaken in lieu of \$100 of fine.

Detention. There are presently three detention/remand centres in the Northern Territory which provide secure accommodation for juveniles aged from 10 to 18 years.

Malak House is a traditional detention centre with accommodation for up to 16 juveniles. It is co-ed.

Giles House is also a traditional detention centre with accommodation for up to 20 juveniles. It, too, is co-ed.

Wilderness Work Camp. An unorthodox detention centre with accommodation for 16 male juveniles. Emphasis is on work and sporting skills, and outward-bound type adventure programs. It is situated 160 km from Darwin in a Territory Park and engages in construction and development of facilities for tourists and visitors to the park. Security is almost totally dependent on the camp's location and the inter-relationship with detainees. The concept of the camp represents a shift from the traditional approach to juvenile detention.

The administration of juvenile justice in the Northern Territory entails a large degree of cooperation and coordination between relevant agencies, departments, employers and community groups.

Demographic Background

In 1988 there were approximately 35,000 people aged between 12 and 24 years living in the Northern Territory. Aborigines make up approximately 11,000 (31 per cent) of young people. Tables 1 and 2 provide details of young people in the Northern Territory from data obtained from the 1986 Census (ABS 1986).

Table 1: Number of Young People Aged 12 to 24 Years in the Northern Territory 1986

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Darwin City	8,165	44.8	7,715	45.9	15,880	45.3
Palmerston	533	2.9	677	4.0	1,210	3.5
Alice Springs	2,816	15.4	2,801	16.7	5,617	16.0
Jabiru	145	0.8	135	0.8	279	0.8
Tennant Creek	381	2.1	364	2.2	745	2.1
Katherine	750	4.1	576	3.4	1,326	3.8
Other Areas	5,449	29.9	4,548	27.0	9,997	28.5
Total	18,239	100.0	16,815	100.0	35,054	100.0

Table 2: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Aged 12 to 24 Years in the Northern Territory 1986

	<i>Male</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% of all YP</i>
Darwin							
Palmerston	909	17.6	952	17.5	1,861	17.5	10.9
Alice Springs	520	10.2	623	11.4	1,152	10.9	20.5
Tennant Creek	78	1.5	119	2.2	197	1.9	26.4
Katherine	118	2.3	140	2.6	258	2.4	19.5
Other Areas	3,536	68.4	3,614	66.3	7,150	67.3	71.5
Total	5,076	100.0	5,362	100.0	10,438	100.0	

Almost 25 per cent of the Northern Territory's population is aged between 12 and 24, the majority of whom live in the major town centres. Approximately 49 per cent reside in the Darwin/Palmerston area, 16 per cent in Alice Springs and 28 per cent live outside of the major towns.

In contrast, of the young Aboriginal people, approximately 17 per cent reside in the Darwin/Palmerston area, 11 per cent in Alice Springs and 67 per cent in areas other than major towns.

Services and Programs available

Education Department: primary, secondary, tertiary, trade and recreation

Health and Community Services (operated or funded by): health education (N.T. Drug Information Centre); medical services (Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation); mental health (Disabled Persons); child care (Grants and Aid); welfare services; emergency accommodation.

NT Police: Juvenile Police Rangers; Police and Citizens Youth Club; School Based Community Policing; Blue Light Disco.

NT Department of Youth Sport, Recreation and Ethnic Affairs: grants and aid to sporting and recreational organisations throughout the Northern Territory. This Department has recently taken up the role of coordinating all Youth Affairs in the Northern Territory.

YMCA: Youth Drop-In Centres; sporting and recreation facilities.

Town and City Councils: youth services and coordination; streetworkers; emergency accommodation; Big Sister Program.

Commonwealth Departments: full range of services available nationally.

Summary

The list of services and programs, although incomplete, does identify the most prominent of those available. While there is a reasonable level of communication and cooperation between the various services, there is not a coordinated approach to identifying and targeting the "at risk" group with preventative programs. A major difficulty experienced by the Northern Territory is a relatively small population spread over a vast area. The majority of services and programs available are restricted to the two main population centres. A large proportion of the juvenile justice client group live in isolated communities where services and programs are minimal. If preventative programs are to have a significant impact upon juvenile offenders they need to be decentralised and mobile.

References

Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1986, *Census of Population and Housing*.

Australian Capital Territory Position Paper Juvenile Justice Perspective of Crime Prevention

Richard Young, Director
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The Australian Capital Territory operates its juvenile justice system under the *Children's Services Act 1986*. In part, this states that matters to be considered concerning children

in any proceedings in a Court having jurisdiction in the Territory, whether the proceedings are under the Act or under some other Law bringing proceedings against, or concerning, or affecting a child, the Court shall exercise of its jurisdiction or powers, seek to procure for the child such care, protection, control or guidance as will best lead to the proper development of the personality of the child and to the child becoming a responsible and useful member of the community. The Court shall have regard to such matters as seem to it to be appropriate and in particular to such following as are appropriate.

- a) The need to strengthen and preserve the relationship between the child and his/her parents and other members of his/her family.
- b) The desirability of leaving the child in his/her own home.
- c) The desirability of allowing the education, training or lawful employment of the child to be continued without interruption or disturbance.
- d) The desirability of ensuring that the child is aware that he/she must be responsible for anything that he/she does that is contrary to law, and
- e) The need to protect the community or a particular person from the violent or unlawful acts of the child.

Flowing from this, the Australian Capital Territory has commenced the development of a strategy that seeks to prevent young offenders from entering the justice system, if at all possible. For those that do enter the system only the least intrusive sentencing option should be applied.

The following steps are from least to most intrusive impact in the young person's life.

Step 1: Is the development of an educational program for 14 to 16-year-olds where youth workers from the juvenile justice area visit high schools and colleges to talk with this group about rights, offending, and possible outcomes for offending behaviour. The aim is to create a group discussion forum among the young people and to help answer questions and concerns. This program is currently being developed and will be given a six months trial to assess its relevance.

Step 2: Following a plea of guilty or a finding proved by the Court, the young offender may then be referred to the juvenile justice area by the Court with a request for an assessment to assist the Court in reaching a decision. (Currently some 90 per cent of young persons who receive an intrusive Court disposition are referred for an assessment). Assessments are provided with the intent of minimising the intervention wherever possible. Strategies are discussed with the young person on ways of addressing causes of offending and to seek the cooperation of the young person in achieving the most desirable outcome.

Step 3: Young persons who come into the juvenile justice system on probation, or Attendance Centre Orders, Remand or Committal Orders are assisted in finding stable housing in seeking employment. The role of the youth worker in the housing and employment area has been established as a six months trial program to assess what impact, if any, this may have on the client base. Records show that the lack of stable accommodation is an important element in the background of many of the 15 to 17-year-olds who come into conflict with the law. One issue that may impact on stable accommodation is the teenager and the family non-compatibility factor that may ultimately lead to offending behaviour.

Step 4: The dispositions of Probation and Attendance Centre Orders allow for the young person to participate in modules that are designed to address the causes of offending, e.g. drug and alcohol education; living skills; knowledge of how to access community youth services; and government services, such as social security, employment etc.

Step 5: For young offenders on Committal Orders a program base with two main elements has been developed: (i) to address the courses of offending through the provision of education and information on sex, drugs, life skills, budgeting etc., and to prepare the young person for their return to the community through participation in individual programs and sporting activities (young offenders are eligible, once trust has been established, to participate in sports activities such as indoor cricket or soccer, touch football, or other community-based sporting activities); and (ii) young people in custody are encouraged to participate in work experience and/or work release programs.

Child in Need of Care

Significant initiative undertaken in the Territory to prevent juvenile crime followed the application of the Australian Capital Territory *Children's Services Act* in 1988 when, for the first time, the so-called "uncontrollable children" (status offenders) were no longer permitted to be housed with young criminal offenders. In only 18 months this

has resulted in a significant reduction in the number of juveniles who first come to notice as a status offender (now referred to in the legislation as "a child in need of care") crossing into the criminal offender category. The real effect of this is not expected to be fully apparent for several years, as even now most young offenders on Committal Orders first came into contact with the authorities as uncontrollable prior to the 1988 legislation before crossing into the criminal stream.

Another positive aspect already noticed is a major reduction in the number of young females coming into conflict with the law. This is due, in large part, to these young people on "child in need of care proceedings" not being locked up with young offenders and often returning into custody themselves on criminal charges.

Delinquency Prevention in Australia Overview & Comments on State Position Papers

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Perhaps the most obvious difference between the materials from each of the states is the framework within which youth crime prevention is discussed. For some states, prevention is an issue for the juvenile justice system while, for others, the total gamut of services available to young people are conceived of as part of a delinquency prevention strategy. This raises the question "What exactly do we mean by 'crime prevention'?" As few of the states specifically address this issue, it is vital to begin by briefly referring to it as it provides a framework for further discussion.

A useful distinction can be made between primary and secondary prevention. Primary prevention is concerned with preventing young people from committing crime in the first instance. Secondary prevention is concerned to ensure that young people who have already been dealt with in the juvenile justice system do not come back again. The Queensland chapter distinguishes two levels of prevention within what I refer to as secondary prevention: the diversion of young offenders away from formal processing ("secondary prevention"); and the prevention of further offending by those who have been through the juvenile justice system ("tertiary prevention"). While for some purposes this distinction is helpful, for present purposes the distinction between programs aimed at the general population of young people (primary prevention), and those aimed at young offenders who have been dealt with by the juvenile justice system at whatever point (secondary prevention) will be maintained.

Primary prevention is what the South Australia chapter refers to when it talks of having programs "upstream" rather than relying on the criminal justice system. Examples of primary prevention strategies include those aimed at the general population of young people such as South Australia's State Youth Strategy and the Victorian Department of Education commitment to expanding the educational options available to young people.

Other primary prevention strategies are targeted at more specific populations, for example South Australia's services for "at-risk" populations such as the Adolescent Support Teams and the Neighbourhood Youth Worker scheme; the vocational orientation program for homeless young people in Queensland; the New South Wales

Department of Industrial Relations and Employment's development of community-based employment and training for long-term unemployed youth; and most mention the development of accommodation services for homeless youth.

Secondary prevention is the form of prevention most consistently described in the state papers and most often refers to the various program and sentencing options available in the juvenile justice system. Almost all states are concerned to minimise the level of contact that a young person has with the formal system, and in particular to limit the numbers of young people who are institutionalised. This is a prevention strategy in that it recognises that the more contact and the more intensive a young person's experience of the juvenile justice system, the more likely she/he is to re-offend. Programs in this category range from those which offer an alternative to the young person ever being imprisoned (cautioning, probation, Attendance Centre Orders), to those programs offered within institutions (the education programs, work release and work experience programs and various outdoor/adventure programs).

Other secondary prevention programs assist young offenders to re-establish their lives after they have left the institution. These may be in the community, but as they are specifically for young offenders they are secondary prevention strategies. Examples include Western Australia's Local Offender program and the Worksyde Employment Program. In Victoria there is the Employment Access Program.

The distinction between primary and secondary strategies is a useful one to keep in mind because it affects decisions we make about which young people are targeted, what government agencies or community groups should be involved and to what extent. For example, in primary prevention programs we would be concerned to ensure that we do not stigmatise young people, thereby contributing to their marginalisation. As the South Australian paper warns, we must be wary "of early interventions which inadvertently may label individuals as potential delinquents". We should thus be concerned that these programs do not become appendages of the formal juvenile justice system. This has implications for the bureaucratic placement of programs, staff selection, and program management. The challenge becomes one of developing a social justice strategy which does not, in our efforts to meet special needs, end up isolating young people. On the other hand, in secondary prevention programs we would be concerned to connect young people to mainstream activities, to integrate them, to try to break down their marginalisation and stigma.

While there are differences in the overall framework within which crime prevention is discussed in each of the papers, there are some program ideas that appear consistently across most of the states. Some of these are not so new, such as the police/citizen youth clubs. To this we might also now add the Blue Light Discos, and most states make some mention of drug and alcohol programs which involve counselling and education services. One program initiative which appears to have captured the imagination of most states involves outdoor/adventure programs such as Challenge for Youth in Western Australia, Project Hahn in Tasmania and the Wilderness project in New South Wales.

A second program initiative talked about in most states is described in terms of drawing upon the French *Bonnemaison* approach. In South Australia there is Together Against Crime, in Victoria, The Good Neighbourhood Program, and Western Australia and Queensland make reference to drawing upon this approach. One consistent theme of concern in the papers, which is often linked with this approach, is the coordination and integration of local programs. This is sometimes linked to the notion of the centrality of

local communities in the development and implementation of programs. However, no doubt the interpretation of the meaning of this approach and its implementation varies between states.

While there are these similarities across the states, unique programs exist in some states which are of interest. For example, Victoria has the most detailed statement regarding the services offered for Aboriginal youth. Other states do mention specific programs which focus on Aboriginal youth, however, given the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal youth in the justice systems of some states, more details of programs, services and community consultations are obviously necessary. The comment in the Queensland report is pertinent to more than rural Queensland: " ... the needs of young Aboriginal people are generally overlooked".

On a similar note, there is mention of only one program which targets the specific needs of children from non-English speaking backgrounds; the Circuit Breaker Transition program to be piloted in New South Wales by the Office of Youth Affairs. Young migrants can be among the most isolated young people in our community, for example, in terms of confinement to the family home. Language and cultural barriers can exist not only in terms of knowledge of available services but also in terms of being able to effectively utilise them.

Young women can represent more of hidden population than males. In the past when protection orders could mean incarceration, girls had good reason to remain hidden and not to seek help. In Victoria, girls are still reluctant to seek services because of the fear of being sent home. Further, as some programs develop, they come to be used predominantly by males and girls do not feel comfortable using them. I am not arguing that we only develop single sex programs, although we may need to consider some separate programs for girls, but we do need to be sensitive to their predicament and consciously incorporate strategies that will make programs accessible to and usable by girls.

A further issue which is notable because of its omission from most of the papers, relates to youth consultation and involvement. The exception to this is New South Wales which describes a number of programs and processes which involve youth, for example, their Crime Prevention Workshops and the Youth and the Law Project. Apart from the Youth Insearch Camps in Tasmania and the outline of Programs Which Show Promise in Urban Centres in Queensland, youth participation in program development and management does not appear to be an issue in other states. The ways in which young people can be involved in meaningful ways in the development of solutions to problems which confront them is a strategy worthy of more careful consideration. To involve young people is not only to give them some ownership of the project and to thereby enhance their commitment to it, but it is also a form of political action which it is important for those of us concerned about youth to consider. Those of us who have the power and the access, need to take advantage of every opportunity to facilitate and provide avenues for young people both to experience personally their own skills and worth, and to exhibit these to the general public. Such action confronts the stereotypes which abound about these young people.

New South Wales is the state with the most extensive range of programs involving police working in conjunction with other government departments and community groups to develop programs and services with positive outcomes. In general, the how, when and why of police involvement in prevention strategies is worthy of further consideration. As the Western Australians state, "For young people to have a stake in

society they must perceive and experience a just juvenile justice system" For many young people, their first, and sometimes only, contact with the juvenile justice system is with the police. As some people are beginning to recognise and acknowledge, the treatment that many of our young people experience at the hands of police is far from just. Responses from general harassment, to denial of rights, to violence, characterise the experience of many young people. It is not surprising therefore that the attitude of many of these young people to police is one of suspicion, distrust, and even hatred - not attitudes which encourage the development of respect for the law. Further, these young people believe that our system of justice is not for them, but rather is against them, and so why should they obey their rules. The prevention of the development of these attitudes will require more than police going into schools to educate youth; it will require the education of police and a rethinking of the whole nature of police/youth relations.

A program which tackles these issues from a different perspective are the Youth Law Lines in Victoria. These were set up in response to reported harassment of youth by police with the objective of addressing the problem of young people's lack of knowledge about their legal rights and to provide legal advice, support and advocacy to young people in contact with police. The Western Australian paper also acknowledges the need for a range of legal services for young people. The empowering of young people in these ways can only serve to further develop their involvement in, and thus commitment to, the society in which they live, and a respect for its laws in a way that has to be considered an important part of delinquency prevention.

The importance of these two issues becomes clear as one reads these chapters on delinquency prevention: theory and evaluation. Anything and everything has at some time been touted as a delinquency prevention project, from walking dogs and selling newspaper, to vitamins, boxing and cleaning up parks. To establish the credibility of a program we need to be able to justify its existence on the basis of a theory of the problem. That is, we need to have developed a set of coherent ideas which both informs us as to why the problem is occurring in the first place, and from which we can determine why a particular program will have some affect on this causal relationship. Secondly, all programs need to be rigourously evaluated to learn whether they in fact work. Without these two factors, the development of delinquency prevention programs will be predominantly determined by politics and the whims of individuals .

In conclusion, I would re-iterate a comment from the South Australian paper that, as we think about the development of delinquency prevention strategies and policies we need to ensure that "all are aimed at improving legitimate life chances and opportunities". It is worthy of note that the state that feels that it has been able to develop positive programs in a social justice framework considers that it has been free to do so, in part, because it has not had to develop its programs in reaction to public alarm and demand for control and management of juvenile offenders. In this regard it is the responsibility of all of us to confront the law and order policy frameworks which have been the impetus for reform in some states.

The Bonnemaïson Model Theory & Application

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Providing a brief overview of the Bonnemaïson scheme is quite a challenge. As many of you will be aware, one of the most striking aspects of the approach to crime prevention the French have been pursuing since the early to mid-1980s is the innovative and lateral-thinking programs it has generated - programs documented in UK researcher Michael King's papers (King 1988a, 1988b). It is tempting to simply describe some of these programs in detail.

Doing so, however, might very easily create the misleading impression that setting up Bonnemaïson-type models of youth crime prevention in Australia would be relatively simple: a matter of allocating large enough amounts of money and ensuring that funding guidelines and decisions ensured that only the most innovative proposals were rewarded. In fact, the French approach to crime prevention is far more complex: its success stems as much from structures and processes as from funding amounts or funding criteria. Rather than concentrating on specific schemes, therefore, I want to outline how the Bonnemaïson crime prevention system evolved, and how it operates at the grassroots level. Having done this, I will identify some of the challenges in setting up similar models in Australia.

The origins of the Bonnemaïson approach to crime prevention were in 1981, shortly after the Socialist President Mitterand had been elected for the first time. During the hot summer of that year, fairly severe civil disorder broke out in disadvantaged suburbs around Lyon and Marseille. Considerable numbers of motor vehicles were set alight, "borrowed" or stolen for use in car races by bored youths. Some commentators have described the situation as "near riot".

Such events posed an immediate challenge for Mitterand to put into practice his electoral policies on crime. The immediate (and I'm sure Australians would call it "kneejerk") reaction was to introduce a comprehensive national program of summer camps and activities (*ete-jeunes*), to keep young people living in the towns and cities active and occupied during the long summer vacation. This scheme has grown in each

subsequent year, embracing almost every municipality and involving special camps run by the police and the army.

In addition to this quick response, Mitterand convened three separate national committees of enquiry. The first was an inter-departmental commission to find ways better to involve young people in employment and other social activity. The other two were driven by mayors of major cities. One was responsible for assessing the problems of inner city slums ("neighbourhoods in crisis" as the French term them), the other for recommending ways to combat crime.

Chairman of the committee on crime was M. Gilbert, Bonnemaïson, then Deputy Mayor of Epinay-Sur-Seine, a city near Paris, and a member of the National Chamber of Deputies. His group, which reported in December 1982, argued that sentencing and law-enforcement reforms would not be enough to put an end to spiralling crime rates. A coordinated attack would be needed on underlying causes such as poor housing, the alienation of young people, drugs and structural unemployment. These problems were so extensive that confronting them would require nothing less than a national strategy. However, they were so endemic that they could never be alleviated without thoroughgoing commitment to developing solutions at the local "grassroots" level.

The Bonnemaïson group therefore recommended that Crime Prevention Councils be established at three levels: national, regional and communal (that is town or city). According to most French experts, experience has shown the national and the municipal councils to have been most effective.

The National Crime Prevention Council was chaired by the French Prime Minister. It has 50 members including representatives of key government ministries (such as Interior, Justice, Youth and Sport), mayors of major towns and cities and delegates from employer, trade union and other bodies. Town and city crime prevention councils were chaired by the mayor and have equal numbers of national and local authority representatives (including youth workers and police). Non-government organisations can participate in municipal crime prevention councils on a voluntary basis.

Each year, the National Crime Prevention Council would set general crime prevention "themes" and its executive would review programs and negotiate with each town or city to conclude a crime prevention "contract". In concluding such a contract, the national government would make some funds available to the town or city committee for allocation to programs. However, it should be emphasised that such national funds were not extensive (about \$9 million per year for the whole of France; population of 56 million) and that the bulk of resources to implement each year's program would come from organisations within the local community itself.

To help develop their plans, each town or city crime prevention council generally established several sub-committees to work on specific topics (e.g. the integration of young people into society; drug and alcohol problems). However, as the French explain it, the emphasis of such working groups is not on setting up entirely new programs or facilities, but on finding ways to get more out of the existing structures - by ensuring better coordination between agencies, by ensuring that existing organisations have a better outreach to "at risk" or marginal groups, and that they have a better crime prevention "focus".

This idea, of using a crime prevention contract system to place extra demand on existing facilities, may seem audacious but it seems to have worked. Towns or cities in France were not required to have crime prevention committees, but most did take part. In 1983, just 18 local crime prevention committees were established on a pilot basis. By 1988 there were more than 500, including 180 in cities with populations of more than 30,000.

This, then, is the system that generated such a wealth of innovative approaches to crime prevention: recreation programs; victim assistance; special intensive classes for educationally disadvantaged young people; even video-making for youngsters who previously had been spending their days hanging around the main Metro Station at Lille. In many respects, it is the very opposite of what we Australians tend to think of when we discuss ways of generating new approaches. Rather than providing funds for new schemes, the French put pressure on existing programs and facilities to work together more closely and think more laterally.

Perhaps the best way to bring home the novelty of the French approach is to draw a contrast between the ways a Bonnemaison committee and we Australians might tend to approach youth crime prevention in a particular region. In Australia we would tend to start with the assumption that if an area has problems the answers must lie in extra resources for new programs. In France, on the other hand, the starting assumption seems to have been that even in the worst regions, there might already be enough police, enough youth workers, enough young people's clubs and so on. As the Bonnemaison scheme sees it, the dilemma is that no matter how good all the existing organisations might be, if they work in isolation they all eventually will tend to have problems with, and to reject, the same small minority of disruptive, socially maladjusted young people. As a result, a region could have a whole range of programs, all providing excellent service to the young people who use them, but all missing out on the same small percentage of youngsters who perhaps only the police may know are at a complete "loose end": not involved in education, not part of any work training scheme, not even involved in constructive recreation. Hence the need for intersectoral cooperation: for police to get together with the relevant agencies and tell them where they are missing out with young people, and for the agencies themselves to agree on priorities and a co-operative plan where some or all of them make an "extra effort" to reach out and reincorporate these youngsters. And, of course, it also is essential for the central government to play a part in this, by agreeing on a contract and providing extra funds so that local agencies can make this extra effort at outreach.

In the preceding few pages, the objective has been to provide a brief overview of the "Bonnemaison" approach to crime prevention. The question now to consider is what obstacles Australian jurisdictions would need to overcome if they were to attempt to implement such a crime prevention model for young people.

In my view there are at least three.

The first and most basic problem is one of understanding. In this country we tend to be locked into what might be termed the "grants" approach to youth programs. It is very difficult, therefore for Australians to avoid slipping into perceiving Bonnemaison as just another scheme for funding innovative new programs - and the prominence that some commentators have given to describing the ambitious youth summer camp

program (the *ete-jeunes*) has helped add to this confusion. However, it is important to realise that if we simply establish mechanisms for funding new programs without setting up procedures for drawing more from, and getting better cooperation out of, existing structures then we are moving away from a *Bonnemaison* model, not toward it.

The second major problem is establishing the relevant mechanisms that will ensure that youth sector organisations do cooperate: do work together to identify priorities and develop coordinated regional youth crime prevention plans. In France there is basically a two-tiered structure of government, with local municipalities fulfilling many of the functions that in Australia would fall to the state level. There also seems to be a greater degree of stability in programs for youth, which are mainly funded and supported at the municipal level.

This means that in France local government, and the local mayor, can play a key role in ensuring that the relevant agencies cooperate and agree on priorities. In Australia we have different systems, with many youth programs funded by state agencies, and many non-government agencies leading a fairly ad hoc existence, dependent on yearly grants. In such a system where agencies often have competed against one another for grants, and even for clients, it is much harder to generate cooperation and consensus on priorities.

Finally, the *Bonnemaison* approach generates formidable problems of evaluation. Anyone who has looked at the French system would agree that this is where any weakness lies, but it is not difficult to understand why. How do you evaluate an approach which is so global, and which relies not so much on discrete identifiable projects but of "add ons" to existing programs and on greater emphasis on intersectoral co-operation?

In South Australia, where we are trying to implement such an approach, we intend using a mixture of outcome measures (e.g. reported crime and regular victimisation surveys) and process evaluations (have local crime prevention contracts actually resulted in the activities stipulated?) Even so we may in the end find it difficult to report in exact detail on which aspects of youth programs have succeeded in reducing crime and which have failed.

Having said all this, I still would argue that if we in Australia are serious about youth crime prevention we should try to implement models like the *Bonnemaison* approach. For too long, we have been pouring resources into the bottomless pit of criminal justice responses: responses which are not just ineffectual and wasteful in cost terms, but have potential to be extremely destructive to the young people caught up in them. Through *Bonnemaison*, France seems almost miraculously to have been able to come to its senses, and recognise that youth crime prevention can and must involve some constructive, enriching, broad-based community approaches.

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Interagency Integration of Programs Making it Work

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We have to believe we can succeed at perhaps
the most difficult people-changing
task - intervening with the serious
juvenile offender. (Schriro & Mann 1985)

The eighties were, and the nineties herald, an exciting time in the arena of youth corrections. In the past decade Victoria has seen major reviews of both the policy and practices governing the delivery of services for young people, specifically in the juvenile justice system.

Historically, the system for dealing with young offenders was based on the welfare model of intervention, which had its foundations in a series of assumptions and values concerned with addressing the best interests of the young person. The current trend towards a justice model approach to services for young offenders not only grants equity with the adult system, but also provides rights to young people which were previously submerged by the welfare model of intervention.

Many of the current proposed changes in Community Services Victoria, in relation to its provision of services to young offenders, are based on the recommendations of the Carney Committee. The most significant of these are:

the division of the Children's Court into a Criminal Division and a Family Division, therefore separating at a judicial level at least, services for offenders and non offenders;

the adoption of a rights rather than a welfare model of intervention in the lives of young people, which is reflected in the proposed legislative changes for sentencing practice in the Criminal Division of the Children's Court; and

the development of community-based programs as an alternative to institutional care, both in the guardianship stream and the young offender stream.

Strong criticisms have been made of the welfare model of intervention and these have been taken into account in the current Victorian Government's policies. The major arguments against the welfare model are based on both empirical studies and principles of basic rights. It is claimed that welfare theories of diagnosis and treatment have had limited effect on rehabilitation and/or the incidence of further offending.

Deeds can be overshadowed by supposed needs. Workers' time spent on diagnosis and the analysis of the implications of the offender's background can result in long periods of incarceration through Wardship (Morris 1978), consequently the penalty for a young offender's crime can become more severe than that for an adult who has committed the same offence. Rather than trying the case purely on the facts of the offence, the welfare implications of the young person's background can take precedence.

The logical step from these arguments is the development of a more efficient and fair method of administering the juvenile justice program.

The *Children's and Young Person's Act* is a move towards developing consistent sentencing practice. Due process should be the same for youth and adults, and programs for young offenders should be credible and accountable.

However, whilst youth must be held responsible for their actions, they should also be assisted to learn how to abide by the law. This learning process needs to be part of a young person's social interaction. Many young offenders have been denied this basic opportunity, due to limited social supports. The reality is that young offender programs are crucial in terms of the control and supervision of young people's behaviour which is deemed to be deviating from the norms of our society.

The Wholistic Approach to Youth Corrections

In order to develop some strategies and recommendations to improve the quality of young offender programs, one needs to re-examine the purposes of sentencing. The four major principles governing our sentencing process are: punishment; retribution; deterrence; rehabilitation.

Youth Supervision Units carry out the sentencing decisions of the Courts and, in so doing, apply these four principles. However, the primary function of workers would be to provide a range of opportunities for the clients, which enable them to choose alternatives to offending. These opportunities should cover both functional choices:

education, employment, leisure; and "treatment" choices: drug counselling, human relations, anger management. The Youth Supervision Unit's major focus should be the functional programs, accessing other agencies for the provision of "treatment" services in order to affect the rehabilitation of our client group.

Programs which are perceived as successful, due to factors such as a decline in the recidivism rate, or a reduction in the number of breaches being initiated as a result of further offending, provide access to a wide range of accessible and meaningful options for young offenders. Programs which are designed to increase academic, vocational, social and emotional development should be accompanied by activities which have special correctional merit, such as the "correctional curriculum" - "the social skills/behaviour modification curriculum which is designed to help the individual child in trouble to develop non-delinquent responses to suggestion and testing by our peers." (Thorpe et al. 1980, p.144).

The process of identifying the causal factors of offending should be tackled during the initial assessment period of the young person, thus leading to the development of an effective individual program plan, which may include a recreation and leisure component, as already evidenced within the Youth Attendance Order and the Office of Corrections, Community Based Orders. Access to counselling for individuals and their families may also be required. The correctional facility should act as a referral service for the client, providing for long-term integration of clients into existing community supports, rather than attempting to service all these needs from within correctional facilities.

Providing a young person complies with the conditions of their Court order, participation in program activities is voluntary, with the exception of Youth Attendance Orders.

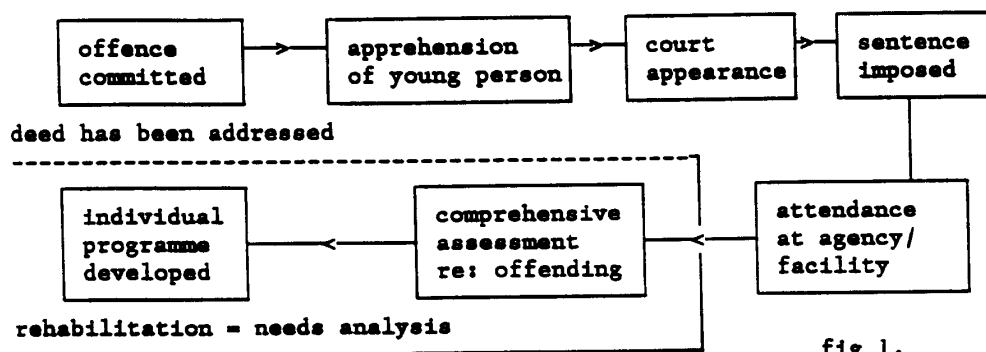


fig 1.

In practice this would look like this:

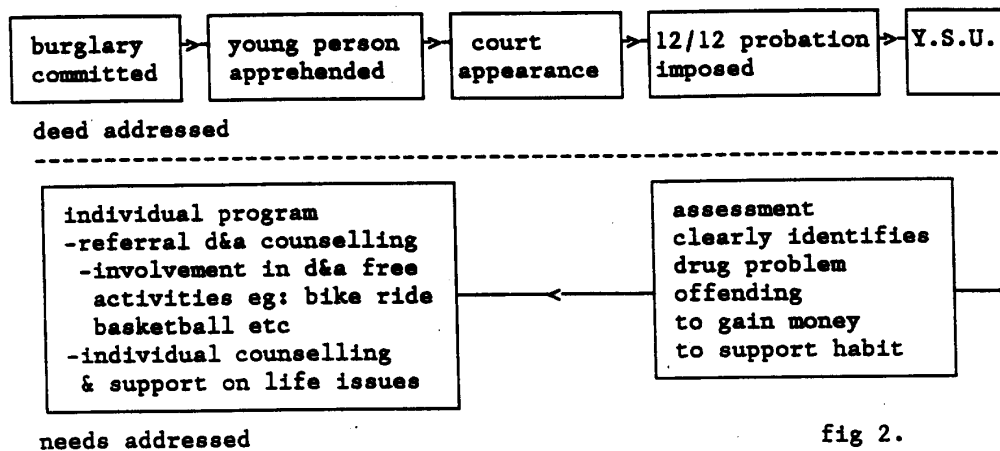


fig 2.

Other Community Agencies in Services to Young Offenders

The North West Youth Supervision Unit was established in May 1985 initially as a Youth Welfare Service, catering for up to 50 young people on Statutory Orders, both in the offender stream and from the guardianship area.

The North West Region is a large and diverse area, which incorporates country areas such as Sunbury, Pascoe Vale, Craigieburn, Macedon and the cities of Broadmeadows, Coburg and Brunswick, consequently the integration of young people into their own community presents a real challenge.

The Unit has evolved from two major departmental policy areas: the regionalisation of Community Services of Victoria; and from the de-institutionalisation process. The Unit performs two major functions in the de-institutionalisation area: it provides a direct alternative to incarceration in the sentencing process; and it aims to reduce numbers in, and assist young people exiting, central institutions.

In 1986 the Unit assumed responsibility for all regional Youth Parolees. In 1987 the Unit assumed control of the Children's Court Probation program and in 1988 the Youth Attendance Order was implemented. The Youth Supervision Unit had now become an agency specialising in the provision of services to Young Offenders. In rare situations the Unit supervises young people on Guardianship orders who have been found guilty of criminal offences.

Many of the young people supervised within the program have never considered themselves to be integrated within their own community. They have invariably had negative educational experiences and limited social opportunities. The North West Youth Supervision Unit has attempted to address this issue in a variety of ways: community development; community education; community support; and community awareness.

The major tool used to incorporate effectively these dimensions is the Portfolio System. Each officer carries a specific area of responsibility relating to youth and

becomes the specialist within the team on that topic. The areas covered are: accommodation; recreation; adolescent health; education and employment; youth and the law; and staff development.

Accommodation

Objective: to participate on a range of group housing management committees, thereby ensuring access to appropriate housing and financial supports for the client group.

Duties: to provide support to other Unit workers in locating appropriate accommodation for clients; to attend Regional CSV meetings relating to Youth Homelessness and accommodation needs for adolescents, including summarising any documents for the Unit Manager in relation to accommodation issues; respond to community enquiries regarding accommodation, both for people requiring housing and also those people offering board or accommodation; provide support to youth housing workers who have clients from the Unit living in their housing programs.

The staff member responsible for this particular portfolio participates in three management committees. The locally based Youth Housing Program, which provides a range of housing options within the direct locality of the Youth Supervision Unit; a Youth Refuge (of which there are two within the region) which operates a short-term placement option for emergencies; and the Regional Youth Accommodation Group, which is instrumental in examining state and Federal developments in relation to Youth homelessness.

Historically youth refuges and some accommodation providers have been very reluctant to accept CSV clients, primarily due to their fear that, once placed, a young person would remain in that facility indefinitely, with little statutory support. Since the development of this particular portfolio, the Unit staff have had considerable success in accessing quality and appropriate housing for young people supervised by the Youth Supervision Unit.

The portfolio has also provided the opportunity for advocacy on behalf of young offenders, within the development of Youth Housing Policy at the regional level and as a consequence their needs are also recognised at state level.

Recreation

Objective: To develop and access recreation facilities on behalf of clients. To provide support to community recreation agencies in working with our client group.

Duties: to participate in recreation programs run at the Youth Supervision Unit. To advise staff on developing appropriate recreation programs. To keep an up-to-date list of all sporting and recreational clubs available to adolescents within the North West Region. To liaise with agencies and support them in working with young offenders within mainstream activities. To document and evaluate any recreation activities run by the Unit. To attend the local sports centre with Unit clients for sessions in the

gymnasium, two or three times a week. To participate in local management committees.

The staff member responsible for this particular area is currently coaching the Under 19s at Broadmeadows Football Club, consequently young people under the Unit have been able to attend training sessions with the Club. This option has been successfully used by young men attempting to cease their drug involvement. One of the other spin-offs from this particular association has been purely coincidental but extremely beneficial - a number of officials involved with the club have provided employment opportunities for young people, both on a casual and long-term basis.

As a result of the work undertaken in this portfolio, the Unit has managed to obtain three gym passes to the local sports centre which are used by young people, initially with a staff member in attendance, a requirement by the management until they become familiar with the young person. An individual program is worked out and eventually the young person is able to work-out independent of instructors. This particular program has been running for the past two years and has resulted in a number of young people joining the sports centre.

The Unit has also participated in indoor cricket competitions and basketball tournaments. The purpose of these activities is to introduce young people to alternative recreational pursuits. Initially the Unit organises the program, until young people feel confident enough to either run the team independently of the Unit or to join another established club, thereby becoming integrated within mainstream sporting activities.

Adolescent Health and Sexuality

Objective: To gather a directory of resources and material in relation to youth health. To establish contacts with relevant agencies in order to improve access to services by our client group.

Duties: To resource other members of the team in relation to health issues. To summarise documents and advise the manager on trends and new initiatives in relation to adolescent health services. To attend training sessions on issues related to the health of adolescents, for example, drug and alcohol courses, incest seminars. To liaise with the Health Access Program worker on a regular basis. To lobby for programs which meet the needs of young people within the region, for example, the need for a residential detoxification unit, specifically for adolescents. Regular liaison with a range of health, psychiatric and counselling agencies. To run sessions on Health and Human Relations for staff and clients, and to link young people into programs being run elsewhere in the community, particularly focussing upon Community Health Centres.

This particular portfolio has been successful in encouraging other agencies to run courses and programs for our client group on relevant topics, such as an anger management program for violent offenders, run by a local Community Health Centre and the development of a Needle Exchange Program at a locally based youth centre. The workers at the NEP regularly visit the Unit and are able to provide the agency with a number of practical resources to assist in the reduction and prevention of the spreading of HIV.

The quality of information and up-to-date literature on the whole range of health issues is extremely high and, as a result, other agencies such as youth refuges and youth support programs, frequently access the resource bank at the Unit.

Education and Training

Objective: to provide information on educational and employment options available to young offenders. To assist other professionals workers to design and implement effective programs and opportunities for young people.

Duties: to liaise closely with the regional Employment Access Officer, employed by Community Services Victoria.

To keep an updated register of financial benefits available to young people and also information on how to access such benefits.

To maintain an updated register of Skill Share Courses and other relevant programs available through TAFE Colleges.

To liaise with staff at the Commonwealth Employment Services and Social Security offices within the region.

To assist young people to develop resumes and application letters.

To run training courses for young people on basic employment skills, and/or link them into existing schemes elsewhere.

To assist other professionals in the vocational area in running programs, which meet the needs of our client group.

To maintain contact with local secondary schools and to support teachers in developing an appropriate curriculum response to young offenders, through formal and informal structures.

To visit training schemes and courses in order to provide other staff with current information on initiatives.

A number of interesting initiatives have been developed within this portfolio, one of the most notable being the development of special curriculum subject at one of the local technical schools, aimed at young people who were truanting or refusing to attend school. Linkages have been maintained with the teaching staff regularly making contact with workers at the Youth Supervision Unit.

Another recent initiative has been within the Employment Access Program (EAP), which is managed at a regional level by the manager of the Youth Supervision Unit. The EAP worker has negotiated with the Plasterers' Union to develop an apprenticeship training program within that specific industry, in conjunction with a TAFE college.

Young people supervised by the Unit who are attending school or are employed and who have chosen to inform their teachers or employers about their status receive support within their school or workplace. This has proven to be of great benefit when young people are experiencing some personal difficulty and acting-out as a consequence. Teachers and employers will contact the Unit and request some assistance for the youth, rather than suspending or dismissing them. Because they realise they will receive support from staff, they are prepared to take more risks than perhaps they would without those supports in place.

The Law and Young People

Objectives: to provide information to young people and their families on current legal procedures and information regarding Legal Aid and private solicitors.

To provide regular court advice to the public and the legal profession, including the Children's Court Magistrates.

Duties: to ensure that Unit staff and other workers in the field have current information regarding changes to the Law, including amendments to acts and regulations.

To provide young people with appropriate direction regarding their legal rights.

To provide young people with a full explanation in relation to the expectations of them whilst on a Statutory Order and also the role of workers in relation to supervising that order.

To keep a register of solicitors and barristers skilled in particular areas, for example, drug-related charges, offenders with an intellectual disability and expertise in Children's Court matters.

Since the inception of this portfolio there have been a number of beneficial initiatives established, one of the major ones being the Court Advisory Program established at the local Children's Court. The profile of the Unit has been raised not just with the judiciary but also with the police, solicitors, members of the public, court clerks and other professionals working with young people. Another benefit of the localised Court Advisory System has been that young people being placed on orders are dealt with immediately, receiving an appointment to attend the Unit upon leaving the Court Room, consequently there are no unallocated cases within the Young Offender Program.

This particular portfolio also links up with the local council's Youth Policy forum, specifically relating to Youth and the Law. The worker provides in-service training to other youth workers on relevant issues relating to the law and its impact on workers and clients, for example, the Independent Witness Program.

Staff Development

Objectives: to ensure all staff have access to relevant staff development and training activities. To ensure that other staff working within the region receive access to training wherever possible.

This portfolio is specifically designed for workers within the Unit. However it does provide other community workers with access to training related specifically to adolescents and young offenders.

The use of the portfolio system, as previously stated, is the major tool used to ensure that interagency cooperation is achieved, however there is a range of other formal and informal networks as well. One of the most formalised is the Young Offender Services Advisory Committee which meets on a quarterly basis. The membership comprises a Children's Court Magistrate, who chairs the group, a solicitor from the Legal Aid Commission, a private solicitor, a psychologist with the North West

OIDS (Office of Intellectual Disability Services) Criminal Justice Unit, a representative from the Brosnan Centre, a voluntary agency located within the region who works with offenders aged 17 to 25, a regional manager from the Office of Corrections, the manager of a local youth agency which also runs a drug and alcohol program, a representative from POAV (Probation Officers' Association of Victoria), a representative from the local police and regional Departmental representation.

The role of the Committee is as an advisory body and to ensure that the program is accountable to the wider community. The meetings involve reporting back on Unit activities, information sharing amongst the agencies represented and an educative role (a guest speaker at each meeting). The other area of involvement in community education is to provide guest speakers for service clubs, schools, tertiary institutions and other community agencies.

Conclusion

Since 1985 the North West Youth Supervision Unit have given high priority to the establishment and maintenance of strong interagency cooperation, in order to provide a more meaningful and well-balanced service to young people on Statutory Orders within the region. This approach has made an impact in the area of general community enquiries and requests for assistance are regularly received from young people, parents, teachers and other members of the public. The Unit has been able to respond speedily and effectively, with referrals to other agencies, ensuring that enquirers are serviced appropriately.

The major difficulty the Youth Supervision Unit has encountered is the lack of recognition of a worker's time required to ensure the on-going networking by CSV centrally. The workload formula makes little allowance for this role, consequently decisions related to resourcing tend to be based upon current client numbers. This results in workers being unable to see the benefits of such an approach, both as an interventive strategy and also in relation to the open access now available to clients.

One of the other benefits of the Portfolio approach is a decrease in the incidence of burn-out experienced by workers. Constant client contact and responding to crisis can take its toll if workers are unable to gain any relief. The role that each worker undertakes in relation to the Portfolio provides for time-out from casework and also ensures that staff are practising their analytical, conceptual and academic skills, therefore ensuring a maintenance of these standards. The staff retention rate at the Youth Supervision Unit, over the past five years, has been an average of 28 months which appears to be considerably higher than other equivalent agencies.

In conclusion, if we are serious in our attempts to integrate young people into the communities against which they have offended, it is essential that all relevant agencies work together to ensure that these young people receive the highest quality services in order to prevent their continued re-entry into the statutory supervision system.

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Youth Crime Prevention & the New Federalism the Role of Governments

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The New Federalism - A New Framework?

During 1990, the Prime Minister and others have put on the public agenda the need to restructure the relationships between the three tiers of government in Australia. There is a perceived failure of existing arrangements to provide an adequate framework for regulating the economy, protecting the environment and developing the necessary physical and social infrastructure for Australia to meet the challenges of the late twentieth century. This appears to be forcing a re-think, across the political spectrum, about the respective roles of Federal, state and local governments. The items which have so far been raised as requiring revision under this so-called "New Federalism" range from the environment, to health, housing and child care, to road and rail transport.

Youth crime prevention should be added to that agenda. If we are to be serious about ensuring adequate and effective youth crime prevention measures, we must do so in the context of a change in the roles of Federal, state and local governments. The talk of the "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 behaviour by young people that is illegal and injurious to themselves and their peers, families and the community.

Accordingly, this chapter addresses the macro level of youth crime prevention. It seeks to map existing roles of the various levels of government and to sketch out a revised division of official responsibilities. Its aim is to put forward a more coherent and comprehensive structural and policy framework that would give us a systemic approach to youth crime prevention.

There is a recent and not-too-distant precedent for this task. The report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Our Homeless Children* (1989), has achieved significant shifts in the governmental responsibilities for homeless children. That process

needs to be repeated in relation to youth crime and justice. This chapter draws from *Kids In Justice: A Blueprint for the Nineties*, a recent report of the Youth Justice Coalition (NSW), in which I was involved, and from my experience in developing a joint Community Crime Prevention Project with Waverley and Fairfield Councils in Sydney.

Youth Crime Prevention and Social Justice - A Policy Framework

No policy framework for youth crime prevention exists at national, state nor local levels. The ostensible purpose of our juvenile justice systems is the prevention of juvenile crime, yet a look at state and territory juvenile justice legislation does not reveal a mention of crime prevention. There are no Commonwealth/State Agreements that articulate a policy framework for youth crime prevention; the closest one gets is in the Reviews, Corporate Plans and Budget Papers of some departments in some of states and territories. The state and territory summaries are indicative of the undeveloped nature of the concept and the practice in Australia. The management of youth crime prevention in Australia has been, at a policy level, ad hoc.

Society's approach to juvenile crime should be based on both a clear conception of the causes of juvenile crime, and a realistic and informed appraisal of the extent and nature of it. Yet governments have tended to introduce measures without a clear picture of these dimensions, nor a comprehensive evaluation of the range of policy options available. Official decisions have been driven more by headlines in the tabloid media, than by systemic and planned approaches (Youth Justice Coalition 1989).

Policies have often been contradictory in their aims, implementation and outcomes which impedes our ability to effectively respond to youth crime. One obvious and serious contradiction is the pursuit of "law and order" policies - which emphasise greater control and punishment - at a state level, as against those promoting support services and (legitimate) education and training opportunities. There has been a shift in public expenditure from education and welfare to law enforcement in some states (Youth Justice Coalition 1990; O'Connor & Callahan 1989), at the same time as federal efforts to address the problems of homeless youth which emphasise increased youth support services (HREOC 1988). On a broader macro-economic level, there is an exceedingly tough situation for young people; yet we have witnessed in recent years a shift in youth policy of responsibility from government to young people and families (Eckersley 1988; Polk & Tait 1990; Maas 1990).

In addition, the lifelong consequences of child abuse may affect young people's deviant behaviour and considerable attention and resources have been paid to child protection in recent years, yet there has been a growing tendency in juvenile justice philosophy and sentencing practices towards greater "responsibility" of young people for their actions, with insufficient provision in youth correctional programs for dealing with victimisation.

Even within the "law and order" paradigm, economic constraints limiting expenditure introduce contradictions to our dealings with offenders. A "justice" model may stress custodial sentencing, but the pragmatism of costs forces a greater reliance on cheaper and under-resourced community corrections, restricts the capacity to train and employ juvenile

justice specialists, and sees research and evaluation amongst the first casualties of cost-cutting measures.

The conflicting demands of the key agencies in juvenile justice and their personnel will also determine the outcome of juvenile justice policies. There is a shifting balance of power, duties, rights and responsibilities of those involved in the juvenile justice system such as the police, officials, magistrates, lawyers, welfare and community workers. There is precious little dialogue, let alone consensus, about what is to be done.

Finally, the role that the media plays in constructing and consolidating a public voice on juvenile justice issues is contradictory. It can be the vehicle for informed debate, but the presentation of stereotypes of offenders, the dismissal of community corrections as ineffectual liberal leniency, and the escalation of "fears of crime" by sensational reporting militates against this. The media are able to influence the direction of policy in ways which may be contrary to strategies with more constructive outcomes. The creation of fears of juvenile crime waves and concentration on individual criminal pathology have tended to divert attention away from the need to develop considered social policies for dealing with the social and economic position of young people.

Society's approach to juvenile crime has gone through various cycles. The pendulum swings from seeing juvenile crime as largely society's fault, to seeing it as solely a matter of individual free-will and hence culpability. We also witness the periodic search for someone to blame for juvenile crime - children, parents, teachers, police, social workers, radicals or conservatives. 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).

We need to construct a policy with the acknowledgement that youth crime is a complex social and economic phenomenon. No single cause can explain it; there are many theories about the causes of criminal behaviour, none of which is conclusive, although each has had an impact on our understanding and responses (Borowski & Murray 1986). Broadly speaking, juvenile crime can be accounted for as a consequence of factors such as social change, urbanisation, poverty, difficulties in integration, exclusion from the mainstream, lack of opportunities, gender, increased temptation of but lack of access to disposable goods, economic crises and the exigencies of "growing up". It is clear that there are strong links between social disadvantage, deprivation and particular sorts of crime and its control.

More specifically, youth crime has clear connections with unemployment, homelessness, school alienation, family breakdown, substance abuse, boredom and inactivity, low morale and poor self-image, inadequate community, family, youth support and legal services, and inappropriate treatment in the juvenile justice and welfare systems. Criminal statistics consistently show an over-representation of the unemployed, the poor, the poorly educated, of Aboriginal people, and of those living in particular socio-economic areas (White 1989; Mukherjee 1986). That is not to say that all unemployed young people inevitably commit crimes, but the relationship between young men and women and the labour market needs to be considered as one of the determining factors in different types of criminal behaviour (Youth Justice Coalition 1990, p.27).

These links are often acknowledged, but rarely acted upon. Juvenile crime is rarely mentioned in the formulations of social and economic policy. It is not separate from such

matters; it is integrally related to them. The Federal Government's *Strategy For Young Australians: The Youth Book 1989-90* (Commonwealth of Australia 1989) makes only passing reference to youth crime and justice, by way of a mention of the costs study commissioned from the AIC.

Juvenile crime is part of society. Youth crime prevention is youth policy. This must be the starting point of a comprehensive policy framework for youth crime prevention. We need an integrated approach that incorporates measures in areas such as employment and industry policy, urban planning and the environment, education, transport, housing, child care, and child, family and youth support services. Much of what is done in these areas has a crime prevention impact, but the various activities are not drawn together in a coherent program.

In the 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 recent times, "law and order" policies have been overtaken in the UK by more constructive approaches. Through the efforts of the Home Office, and organisations such as 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 (Geason & Wilson 1988; King 1987).

A greater emphasis on the social and economic dimensions of crime provides a means to develop pre-emptive crime prevention measures, and minimise the human, social and legal costs of criminal behaviour. The Youth Justice Project was strongly of the view that these measures are more cost-effective and beneficial to the community than "law and order" policies.

There is no simple nor fool-proof solution to juvenile crime. There is no cure. All we can do is seek to minimise it by reducing the opportunities and attractions of offending. Society should not abstain from acting and responding to juvenile crime; but neither should it exaggerate or over-react to it. There is an enormous amount more that the government, and the community, can do, but our responses need to be both restrained and creative. We must be aware of the limited returns of increasing coercion and punishment.

Above all, society's response to juvenile crime must be balanced. At the moment the vast bulk of resources is poured into coercive and punitive measures, and relatively little is spent on targeted community development and support designed for crime prevention purposes. Little will be achieved unless a more comprehensive, considered and coordinated approach is developed.

Criminological debates about juvenile justice systems have been dominated by the so-called "welfare" and "justice" models. The former is said to reflect the early system - which emphasised "needs" over "deeds" and promoted rehabilitation, treatment and informality. The latter is of more recent origins - emphasising the offence rather than the offender, and promoting "due process" and "just deserts". These models are useful guides to conceiving trends in juvenile justice system, but we should not put too much faith in them as the basis for constructing a policy framework (Youth Justice Coalition 1990).

Pratt (1989) has identified a third element emerging, that of "corporatism". He argues that the insufficiencies of both "welfare" and "justice" models have led to a situation where:

emphasis is placed on administrative decision-making rather than due-process or informality;

diversion schemes such as community aid panels and cautioning increasingly complement court procedure for selective groups of young people;

retraining becomes the goal of sentencing;

inter-agency approaches to dealing with problems are developed;

experts in juvenile issues emerge;

there is a bifurcation of classification of young offenders between hard-core criminals and others; and

ultimately the purpose of intervention becomes the implementation of policy rather than responding to individual needs or respecting the rights of individuals.

It would seem from our research that some of these patterns are emerging in NSW.

Clarke (1985) has made an important critique of the "justice" and "welfare" debate. He criticises those who see "law" only as due process, and not as specific prohibition and social process as well.

Kids In Justice puts forward a new approach for youth justice for the 1990s. This acknowledges the limitations of the welfare/justice/corporatism models of juvenile justice. It advocates that the basis for re-appraisal and restructuring of the juvenile justice system must be one of "social justice".

Such an approach is entirely consistent with federal youth policy, as articulated in the Federal Government's *Strategy For Young Australians: The Youth Book 1989-90* (Commonwealth of Australia 1989), and its social justice policy, enunciated in *Towards A Fairer Australia: Social Justice Under Labor* (Commonwealth of Australia 1988).

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;

the opportunity for participation by all in personal development, community life and decision-making (Commonwealth of Australia 1988).

These principles should apply equally in the youth crime prevention arena as any other. Our responses to youth crime "must be part of a broader strategy of social justice for young people" (Youth Crime Coalition 1989). It is worth noting that the Tasmanian summary (*see* pp.43-48) explicitly locates youth crime prevention measures there in a social justice perspective.

Kids In Justice sets out 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. It makes 233 recommendations for reform and restructuring of the NSW juvenile justice system and its findings and suggestions have an application well beyond the borders of NSW.

The Local Level - Gaps, Problems and Possibilities

Notwithstanding the many exciting and important initiatives at local levels, we would be hard pressed to identify one local area in Australia with a comprehensive and sophisticated youth crime prevention policy or program. This reflects not just on local government, but on state and Federal governments as well.

Relevance of local measures

Although there is much about crime that is routinely generalised on a state or national basis, adequate responses must be built around the local dimensions of crime (O'Connor & Callahan 1988). Crime is highly differentiated according to places and people. Studies have shown that poor neighbourhoods are more likely to be sites of crime; areas with high transient populations suffer more than those with quiet, stable ones; areas with greater proportions of young people likewise experience more crime.

Amongst offenders, the patterns of crime are differentiated. Young males have higher offence rates than any other sector of the population. Yet even within this group there is much variation in types and modes of offending, to the extent that it is misleading to lump them together. The victims of crime are likewise very differentiated. Certain groups are more likely to be victims (such as women as victims of domestic violence). Most predatory crime is intra-group. For example, young men are more likely to be the victims of violence than are old people.

The impact of crime is unequally distributed across the community: it is the vulnerable and marginalised who are most likely to be victimised, and upon whom being victimised has the most effect. They are the least able to protect themselves from crime (insurance, security), to isolate themselves from it geographically (moving away) and to ameliorate its damage (fewer financial resources). Moreover, this criminal victimisation tends to compound the other ways in which those people are disadvantaged by other social factors.

Accordingly, the physical, social, economic and demographic characteristics of a local area will largely determine the nature and extent of crime, including that by young people. There is a need for responses to crime to be based upon local information - about the types of crime; the types of victims; the services available; the needs and situation of marginalised groups; people's experiences and expectations of law enforcement agencies as citizens, victims and offenders; "trouble spots"; and people's suggestions for improving the physical and social environment. Much of this information is in the hands of, or readily accessible to, local authorities and should be gathered as the effectiveness of particular youth crime prevention measures depends on these local factors being taken into account.

One of the problems with existing crime control and prevention measures is that the community has little power over their development, planning and implementation whereas if local councils take a leading role the community has much greater potential for effective public participation and accountability. Close cooperation with the major "interest" groups in the community will be necessary as will special measures to involve otherwise powerless groups such as children, the aged, disabled, pensioners, as well as the usually vocal and influential business groups, police and local organisations. The implementation of recommendations from the local community are much more likely to be successful than those imposed from above from federal or state levels.

Roles for Local Government

As stated above, local government is ideally placed to play a substantial role in youth crime prevention. Local authorities are often at the receiving end of juvenile crimes, such as vandalism and graffiti. The Australian Institute of Criminology have arrived at a guesstimate of the direct cost of vandalism to local councils in Australia of around \$4m annually (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990).

Local councils have traditionally not been involved in any significant or express way in the crime prevention field. Crime, its control and prevention, have been seen as the sphere of the state governments.

However, there is a change in attitude taking place. In March 1988, the NSW Local Government and Shires Association (LGSA) conducted a Community Conduct seminar, focusing on the issue of crime control and prevention. The seminar made a number of resolutions, including the need to "broaden local strategies" to prevent crime, particularly enhanced community development approaches by local authorities. Participants requested the LGSA to provide information on police/community consultative committees, develop a handbook on crime prevention strategies, seek resources for research into the impact of crime in local areas, and to seek resources for councils' involvement in community development strategies to prevent crime.

Local authorities play a crucial role through their statutory responsibilities in urban planning processes. However, the crime prevention dimension of this is very under-developed. On occasions, local police may be consulted about development proposals, but this is ad hoc. The "social impact" of development is not yet routinely incorporated in crime and its prevention; and situational measures - lighting, security, supervision, fencing and materials - are not yet routinely incorporated in planning instruments or assessments.

Councils could play a central youth crime prevention role by a more systematic and sophisticated consideration of the crime-related impact of developments, be they commercial (the location and operation of cinemas and hotels), residential (density levels) or whatever (lighting, enclosures, materials). There is much scope for the knowledge and experience of those who work in the criminal justice field to be called upon in the urban planning process, both in decision-making and in guidelines and education for local architects, planners and builders. The Waverley/Fairfield Project is exploring ways of achieving these ends.

Many councils play an advocacy role in relation to youth crime and justice. Unfortunately, this has too frequently been of a punitive nature. In NSW, many rural councils actively campaign and lobby state governments for more police, harsher penalties and tougher corrections for young offenders. The use of public space is a key issue. *Kids In Justice* details a number of instances where councils have been involved in efforts to exclude young people from areas of public space such as shopping areas and parks. Instead, we need to encourage councils to be an advocate on behalf of young people.

Local councils are in a unique position to be able to draw together existing efforts and provide the impetus for new initiatives in a coordinated fashion. They deliver a range of services, and have established contacts with other government and non-government agencies that operate in a locality. One of the most telling results of the Youth Justice Project was the identification of the serious deficiencies in coordination amongst the government agencies, and between them and non-government agencies, in the juvenile justice system in NSW. This is where we must consider the intersection of Federal, state and local government efforts.

Kids In Justice found that in some areas the personnel in different agencies have established good contact and liaison on a regular basis, but that this appears to be the exception rather than the rule (Youth Justice Coalition 1990, pp.88-89).

The report outlines some of the precedents in other jurisdictions, and in other program areas. One example comes from the recent reforms to law and practice in New Zealand. Under the *Children, Young Persons, and their Families Act*, a new statutory official, known as the Youth Justice Coordinator is created (*see* Denny for details).

In many areas of Britain, multi-agency mechanisms to deal with young offenders are now common. Locally-based Youth Bureaux, comprising police and social workers, now play a primary role at the "front" of the juvenile justice system. The Bureaux both divert young people from court and organise appropriate services (Thorpe 1986).

One possibility would be the creation of local Youth Justice Planning Committees. A precedent for this exists in NSW with the Area Child Protection Committees. As the Community Welfare Advisory Council reported in *Welfare: A Joint Venture* (1989), these committees have proven a successful means of coordinating a variety of departments in attempting to assist a specific client group in particular areas. Likewise, in relation to community services in NSW, there is a major move under way to establish formal structures at a local level to plan and fund local community services which will give local government authorities a key role in this regard. *Kids In Justice* concludes that "consideration needs to be given to the applicability of this model for the planning and delivery of services in the juvenile justice arena".

Constraints

One of the critical problems facing local initiatives is the inadequate data about the precise dimensions of crime, experiences and fear of crime, and the outcomes of crime prevention measures. A key aspect of the Waverley/Fairfield Community Crime Prevention Project has been an attempt to gather this information to give an accurate picture to politicians, bureaucrats and the public as without it informed decisions cannot be made. The

collection of this data has taken three times as long as originally planned and proven more difficult (Ward 1990). Existing criminal justice data collections are not geared to provide an accurate and accessible local crime profile.

Another major obstacle is an attitudinal one. Many councils are reluctant to embrace a role in the provision of community services let alone crime prevention. The old maxim that councils should restrict themselves to "rates, roads and rubbish" holds great sway, especially in rural areas.

The resource issue remains the greatest barrier to local government involvement in youth crime prevention. With limited local revenue sources, mooted restrictions (in NSW at least) on the ability to extract "community service" contributions from developers, and the recent round of severely restricted Grants Commission funds, many authorities are looking at cost-cutting measures, amongst which community services are a primary target. Without specific Federal or state funding programs, along the lines of the French Bonnemaison or the Victorian Good Neighbourhood Program, youth crime prevention efforts at local levels will continue to be an ad hoc affair.

Conclusion

There is scope for a more constructive and integrated role for local government in the youth crime and justice arena. To achieve this aim it would be essential to:

develop and implement local crime prevention strategies to strengthen the role of community-based programs for diversion, supervision or control;

develop constructive community participation in policy and decision making in relation to youth crime and justice at the local level; and

develop joint Federal/state/local funding programs.

The State Level - resources, results and reforms: as far as the NSW "system" was concerned, *Kids In Justice* found that:

there was an almost total absence of coordination of government and non-government activities in the youth justice arena;

the legislation contained serious gaps and anomalies, failed to protect the rights of young people and their families or inadequately regulated key parts of the youth justice process;

neither the "system" nor individual programs could indicate how well they were performing because of inadequate data and evaluation mechanisms;

there was an imbalance in the resources being expended on institutions compared to community-based correctional programs, and on law enforcement compared to community development programs and projects;

there were only two expressly community crime prevention projects under way in NSW - the Youth and the Law Project at Campbelltown, and the Waverley/Fairfield Project;

the mechanisms for client and community participation, expert advice, information programs, independent research, and administrative and judicial review were badly undeveloped;

insufficient attention had been paid to the development of standards, and only lip-service paid to UN instruments such as the *Beijing Rules*, the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child*, and the (draft) *Rules for the Protection of Juvenile Deprived of their Liberty*;

Resources: the extraordinary thing about youth justice systems is that they are rarely called to account for their actions or performance. How well is the NSW system working? Does it provide justice? Does it prevent or actually manufacture juvenile crime? Is the public getting value for money? Are the decision-makers accountable? Basic questions the public has a right to ask and to have answered.

The Youth Justice Project, for the first time, came up with a figure for what it is costing NSW to run the juvenile justice system. Utilising NSW *Budget Papers*, and the figures derived by the Australian Institute of Criminology (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990), a "guesstimate" was derived of the direct and indirect costs of juvenile crime, plus juvenile justice, as well as a figure for what the community pays for each young offender in NSW.

This is an industry that costs in the order of \$600 million a year in NSW alone. The juvenile justice system costs over \$200 million a year - almost as much as the direct costs of juvenile crime of \$250 million - in addition to the \$150 million in indirect costs such as insurance, private security measures and the like. For the 13,500 or so young people formally dealt with by police or courts, that represents around \$45,000 on average (this does not take into account those responsible for damage but not apprehended).

This is probably a gross underestimate of total expenditure, as it does not include the expenditure of the many government or non-government agencies with a minor or peripheral role in the juvenile justice system, and it does not include the expenditure on programs with an indirect youth crime prevention role. Furthermore, it does not include the costs of the crime and responses to it of young adults - those over 18 dealt with in the adult criminal justice system. Adding those costs would probably increase the figures many times over.

This is not to say that the current juvenile justice system should be abolished, but it does need a major overhaul and a massive shift in priorities and resources devoted to juvenile crime could be used in more productive ways.

Results: this question cannot be answered adequately as the information does not exist. Notwithstanding the public interest in the prevention of juvenile crime, very little is

done to analyse the nature and determine the effectiveness of interventions with young offenders. *Kids In Justice* documents that outcome indicators and evaluation measures are badly underdeveloped in the NSW juvenile justice system and there has not been any attempt at a comprehensive or sophisticated level to undertake cost benefit analyses of juvenile justice programs. The resources, processes and mechanisms for such an evaluation are not in place. Yet decisions are made regularly to expend massive, and increasing, sums on, for example, institutions and policing levels.

We cannot say with any accuracy just how well or badly the system is working. Indeed, there is evidence in the report that it is creating juvenile crime. The project has concluded, as far as anyone can tell, that the system is not cost-effective, the public is not getting value for money out of regulation in this "industry". Vast funds are expended without due regard to returns.

The work on costs and evaluations of youth crime (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1990) will be crucial in the endeavour to establish what we are doing and with what results. That this report could not go as far as we might have liked is indicative of the undeveloped state of data and evaluation measures in Australia.

There are a number of key issues in relation to cost effectiveness of juvenile justice programs. The first concerns the relative effectiveness of community crime prevention programs, as against the processing and punishment of young offenders. The second concerns contrasts between different forms of punishment, in particular between institutions and community-based programs. The third issue is that, before the effectiveness of a program can be evaluated, the measures of effectiveness must be determined. The usual one is that of recidivism, which indicates the likelihood of re-offending of a particular offender, but this is a very crude measure. Other more useful measures include the skill, qualifications, educational and personal attainments of the young person during the course of the program, the quality of relationships between the young offender and their families or others significant in their lives, and the relative incidence of take-up in accommodation, education and employment once the sanction is finished.

Reforms: as indicated earlier, *Kids In Justice* has made some 233 recommendations. Most of these are addressed to the state government and its agencies. Some key proposals relevant to youth crime prevention draw upon precedents in other states and countries.

First, mechanisms for coordination need to be put in place at state level, including a Cabinet sub-committee on juvenile justice and crime prevention and an expert advisory council (along the lines of the West Australian Ministerial Council and Advisory Committee), and an office of juvenile justice and crime prevention in the Premier's Department (rather than in the Police or Attorney-Generals Department as the Office of Crime Prevention is in WA and SA). Such an office would play a key role in relation to evaluation, information and standards. The Cabinet sub-committee on juvenile justice and crime prevention would comprise the Premier, the Attorney-General, and the Ministers for FACS, Police, Local Government, School Education and Youth Affairs, and Industrial Relations and Further Education.

Second, a \$5 million local community crime prevention program is recommended, to be administered by the office of juvenile justice and crime prevention. The program would

make funds available for local initiatives along similar lines to the Victorian Good Neighbourhood Program.

Third, each of the main agencies, along with an expanded Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, should significantly upgrade their data collection, research, and evaluation capabilities in relation to youth crime and responses to it.

Fourth, the Inter-Departmental Committee on Youth Affairs should be given a special reference on the social and economic dimensions of juvenile crime, and particularly the needs of young offenders for specially designed and targeted training, employment and education programs.

Finally, the proposed juvenile justice advisory council should conduct a review of the desirability of, and appropriate models for, local coordination of access agencies involved in the juvenile justice system.

The Federal role - a national approach: this forum does not have available a summary of the youth crime prevention measures of the Federal Government which already plays an important role. It has a substantial, albeit largely unacknowledged and indirect, stake in juvenile justice. The Federal Government expends considerable resources in legal aid funds, research and data collection, investigation, prosecution and punishment of Commonwealth offences, repairs to damaged Commonwealth property, general grants to the states, tied grants for accommodation, health and other such services, and human rights promotion and monitoring. *Kids In Justice* identifies such bodies as:

Department of Community Services and Health: provides funds under the Children In Institutions Program;

Department of Attorney-General and Justice: provides funds for Legal Aid in cost-sharing arrangements with the NSW Government and for Family Mediation Counselling services, and is responsible for the oversighting of implementation of United Nations instruments that Australia has adopted;

Office of Local Government: provides funds for local government and community organisations to run innovative community development programs, such as the crime prevention pilot programs being undertaken by Waverley and Fairfield Councils;

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: takes part in international negotiations on UN instruments relevant to juvenile justice, such as the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child*;

Department of Employment, Education and Training: provides services to unemployed youth through the Commonwealth Employment Services, provides assistance in the labour market and training initiatives through the New Start, Job Start and Jobtrain programs, provides assistance with education through AUSTUDY and ABSTUDY programs, provides a network of Youth Access Centres to enhance access to Commonwealth government programs and services and through the Commonwealth Youth Bureau, and funds research relating to juvenile justice such as that by the Australian Law Reform Commission and by the Australian Institute of Criminology;

Department of Social Security: provides benefits and allowances to young people such as Job Search Allowance, and Special Benefits, as well as benefits and pensions to the families of many young offenders.

Australian Law Reform Commission: conducts law reform inquiries into references from the Attorney-General including its substantial 1981 *Report on Child Welfare*, and its 1988 report *Sentencing Young Offenders*;

Federal Police: investigates offences against the *Commonwealth Crimes Act*, a small number of which are committed by juveniles;

Telecom: expends considerable resources repairing damage to telephones and other equipment, some proportion of which is the result of juvenile crime;

Australian Institute of Criminology: undertakes research in the area of juvenile crime and juvenile justice, organises conferences on crime prevention and other aspects of the criminal and juvenile justice systems, and produces publications about juvenile crime and juvenile justice;

Australian Bureau of Statistics: collects Children's Court data for some jurisdictions including Victoria, Tasmania and Western Australia; and

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission: receives complaints of breaches of human rights under those UN instruments attached as schedules to the Commission's legislation, monitors implementation of race and sex discrimination legislation and undertakes special inquiries into human rights matters such as youth homelessness.

However, there is no specialist Commonwealth legislation dealing with the processing of juvenile offenders under Commonwealth law; nor one minister nor department with overall responsibility. Indeed, the Commonwealth Government has not yet addressed youth crime and justice on a national basis in any concerted fashion and it does not figure as part of the Federal Government's *Strategy For Young Australians: The Youth Book 1989-90* (Commonwealth of Australia 1989).

The work in recent years of the Commonwealth Youth Bureau, the Australian Institute of Criminology, and the Australian Law Reform Commission are signs of increasing interest. It is not as if the Commonwealth is not already involved, its just that youth crime prevention has not had the attention it deserves.

The Australian Law Reform Commission's 1988 *Sentencing Young Offenders* canvasses the possible roles for the Commonwealth in the juvenile justice area. It regards the option of the Commonwealth taking over responsibility as premature, but strongly recommends a much stronger and more substantial role at national level. *Kids In Justice* likewise rejects the option of the Commonwealth taking over responsibility from the states for juvenile justice, for the moment at least.

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 report 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 on-going 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.

The Youth Justice Project puts these ideas in more concrete terms, see recommendations 16, 25, 36 and 37 in particular.

It is pertinent to ask how many reports will have to point out the critical need for a national, comprehensive, coordinated and integrated collection of youth justice statistics. This will be news to no one who has attempted to analyse what is going on in one area or jurisdiction, and to compare with other states and territories. This task must be undertaken by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, in conjunction with state bureaux and relevant departments.

It is time for a national approach to youth crime and its prevention. It is costing the country too much in money and scarce human and economic resources; there is too much inequality and inequity in the treatment of children and young people between areas and jurisdictions; there are international obligations to be fulfilled; and there is much to be learnt for the benefits of the diversity of schemes at state and local levels.

There are plenty of precedents for a federal role as envisaged - the joint arrangements such as the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program and Home and Community Care Programs; the national standards for nursing homes and minimum rules for prisons; tied grants in relation to health and education; and a host of national advisory bodies.

The lack of a central body comparable to the UK Home Office Crime Prevention Unit, the US Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the central body

responsible for implementing the Bonnemaison scheme in France, must be regarded as a factor in the poorly developed nature of youth crime prevention in Australia.

We must consider a timetable and process for a national policy on youth crime prevention and justice in conjunction with the national consultative and coordinating mechanisms proposed in *Kids In Justice*.

The Commonwealth Youth Bureau is well placed to develop and articulate a national policy and structural framework because of its location in relation to education, training and employment, its background in program initiation and coordination, and its increasing knowledge of youth justice issues through commissioned reports and forums.

The Australian Institute of Criminology should develop further the work in the juvenile justice field, so that it can provide analyses of national youth justice data, be a national clearinghouse for youth justice materials, do detailed evaluations of youth crime prevention programs, and assist in the development of national juvenile justice standards and the application of UN instruments.

To conclude, Australia requires a systemic, national approach to youth crime and its prevention incorporating the roles for Federal, state and local governments outlined above, as well as the non-government sector. This framework must be structured around integrated and planned measures. It should encompass the crime preventative functions of all aspects of social policy and programs, as well as ensure targeted crime prevention measures. In particular, a youth crime prevention policy framework should promote local initiatives, it must make provision for federal and state funding, and it needs to incorporate adequate evaluation mechanisms.

Although an ambitious plan, it is starting to happen at national, state and local levels. The "New Federalism" offers an opportunity to achieve fundamental restructuring of how we deal with youth crime. If social justice is to mean anything for those young people at risk or already caught up in the welfare and justice systems, "youth crime prevention" needs to be high on all our agendas.

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Evaluation of Programs for Prevention of Youth Crime

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Talking about evaluation in Australia in the 1990s is comparable to trying to sell suntan oil to Eskimos. Evaluation is not a commodity in high demand, few see any need for it, and almost nobody is going to pay much for it.

One common idea is that evaluation is too expensive. It certainly is true that proper evaluation is costly, so much so that I know of not one single youth service project in Australia that has been thoroughly and adequately evaluated. Ultimately, however, we cannot afford not to evaluate. Without evaluation we are vulnerable to complaints from the public, and from policy makers, that we cannot account for how we have spent public funds, let alone answer the question of whether we have helped young people as a result of our efforts.

Given the present absence of evaluation in Australia, it follows that a first question to be answered is: why should we evaluate? Two reasons can be offered. First, whenever we spend public money, we accept an obligation to account for how those funds have been spent. There is a debt of accountability to answer such questions as: how many individuals were served? what kind of service did they receive? how were they recruited into the program? do the clients fall within the target population specified for the program? what kinds of programs were provided? how many staff were involved? how long were clients involved in the program? where did they go when they left the program? Always, of course, behind these there is the question: how was the money spent?

All of these questions concern the responsibility that exists to carry out accountability assessment when we conduct programs. It should be clear that any program has an obligation to carry out an evaluation. It is irresponsible to take on resources to operate a program and not engage in the routine social bookkeeping that allows us to answer these sorts of questions.

Second, any youth program must be concerned with impact of that program on the lives of young people. Partly this is because of the absolute obligation to assure that, above all else, we are not doing harm.

In the midst of good intentions, we must face the possible consequences of actually worsening the situation of the young persons that we are supposed to be helping. This is not a far-fetched statement. In the very first program that I worked on, we made the empirically sound observation that the school curriculum, aimed as it is toward the interests of those headed for university, does not meet the needs of young people who are low on educational achievement.

We put together a "realistic" program aimed at providing an orientation to the world of work faced by the early school leavers, as well as providing them with some of the rudimentary skills required by that world. While we intended to strike for a widely representative group of such students, the school principal of the high school involved (the school had about 1,500 students) scaled down the program to 20 students, and then selected for our "work orientation" group the 20 greatest misfits and trouble-makers of the school.

Within a few months of the program operation, 12 of the students had withdrawn from school, and 15 had accumulated a delinquency record with the juvenile court. In the space of nine months we had achieved an enviable record of 75 per cent delinquency in our client population. This result was achieved in a program whose major intent was to prevent delinquency.

This small project had violated that important rule, "Above all else, do no harm." Fortunately, there was an evaluation of this program. This assessment permitted us not only to measure the degree of harm we had created, but to address the question of why that harm had been created. A comparable control group did not experience the dramatic deterioration of social records. Further, these comparisons showed that what had taken place was an intensification of stigma and public labelling. Previously, the youngsters had a loose public identity as trouble-makers, but the program had served to crystallise that identity. Now, teachers, other students and the students themselves knew that they were trouble-makers, because that was what assignment to this group meant. The consequence was then the process of "secondary deviance" (described initially by Lemert 1951) whereby both the students and the teachers went through a process of redefinition, which then heightened the deviance experienced by the group.

Going beyond this, there is always the question: "Did the program do any good?" Millions of dollars are spent every year in Australia on youth programs of various kinds, and we are quite unable to provide any answer to this critical question. Youth workers are hired, programs for "homeless youth" are set in motion, youth training programs of various kinds start up. When the funds run out, we cannot with any honesty or integrity answer the question of whether these efforts have helped the clients that have been served. We might think that young people have been helped, we might deceive ourselves into "feeling" that some have benefited, but we are unable to provide a firm foundation of information and data that makes our claims believable.

I do not trust the impressionistic claims that are sometimes advanced by those who serve youth. Long ago I found that there is something operating in the service relationship that might be called "program mystique". In essence, much of youth work

can be analyzed as a complex game in which both client and the provider of service are bound by rules of decency and humaneness to provide for each other impressionistic evidence of their mutual worth, and of the worth of their mutual enterprise (that is, engaging in the process of "getting better"). Subtle interactional cues flow back and forth, one consequence of which the youth worker comes to "know," because that worker now has the interactional "evidence," that the client is being "helped" by the service being given.

Interestingly enough, this was even true in the school program mentioned above that was so disastrous for the students involved. The school people directly involved in the program believed that it was, in fact, a success, because they felt from their interactions with the clients that the students had "gotten better". They argued that the evaluation was "too statistical" and that the real benefits of the program weren't measured.

Policy makers and the public ultimately will remain unconvinced by impressionistic claims that the program "seems to have a beneficial effect". This is an arena in which hard data are needed. If the program is about education, then educational benefits need to be demonstrated. If it is about employment, then outcomes in terms of post-program employment need to be addressed. If it is about delinquency, then the consequences in terms of delinquency should be examined.

Each of these will pose methodological problems. The accurate assessment of outcomes in terms of delinquency, for one example, may require a number of different approaches including self-reports, reports of others (including peers), perhaps victim reporting, and then some analysis of official records. Nonetheless, the claim of program effectiveness will not be believable unless some such data are presented.

In sum, then, two major reasons can be advanced for carrying out evaluation: we have an obligation to account for how the funds granted for the program have been spent; and we owe an obligation to our clients, to the wider public, and to ourselves to establish if our efforts have either helped, or harmed, the clients we are supposed to serve. Other reasons have been suggested for evaluation and these shall be treated later in this discussion.

Given the two rather different focuses of these goals for evaluation, it follows that the procedures are rather different. That part of evaluation concerned with accountability is something that can, and should, be built into any program. It can be thought of as providing for a process of systematic management and accountability.

Accountability Assessment

In essence, accountability assessment can be viewed as a process of social accounting, providing the data for a later social audit of the program (sometimes this form of evaluation is called "process evaluation," *see* Cain & Hollister 1972). Typically, what is required is that all program staff systematically gather information on the questions at issue. Assuming that it is a program which provides services to clients, nearly all such programs will then have an intake process. At intake, a variety of data can be gathered

which permit assessment of the number of clients served, the social backgrounds of those clients, and perhaps how the clients were referred or recruited into the program.

After the intake phase, the clients will be provided with some form of service. Process data then need to be gathered regarding what kinds of services are provided, by which programs, and by which service provider, and then how long and how much of the service is provided. Even within this format, limited outcome data can be gathered concerning where clients go after they leave the program, and some limited evidence of how what happened in the program relates to what clients are doing after they leave.

What makes outcome assessment difficult is not asking these kinds of questions, since in many respects they flow out of common sense, but rather assuring that the required information is systematically collected for all clients. Social service professionals are notoriously opposed to paper work, to numbers, and to the pressures of chasing down each bit of information for each client. In their view, their task is to serve clients, not the information system.

Viewed in this light, the responsibility for accountability is shifted to either administrative or evaluation personnel. Further, given the low commitment to such accountability, and the fact that it is seen as directly interfering with the ability of the worker to serve clients, data are not collected on a systematic basis.

The problem is that if the information is not collected systematically, the data become worthless. The solution to this problem, of course, is to achieve a situation where all staff see accountability as a personal and professional responsibility. While it may not be easy to obtain such a personal commitment to such processes as "management information systems" (MIS in the trade), it is essential if minimal accountability is to be provided. Answering such questions as how many and what kinds of clients were served by what programs should be seen as a program obligation and responsibility by all staff, not just managers and evaluators.

In summary, when all staff, including direct service providers, recognise their obligation to accountability, the task of obtaining an accurate description of the program can be readily achieved through the development of one or another of what have been termed management information systems. Designed with the cooperation and participation of staff, these provide for the systematic collection of data for all clients at the intake phase of the program, during fixed times in the process of service provision of the program, at the exit points of clients from the program, and perhaps some limited follow-up as well.

When such procedures are in place, it then becomes possible for a social audit of the program to be carried out. The program can be assessed in terms of whether its operation was consistent with its stated goals. Did it serve the number of clients it was committed to serve? Were the clients those identified as the target population? Were the services provided of the type originally proposed? Was the length and depth of service consistent with what had been planned. The public and the policy makers have every reason to insist that programs provide accurate answers to these questions. Failure to do so constitutes gross professional irresponsibility.

Impact Assessment

The assessment of the effectiveness of the program, that is, answering the question "does the program help?" is considerably more complicated. While accountability assessment can be written in to almost any program there is no way to avoid the fact that impact assessment is going to cost money.

The need for resources results from the fact that answering the question of the degree of program impact requires some form of comparative base. To assess whether a program works for a group of young people requires that a comparison be made with what would have happened to the youngsters if nothing had been done for them.

What complicates this process is that when we speak of programs for young people we are dealing with a period of exceptional change and transition. There are a number of natural developmental processes that are taking place in adolescence. The young people are learning new ideas and skills (not all of these being viewed as socially desirable), their bodies are changing, they are making major life transitions from family to school to work, and beginning to take those steps that will lead to establishing their own families.

As any reasonably educated person will know, the mechanism that has evolved for "controlling" these natural changes is the development of the classical randomised experiment (for a discussion *see* Jupp 1989; Moursund 1973; Cain & Hollister 1972). If we randomly assign potential clients into two groups, one of which is referred into the program, while the other serves as a control population, then the control group serves to tell us what kinds of changes (many of which are not predictable) would have taken place naturally in the group. Thus, the significant differences that are observed between the experimental and the control group, other things being controlled, are strong candidates for measures of the impact of the program.

This overly simplified model of experimental procedure provides a basic model for building up an approach to impact assessment in youth programs. In its pure form, it poses a number of difficulties in terms of providing an actual model of evaluation of typical programs. It requires a level of control, and implicit commitment to evaluation, that is uncommon, especially in Australia. One of the conditions is the requirement that control be exerted over the decision to assign individuals on a random basis to either the experimental or the program condition. The evaluation staff has to have the power to assure that such assignments are kept pure of the often pressing demands of program staff to provide service to particularly needy clients.

Impact evaluation requires a different timing of evaluation than is commonly found, since by definition the evaluation must be funded for many months prior to the initiation of any program. The model presumes that measurement devices (interview schedules, questionnaires) are developed long before the program begins (in order for there to be both pre- and post-program measurements). The model has as a requirement that evaluation staff are on hand from the beginning in order to participate in such tasks as defining the pool of eligible clients, and then assuring that control is maintained over the assignment of clients to either the program or experimental condition. In the ideal case, the evaluation staff will be maintained long after the program as well, since it is

often the long-range effects of the program that are of real interest to both professional and policy making audiences.

The model presumes the presence of a relatively large evaluation staff in order to deal with the technical details of development: the appropriate measurement instruments; the specific features of the design (including when and how the measurements are to be taken); and providing for the rather complex forms of analysis that are required for such data. In projects of modest to large size, it will be common to find some staff who become project monitors, spending much of their time close to the program, while a centralised research staff assumes the tasks of data reduction, cleaning, retrieval and analysis.

Assignment of evaluation staff who stay close to the program, including assisting in the collection of management information systems data, has been found necessary to assure that attention is paid in the course of impact evaluation to careful description of the program itself. In early conceptions of evaluation, the academically trained researchers were likely to concentrate their attention on measure of the outcomes of the program, because their expertise was likely to be found in dealing with tasks of preparation of data collection instruments, followed by the collection and analysis of data. This can lead to a situation where there are multiple and precise measurements of the various effects of the program, but little information of what produced those effects.

Logically, the questions being answered are: "what are the effects (outcomes) of the given stimulus (program)," or, diagrammatically, "what are the effects of X on Y?" Concentration of effort on the outcome in terms of measurement of the effects on Y leave X unmeasured. Put another way, you may end up with an effect program outcome, but have no idea what it was that produced that effect.

This means that any sound impact evaluation will contain within it a thorough descriptive evaluation as well. While there will be many circumstances where there is descriptive, but not impact, assessment, it will not be possible to have a competent and adequate impact assessment without that evaluation containing a solid descriptive component.

Often the evaluators are caught in a situation where they lack either the control, or the resources, to carry out a full experimental design. In some evaluation scenes this will lead to a variety of modifications which fall within what have been referred to as "quasi-experimental" designs (Cool & Campbell 1979). Sometimes in such designs, a matching procedure is used to obtain a control group with characteristics similar to those going through the program. At times, the pre-program data might be gained either from official records or through the recall of the subjects involved (what are termed "ex-post-facto" designs).

Each of these modifications carries with it a cost in terms of a loss of the power of the evaluation design. Nonetheless, an understanding of these alternatives is probably essential in Australia. Given the scarce resources allocated for evaluation, in those rare cases where the evaluation concerns questions of impact, the evaluator will be forced into a quasi-experimental mode.

Even in the United States, which makes available considerable sums for evaluation, it is rare that a program model can approach the requirements of the pure classic randomised experiment. The evaluation then must accommodate to the specific

requirements of the circumstances of the funding and of the program, to evolve procedures which regain some of the lost power of that design (for recent illustrations, *see* Schneider 1986; Petersilia & Turner 1990; or Baird & Wagner 1990).

Who Should Conduct Evaluation? The traditional response to this is that evaluation has to be done by persons outside the program. Accordingly, a large body of "evaluation professionals" has emerged who provide the expertise necessary for such an external approach to evaluation.

I would argue against this approach. A major responsibility for evaluation must be assumed by the program staff themselves. Only when program staff take on the task of evaluation will accurate descriptive data be forthcoming on the specific details of the program operation. Only if program staff are committed to evaluation will there be a commitment to maintaining control procedures vital for accurate assessment of impact. Without such a commitment, it is not uncommon for program personnel to subvert the control procedures, in order, for example, to assure that especially needful clients receive "treatment".

Ideally, what this will lead to is an evaluation which contains two groups, one of which will be made up of outside assessors who will provide an "objective" view of the program from an "uninvolved", outside, perspective. Given the often clear political character of evaluation (for example, where continued funding depends on "success") there is a role for such outside assessment. The second group will be made up of the actual program staff who conducted the program. The result may be, in fact, two separate reports, which perhaps become reconciled through a process of negotiation.

Other Forms of Evaluation

Most who work in the field of prevention will have had anywhere from some to considerable exposure to discussions of evaluation. Only two of the many forms of evaluation are mentioned here. Running through the vast literature on evaluation are terms such as "formative evaluation", "process evaluation", "implementation evaluation", "progress evaluation", "transactional evaluation", among others. (for a discussion, *see* Isaac & Michael 1982)

Most of such terms refer to a specific aspect of what is here termed "descriptive evaluation". Thus, in the development of a formal accounting scheme describing the program, it is possible to start with a "needs assessment" (which can be considered as a feature of evaluation), which then leads to a "planning" phase which can be examined through a process evaluation, with the program then being implemented (and assessed through implementation evaluation), and as the program moves into its mature phases it can be reviewed (progress evaluation), that review including such aspects as the decision-making of the management (decision-oriented evaluation) or the key program processes and value perspectives of selected staff and clients (transactional evaluation). Some have suggested that at this point a summative evaluation can be carried out to feed back to program management information regarding whether or not program objectives have been obtained.

Each of these might provide useful information as part of an overall social audit of the program. Care should be taken, however, that concern for these processes does not lead attention away from the critical issue of determining the ultimate impact of the program.

To some degree, of course, the elaboration of these terms, and their popularity in the present world of evaluation, indicates a collision in the world view of managers versus researchers. One view sees evaluation as the province of decision-makers concerned with questions of needs, goals, assessment of attainable objectives, systems analysis of inputs-processing-outputs, and analysis of objectives and program process. On the other hand, there are the researchers concerned with hypothesis testing, operational definition of variables, cause and effect relationships, and the determination of the fit of hypotheses, including null hypotheses. (*See, for example, Isaac & Michael 1982.*)

Such a view draws a sharp distinction between research and evaluation that I would not draw. As long as managers, and program staff, are removed from the more technical tasks of evaluation (such as the problems of proper definition of variables, i.e, the key processes and outcomes) there is little chance that adequate evaluation will take place. Instead, we shall continue to have some form of superficial, slick descriptive so-called evaluation which is intended by all parties to provide what a colleague was once asked to provide: a supportive evaluation. At least these managers were honest.

The Costs of Evaluation

How costly is evaluation? The answer to this clearly depends on the form of evaluation required. Descriptive assessment should cost nothing extra, since it should be a required part of any program management. It is irresponsible for program funders to support programs where information is not going to be provided regarding such elementary questions as how many clients were served, what kinds of services were provided, how many staff were involved, and the like.

Impact assessment, on the other hand, is quite expensive. How much has to be spent on evaluation in terms of how much is spent on the program itself? I have seen relatively adequate evaluations provided where the size of the evaluation budget runs in the range of about one-third the size of the program budget. At the same time, for comprehensive and competent evaluation, the costs will run much higher. In order to cover the wide range of issues involved in impact evaluation, the minimum evaluation budget should be in the range of half the size of the program budget, or more ideally there should be a dollar for dollar matching of program and evaluation funds.

In Australia we never see funding at this level. What is considered to be an extravagant evaluation budget runs in the range of 5 per cent of the program allocation, and more commonly the funds are less than 1 per cent or even non-existent. In some cases, there is an attempt to provide program evaluation on a volunteer basis, using the free labour of students who are perhaps working on undergraduate or post-graduate theses.

In such circumstances there is no real commitment to evaluation. Instead, we have the routinisation of ignorance. In this country, I know of no youth program that can defend itself on the basis of its known, proven effects on young people. I know of no youth worker who can establish a convincing case that what they do is not harmful, or that what they do is better than doing nothing.

This routinisation of ignorance carries a heavy price. One, youth workers are vulnerable to the whims of the political climate. Since we are unable to establish that what we do makes any difference, we clearly are unable to assert that what we do is essential. Youth work then becomes a very soft part of the budget, easily cut out when the economic vise tightens.

Two, a climate of anti-intellectualism is allowed to build. As a defence against knowledge, there emerges a justification of the routinisation of ignorance. This then takes the form of attacks on even the need for evaluation. Youth workers, like other social service providers, often "feel" that what they do is good, and come to resent any attempts to reduce such "feelings" to the hard quantities that are required for evaluation.

Three, and most important, the youth clients themselves ultimately must suffer. How can we improve the quality of service if we are unable to take seriously the question: "Am I doing any good?" Equally, of course, how can we assure that we are doing no harm. Without a commitment to systematic evaluation, we are unable to provide that base of knowledge which will permit us to build a growing repertory of program components which work, and to discard those which are ineffective.

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Youth Crime Prevention: A Queensland Model

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The philosophy of the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau is that children have the right to special care by selected and trained police officers who, in association with community agencies, will work with the child and the family to effect change in the juvenile's behaviour.

The objective of the Queensland Juvenile Aid Bureau is to provide a family and social environment where the child is given the opportunity to learn social responsibility.

It is accepted that social responsibility cannot be expected of the child if the child is not receiving primary care. If parental support does not exist, the responsibility then falls to community agencies. Primary care includes the right to shelter, nurture, emotional support and personal development.

First offenders are dealt with by a police caution or warning rather than a court appearance. On occasions, children whose behaviour places them at risk are also interviewed and assisted. Prior to a caution being administered, efforts are made to establish the reasons for the child's offending behaviour and identify any problems that may exist both within the home and at school. Consultation with community agencies is part of this process. If this assessment identifies deficiencies in the areas of shelter, nurture, emotional support, and/or personal development, remedial action is developed in cooperation with the child, the family and appropriate community agencies.

The use of community agencies may be limited by the availability of such resources and the concept of pooling of resources by police and community agencies has assisted the police to provide this service with minimal funding. This strategy has been governed by availability rather than an accepted method, and an effect of this limited resource base has been the forging of close and effective links between police and community agencies. However, the outcome in terms of quality of care for the child has, in many instances, been less than optimum.

Evaluation

In 1984 an evaluation of the work of the Juvenile Aid Bureau over the period 1970-1983 was conducted under the auspices of the Criminology Research Council and the Queensland Police Department. The major findings from the study of recidivism rates over a 10 year period and an internal questionnaire by JAB officers showed a successful system of intervention. The study showed a 15 per cent recidivism rate, though it was accepted the study had limitations in the data.

It was recommended that computer data entry and analysis would assist in identifying these groups with special needs and that more extensive training in Juvenile Aid Bureau work would increase the effectiveness of this intervention.

It was recognised that, with better methods of data collection and higher standards of training, the model could be developed more effectively to work with groups of juveniles who were at risk of recidivism. This was based on JAB early attempts in 1983 to relate later offending with particular characteristics of the children coming to notice. Early findings had shown a relationship between truancy (40 per cent), and assault and behaviour problems (15 per cent) with later offending.

Recent History

Following the Commission of Inquiry conducted by Mr G. Fitzgerald, QC, the Queensland Police Service has become regionalised and significant changes are being implemented. The Service is committed to a focus on community policing, which fits into the basic philosophy of the JAB which was established 20 years ago.

The successful multidisciplinary approach of the JAB has led to the formation in 1989 of an Interdepartmental Committee with responsibility for developing proactive response to school absenteeism. This is leading to an extended effort by police, teachers, social workers and community health doctors to ensure that early intervention is coordinated and more effective in assisting the child and family.

The Ipswich Youth Action Group

This group was established to enable the community and government departments to meet the needs of at risk young people in the Ipswich/West Moreton locality. As part of this service, an off-campus school will be established to cater for truants in the Ipswich West Moreton Area. A diversion program will also be established utilising the facilities of the Department of Family Services Camp at Boonah. This program will seek to enhance the self-esteem of youth and enable them to access other existing programs such as YUPI or TAFE.

The Queensland Police Citizens Youth Welfare Association has recently conducted an evaluation of their work with a view to developing new directions for the 1990s. This evaluation added emphasis to the welfare component of the youth club's charter.

As a result, this organisation has set as its goal "to provide services to those young people contacted on the streets (unattached) in response to their expressed needs." To fulfil this goal these clubs will develop and maintain contact with homeless youth; offer welfare and counselling support; establish working relationships with other district groups working with youth; encourage and train volunteer workers; offer referrals to necessary agencies - legal, medical, educational, welfare etc. according to needs; develop a long-term help program for homeless youth.

Youth patrols are planned for particular times and dates to establish contact with homeless youth in the respective youth club area. These patrols will include liaison with organisations dealing with youth to create a program young people will want to attend. District police will assist by encouraging homeless youth to participate. This program will be a long-term initiative with a commitment to ongoing Queensland Police and Citizens Youth Welfare Association coordination and liaising with local police and other agencies. All facilities, equipment and manpower available to youth clubs will be utilised. Participation will be on a voluntary basis, with no coercion to join the program.

The Future

The Queensland Police Service is in the process of change. The operations of the JAB will change with the system and it becomes essential to put in place measures which extend the present work of the JAB, monitors the future role of specialised police work with children in the community, and addresses needs of children as they are identified. Some examples of these are:

- establishment of a database to enable policing and community strategies to be developed with respect to homeless youth, graffiti offenders, gang members;

- development of strategies to address the high mobility of young offenders;

- address the exploitation of youth, particularly the homeless, socially disadvantaged and ethnic minorities;

- educate youth and the community about the rights of young people, responsible behaviour and the consequences of offending behaviour both for the child and the community;

- assess the effectiveness of panels of community representatives (including young people) in effectively diverting young offenders through referral into voluntary community service and support systems;

- develop comprehensive and modern training systems to enable all police to participate in the JAB model with the community and to provide advanced in-service extension training programs;

implement a research program that carefully measures the effectiveness of the new Queensland Police Service in providing juveniles with special care by selected and training police officers who, in association with community agencies, will work effectively with the child and the family;

measurement of future JAB work with the aid of a state database which monitors regional operations and identifies difficulties and special needs;

evaluate, through program budgeting, the effective outcomes of expenditures of manpower and resources on specific prevention programs compared with other police programs;

initiate a pilot program of funding for juvenile policing in the community, based on predicted numbers of juveniles (1991-1995) within each region and with weighting for juvenile groups with special needs. Population based funding is socially and economically a rational method of ensuring social justice for all children.

The New South Wales Police Service & Youth Crime Prevention

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The New South Wales Police Service is the main crime prevention agency in the state and has approximately 13,000 police officers. The organisation has undergone a radical change in the last five years under the stewardship of the Commissioner, John Avery and is now a value-driven organisation which actively involves itself in the prevention of crime. The New South Wales Police Service is driven by a Statement of Values, forming a framework in which police can work to prevent and reduce youth crime. The Statement of Values states that:

Each member of the New South Wales Police Service acts in a manner which;

places integrity above all;

upholds the rule of law;

preserves individual's rights and freedoms;

seeks to improve quality of life by community involvement in policing;

strives for citizen and police personal satisfaction;

strives to capitalize on the wealth of human resources

husbands public resources - both money and authority;

makes efficient and economical use of public resources; and

ensures that authority is exercised responsibly.

Within the framework of the Statement of Values, police in New South Wales are being encouraged to involve themselves actively in crime prevention programs and the organisation itself is initiating a number of these. The major NSW Police Youth Crime Prevention initiative is the General Duties Youth Officers (GDYOs) Program started in mid-1988 in a south-western NSW country town. It provides a framework for police to analyse, plan, initiate and evaluate how they work with young offenders or young people who are potential offenders. The charter of the General Duties Youth Officers Program states that:

participating police act as protectors of, and advocates for young people;

the officers act to divert young offenders away from the criminal justice system wherever possible;

patrols adopt a multi-agency approach to youth crime prevention; and

participation in the program be dependent on the GDYOs working to a performance-based work contract.

The officers involved in the program have a job-brief which requires that they: analyse what creates police work with young people; develop multi-agency strategies to reduce the involvement of young people in anti-social/criminal behaviour; and advocate on young peoples issues in the police station.

Participating police are put through an initial four-day residential workshop. The workshop covers factors which can contribute to juvenile/youth crime, child abuse, the use of public space, the developmental stages of children and young people, the myths and realities of juvenile and youth crime, and statistics and reported crime trends and strategic planning.

On completion of the initial workshop, police return to their patrols and begin the task of implementing their strategic plans. The GDYOs are brought together twice a year in regional groups to discuss the job and their achievements and failures with their peers. Each officer's strategic plan is reviewed by the group before it is submitted to his/her patrol commander. The strategic plan outlines the following.

The specific policing problems with young people in the patrol. This analysis is done at the local level by talking to, and seeking information from, a variety of sources (police - including the patrol tactician, the intelligence officer and general duties police - young people, youth workers, home school liaison officers and young offender support workers). Once the GDYO has established a picture of what the problem is, the GDYO can, after further consultation, suggest to the patrol commander some strategies to solve the problem.

Strategies to solve the youth policing problems. Police, people in the community and other agencies will suggest a variety of strategies to overcome the problems outlined in the analysis. The GDYO submits to the patrol commander those considered appropriate for police or other agencies to implement. Initially the GDYO will be

involved in implementing these strategies and will include those responsible for implementing the initiatives in the plan.

A time-frame for the implementation and evaluation of the strategies. The officer is required to nominate the number of shifts required to implement the strategies and the date by which each task should be reported upon (including an evaluation).

Evaluation. Each GDYO is required to establish a set of performance indicators at the planning stage which will enable them to measure change resulting from their work. These can be both qualitative and quantitative and measure the officer's performance in terms of his/her effectiveness, efficiency and appropriateness. The strategies are measured not only in terms of inputs and processes but, most importantly, in terms of outcomes. The performance indicators allow the patrol commander to make an informed judgment on the usefulness of the strategies employed in the patrol to prevent and reduce juvenile crime.

The strategic plan forms the basis for a performance-based work contract between the patrol commander and the GDYO. At the end of each nominated time period the GDYO and the patrol commander negotiate a reasonable shift-allocation for the next time period based on the requirements of both parties.

Support structures at the district and regional levels have recently been put in place for the GDYO to ensure they are given the required time and support at the patrol level. GDYOs are given a great deal of professional freedom to solve policing problems with young people in their patrols: they can set their own roster and choose to work in plain clothes or uniform; they come and go as the situation or problem requires; they strive to keep young people out of the criminal justice system.

Key players in crime prevention

The police are the gate-keepers of the system and largely determine who will or will not enter. The GDYOs are having a significant impact on the behaviour and attitudes of police in the participating patrols. By end 1990 there were 120 police patrols involved in the program.

Most of the GDYOs target those young people in the area known to police. They concentrate on establishing constructive relationships with these young people, working on the premise that many of them are in need of protection and assistance which it is impossible to offer to people who do not trust you and see you as the enemy. Once the officer is able to gain the trust of a young person, he/she is then in a position to assist and work with that young person to prevent further offending.

Police in the program have used a variety of techniques to establish contact with young offenders. Often they have only to take an interest in the young person who has come under notice, or approach him/her on the street and engage in conversation (without taking notes), ensuring that the young person is OK, has somewhere to stay, or has transport home. Having established contact, the officer then attempts to be constructive and supportive in the way they relate to the young person. Police are, or should be, the major agents of protection in the community. Young people, and in particular young offenders, do not see police as offering them protection. As many

young people who are involved in offending are simultaneously victims, it is important that police recognise the needs of this group to assist them in seeking help if it is required and/or desired.

Some in the youth sector have difficulty with police adopting these apparently conflicting roles. Indeed, some police have difficulty with being overt about crime prevention.

The brief of the GDYO is youth crime prevention and the importance of police taking an active and overt role in youth crime prevention cannot be overstated. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the GDYO model, apart from the job itself, is the fact that the officers involved are in the business of evaluation. They are required to analyse, plan and establish performance indicators by which they will be judged.

The introduction of beat police in NSW will go a long way to bringing police closer to the community and the beat police are working closely with the GDYOs. It is possible for their roles to overlap and a number of the GDYOs are designated beat police officers as well. Like the GDYOs, the beat police set their own rosters and work according to the needs of their area - a designated geographic patch for which they become responsible. Unlike the beat police, the GDYOs have additional information on and commitment to youth.

The most difficult task for the GDYOs is evaluating what they do. It is important that they be able to show the results of their work. In this particular program we are stressing that the officers establish performance indicators which are realistic and can be attributed to the work that they are engaged in.

Regardless of which formula is used to cost police time, it is an expensive way to keep the peace. This being the case, it is all the more important that the GDYOs cost what they do and are able to show that it is a more cost-effective exercise keeping young people out of the criminal justice system than it is to simply slot them into it. When a patrol commander allocates a police officer to the GDYO program she/he is effectively one officer down on strength to respond to calls for service.

For this reason, and in order to honestly evaluate the performance of the police involved in the GDYO program, we have been working to establish an evaluation process that will prove useful to the managers. We want to establish indicators that measure a program for:

effectiveness, i.e. the degree to which the program objectives are reached;

efficiency, i.e. are they making optimum use of all available resources and

appropriateness of their activities, i.e. the degree to which the program addresses the community/police needs.

The NSW Office of Public Management (OPM) has developed a model known as an Outcomes Hierarchy, which enables program evaluators and those involved in a program to establish a program logic and follow progress along the hierarchy.

For the overall evaluation of the GDYO program the Outcomes Hierarchy has been used. It is relatively easy to measure change (cause and effect) as a result of

involvement in the program at the lower levels of the model, however on a state-wide basis, at this stage, it is impossible to measure any significant changes. Where it can be measured is at the patrol level with individual police. One initial problem for measuring change at this level was that there was virtually no database kept at patrols on the involvement of young people in anti-social and criminal behaviour. Police have not been discriminating in their record keeping. The GDYOs have had to establish databases in their patrols. Whilst information has been available on a state-wide basis regarding an age breakdown of offenders, very few patrols have made it their business to collect and analyse information on young people as offenders and victims.

By concentrating on particular individuals, groups, locations, offences or combinations of these, GDYOs are able to show change over time due to strategies implemented by them. It is stressed when working with the police involved, the importance of attempting to show the link between the strategies employed and the results claimed.

Aboriginal Young People, Crime and Police

[In NSW] young Aboriginal people are over-represented at all stages in the criminal justice system, increasing with higher levels of intervention . . . Approximately 25% of young people in detention centres at any time are Aboriginal (compared with 1.8% of young people in NSW being Aboriginal). NSW has the highest rate of Aboriginal juveniles in detention of any state or territory in Australia (Youth Justice Coalition 1989 , p.24).

In mid-1989 the NSW Police Minister convened a conference on the over-representation of Aboriginal juveniles in the criminal justice system. The conference came up with a number of recommendations for different government agencies, including police. An important recommendation for police was that there should be a critical examination of the number of police allocated to towns with significant Aboriginal populations. This has resulted in an unusual and innovative response for police.

A NSW community has been chosen, based on its high police/community ratio and its large Aboriginal population (over 50 per cent). The first step was to speak with all sections of the community to ascertain what they felt would happen if police were reduced to reflect more closely the state average. The response was that the number of charges would drop but that this would do nothing to ensure that the real level of crime would decrease, as there is a high incidence of unreported violence in the community. Everyone spoken to nominated unemployment as the root cause of crime in this community.

Having spoken to the community, the decision was made to seek advice from outside the organisation, as police do not have a track record which would inspire this or other black communities to believe that we are serious about working with them to improve their quality of life. An Aboriginal consultant was employed to advise on what employment and enterprise development prospects existed and how to go about pursuing them. The consultant spoke with the Aboriginal community and established people's preferences and skills. They then carried out a feasibility study on the

available physical resources and commercial opportunities, as well as the skills and preferences identified within the community itself.

The result is that the NSW Police Service will sponsor a community enterprise development program as a primary crime prevention strategy. The aim is to establish a number of small viable businesses that will be self-sustaining within a short period of time. After an initial financial outlay from the government (managed locally with support from the consultants for the first 12 months and supported by them for the next five years), the business will pay for themselves, crime will reduce because people will be employed and we can happily withdraw police and adjust the ratio of police to more realistically reflect the state average.

The enterprises that are in the process of being established include: emu farming; market gardening; saltbush seeds; rabbit pelts; tourism; clothing and soft furnishings; and Aboriginal arts and crafts. The establishment of the enterprises will not be difficult and in some cases can be started almost immediately with little financial outlay.

It is an investment which, if successful, will repay the community and the government handsomely. The majority of people who are committing criminal offences in the community are under the age of 24 years with most of them being under 20. Unless there is sufficient employment for the youth of this community to look forward to, and for the adults to be gainfully employed in, the crime rate and violence will remain unchanged and most probably increase.

Crime prevention workshops

One of the mechanisms used by police in NSW to prevent youth crime and establish constructive relationships with young people is a Crime Prevention Workshop (CPW). These two to three day forums involve school students, police, teachers and students, and members of the community. The CPW involves up to 200 students, 10 police, 10 teachers, youth workers and other representatives of the community sector. Police do an analysis of what types of offences young people are coming under notice for in the area and construct activities around those offence categories.

The CPWs cover the following areas:

a definition of juvenile crime;

how and why young people become involved in anti-social/criminal behaviour (as told by the young people);

discussion on the connection between alcohol and crime;

policing: what the job involves (as told by the police and responded to by the young people);

your rights (this includes options available to police in deciding how to proceed);

role reversals where students take on the role of police and vice versa;

your responsibilities;

the consequences of crime (how it affects the different players);

strategies to avoid becoming involved in crime;

how to say no!;

information market on resources available in the community; and

the formation of an ongoing structure for police/youth consultation.

The CPWs require a commitment from the local police commander to provide 10 police for three days, and from the local school principal to provide 10 teachers for three days. They have received strong endorsement from all involved and have to date been conducted in over 20 schools throughout metropolitan and country New South Wales. In the session where young people explain from their perspective why they become involved in anti-social/criminal behaviour they constantly trace the reasons back to the adults they live with and the lifestyles lived by the adults in their homes. Young people often prefer to get out of the domestic environment rather than have to put up with the aggro from parents or adults living in an unhappy relationship.

Many police, initially sceptical about the worth of spending three days sitting down and talking to young people, quickly turn to strong supporters once they have had the opportunity of listening to the young people talk about their experiences of police and other adults in their lives. While many of the young people who regularly come under police notice do not attend school or only attend infrequently, turn up for the duration of the CPWs when they are held in their neighbourhood. This group has perhaps the biggest impact on the police present as they press home to the officers just how important the right approach by police is when communicating with this group. As has been repeatedly stated by those young offenders present at the CPWs, when police are aggressive with them, they respond accordingly.

One of the most important factors of the CPWs is that they break down some of the tired old barriers that exist between police and young people, police and youth workers and between police and young offenders in particular.

The final session of the CPWs is perhaps the most important because it involves up to 20 young people being nominated by their peers to meet on a regular basis with police to discuss issues of concern to both groups. This group then nominates two or three of their number to sit on the Local Police Community Consultative Committee thereby, at least in theory, allowing them to have an input into the way their community is policed.

The New South Wales Police Service (draft) Youth Policy

The proposed policy will act as an overall policy statement to guide police in their dealings with young people. The draft policy reads:

The development, adoption and implementation of organisational policy as it effects young people (juveniles under 18 years) shall be guided by the United Nations standard minimum rules for the administration of juvenile justice, otherwise known as the *Beijing Rules*. Particular attention shall be paid to Part One, 1-9 and Part Two, 10-12 (specialisation will be considered in the light of patrol autonomy and the development of the "specialist/generalist" police officer such as the general duties beat officer/youth, acknowledging the special role of the Federation of Police Citizens Youth Clubs, the Child Mistreatment Unit, Police Prosecutors attached to Children's Courts and others).

The Statement of Values of the New South Wales Police Service, spelled out at the beginning of this chapter, acts as the framework in which police work with young people.

Working within the framework of the Statement of Values and the *Beijing Rules*, police, when working with youth, will be guided by the following principles.

Any police action will have due regard to the interests of the victim/s of the offence and the wider community.

Police will be identified by young people as agents of protection and advocates of young people's issues, in particular the needs and rights of young people as both victims and offenders and their access to the use of public space.

Unless the public interest requires otherwise, criminal proceedings should not be instituted against a child or young person if there is an alternative means of dealing with the matter.

Police recognise that attention must be given to the full mobilisation of all possible resources, including the family, community agencies and government agencies such as the Departments of Health, Education, Family and Community Services, Housing and the Police Service with a view to reducing the need for intervention under the law, and to effectively, fairly and humanely dealing with the juvenile in conflict with the law and/or the community.

When proceedings against children and young people are initiated by police they should involve the child or young person's family group where appropriate.

A child or young person's age is a mitigating factor when deciding how to proceed.

Police have a full appreciation of the consequences of their actions when deciding how to proceed with young offenders.

Police will minimise intervention under the law, in the lives of young people and make maximum use of diversionary mechanisms and minimum use of arrest and charge. The patrol commander has a special role to play in this regard.

The needs and rights of young people to use public space will be respected by police.

Police will be sensitive to the special needs of young people in different cultural and/or minority groups in the wider community.

In addition to their present accountabilities police are accountable to the community and in particular to the clients of the Service for their actions.

Police will routinely consult with young people and in particular those young people who are clients of the juvenile justice system, to monitor and evaluate approaches to policing youth.

Police recognise that young people require particular care and assistance with regard to their social development and require legal protection in conditions of peace, freedom, dignity and security.

These principles have come about after considering the suggestions and views of people in the NSW Police Service, *Kids in Justice* (Youth Justice Coalition 1990) recommendations (police), the *Beijing Rules* and the guiding principles built into the legislation dealing with juvenile justice issues in New Zealand.

The draft policy includes demographic and other information on the structure of the NSW Police Service, as well as information on programs already in place which impact upon young people.

The four main pieces of legislation dealing specifically with young offenders in NSW. are: *The Children (Criminal Proceedings) Act 1987*; *The Children (Community Service Orders) Act 1987*; *The Children (Detention Centres) Act 1987*; and *The Children's Court Act 1987*.

The Children (Care and Protection) Act also gives police and other officers power to act in the interests of children as victims. In addition to the above, children and young people come under police notice as a result of police enforcing other laws, including the *Summary Offences Act*, laws dealing with the use and abuse of alcohol/drugs, traffic laws and so on.

The New South Wales Police Service Bill 1990, outlines issues dealing with the management of police and the provision of Police Service to the community of New South Wales.

Within the NSW Police Service there are a variety of approaches to policing young people, all of which fit within the framework of the Statement of Values and the policy principles.

The Protective Behaviours Program in NSW was established by the NSW Police Service and whilst it is now community-based and administered by the Child Protection Council, it receives strong support from the organisation.

The policy, when adopted, will act to focus police attention on the needs of young people and assist them when they are deciding how to proceed.

In addition to the policy, the NSW Police Service is in the process of establishing a state-wide advisory body on policing youth. This will act as a consumer's voice on matters of policy and practice regarding police and youth. It will consist of people from the non-government sector who have a genuine interest in the needs of young people and a track record in advocating on their behalf. It will have a significant positive influence on the policing of young people in NSW and ensure that our efforts are directed to preventing their becoming involved in crime. The advisory body will have as part of its brief the task of providing advice to the Minister on request for funding for community groups.

NSW is at present undergoing a close examination of its juvenile justice system. This has been helped by a comprehensive examination of the juvenile justice system by a group known as the Youth Justice Coalition (YJC). The YJC commissioned a 12-

month study into the issue of juvenile justice and has come up with over 230 recommendations for the government to consider. Added to this is the All-Party Standing Committee on Social Issues which is presently reviewing the state's juvenile justice system.

The NSW Police Service is serious about youth crime prevention. It is a difficult and long process to convince management at the patrol level that preventing crime is more effective than responding to it. The philosophy of community policing is as much about crime prevention as it is about anything else. Community policing is what the NSW Police Service is all about.

Community Based Corrections A Social Problem Approach

Viktor Urjadko, Regional Manager
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The community expects the state to take responsibility for crime prevention programs. However, communities wanting to make their neighbourhood a safer place have two approaches available to them: **control strategies** (opportunity reduction programs and victimisation prevention programs) and "root causes" or the **social problem approach** (Rosenbaum 1988).

Control strategies evaluate the risk of crime and initiate some action to reduce opportunities and increase the risk of detection and apprehension. The neighbourhood becomes the eyes and ears of the police, and citizens lessen their vulnerability through the use of physical controls with the police to support these initiatives. One control strategy approach is Neighbourhood Watch which educates neighbourhoods in three areas of crime prevention behaviour.

Personal protection behaviour or victimisation prevention (reducing risk by not placing yourself in an area where the risks are high); managing risk (travelling in a car rather than walking late at night); and making sure your possessions are adequately insured.

Household protection behaviours or target hardening (protecting your property by making it less enticing for criminals to gain rewards by engraving your belongings and enlisting security firms to give advice on how to best protect possessions).

Neighbourhood protection behaviours or opportunity reduction (having neighbours act as the eyes and ears of police to inform police of any suspicious happenings).

These types of programs are based on the belief that everybody has a choice, and that criminals will weigh up the risks associated with their targets before deciding whether there is a possibility of apprehension or not. The greater the risk, the less likelihood that a crime will be committed. In this strategy the concern shown by the community is not directed towards the causes of crime but towards its control - a major

weakness with this type of crime prevention program. If the risks are high in one area the criminal simply goes to another with lower risks.

The second strategy, the social problems approach, tries to address the causes of crime. It views an individual's behaviour as a product of family, peer and neighbourhood influences. Hence a model has been developed in which communities attempt to address a variety of social problems or "root causes" of crime. This approach has tended to focus on "youth activities" with particular attention being given to removing employment barriers, providing youth with skills and opportunities aimed at improving competence, self-respect and the likelihood of self-sufficiency. Programs are usually orientated towards employment, recreation, education and counselling.

To be successful these community programs must be directed towards specific crimes or problems and need to limit their target area.

A social problems approach will take up more of a community's resources than a "opportunity reduction" approach. To maximise effect and gain best use of limited resources, support and commitment from local government, businesses and members of the local community is needed. This of course is best done by limiting programs to a local area so people have a sense of ownership and belonging through access to local resources such as those controlled by local and state governments.

One criticism of the crime prevention approaches described is that strategies designed to control and assist a relatively small number of offenders do not have a significant effect on neighbourhood safety.

Yet community orientated crime prevention for those involved means they are working with the good guys and not just against the bad guys. This leads to greater community cohesion and this in itself is a control.

The Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system's crime prevention ability is limited. The court system maintains the sentencing principles of retribution, deterrence, reparation and rehabilitation. These principles are credited as fulfilling a crime prevention function.

Imprisonment is the ultimate deterrent for offenders, however the costs of this option is ever-increasing and stands now in the vicinity of \$50,000 per annum per criminal.

Increased incarceration result in more money spent on prisons, the deterioration of public confidence in corrections as prisons are over crowded and there is still crime in the streets because imprisonment has little deterrent effect.

Contemporary correctional history has been a progression of fads. The 1960s saw rehabilitation, the 1970s had a "nothing works" philosophy and later moved to one of deterrence and human containment. The early 1980s were about the loss of liberty, and the early 1990s philosophy incorporates all the above (King 1990).

1990 correctional thinking is shaped by soul-searching, corporate management and technological developments. Much time is spent justifying what we are doing and asking if the services we provide could be more effectively and efficiently provided by somebody else (King 1990). Technology has introduced a new wave of intermediate

sanctions (electronic monitoring) which have been marketed on the basis of their high level of surveillance. These developments effect only a small number of offenders and the drawback of intermediate sanctions is that they continue to focus exclusively on the offender and their behaviour, and ignore the problems which exist within communities and contribute to the causes of offending. These correctional programs take a closed view of correctional interventions which continue to be aimed at controlling the offender.

The high cost of incarceration is a compelling reason for the use of Community Based Orders, but has the potential for overcrowding to occur within community corrections thus creating increased risks to the community as offenders are unsuccessful in completing their orders due to re-conviction or technical violations.

Community Based Corrections

There are two popular philosophies in community-based correctional management: Risk Control (O'Leary & Clear 1984); and Risk Reduction (Cochrane 1989).

Risk Control emphasises the role of surveillance. Offenders are reminded that, should they do something wrong, they will be detected. It is directed towards an incident rather than addressing the underlying problem.

Risk reduction programs involve the development of social policy. Correctional administrators advocate, on behalf of offender population, for equity of access to community services and opportunities for rehabilitation. Without rehabilitation programs community corrections can only delay the inevitable; that the offender will go to gaol.

Community-based correctional programs within Australia tend towards an increased use of risk-control strategies, making use of intermediate sanctions such as intensive supervision, house arrest and electronic monitoring. These intermediate sanctions appear to be embracing the tactics that police administrators are currently rejecting (Byrne 1989) They continue to generate the image that the task of community-based corrections is punishment and control.

The police have moved towards a problem orientated style of interaction with offenders and communities, resulting in an improvement in the community's attitudes towards police. This approach demonstrates a significant reform because it suggests a strategy for improving relationships between the community and other areas of the criminal justice system. Police have educated the public about individual crime prevention measures, assisted community organisations to help mobilise residents in the fight against crime, have developed a cooperative partnership with citizens and have become community-based and community focused, thus developing a true partnership between government and local residents.

Community Based Corrections has the opportunity to follow the lead of the police and develop the community's understanding of its responsibilities and its role in crime prevention thus emphasising the community's role in a pro-active approach to crime. This may be seen by some as being tangential to what might be called "real" Office of

Corrections work, but this can be overcome by broadening the definition of legitimate Community Based Corrections work.

An outline of six initiatives which have been developed as a result of Community Based Corrections involvement with the community are outlined below.

One Victorian Experience

The Community Based Corrections Region in Victoria for which I am responsible has taken a unique approach to its role within the community based on involving one community group to take a role in community crime prevention. Without forsaking responsibilities for "risk control" and "risk reduction" we have, through our involvement with the local community, been able to provide insights to that community about its offenders, offer assistance and support to crime prevention initiatives and be accepted as a community resource which can assist the community in its crime prevention initiatives.

Bonnemaison

In 1988, as part of the buildup to the state elections in Victoria, the Government announced the BLAST Program (Building a Law Abiding Society Together). The BLAST Program proposed the development of a Bonnemaison type of program which was called the Good Neighbourhood Program. (*See Sutton's chapter, p.65 for details of the Bonnemaison Program.*)

One program took young gang members who harassed and assaulted train travellers and paid them a salary to attend drama workshops. The workshop produced a video in which the youths portrayed their lives on the Metro. This program directly reduced the likelihood of these young people continuing the activity which brought them to the attention of authorities.

Croydon Good Neighbourhood Program

The Good Neighbourhood Program is different from the French program in that it makes money available for proposals which will assist not only the identified offenders but prevent young people from getting into a position where they might offend.

This is possibly the first time money for crime prevention programs was made available directly to local community groups rather than to an acknowledged law enforcement agency.

In brief, 15 councils across the Melbourne Metropolitan and Victorian country areas were approached by the state government with a \$10,000 seeding grant to be used to initiate a Good Neighbourhood Committee. In addition, up to \$40,000 could be accessed via submission and an additional \$20,000 could be gained from the government on a dollar for dollar basis with money raised by the community.

The City of Croydon was one of the first to take up the invitation. They approached a number of existing government bodies in the area and interested community representatives, inviting them to become involved in their committee.

As part of my role as Regional Manager, I suggested to Council that I and one member of staff who had worked with offenders in that municipality would be interested in being part of the committee.

The committee consisted of 20 personnel from diverse backgrounds including academics, professionals, retired people, youth workers, police and students. Initially there was a lot of questioning as to the reasons/causes of criminal behaviour but from this the committee developed seven initiatives a combination of control strategies and social problem approaches.

Student Information Officers

A headmaster on the committee explained the difficulty in getting information about activities to young people and parents although schools have traditionally had newsletters sent home. Youth workers had discovered that student-to-student word of mouth achieved excellent results in conveying information about activities.

The Student Information Officer became a paid position. Students nominated by their school are paid \$20 per month to take on the active role of disseminating information to other students about activities occurring within the community. The Student Information Officers attend training programs and regular meetings at the Council which provides information on activities and events within the City of Croydon.

The Bus

The shuttle-bus program identified the need for a better transportation system within the local community. Young people who attended activities in the area would find themselves walking long distances late at night because of the lack of after-hours bus services. This problem was conveyed to us by the police and youth workers. Making use of a City of Croydon bus, the youth workers made themselves available to take young people home following Council-run activities at the local hall. The Committee gained support from a local church group who offered to provide a bus and drivers for this service.

Approaches made to commercial companies to run such a service met with a great deal of hesitation and concern for the safety of their drivers yet, given the response to date from young people, this bus could be commercially viable.

An interesting aside is the safety aspect of the bus proposal. While having initially been established to counteract the poor after-hours public transport services, it has become a safety bus for many young people who would otherwise be at risk either of offending or of being offended against.

Garage Bands

Garage bands, and the encouragement of garage bands, began in Liverpool, England, in the early 60s. Liverpool Council supported garage bands as a means of addressing the high level of youth offending.

Within Croydon many young people expressed an interest in being part of a band or associated with a band. They wanted a facility in which to practice without the constant constraints of family and neighbourhood.

This proposal gained financial support from Rage Without Alcohol and the QUIT campaign. Though money was available through the Good Neighbourhood Program, these two groups provided additional funding to acquire a facility and to purchase equipment. In addition, professional rock bands came into the area to provide training days for potential musicians.

A monastery donated an unused squash court in a sparsely populated area and the Office of Corrections, as part of its community work program, had offenders rebuild the court into a viable practice studio. Offenders have since been involved in building roads to the studio which is in a remote part of the monastery property.

Discount Cinema Tickets

While a number of the cinemas in Melbourne offer discount admissions on Tuesday nights and student concessions at most other screenings, it is still a very costly exercise for young people to attend the cinema. The Committee looked into subsidising cinema tickets and making these discounted tickets available to students, unemployed young people and those receiving Social Security payments.

An approach was made to the owner of the local cinema, whose response was quite encouraging. He was not only prepared to pilot the program of discounted tickets, which would initially be subsidised by the Good Neighbourhood Program, but was prepared to continue the program without financial backing.

All tickets, including the existing discounted tickets, would be subsidised a further \$1.50 on the presentation of a discount voucher and proof of being a student, unemployed or receiving Social Security payments. These vouchers are available at schools, the local CES, and CYSS programs. They are also available to the police and the Office of Corrections for distribution.

The cinema owner has since proposed he subsidise family groups at his cinemas as he feels that the family unit should be encouraged to be involved in activities together.

Challenge

Outward bound programs have existed for quite some time and are popular in the community. The Croydon proposal stems from the belief that young people who come to the attention of police and the courts could be assisted if their level of self-worth and self-esteem was raised.

An outward bound-type program, called Challenge, was held in the Western District of Victoria, conducted over nine days and consisted of trekking, canoing, bike riding, sailing and a community work project. Fifteen young people between the ages of 15 and 24 are invited to participate. Its success means that it will be continued.

Clients of the Office of Corrections, Community Services Victoria and young people identified as at risk by their own families, by the courts and community youth workers enrolled in this adventure.

All equipment including bicycles, canoes, wet weather gear and trekking equipment have been donated. The money set aside for this program is mainly used in employing an experienced Outward Bound instructor to take primary responsibility for the program. Staff of both the Office of Corrections and the City of Croydon also participate in the trek.

No Wine Bar

The Community Corrections Officer responsible for supervising clients in the Croydon area became aware that a high percentage of the younger offenders under her supervision had alcohol problems. For many young people few options for entertainment existed other than in local hotels where peer group pressure demanded young people consume alcohol, irrespective of their age. A "no wine" bar was proposed to provide an environment with all the social draw-cards of a hotel or entertainment facility, but without the presence of alcohol.

The bar does not serve low-percentage alcohol drinks but non-alcoholic cocktails which are visually interesting and pleasing to the palate. To develop a range of non-alcoholic cocktails, a competition was arranged between all Melbourne metropolitan TAFE colleges with hospitality courses. Prize money totalling \$2,000 was given to the young people presenting the best non-alcoholic cocktails.

In conjunction with this competition, a business plan has been developed with the assistance to the Business School of a local TAFE college. This proposal is aimed at developing a self-sufficient commercially viable facility in which the cocktails developed will be available along with food and entertainment.

The garage bands referred to earlier, have the opportunity to use the No Wine Bar for public appearances and "The Bus" will be linked to this facility. As a commercial venture, this proposal is seeking financial support from business groups and the community.

This highly viable entertainment facility which, while created for young people, will be available to the broader community during the remainder of the day.

Safe Train

This proposal has received a great deal of media attention since its inception. This proposal was developed not simply because trains were considered unsafe to travel on, but because many assaults occurred late at night when few people were on the trains or stations. By increasing the numbers of people on trains and platforms, it was felt that the likelihood of offences occurring would decline. To get people on the trains, two policemen are employed to travel the train and entertainment is provided in two carriages: a juke-box in one and a live band in the second.

This program gained support from state ministers, police, rail unions, and private business and the train operates every Saturday evening; it departs from an outer eastern suburb at 6.00 pm and returns from the city around midnight.

While all citizens are encouraged to use the "safe train", and age is not a limitation, people under the age of 13 years are discouraged from travelling without some form of parental supervision. Individuals displaying anti-social behaviour (drunkenness or hooliganism) are not permitted on the train and their behaviour may be reported to their parents by the police.

Conclusion

From an Office of Corrections point of view, involvement in the Good Neighbourhood Program has highlighted our profile in the community, and linked us to positive entrepreneurial approaches to crime prevention.

Involvement has not compromised our role within the criminal justice continuum, rather it has developed the community's knowledge of Corrections and given greater understanding of the role and function of community-based corrections within local communities. Our involvement has given offenders opportunities which may not be available otherwise, and funded programs for which funding would not have been available. The community has gained a sense of power by being able to implement programs directed towards the needs of their community. Community Based Corrections and the community have developed strategies which are pro-active and community orientated rather than re-active and offender orientated.

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Preventive Programs for Young Offenders A South Australian Perspective

Ken Teo

Juvenile justice systems, by their very nature, do not have crime prevention as their primary objective; any links which can be ascribed to programs or systems is usually through retrospective analysis. Nevertheless, in the administration of juvenile justice, in seeking to rehabilitate the young people involved in offending behaviour, it has a significant role and input on crime reduction.

Some of the program responses by the Department for Family and Community Services for young offenders and young people whose lifestyles and circumstances put them at risk are discussed below.

There are no "quick fix" solutions to crime prevention and increasing criminal justice responses alone are futile. Social justice initiatives, special education and employment programs aimed at increasing opportunities for youth accommodation assistance, along with specific projects aimed at reducing opportunities for crime, are now being increasingly emphasised. The significant achievement in the South Australian Juvenile Justice experience has been the success of the diversionary thrust, the emphasis on the use of community interventions wherever possible and sustainable, which has resulted in massive reductions in average occupancy in custodial institutions. It is submitted that, in the context of crime prevention, the impact of this approach on crime reduction in the longer term cannot be underestimated.

Diversion has been a fundamental objective of the juvenile justice system in South Australia. It seeks to ensure that young offenders are given a response without immediate resort to the formal justice system on the assumption that further infiltration into the system would exacerbate the risks of re-offending. The major area of diversion is the operation of the two-panel system, namely screening and juvenile aid panels. Whilst it has been criticised for its net-widening effect, it is generally conceded that any alternative measures are also likely to have similarly unintended consequences.

Annually only about 4 per cent of young people under the age of 18 appear before a court or aid panel. Between 1985 and 1990 some 85 per cent of children appearing before Aid Panels made no subsequent Children's Court appearances, and approximately 92 per cent of all South Australian youths have no occasion to appear before courts or panels at any time. A significant proportion of young offenders in South Australia are therefore dealt with in the less formal panel system, without subsequent appearances in court.

Along with the objective of diversion, there has been major emphasis upon the use of community-based options for young offenders. A broad range of projects and programs have been developed as options for the courts in dealing with young offenders.

Intensive Neighbourhood Care (INC) - providing special family care for young offenders and adolescents in crisis. This involves specially recruited, trained and remunerated families and aim to help the young person to acquire a socially responsible lifestyle through experiencing a stable family life run for three to 12 months.

Community Residential Care - provides community-based residential homes for young people aged from 10 to 18 years. Short- and medium-term care is provided as an alternative to being remanded in custody, because of family crisis, or other situations, e.g. being at risk. Two units within the program, namely the Placement Team and the Independent Living Unit, provide assistance to secure more permanent accommodation and support in independent living.

Intensive Personal Supervision (IPS) - provides care for the young offender, through the selection of suitable mentors from the community to provide intensive personal supervision, for specified hours and activities. Programs are planned, pertaining to education and recreation.

Youth Project Teams (YPTs) - have been established for serious young offenders as an alternative to detention. Young people can be required by the Children's Court to attend a Youth Project Centre as a condition of a bond, after an Assessment Panel Report has been obtained. Attendance at a YPC allows for minimum description of the young person's normal activities, but provides intensive support and counselling. Youth Project Teams operate state-wide. In country regions, services are provided to adolescents at risk as well as for young offenders. Youth Project Teams have developed a variety of innovative and creative programs to enable them to engage the target group of youth in their activities with regard to local factors and needs.

Community Service Orders and Work Programs - the court may order a number of hours of community service, as a condition of a suspended detention order. The detention order is satisfied when the child completes the required number of hours of community service. In the metropolitan area, the scheme is administered by a specialist Family and Community Service Team whilst, in the country, the program is operated through the Department of Correctional Services, which provide work supervisors on a contract basis. Beneficiaries of work undertaken include schools, kindergartens, individual pensioners and the disadvantaged.

The emphasis on community intervention, the availability of a wide range of diversionary options, combined with committed personnel and a team of staff in key gate-keeping roles, has resulted in dramatic reductions in the average annual occupancy

in Secure Care institutions from 245 in 1972-73 to a figure of just under 50 in 1989-90 - a reduction of approximately 80 per cent in the number of children per day in Secure Care. These reductions in occupancy have not been accompanied by any significant increase in the general juvenile crime rate over the period. (In fact, there has been a reduction over the last two years).

This approach in dealing with young offenders through the use of community based initiatives, and hence, detention only as a last resort, has important implications for crime reduction. In his paper "Juvenile Justice in South Australia: The Alienated Generation", Judge Kingsley Newman notes that:

only 3.7% of ex-delinquents generally relapse into serious crime as adults. However, if committed to a juvenile correctional institution, they are about 4.5 times more likely to be charged with an indictable or serious offence, punishable by imprisonment than are ex-delinquents who have not been committed to a juvenile correctional institution. (Newman 1984)

In a comparative study of juvenile justice in South Australia and Canada, Jim Hackler adds:

There has been growing evidence that placing juveniles in prison increases the likelihood of adult criminal careers. On the other hand, keeping them in the community makes it more likely that they will become normal adults. (Krisberg et al. 1986)

During the past few years there have been major developments in youth programs and services under the Department's responsibility. The "Adolescents at Risk" service was established in recognition of the numbers of adolescents at risk from sexual abuse, drug and alcohol abuse, neglect, family breakdown, homelessness, exploitation, self-harming behaviour, and whose lifestyles put them at risk of offending behaviour. The target group are 10 to 18 years old and the program is established on a state-wide basis. The major initiative of this program is the regional adolescent support teams which act both as a catalyst and a contributor to deliver, upgrade and extend services for these young people. The team is a primary contact point and accepts referrals from the Department and other agencies. The teams provide individual and intensive support for individuals and groups of adolescents and their families. Community development projects have been utilised to establish support programs and community networks. The teams also provide support and advice to non-government agencies, particularly youth shelters.

The Intensive Adolescent Support program (IAS) is a scheme for adolescents at risk of serious physical and emotional harm. The IAS Worker is a paid volunteer providing structured access for an adolescent from a creditable adult within a non-stigmatised setting. Of particular importance is the potential for a strong relationship to develop and persist beyond the life of the contract. This program is aimed at those adolescents with greater needs within the broad target group of Adolescents at Risk. The key is that any target individual must be seen as both being open to, and benefiting from, a relationship with a caring adult.

It was also apparent that the services and programs offered were not effective for Aboriginal young offenders. Consistently, Aboriginal young offenders in custody represent 25 per cent of the total, and this has remained constant despite the overall

reductions in custodial occupancy figures. Specific programs have been developed to correct this imbalance by providing a culturally sensitive approach, designed to meet the specific needs of Aboriginal young offenders. In 1989 three specialist initiatives were developed:

The Metropolitan Aboriginal Youth Team (MAYT) whose function is to encourage young people to have pride in their culture and to achieve confidence in themselves to further achieve, within the general community. Intervention is provided by intensely motivated powerful Aboriginal workers who can convince these young people that, despite evidence to the contrary, there is a place for them in the broader community. Group work programs are provided, as well as intense intervention outside the group setting for individuals. Remote area camps are used by group workers to discuss problems and feelings such as anger and racism away from the city influences.

Aboriginal Intensive Neighbourhood Care. Though maintaining the same practices and standards as the INC state-wide program, Aboriginal INC includes special modifications. Cultural input, through involvement in other programs, provides a more intense service to young offenders.

Turkondi. Is a program that provides training and support within a factory environment, as an alternative to detention for Aboriginal young offenders. The program comprises three distinct stages:

it provides basic skill development and work habits, Mechanics, welding, woodwork, fibreglassing, numeracy/literacy classes and budgeting are taught at a level to positively motivate the individual;

participants are encouraged to identify realistic career options for which more specialised training is then provided;

work experience and full-time employment, when achieved, is fully supported by the program staff and volunteers.

Apart from the above, there are several specific and worthwhile projects worthy of special mention.

Street Legal. Motor vehicle thefts feature prominently in juvenile offending activity. In 1989 a program was commenced within the Youth Project Team in Central Metropolitan Region to work specifically with young offenders in their area who had a history of illegal use, and who were resistant to previous rehabilitation strategies. After a very successful pilot project during which a drag-race car was built and raced, the "Street Legal" program was developed. This initiative involves providing legal access to cars through the purchase of second-hand vehicles, their refurbishment and eventual sale. Youths are involved in all aspects of this process, to provide them with skills, self-esteem, and a sense of success through achievement. All youths involved undertake driving lessons to become "Street Legal". A share of profits raised through the sale of vehicles is provided to young offenders involved, as a deposit on a vehicle of their own.

The Hindmarsh Industrial Project prepares trainees for jobs in the metal trades industries. In a factory environment and comparable working conditions, trainees learn by manufacturing products for sale. Though the original rationale and funding was focused upon training for young offenders, a mix of younger and older people, long-term unemployed people, women and migrants are now catered for. Young offenders still make up 40 per cent of training places. A large number of retired tradesmen work as volunteers in the project. A 14-week course, with a maximum of 16 trainees at any one time, provides training in a structured basis: on safety, basic factory skills, basic fitting (lathe), metal fabrication (grinders, drills, saws), sheet metal work (presses, guillotine), welding (ore, oxy, MIG, TIG, SPOT).

Ancillary training is provided in job search, presentation skills, self-confidence and time keeping. Motor vehicle maintenance is included as an open access option.

Today's "Target" group maintains a special emphasis upon youth identified as at risk as well as the young offender emphasis. A balance is sought between young and older disadvantaged job seekers to provide a more material workshop environment. All facets of literacy and memory skills are taught as an adjunct to the practical skills required to provide industrial employment seeking skills. During the year June 1988-June 1989, 90 per cent of the 55 trainees who completed the course were placed in full-time employment. Income from the sale of manufactured products was \$40,000 for the six months January to June 1989, and this income has been utilised to improve training equipment and facilities. Generally the program is funded by Skillshare grants and Department for Family and Community Services funding. Locally support is forthcoming from community groups, the local council and local industry. It is gratifying to note that demand for graduates by employers locally greatly exceeds supply.

Central Western Work Program. The main aim of the program is to help young people "find jobs" and in recent years has developed several innovative facets. A team of very dedicated community aids assist young people in gaining the opportunity to secure employment. Team members regularly visits the South Australian Youth Training Centre to interview and motivate near-release residents towards realistic employment options. Options for vocational training are presented to young offenders and non-offending unemployed young people. The program assists youths the length and breadth of the Adelaide metropolitan area and has successfully placed many young people, despite the seemingly daunting task, given the realities of today's employment market.

Boat Building Project. This program was established in 1985 with the objective of training Aboriginal youths in employment skills and diverting them from offending behaviour. Funds generated from the sale of boats constructed were used to offset the cost of the venture for taxpayers. Through the program's successful application, numbers in secure care were reduced, and many of those involved developed life base skills and a improved self-image. It was from the experience gained during the four years this program was run that Turkondi had its inception and now continues this important initiative with Aboriginal young offenders.

The foregoing has given a broad indication of the nature of the rehabilitative approaches of the juvenile justice system in South Australia. Further, it has

demonstrated how successful diversionary programs can be when applied with conviction and a positive belief in their respective merits.

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The Multi-model Approach The Sydney City Mission

Wayne Koivu, Group General Manager
Sydney City Mission

The Sydney City Mission (SCM) is an independent, non-denominational Christian welfare agency, in fact it is the largest independent city mission in the world with an annual turnover of \$22 million and a staff of around 560. The Mission has 104 programs from childcare through to aged care.

Through the national organisation, Mission Australia, SCM run the Adelaide City Mission, the Wollongong City Mission, and the Wagga Wagga City Mission.

There are a number of programs in the youth division, mainly early intervention and diversion - that is diversion away from life on the streets and the traditional juvenile justice system. The first youth program, a youth crisis centre in Kings Cross, began in 1982.

Youth Crisis Centre - Kings Cross

This centre began as a 23 bed crisis unit and drop-in centre catering for some 40 kids per night. By the time SCM comes in contact with kids in this centre they are normally well-entrenched into street life and often into the juvenile justice system. Based on experience gained in Kings Cross, SCM began to investigate what programs could be initiated to prevent kids reaching that stage. So SCM went back to the suburbs whence these kids came and began to plan programs to address some of the reasons that the kids were becoming young offenders. Two areas of needs were targeted: youth unemployment and youth homelessness.

Mission Employment Centres

Thirteen Mission Employment Centres were set up throughout New South Wales and one in Adelaide which offer a range of programs of various lengths funded by both state

and federal government, including the Skill Share program. These offer young people the opportunity to train for, and seek employment.

SCM offer all, including the young people, the opportunity to learn a vocational skill and the opportunity to address such things as self-confidence, self-esteem, social skills, living skills and remedial numeracy and literacy skills. 6,000 students per year graduate through the network and are currently achieving a 75 per cent placement rate into full-time employment. As unemployment is a contributing factor to young people becoming young offenders, Mission Employment Centres, and the programs run there, are making a valuable contribution towards crime prevention. It is difficult to measure a preventative program, and when one is expending all one's energy and resources on developing the program it is difficult to set up evaluations, however, controlled study evaluation of the crime prevention effect of the Mission Employment Centres will be set up.

Early Intervention Group Homes

Again, out of experience in the Kings Cross area, SCM decided that, instead of attempting to return kids to their community, programs that offered support structures for the young people to stay in their own community should be set up.

Most referrals to these group homes come from school counsellors who are in a position to identify very early that a young person is about to become detached from their family, and possibly from mainstream society. When a young person breaks the law or acts out in an anti-social way, it is often a flag-waving exercise and an indication that the family of that young person is becoming totally dysfunctional, and that young person is then at risk of becoming a young offender or a street kid, or both. SCM takes the young people into residence at one of the group homes. The first option is always to explore family restoration, with the appropriate support structures in place. If, after thorough investigation, this is found not to be possible or not in the best interests of the young person, then a long-term placement is offered at a SCM group home. These homes have live-in house parents supported by three full-time rostered youth workers. This provides the appropriate role modelling, and relationship building can take place.

Sydney City Mission is in the process of setting up further group homes in Wagga Wagga, Wollongong and Adelaide. Currently there are four early intervention group homes in Sydney, one in the west at Penrith, one in the south at Ingleburn and two in the north at Beacon Hill and North Sydney.

Community Centres

Community centres have been established in Campbelltown and Green Valley in Sydney, and in the southern Adelaide suburb of Noarlunga. These centres offer a range of activities for young people - both recreational and developmental. SCM encourage the young people who use these recreational facilities to become involved in groups

which, through various activities, address low self-esteem and negative self-image - problems which are all too prevalent amongst target groups with which SCM works.

Two outreach drug and alcohol workers are employed from the community centre at Campbelltown as there were a large number of young people who did not feel comfortable to access SCM services. These detached street workers are able to make contact with these young people on their own "turf" and encourage them to become involved in activities at the community centre.

Triple Care Farm

The Triple Care Farm program arose out of a need identified at the Kings Cross youth centre. During the 1987-88 fiscal year 1,200 individual young people were dealt with at the Youth Crisis Centre. 900 of those young people were either returned to their families or into semi-independent or independent living. However, for 300 of them there were no options; they had been banned from many crisis refuges, they were certainly not welcome at their homes, and were not capable of living independently. For this particular target group the Triple Care Farm program was introduced. There is nothing magic about the name "Triple Care"; it simply means there are three phases to the program: the assessment and referral stage; the farming experience; integration back into the community and aftercare and follow-up support. Although SCM does not have an official arrangement to take court ordered kids onto the farming program, it is becoming more and more obvious as the program develops that this program is offering a viable and positive alternative to detention centres.

As this program has developed, young people have indicated the value of the "time out" aspect of the rural environment in which this program is conducted. Many of the first 75 kids who have graduated have chosen to remain in a rural area. In late 1990 a 10-week vocational training component was introduced on the farm and in conjunction with TAFE. It teaches agricultural skills so that young people may better pursue this option of remaining in the country if they so desire. The training program is broadly based and therefore teaches some entry level job skills - welding, machinery maintenance and wood working - which better enables them to seek and find employment back in the city.

Although this program is officially a 12-week program, young people are encouraged to stay on the farm as long as they feel they need that environment. Stage Three of Triple Care is merely the follow-up and aftercare stage. SCM makes a commitment to offer support to young people who have graduated from the farm for a period of at least one year. SCM are currently setting up a number of different models so that young people may return to the city with a level of support that he or she may need. Stage Three will consist of fully supported group homes, minimally supported semi-independent accommodation, minimally supported share-accommodation and fully independent accommodation options.

One criticism that is often levelled at programs such as Farming Program and Wilderness Program is that it is an unrealistic environment. Although these programs do take kids to an unrealistic environment, I would point out that most of us go to an

unrealistic environment at least once a year, we call it our annual holiday. My experience tells me that I return from my "unrealistic environment" with a fresh perspective on my job, my life, my relationships and so on. In a similar way, I believe that the Farming Program enables young people, after some time out, to come back with a fresh perspective on their lives.

Wilderness Program

The Wilderness Program is a bold attempt by the Sydney City Mission to develop a program which is truly an alternative to incarceration. The aim of the program is to provide opportunities for counselling, and participation in adventurous, challenging activities aimed at developing each person's self-esteem and coping skills and thus to enhance the likelihood of a successful community integration.

There are six basic principles on which the Wilderness Program stands:

- development of a positive staff/participant relationship;
- development of a positive peer culture;
- provision of opportunities for resolving personal problems;
- delegation of increasing responsibilities to participants;
- provision of increasing opportunities for decision-making;
- recognition and reinforcement of personal achievement.

Each young person referred to the program needs to go through a fairly extensive pre-admission process to ensure that only those who would benefit are in fact admitted. Part of the pre-admission process is to bring the young people to the Wilderness camp for one week so that they can decide for themselves if they wish to make a commitment to this type of program and whether in fact they feel that they would benefit from the experience.

Phase one of the program is an exploration stage and includes such outdoor activities as camping, canoeing, rock climbing, bush walking, caving and abseiling. It is hoped that through these activities the young person would also be taught team-work and group problem-solving skills, trust in others, a increasing sense of self-confidence as they experience and succeed at activities which are new and foreign to them. Phase one lasts for three weeks and upon return to the base camp, group work is used to draw out their feelings and ideas about their first Wilderness experience. These groups also take the opportunity to select and plan activities for the next phase of the program. During this week back in camp, individual counselling is undertaken to appraise each participants' personal performance, assess their basic needs and establish short and long-term personal goals for the rest of their time in the program. Each young person receives a performance appraisal report and awards for their successful completion and participation in phase one.

Phase two is the basic skills phase and is really the experiential learning component. During this phase young people leave the camp on four-day expeditions which have a greater degree of difficulty each time, and an increasing level of

responsibility for the young people to plan and take responsibility for their own expedition. During phase two extensive group work to encourage young people to work as part of a team is used. SCM encourage increased levels of fitness through an outdoor gymnasium and circuit training. SCM expect the young people in Phase two will be developing their skills - such as bush cooking, menu preparation etc. - in preparation for their expeditions. They are also encouraged to further develop their basic skills in one major Wilderness activity of their choice such as canoeing and abseiling. Interests in leisure activities - photography, arts and crafts, computers - is also encouraged. During this phase young people are encouraged to accept some responsibility for communal camp maintenance. Phase two is of six weeks duration, during which time case-workers are providing individual counselling with a focus on community integration.

At the end of phase two there is a formal presentation of certificates of achievement in the course which recognise development not only in basic Wilderness skills but in personal, attitudinal and relationship skills.

Phase three is the work experience stage. The focus here is on job seeking, understanding advertisements, telephone techniques, writing job applications, presentation for interviews, mock interviews and so on. This is a work experience exercise and a number of young people have been offered full-time employment at the end of their work experience and are able to continue living in the local area. Phase three lasts for three weeks, two of which are spent in a work experience placement outside the camp. On return to the camp a young person is taken through the employer's report and receives feedback from young people in his own group on his response to the program. After this phase there is some resetting of personal goals and review of progress towards community integration and return to home.

Phase four of the Wilderness Programs last six weeks and again has an experiential learning component. In the group work in phase four there is a focus on further development of interpersonal and relationship skills. There is advanced first-aid training and personal health course. Fitness levels have now reached the stage where cross-country running is introduced, advanced bush skills such as map reading and bush survival are taught. In phase four an exploration and development of further leisure activities, and a community project, is undertaken. The community project is normally some outdoor activity which will assist the local community, such as renewing and repairing bush walking trails, clearing and tidying the local cemetery etc. At the end of phase four there is a further review of the short and long-term personal goals and a further review of the young person placement arrangements.

Phase five of the Wilderness Program lasts for five weeks during which young people participate in more advanced expeditions, culminating in a fully unsupervised expedition, which is completely planned and organised by the young people themselves with the staff being available as resource personnel only.

After leaving the Wilderness Program the young people are offered 12 month aftercare and follow-up by the Sydney City Mission.

Young people come into the Wilderness Program in groups of four, and there are eight groups in the camp at any one time making a total of 32 residents, with a similar

number of staff, that is 34 staff but, with a 24 hour rostered system and working with the young people in small groups of four, resources are fairly well stretched to the limit.

The program is currently being evaluated by MJS Keys Young, the evaluation being funded by the Law Foundation of New South Wales. Early indications of this evaluation are that the Wilderness Program is offering a program which is both cost-effective and result-effective in diverting young people away from the traditional juvenile justice system and through using Wilderness activities as the tool, encouraging young people to look at the reasons why they are acting out in an anti-social or criminal way.

The American Experience

Recently I spent six weeks in the United States of America investigating 22 programs offering early intervention for young offenders. A number of common denominators began to identify themselves and I found that the more successful had one or more of the following factors.

Family Preservation: A number of early intervention programs maintain the philosophy that a young person's acting out or criminal behaviour was often a flag-waving exercise, that is, that the young person was indicating through their actions that there was a severe dysfunction within their family unit.

Family preservation programs tended not to view the young person as an individual, but as part of a family unit which needed some help and support. The support was sometimes achieved by family therapy programs, sometimes by family mediation programs, and involved as many members of the family as were able to participate. Normally family preservation programs were early intervention and were viewed as preventative programs, however, they were sometimes used effectively as a condition of probation or even as a condition of parole.

Reality Therapy: The majority of the successful programs were based on reality therapy, a model expounded by William Glasser and others. These programs focus on the here and now and do not become engaged in working with a young offender merely as a victim. The therapy does not allow the young person to make excuses for their actions, nor engage in denial. It endeavours to teach the young person to deal with the present and the future, to accept the consequences of any past action and then accept responsibility for his or her future life.

Generally speaking, the social worker model tends to blame the family, particularly mothers, for the young person's actions. The sociologist model tends to blame society. The mental health model tends to blame a psychological or psychiatric dysfunction. Reality Therapy, however, suggests that a young person, although sometimes damaged by another person's actions, really needs to accept responsibility for their own life.

Programs using this model tended to say that the young person may have a handicap, such as poor background or poor upbringing or negative peer pressure, however, when we deal with other forms of handicap such as physical impairment, blindness, deafness or developmental delay, we encourage them to overcome those

handicaps to the best of their ability and to live a normal life. Thus, when dealing with the young offender who has a social handicap, it is not productive to allow that young person to use the handicap as an excuse for anti-social or criminal behaviour, but that young person should be offered programs which will assist in overcoming their past handicap and accept responsibility for the development of their own inner resources and skills in order that they may develop to their full potential as an individual.

Positive Peer Culture: A number of young people who become young offenders do so as a result of negative peer pressure. Some programs use positive peer pressure to encourage the young people to rethink their attitudes and values. This system is used more often in residential programs, including some detention centres. Usually a points and levels system is used to reward positive attitudes and behaviours.

After attaining a set number of points, a young person graduates through a series of levels, the final level being graduation from the program. A positive peer culture is developed by using the peers within the system, along with staff, to monitor the system and to allocate points and approve graduation through levels. For example, in one program all residents join the program at orientation level. After one week, if they decided that they wished to continue, they apply to a panel of their peers and staff to move from orientation to participant level.

Education Component: Realising that the traditional education system has often failed this particular target group, a number of programs include remedial numeracy and literacy classes. It has been found that as the young person improves their numeracy and literacy skills their self-esteem also improves. This sets up a positive cycle in that as a young person's self-esteem improved so did their numeracy and literacy skills. The successful educational programs which I observed were working with teacher/student ratio of about 1:8 at the maximum. They were successful because they used specially trained educators who were able to relate to this particular client group.

Private/Public Partnership Model: All of the successful programs visited had a private sector component. Most commonly, the public sector and private agencies had come together within the community to provide an integrated network range of programs. Most private providers of programs to the juvenile justice system in the United States provided their services on a contractual basis and were normally funded on a fee for service per day basis.

Dealing with young offenders is a complex problem with a diverse and complex target group and therefore responses to this problem must also be diverse and complex. It appears that this can only be achieved with close cooperation between the public and private sector.

Conclusion

There is no one answer to the complex question of juvenile justice and crime prevention. There are many pieces to the answer which must all interlock and provide a comprehensive, well-researched and well-resourced range of programs. In

developing these programs we must strike a correct balance between such issues as rehabilitation, community protection, offenders' human rights, victims' human rights etc.

There may be a case to be argued for completely scrapping some traditional responses to juvenile justice matters. I quote from a speech delivered by the Director General of Corrective Services Commission of Queensland, Mr Keith Hamburger:

Above all I hate prisons because for hundreds of years the people who work in the criminal justice system, politicians and community leaders, have used them to perpetrate probably the longest running, biggest social fraud in modern history - this is, that prisons serve a useful purpose in social control and crime prevention.

If I learnt nothing else from my American experience I learnt that if we do nothing we run the real and serious risk of heading down the same path which America at present finds herself heading with juvenile crime rates, particularly drug-related crime rates which are increasing at an alarming rate; there has been a 2000 per cent increase in juvenile drug-related crime in the past two years in the United States of America.

Worksyde: the Employment & Training Needs of Juvenile Repeat Offenders

Genevieve Nicholls, Employment Placement Officer
Worksyde, Perth

Worksyde is one of four primary prevention programs in Western Australia aimed at addressing juvenile crime. Initiated in October 1988, Worksyde is an employment and training support program operating in the metropolitan area of Perth. It is administered by the YMCA and funded by the Department for Community Services on a yearly basis.

The objectives of the program are to:

improve the access of the target group to employment and training options;

directly/indirectly place as many young people from the target group in meaningful employment or training;

affect a long-term improvement in the employment and training opportunities for the target group.

Operations

There are currently nine members of the Worksyde team made up of: the coordinator; five employment placement officers, each covering a geographical portion of the metropolitan area; one Aboriginal employment placement officer, supporting all areas but based in one area; one relieving employment officer; and one clerical officer.

Each of the employment officers visits the four detention centres each week and the Community Based Offenders Program headquarters. These visits enable new referrals to be passed on; young people to be interviewed; vocational assessments to be made; relationships to be established; options to be explored; motivation to be developed and maintained; the development of jobsearch skills and work habits; and preparations to be made for release.

These contacts are made whilst the young person is completing either a custodial sentence or a Community Service Order, thus optimising the chance of employment or training shortly after release and before the offending behaviour is re-established.

Also, on a weekly basis, all staff attend a meeting to discuss relevant issues, bring information up to date and to support each other. Prior to this meeting, on a fortnightly basis, each employment officer reviews his/her caseload with the coordinator, setting priorities and bringing statistics up to date.

At all other times employment officers are involved in the pursuit of employment and training options, or in support of the young people and their employers. The support given takes many forms and includes:

- vocational and other counselling;
- accessing welfare provisions/services;
- liaison at all levels;
- locating accommodation;
- information exchange;
- initial transportation to work; and
- interpretation of court orders.

Beside staff, other resources include a petty cash allowance. Administrative resources consist of a typewriter, a photocopier, a telephone system and office space which is centrally located.

Target Group

In the initial agreement, the target group was defined as "working-aged male and female offenders who live in the metropolitan area and who have been discharged for supervised community programs or Departmental maximum security centres".

The target group has since been more specifically defined as: "male and female offenders in the metropolitan area, 15 to 18 years of age, who have had a minimum of six court sanctions.

Approximately 70 per cent of the young people accepted onto the program are currently referred by institutions or the Department's Community Based Offenders Program. Other referral sources are Divisional Officers of DCS, Education Officers, CES, other youth services, parents and offenders themselves.

Although most referral sources are aware of the eligibility criteria, Worksyde receives many referrals that do not fit these criteria. To date the practice has been to turn no one away, and if Worksyde is unable to assist, referrals to other appropriate agencies are made.

In the past 12 months, there has been a significant trend towards referrals in the 14-15 year age group who are offenders and who are in possession of, or qualify for, a school exemption to enable them to pursue employment or training.

Statistics

Total number of referrals accepted from October 1988 to February 1990 is 344. Of these, 83 per cent were actively enrolled at the time. Total number of placements from

October 1988 to July 1990 is 546. Placements from October 1989 to July 1990 is 301. At the end of June 1990, 343 young people were actively enrolled.

Special Needs Groups

The following special needs groups have been identified within the target group:

Aboriginal youth;

female offenders;

youth from migrant families;

chronic recidivists;

14 to 15-year-olds with school exemptions;

illiterate youth, and those with poor education, (the target group rarely includes youth who have completed Year 10);

transients and homeless young people;

disinterested, unmotivated youth;

those with welfare-related problems; and

those with financial burdens (which includes unpaid fines, which can be considerable).

Many of the young people fit into more than one of the above groups, and the list itself is indicative of the complexity of the problems facing young people. Whilst employment is our primary focus, it cannot be isolated from the multidimensional difficulties confronting our target group.

These groups require special provisions which are designed to meet their needs. Worksyde workers, being aware of the particular needs of these groups, tailor their responses accordingly, and whenever possible, link the young people with the appropriate community resources. The Worksyde program tries to provide for those young people whose needs cannot be met elsewhere, but this is entirely dependent upon time and resources. Worksyde will attempt to address some of the issues by introducing specific programs to assist the transition into employment. Preparation for employment programs are utilised by 30 per cent of the client group.

Special provisions made to date are:

the employment of an Aboriginal employment officer, and application for funding for an additional Aboriginal member of staff;

application has been made to DCS for the use of one of its centrally based hostels for Worksyde youth temporarily without accommodation; and

working with the families of special needs groups is a provision that is often necessary and sought after.

Assumptions

The causes of juvenile crime are multi-faceted, complex, and multi-levelled, and not just attributable to characteristics of the individual offender. Underlying this belief are two notions:

that crime itself is politically and socially defined;

that socially and economically disadvantaged groups are disproportionately represented in crime statistics in comparison to the rest of Australian society.

Measures aimed at preventing juvenile crime need to address the social and economic needs of offenders as a means of increasing their options and life chances. The provision of employment and training options is one such measure. It is also assumed that young offenders are less likely to get involved in crime if they are working.

Work is an activity which is highly valued by society, it provides individuals with a public identity and social status. Work also enables people to meet their own survival needs, to become economically independent and consequently, to develop a sense of competence. Having a job also extends an individual's range of social relations, exposes them to a variety of role models and provides an opportunity for role experimentation.

On the whole, unemployment is negatively regarded in our society, unemployed people being labelled as "dole bludgers", lazy, parasites etc.

Young offenders, as youth at-risk and as criminals, are a disadvantaged group when competing in the labour market. They face particular difficulties in staying in a job or completing a particular training course. Ongoing support can alleviate some of these difficulties and enable the young person to gain access to, and maintain participation in, employment and training programs, thus breaking the crime cycle and increasing the young person's bargaining power as a contributing member of society.

Juvenile offenders are often members of disadvantaged and/or minority groups with special needs, but they also have much in common with other young people. Emphasis on the similarities between offending youth and other young people highlights their "normality" and the potential they have to offer society, rather than their "deviance". Preventative programs need to be mindful of the effects that labelling has on juvenile offenders, and aim to minimise these effects.

Delinquency is often temporary behaviour rather than being adopted for life. However, whilst young people are offending, their acquisition of educational, work-related and life skills is interrupted, often at crucial periods. Programs aimed at remediating these skills gaps may speed up the end of the offending behaviour.

Juvenile crime is a social problem and as such it is best prevented in the communities in which it occurs. Employers and educational bodies represent powerful sectors of the local community in terms of provision of employment opportunities and political lobbying. Preventative programs need to be community based in order to confront the problem at its source, with the involvement of community interest groups and resources, thereby aligning public perception of the problem with the reality of it.

Addressing the Needs of Youth At Risk

The capacity of the model to meet the needs of special groups within the target group has already been discussed. The following is a list of the strengths of the model in addressing the needs of juvenile repeat offenders referred to Worksyde.

Worksyde is a unique and relatively new program. As such, the target group has few preconceived ideas about it. Consequently, there has been an enthusiastic and voluntary response by those referred. They have made a valuable contribution to the program's development as the staff plan strategies aimed at meeting their needs.

The model is structured to enable flexibility in its response to the needs of the group as they arise.

The fact that most young people have their first interview with a Worksyde worker whilst they are completing either a custodial sentence or a Community Service Order, optimises the chance of employment or training shortly after release and before the offending behaviour is re-established. In addition, a positive relationship is formed at the outset as the offenders enjoy visits from people outside the institutions.

The ongoing, one-to-one relationships that the staff are able to develop with the young people provide a basis on which trust can grow. The offender can then participate in the planning of strategies aimed at obtaining employment. Therefore, through the catalyst of a safe relationship the young person develops a belief and confidence in his/her ability to solve problems and seek alternatives in a real situation.

Worksyde staff are not office bound; they are mobile, meeting young people on their own "turf", enabling more authentic communication. Goals set by staff and youth are realistic and achievable within the particular constraints that exist at the time. The employment officers canvass for placements to suit particular individuals rather than placing individuals in existing vacancies.

Other human service agencies are widely accessed by Worksyde to meet the needs of the young people as a group, and as individuals.

Without the red-tape of a large bureaucracy, Worksyde is able to cut across many barriers in their advocacy on behalf of young people. This advocacy is highly regarded by magistrates, and young people are clearly advantaged by having a Worksyde representative support them in court, particularly if that young person is employed.

The relationships between staff and youth are maintained as long as is deemed necessary, and staff are readily accessible to the youth. There is, therefore, a continuity in the services offered to individuals by the program.

The variety of placement options available to the group ensures that individuals who are not ready for work can still be meaningfully occupied until they are.

Worksyde staff have the capacity to develop rapport with the youth referred, and this is largely based on the staff's respect for young people in general. A consequence of this is that Worksyde is a popular program amongst young offenders in WA.

Staff maintain flexible hours and a flexible work role in order to meet needs as they arise. They are also very mobile across their own region, and the whole metropolitan area if need be.

Weaknesses of the Model

The model needs to extend the target group to include those who are younger than 15 years and older than 18, and those with less than six court sanctions. At present, many of these young people are in need of Worksyde's service but are ineligible.

There are too few placement officers to service all referrals effectively. As the rate of referrals continues to increase this problem will be compounded and the quality of services will not be maintained. With a 400 per cent increase in referrals the staff component has not increased and as a result services aimed at each individual are decreasing.

More Aboriginal workers are needed. The funding for the current Aboriginal worker is not guaranteed beyond the end of 1990. Over 60 per cent of young people on our register at any one time are Aboriginal.

More funds to enable access to staff training is needed to keep up with changing trends.

There is an urgent need for resources to develop a database and to conduct relevant research on the needs and characteristics of the group and services offered to them.

To a considerable extent the program is dependent upon the availability and efficiency of other services in meeting needs other than employment, for example, if a job is found for a young person who then loses his/her accommodation, the success of the placement will depend on the availability of alternative accommodation.

There is a need for more credibility in professional terms in order to access decision-making bodies in the arena of social service provision. At present there are no "professional" staff employed at Worksyde.

There is no room to expand in terms of increasing/improving services at the local level through the development of regional networks and staff membership on local youth service coordinating bodies. Staff are stretched to the limits with current numbers.

There is a need to re-formulate objectives and strategies now that the program is in full force and future trends can be predicted, to ensure that the program will continue to meet the needs of the target group.

Cost Effectiveness

The cost effectiveness of the program can be assessed in terms of those costs that are avoided because of the existence of the program: they include economic, social, and individual costs.

Costs of crimes not committed, (all employment officers report a very low incidence of offending whilst the young people are placed).

Costs both to the community and individuals of otherwise unmet needs that are currently being met by Worksyde.

Costs of incarceration - as a rehabilitative program Worksyde is very cost effective. Institutionalisation of one young person for one week costs approximately \$2000. Present funding of Worksyde is for the sum of \$250,000 per year.

Evaluations

In its first year of operation the Worksyde program was evaluated by an independent assessor on a quarterly basis. The results of this evaluation meant that the program was refunded for the following year by the Department for Community Services. (At the time of writing, the details of this evaluation were not available.)

A second evaluation was made for the Worksyde report of March 1990. Data was taken from the records kept by each placement officer for each young person and tabulated to give a picture of:

the percentage of active and non-active referrals amongst the total number of referrals;

the number and percentage of young people placed and those not placed;

a sample of the breakdown into type of placements;

number of placements per month for a six-monthly period; and

the percentages of young people maintaining employment for six weeks, three months, six months and 12 months.

In response to the Department for Community Services funding requirements, performance indicators were devised to measure effectiveness in terms of the original objectives. Data for the six month period from December 1989 to June 1990 was collated.

Although this data revealed some promising results, specifically what each indicator was/was not measuring needs to be defined more clearly. The funding source was able to obtain the information it required from the raw data to justify further funding. However, in terms of program evaluation, service delivery and effects on offending patterns, a more comprehensive evaluation model needs to be established as soon as possible.

With the present strain on resources it is unlikely that this will be done in the near future.

The Ideal

If the ideal could be obtained the following improvements could be made to the model.

In addition to the central office, each of the five regions could have a non-residential house, located in the most deprived area of the region, to provide a local base from which Worksyde staff could function. It would also be accessible to the target group as a non-threatening place where they could seek Worksyde services,

information, programs and contacts. The outreach and home visits would be maintained as before, with these additional resources consolidating regional Worksyde services.

With increased staff numbers, the valuable one-to-one relationships between workers and youth could be maintained, and the whole range of work-related needs could continue to be addressed through these secure relationships.

Increased staff numbers would also mean that Aboriginal youth and other special needs groups could be catered for. Programs for special needs groups could be provided on a regional level.

The target group could be extended to include those youth who have turned 18 years, those as young as 13 years, and those with fewer court sanctions, because all these young people have unmet needs in common with those of the target group.

All of the above would not be possible without a commitment to increased funding on a long-term basis.

The improvements suggested would not require any fundamental policy changes on behalf of government funding bodies as they are in-line with current government commitments to community-based crime prevention models.

Research/Data Needs

Research and data is needed in the areas of:

demographic information on referrals;

specific welfare needs affecting access to work/training;

offending patterns;

work/training/educational/skills history;

outgoing referrals;

other services used;

service gaps/needs; and

employment trends/needs affecting youth regional, state-wide and nationally

In addition, exchange of research findings with interstate and overseas service providers would be beneficial.

Scope for Interagency Cooperation

Youth services that Worksyde currently accesses cover the following areas: accommodation; health; family; education; training; employment; drugs/alcohol; recreation; legal and financial. The focus on meeting employment needs nevertheless remains clear. Therefore, there is both the scope and necessity for interagency

cooperation between Worksyde and other youth services to ensure complementary provision.

Worksyde's target group does not readily access other services, therefore, Worksyde does not duplicate or overlap services, rather, it links those in-need to available resources.

On a regional basis, Worksyde would benefit a great deal from involvement with coordinating bodies of youth services. Such involvement would enable Worksyde to consult on issues affecting its target group, to participate in the coordination and planning of youth services, and to share research findings and resources.

Worksyde, as previously mentioned, considers the employment needs of youth as being inseparable from their many other needs. It therefore has a vested interest in those other needs being met in the best possible way.

Education & Youth At Risk

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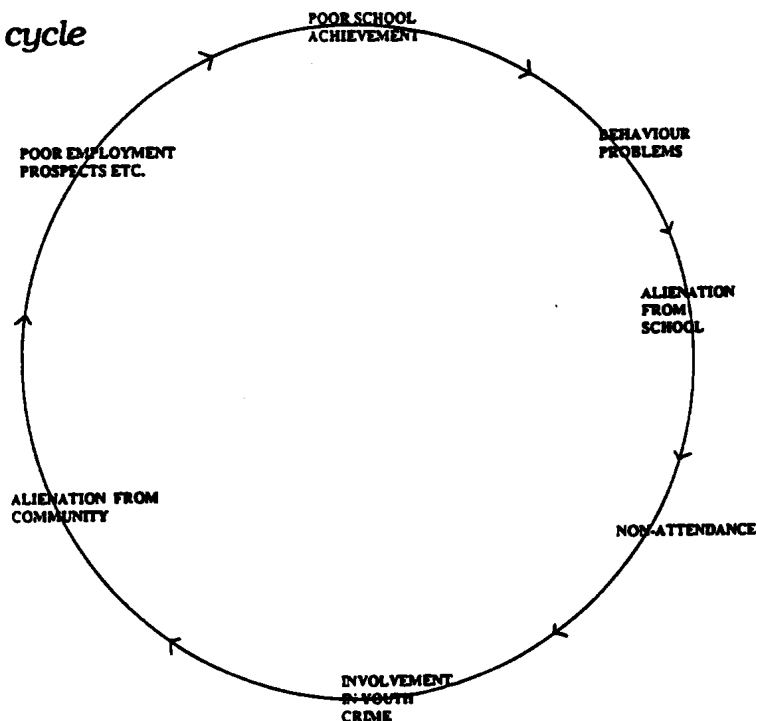
The phenomenon of children and adolescents whose actions at school create feelings of frustration, anger, unhappiness, fear and guilt in their teachers, their peers, their parents or themselves is familiar to many educators (Szaday 1989). These children and adolescents are youth "at risk". Many of the children who are experiencing difficulties at home and school will ultimately enter the welfare and judicial processes. They increasingly feel alienated from mainstream society (Burdekin 1989). The recommendations of the Homeless Children Inquiry suggest that our schools need to be structured in ways that will better meet the needs of all pupils and so prevent alienation or reduce risk in youth.

At the heart of the issue is the need for the various agencies and institutions dealing with at risk youth to communicate their respective knowledge so that the best available intervention and services can be applied.

The assumption underlying the New South Wales Department of School Education in provision for at risk youth is that, by alleviating the difficulties at risk youth experience at school, there is a greater chance of reducing the entry rate of these youth to the welfare and judicial systems, and of alienating them from the mainstream any further.

One of the most common features of at risk youth is their relative lack of success at school when compared to other students. They typically under achieve. Quite often there is a history of behaviour management problems and school non-attendance as well as lack of academic achievement.

Figure 1: The cycle



Early intervention for poor school achievement and behaviour problems can stop the cycle and improve significantly outcomes for at risk youth. The problems are complex and there is no one cause or simple solution. In NSW a number of initiatives have been taken, especially over the last 10 years, which greatly reduce the alienation of at risk youth.

A major aim of NSW services to at risk populations is guiding the individual development of students within and beyond the school (NSW Department School Education 1986). In order to address this aim, a range of student welfare services are provided. They include developmental, preventative and remedial measures which encompass all the curricula, activities and support personnel and are directed at meeting the personal needs of students. All schools in NSW are required to develop and implement a student welfare policy. A student welfare program is considered to be the sum total of all of the policies, structures and activities which are planned and implemented by the school to promote student welfare (NSW Department School Education 1986). The policy expects that the school will help its students to develop:

- enjoyment and satisfaction from learning;
- ability to communicate effectively;
- a coherent set of values to guide behaviour;
- personal and social responsibility for their actions/decisions;
- personal dignity and worth;
- self reliance;
- cultural identity;
- feeling of belonging to the wider community;
- caring attitude to others; and

ability to form satisfying and stable relationships.

In cooperation with parents, schools work towards realising these aims through learning programs and support services in three major areas: general measures to promote the personal development of students; preventative measures to ensure the safety and well-being of students; and remedial measures to overcome specific difficulties.

A number of distinct groups requiring specialist educational, social, emotional and physical support resources can be identified. These include:

behaviour disordered or conduct disordered youth;

violent, acting-out youth;

homeless youth, neglected youth and/or those in need of care and protection;

young offenders and youth in custody;

youth gangs;

refugee youth;

abused youth;

emotionally disturbed youth; and

self-injurious or suicidal youth.

Educational provisions available (both preventative and remedial), and proposed initiatives to be implemented as well as suggestions for further educational provisions and input to the education of at risk youth are dealt with below.

Early Identification of At Risk Youth

Diagnosis should be initiated as early as possible. Classroom teachers provide one of the best available resources in this area. Effective use of this resource can be utilised only through appropriate training of teachers to identify symptoms and the ability of teachers to use appropriate classroom management techniques and resources to affect preventative procedures.

Certain at risk signs may become evident during a young person's education. They may include:

inability to read at grade level;

frequent non-attendance at school;

lack of participation in extra-curricula activities;
a rebellious attitude toward teachers;
disrupting the classroom;
severely withdrawn behaviour;
self-destructive behaviour;
emotional disturbances related to home environment; and
a pattern of failure in school work.

A preventative approach to these issues can be taken at a school level. Whole school approaches such as those of the "Kool Skool" Program in Sydney Western Region or the Specialist Support Teacher approach of Sydney Metropolitan West Region illustrate successful preventative options.

Specific teacher education programs, development and implementation of successful classroom management techniques and appropriate curriculum and resources development can all assist in the process of more effective early identification and preventative approaches. Such approaches can assist in lessening the number of young people who resist attending school or who drop out of school without adequate educational and social skills to function appropriately in our society.

The development of appropriate teacher education courses in the area of at risk youth is a relatively new one. Currently courses are offered through the NSW Human Resource Directorate to assist teachers in the early identification and management of at risk students. These courses include:

Support Teachers Learning Difficulties Course;
Teachers of the Behaviour Disordered Student Course; and
Classroom Management Course.

There appears to be little development of such courses within universities despite the recognised need within the education system for such training. To overcome this the NSW Department of School Education has developed and implemented its own courses to address the issue. In the long-term it would be more cost-effective for adequate skills to be developed as integral components of pre-service training.

As outlined above, schools have effective student welfare structures and practices which enable them to provide for all but a small proportion of at risk students. Schools provide preventative and remedial support systems but cannot deal with the more seriously disturbed students whose presence disrupts the welfare and education of the whole student body.

Schools are under growing pressure to cater for increasing numbers of students with moderate to severe emotional and behavioural disturbance. These students do not respond to the management strategies available within the school and, apart from failing to learn themselves, interfere with the learning of others. Many will experience suspension and some expulsion. This involves teachers and school executive in undue stress and considerable expenditure of time and energy in endeavouring to maintain these students within regular educational provisions. These students consume a

disproportionate amount of the limited support services available to the school to the disadvantage of other students.

Services and Programs

The basic philosophy of the Department of School Education in catering for disturbed students is that preventative measures should be instituted to the greatest extent possible.

Fair Discipline Code: a statement through which each school, in consultation with its community, sets out the policies and procedures which promote an ordered, effective learning environment. These include practices to commend appropriate behaviour, prevent inappropriate behaviour and deal with unacceptable behaviour. This code is based on the belief that home, school and community have a joint responsibility to set and maintain an acceptable standard of behaviour and to influence students to accept and observe that standard.

School Welfare Services: in 1986 the Department of School Education distributed its *Student Welfare Policy Statement* to all government schools in New South Wales. Schools were required to develop a student welfare policy in line with the directions indicated in the policy statement. To assist schools in the development, monitoring and evaluation of this process 10 regional consultants were appointed in 1988. A prime responsibility of these consultants is to coordinate student welfare initiatives across their region.

These initiatives include those provisions catering for identified at risk students. One of the primary aims for the Student Welfare initiative is to ensure the widespread dissemination about successful school based programs and classroom management procedures and, through this, assist in the most effective use of available resources.

School Counselling Service: provides a direct service to all schools from kindergarten to year 12. The counsellor can provide a service to students with behaviour problems, and refer students to other services. The school counsellor may work with students individually or in a group, and assists teachers and parents to develop appropriate programs and responses to at risk students and those with particular needs.

Direct service is most effective for students suffering from short-term acute distress.

The school counsellor provides a reference and liaison point for students referred to other services such as specialist counselling, Itinerant Teachers of the Behaviour Disturbed (ITBD), adjustment classes or classes for students with emotional disturbance.

Personal Development and Health: the Department of School Education is developing an integrated curriculum of Personal Development, Health and Physical Education as one of its five key learning areas in primary schools. The White Paper issued by the Government, *Excellence and Equity*, also suggests that this be a mandatory learning area in Secondary Schools.

Such a curriculum aims to develop students' self-esteem, interpersonal communication skills, ability to establish and maintain positive relationships, clarify values, and make responsible decisions. These are areas of skill deficit in most at risk youth. Developing conflict resolution strategies is also a component of the curriculum.

This curriculum will provide skills for students to assist them to resolve conflicts in a positive way. It is seen as a preventative strategy.

Child Protection: the Department of School Education has a policy and teaching/learning programs in the area of child protection. A significant number of students who enter the welfare and juvenile justice systems are abused. The Child Protection Program is an important preventative strategy in terms of notification of suspected child abuse, support for students who are abused and the provision of protective curriculum .

Drug Education: the Department of School Education has a policy and teaching/learning programs in the area of drug education. Drug abuse is related to criminal activity and the Department has a particular focus on drug education programs which prevent students misusing and/or abusing drugs.

Itinerant Teachers of Behaviour Disordered Students (ITBD): this service focuses on students with a moderate disability and has 88 positions state-wide. Teachers have an average case load of 20 students at any one time and work within the home school of the student.

The ITBD provides support and assistance to the class teacher through such strategies as behaviour management, modified curricula, small group work, teacher and school development activities. The ITBD service will continue to expand.

Home School Liaison Officers: chronic school non-attendance is an area where change has increased the demand for specialist services. The appointment of 121 home school liaison officers has been highly successful in returning non-attenders to the regular school.

However, the success of this program has placed additional pressure on the already limited school resources. A significant percentage of the chronic school non-attenders who are returned to school present serious welfare and behavioural problems as well as learning deficits due to long absences from school. The Department of Family and Community Services provides assistance in the welfare related problems of these students and their families but this does not always alleviate the problems still faced by the educational authorities. Further development of appropriate school based alternatives and curriculum diversity appears warranted.

Behaviour and Attendance Programs: 30 teaching positions across the 10 educational regions in New South Wales have been allocated to the piloting of innovative programs to address behaviour and attendance problems in preventative and remedial approaches. Some programs successfully utilise strategies such as camps or a one-day week cottage program to develop student skills and prevent further alienation from school. Evaluation of these programs in 1987 has indicated that a systems approach on a whole school basis appears to be most successful.

Continued development and evaluation of these programs is a high priority.

Support Classes for Students with a Behaviour Disorder: students with a persistent and severe behaviour problem who cannot be maintained in regular classes

are placed in short-term adjustment classes. The aim is to remediate the student's behaviour to the point where full re-integration into the home class is practicable.

Special Schools/Units for Students with a Behaviour Disorder: students may be considered for placement in a special unit if they demonstrate severe behaviour and/or emotional difficulties which prevent them from developing satisfactory academic and social skills in the regular classroom.

Community Care Schools: there are 13 schools situated within institutions run by the Department of Family and Community Services. Of these, five cater for non-offenders and eight for the needs of juvenile offenders. Wherever possible, non-offenders are enrolled in mainstream schools. Those young people who, for reason of their short-term placement or level of emotional disturbance, cannot be integrated into the local school, attend the internal Community Care School.

Young offenders are subject to control orders and therefore are not at liberty to attend mainstream schools. The majority of this population of disturbed youth attend the educational provisions provided in Community Care Schools on a voluntary basis as they are normally over 15 years of age on committal.

Family and Community Services provide classroom space and all other resources are supplied by the Department of School Education. Schools are staffed on a 1:6/8 teacher: student ratio. One teachers' aide (special) is provided for each two classes. The schools offer a variety of educational programs designed to meet both the needs of the individual student and the institution in which they are located. Educational programs include academic programs for students wishing to complete their formal schooling; remedial programs aimed at raising levels of literacy, numeracy and social skills; and transition programs aimed at preparing the students for post release including activities to address needs in the vocational and independent living spheres.

Some institutions and their internal schools run total unit programs where all the residents are enrolled and attend school. Other institutions offer a variety of programs and only some residents elect to attend the school program. All students below school leaving age are enrolled in the school program. Those programs which are totally integrated appear to be the most effective in meeting the varied needs of the residents. These programs are offered in conjunction with the FACS staff at the institution.

The schools in institutions for young offenders are staffed by special fitness teachers with priority going to those teachers with post graduate qualifications in special education and/or demonstrated expertise in working with young people with behaviour and conduct disorders.

Conduct Disorders Units: 30 teacher and 10 teacher's aide (special) positions have been allocated to commence pilot programs for adolescents with conduct disorders.

Within the secondary school population there are adolescents who have been unsuccessful in services for emotionally disturbed or behaviour disordered students and have been suspended from two or more schools. These students lack internal self-control rather than being delinquent and if suspended are at risk of engaging in unlawful activities and becoming involved with a delinquent group. Suspension and expulsion procedures would mean that, although only 13 or 14 years old, these students would receive no further education. These adolescents have several characteristics :

they have incurred multiple suspensions;
they have been frequent non-attenders at school; and
they no longer attend school.

The living conditions of these adolescents may be differentiated by their living style. They are either: living in identifiable environments (with parents/foster parents/custodial institutions); not living in identifiable environments (runaways/squats/homeless/Kings Cross etc).

The Department of School Education makes provision for conduct disordered adolescents who are living in identified, structured environments but it does not have the resources to cater for those living in unstructured circumstances. Five pilot units are established and two are about to commence for uncontrollable adolescent conduct disordered students. The units operate in two distinct models: (i) staffed on a secondary schedule as an annex of a regular secondary school; (ii) staffed on a secondary schedule as a stand alone unit

The curriculum for the pilot units gives particular attention to: core activities; living skills; transition to work/further education

The successful operation of the pilot units is being enhanced by close cooperation with departmental agencies and community organisations whose services will be of value in youth counselling. These include :

Commonwealth Employment Service;
Department of Health;
Family and Community Services;
Sport and Recreation;
Technical and Further Education;
Police; and
Service Clubs (Rotary, Lions, Apex).

Proposed Preventative Programs: the Department of School Education recognises the necessity for developing preventative procedures which may alleviate or diminish the causes leading to the development of emotional and behaviour disorders in students.

An in-service training program will be provided for personnel involved in the education of students at risk. This may be based on the in-school use of two resource kits developed for at risk students in both primary and secondary schools: Working Ideas for Needs Satisfaction, a program designed to develop the behaviour management skills of teachers; and Talk Sense to Yourself, a program that develops students' skills in managing their own behaviour.

All regional student welfare personnel including school counsellors and ITBD's, will have the opportunity for in-service training.

Joint Police/Education Programs: specially trained general duties police officers (General Duties Youth Officers) have been appointed to designated locations. They

provide advice and support programs which address the needs of young people with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of law enforcement in New South Wales.

These officers work through the school principal to act as a resource for school programs including: Crime Prevention Workshops; School Watch; School and Community Awareness; Students Against Vandalism Everywhere.

Uniformed police are also authorised as School Attendance Officers and work in liaison with the regional Home School Liaison Teams to overcome student non-attendance at school.

Interdepartmental Cooperation

The Department is cognisant that there must be a high level of cooperation between it and other departments and agencies if successful programs are to be mounted for these at risk youth.

Given the number of departmental agencies and other organisations which are involved in the treatment of adolescents, there should be measures to ensure that consistent policies and procedures are followed. Roles and lines of communication need to be clearly defined.

The Department of School Education recommends that consideration be given to the in-service training of relevant personnel from the several agencies and organisations in the respective policies and procedures for dealing with disturbed adolescents.

It is suggested that a survey be conducted across government departments and non-government agencies to identify existing programs which are considered within that department or agency or across departments to be successful in working with at risk youth. It would be the responsibility of each department to nominate those programs they consider to be successful initiatives. Following identification of these programs, an evaluation should be conducted which would aim to determine success rates and identify successful program components.

Having identified the successful components in existing programs, discussions should be conducted with groups of young people who fit the perceived category of at risk youth. The aim of these discussion groups is to ascertain their perception of their needs and whether these can best be met through the development of specific programs.

Any program development should include the identified successful components from existing programs and relate these to reflect the needs identified by the disturbed youth groups.

It is anticipated that any program which incorporates both the identified successful factors and perceived needs would need expertise from across disciplines. Therefore it is anticipated that any adequate program development would be multi-disciplinary and not departmentalised. A team approach presenting program elements such as living and work skills, communication and basic literacy skills is envisaged. The program would need to provide appropriate emotional support with medical and therapeutic back-up as needed.

Any such program would require trained, special fitness staff who would volunteer to be involved in the initiative. Support to staff is seen as an absolute necessity. The normal "burn out" rate of staff involved with at risk youth is acknowledged to be high and this is often attributed to lack of appropriate support and resources. The requirements for support and resources would need to be established before program implementation.

Conclusion

In the development of any preventative or remedial approaches the cooperation of other departments and agencies and resource personnel within the Department of School Education is seen as essential if the problems of at risk youth are to be appropriately addressed. These may include: FACS; Health; Police; Home Care Services; Refuges; Housing; Social Security; Care Force, Rosemount, Paddington Drop In, Boy's Town, Centre Care, Kendall Grange, Barnados, Red Cross, Sydney City Mission, Burnside, Hopetown; Ethnic and Aboriginal Groups; Special Education Provisions; Community Care Schools; Technical and Further Education

At risk young people should not be seen as the responsibility of one government department or agency alone. Their needs are of such diversity that an inter-departmental commitment to addressing the issue would appear to offer the most viable approach to a complex situation.

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Physical Activities Model Youth Sport ... The Next Step

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Utilising sport and recreation to improve social conditions as a whole (rather than solely as crime prevention programs) is a strategy that has much to offer Australia. It is unrealistic to expect that sport/recreation programs operating on their own, and only addressing the needs of delinquent youth, can have a major impact (Mason & Wilson 1989, p.8).

This is one of the major conclusions of *Sport, Recreation and Juvenile Crime* (Mason & Wilson 1989). Whilst there is an assumed relationship between sport participation and prevention of juvenile crime, there is certainly no conclusive evidence to determine whether sport has an effect upon delinquency.

However, it is readily accepted that sport plays a crucial role in the development of our young people. The physical and health benefits of sport are obvious, yet the social and personal benefits are equally as important.

In an era of increasing commercialism in sport, one should not lose sight of the fact that the very essence of sport is its capacity to provide achievement, skill development, fun, enjoyment, exhilaration and recreation for all, irrespective of the level at which people may participate.

These indirect benefits of sport are too important not to promote and value. At its very best, and with good instruction, sport can teach young people about life itself, as well as contribute in a substantial way to community development.

Sport, the teacher, can show young people both how to work together for the benefit of the team, and the importance of individual achievement. Through sport, young people can learn to relate to each other, experience the joy of winning, the lessons of losing, and the rewards of effort.

The Australian Sports Commission is committed to improving the quality of sporting experiences for young people. To this end, it is essential that the AUSSIE

SPORTS program for primary school children, implemented in 1986, is reinforced and extended into the critical years of adolescence.

Developing the Youth Sport Program

In April-May 1989, the Australian Sports Commission took the first step in exploring the need for a youth sport initiative. Consultations were held around Australia with representatives from education, sporting departments, sporting associations, clubs, youth agencies, interested adults and young people. Overwhelmingly, the forums supported the need for a program to address sport for young people. A detailed account of the major issues and areas of need are documented in the Commission's *Youth Sport ... The Next Step*.

As a result of the increased funding for sport in the 1989 Federal budget, a new program focussing on young people in sport was launched by the then Minister for Sport, Senator Graham Richardson. The objectives of the Youth Sport Program are:

- to provide real opportunities for participation at appropriate competitive levels;
- to develop leadership qualities through involvement in official positions in sport;
- to assist sports to improve their recruitment and retention of volunteer officials;
- to develop demonstration projects for sporting bodies and at risk youth;
- to raise awareness of good practices strategies and of the issues for the providers of sport to young people;
- to improve the quality of sports instruction available to young people;
- to promote enjoyment of the benefits of, and good competition in, sport for young people;
- to provide coordinated policy development; and
- to foster closer school/community links.

The Teenage Drop-out Factor in Sport

This is one of the most often asked questions when people are first introduced to the concept of a program which looks at 13-18 year olds in sport. Before we can look at "dropping-out", maybe there needs to be a focus on the issue of "dropping-in". Whilst the AUSSIE SPORTS program promotes a positive early experience in sports

participation, many factors of school, club and association experiences impact on a young person's involvement in sport, positive and negative.

On the question of "dropping-out", it needs to be asked whether young people are not interested in sports participation or whether they are interested, but sport is not catering for them. Is it young people or sport that needs to change? This issue cannot be addressed simplistically and neither can a youth sport initiative be a simplistic or single strategy program. Thus the Commission's new program will need to embrace a number of programs each targeting different issues and interest groups.

To assist in developing the various programs, the Commission has embarked on a major market research project which will help identify if there is a participation "problem" and, if so, is it attitudinal, motivational or structural? A better insight into young people, their parents and the influences of teachers, coaches and clubs is also being sought to help the Commission target and place the programs according to the needs identified.

From this research we have learned that the great majority of parents and young people rate sport highly. Young people, especially, favour sport in social settings and where their peers get a "fair go". Young people indicate a strong desire to "do something" and feel strongly that "doing nothing" would lead them into situations and behaviours that were potentially delinquent, including vandalism, petty crime and drug use.

Sport presents young people with a strong viable activity where they can be in a social environment yet still pursue a notion of achieving their best and have a sense of belonging. The impact of a good coach who nurtures and promotes development is highly regarded as a major outcome of sport involvement.

Also, a staggering 82 per cent indicate their interest in being involved in a leadership scheme where they could teach skills to younger people and improve their own skills. Young people, it seems, are more than willing to help others.

Program Delivery

To facilitate the expansion and delivery of the AUSSIE SPORTS/Youth Sport programs at local, regional and state levels, the ASC has established Junior Sport Development Units (JSDU) in each state and territory. These units are joint ventures between the ASC and state departments of sport and recreation and education.

From a position of nine AUSSIE SPORTS Coordinators in 1989, in late 1990 there were 60 full-time and part-time Junior Sport Development Unit members, implementing both the AUSSIE SPORTS and Youth Sport programs nationally.

Programs

The Commission plans to help schools and clubs become more responsible for the ongoing development of young people through two sports leadership programs: the AUSSIE SPORTSFUN program; and a national sport leadership award scheme

The training and experience of sports leadership - as a coach, official, umpire/referee or trainer - gives great added benefit to the individual, and to the responsible school or club. In fact, the viability of the 30,000-odd sports clubs in Australia depends upon a strong structure of voluntary personnel.

The aims of the two programs are essentially similar:

to develop leadership skills in adolescence to provide an opportunity for young people to use these skills in sporting situations;

to encourage positive attitudes to voluntary community services; and

to introduce young people to other pathways in sport including coaching, administration, umpiring and officiating.

The AUSSIE SPORTSFUN Program

The program is currently being implemented around Australia and involves 100 high schools/colleges and 300 primary schools. In 1990, 1,800 leaders and 20,000 children will have been involved in the program.

The program offers opportunities for high school/college students aged 15-18 to realise leadership development through coaching primary school children in sports skills after school.

Sportsfun Leaders undergo a training program and are supervised throughout the program by Junior Sport Development Unit personnel and Physical Education teachers. They are:

aged 15 years or over;

attend an induction day, 2-3 day sport leadership training camp, plus 1-2 refresher days;

participate twice per week for 8 weeks for 2 terms in 2 x 30 minutes sessions;

receive an ASF resource manual and clothing; and

work in a ratio of 1:12.

Primary school children participating in the program are those who are not involved in community sport or go to an unsupervised home after school. The program, using AUSSIE SPORTS, encourages children to participate in and enjoy sport and physical activity. Primary teachers provide the essential supervision of the program and also assist the leaders.

Sport Leader Award

The sport leader award offers young people in the 15-20 age group the opportunity to learn new skills, give service and participate in four or more of the following activities:

- Administration
- Sports Organisation
- Sports Health
- SPORTSFUN
- Coaching knowledge and assistance
- Refereeing/Judging/Umpiring
- Participation

Three levels of sport award are offered to enable a development of proficiency. The time required to complete each award will be a minimum of 20, 40 and 60 hours respectively. A further Australian Sports Commission (ASC) award is proposed. This award provides recognition for application of knowledge, through service, after the sport's highest award has been completed.

The sport leader concept is one which the sports will develop within a national framework and will be administered by the sport in conjunction with the ASC.

Other Program Areas

In expanding the number of program possibilities in the youth sport area, the Commission, through the Junior Sport Development Units, is also funding a number of pilot projects.

The projects are intended to provide demonstration models for programs aimed at increasing the quality and quantity of sports participation in the youth age groups. By this mechanism, the Commission is attempting to establish workable models which can be applied in similar situations throughout Australia and which may be developed on a national basis.

While in 1990 the pilot project scheme was aimed at the youth population (13-18 years), in 1991 funding will also be available to projects targeting children under 13 years. The scheme acknowledges that some groups in the community may not be getting access to mainstream sporting programs. Projects concerning these groups, such as ethnic minorities, Aboriginal youth, rural communities, the unemployed, and the disabled.

The issue of participation in sport for young girls is also a major focus and close working relationships exist with the Commission's Women's Sport Promotion Unit.

In order to pursue the program objective of increasing participation of "at risk" groups, the Commission hopes to discuss with other agencies the development of pilot projects targeting a number of identified groups.

Future Challenges

Other major challenges for the program still exist and need to be addressed:

- school/community links;
- talent identification;
- access to facilities;
- quality coaching;
- elite competitive and social provision of sport;
- expanding the structure and delivery of sport;
- promotion of sport; and
- policy development of junior sport.

The Sports Commission cannot take responsibility for all of these issues, but can take a major role in facilitating and coordinating the providers of sport to make it something that more young people will want to be part of.

By changing the environment in which sport is provided and administered, many more young people may find a place for satisfying and rewarding involvement in sport. Whilst this may not directly affect "youth crime" it may provide a worthwhile alternative to the syndrome of "doing nothing". A comment from the AUSSIE SPORTSFUN promotional video states:

Sadly, due to many pressures on families, an increasing number of children go home to unsupervised houses. It's a fact that children very easily become bored and bored children unfortunately find many alternative things to do ... and these are not always constructive.

Sport is by no means an answer to the question of prevention of youth crime, but can be a major contributor to providing alternative means of fostering personal development, self-esteem and a feeling of self-worth. For the programs to be successful, they not only have to be adopted by the sporting structure itself, but need the support, contribution, and indeed acceptance, of all other agencies who are catering for young people.

The inclusion of sporting programs and creating of links to existing programs is an important challenge for all youth agencies. By adding another dimension for young people we may be able to create that social change that we are all striving for.

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Family Care/Parenting Support Model "Parenting: It's Dad's Work Too!"

Katherine Balabin, Community Corrections Officer
Wodonga Community Corrections Centre

The Wodonga Community Corrections Centre's Family Care/Parenting Support Program, "Parenting - It's Dad's Work Too", came about in discussions with a consultant employed by the Wodonga Good Neighbourhood Community Committee. Given that the majority of clients at Community Corrections were males, and that no local parenting programs were available, it was decided to run a program for fathers.

At the Wodonga Corrections Centre, a high proportion of male offenders who are fathers had some involvement with either Youth and Community Services in Albury, or Community Services in Wodonga, and their children were either in foster care, Wards of the State or supervised in their own home. Many fathers also had pending Court appearances.

The initial idea for the program was to develop a parent education/support group for fathers experiencing problems in their parenting role due to crime, family violence or conflict, alcohol or drug abuse. Potential long-term benefits in terms of crime prevention could also result.

The assumption behind the program is that inappropriate role models in the family predispose children to juvenile crime, violence, drug and alcohol abuse; and parents need to recognise that their children will copy their patterns of behaviours. Benjamin (1990) characterises the corrections' population as being "personally and socially disadvantaged in areas such as child-rearing, human relationships, inability to understand and express affection and respect, or manage anger or rejection".

The parenting support program for fathers focuses on personal development, anger management and parenting skills and provides for the referral of male offenders, and other men, experiencing difficulties in their parenting role. It therefore provides a vital opportunity to support and assist fathers to become more appropriate role models for their children.

It is hoped to use this program as a support group for male offenders, assisting them in their return to the family after imprisonment. Benjamin (1990) reminds us of the severe stress that offenders and their families experience in being separated and then re-united. Release from prison, rejoining the family and the community in general are the last stages in the trauma of separated families.

If the offender is a single parent, there may be additional difficulties if the children have been placed in foster care during the father's imprisonment.

As Community Based Correctional programs enable the offender to remain in the community, the family therefore stays together, and the offender has the opportunity of personal growth and increasing his parenting and other skills.

Community Services agreed to support the program because of its relevance to the prevention of child abuse. Indeed, parents may be required to attend such programs for counselling and support. Young offenders placed within CSV care on Court orders frequently come from family backgrounds characterised by child abuse, alcohol and drug problems.

The Youth Corrections Program takes a role in the prevention of juvenile crime, which often includes working with the juvenile's family.

The eight week program focuses on personal development, enhancement of social skills, development of parenting skills and the establishment of support networks. Although unable to accept outside referrals at this point, a manual is being compiled for use in the program and it could be used throughout the state including organisations fundamentally interested in the rights of women. The program covers anger management, challenges the traditional male role in the family, and encourages fathers to take responsibility for children in terms of general day-to-day needs, discipline, and well-being

The program seeks to develop the following skills:

personal development of participants, i.e. self-esteem, self-respect and self-discipline;

enhancement of social skills, such as assertiveness, communication, anger control, and problem solving; and

development of parenting skills, such as reflective listening, conflict resolution, discipline and mutual respect.

The aims of the program are:

to achieve personal growth and development in the areas of self-esteem, self-discipline and personal responsibility in each participant;

to assist fathers to acknowledge that they have a positive role in the family;

to help participants recognise problems within the family, especially those which can often escalate into aggression and other anti-social behaviours, and to develop alternative approaches to resolving them; and

to promote change in families so that participants can pass on appropriate knowledge and skills to their children.

The objectives of the program are:

to focus on the participants' understanding of themselves, and assist them in understanding their needs as a person, husband and father;

to offer participants alternative means for appropriately expressing their emotions, such as anger, grief, fear and love;

to help parents develop realistic expectations of their children, their needs, and how they can help their children to develop self-discipline and self esteem; and

to foster positive interaction between parent and child.

To set up the program, a number of steps and key tasks had to be undertaken. This involved securing funding, employing a consultant, developing a framework for the program, consulting with interested and supportive groups, writing the program, training the facilitators, writing the manual, identifying the initial group of participants, preparing the first program, and evaluating and reviewing the program.

Indicators of Success

Three evaluation measures will be used to test the effectiveness of the program:

1. Winner/Loser Measure (Appendix A), with pre-test and post-test measures.
2. Pre-test and post-test questionnaire (Appendix B). This research instrument has three sub-scales: social networks; self-esteem; parenting skills. There are also several behavioural markers to measure changes in behaviour developed by Jim Barber, Human Resource Centre, La Trobe University, for Parent Education Pilot Program, 1989-1990.
3. Participants weekly evaluation (Appendix C) - response by participants of the content of each session.

The program will be tracked and results made available under the Parent Education Program, Wodonga City Council. Other indicators from the program are:

verbal feedback from group members; number of referrals to the group; feedback from referring agencies.

This is an ongoing program and, initially, we propose to run one per school term with 10 to 12 people per program. The total funds required are \$5,939.00 (see Appendix D for details of Budget).

The effectiveness of this model is yet to be seen. Whilst Corrections recognise the role they have to play in offering programs of a preventative nature, there are limitations as Corrections will always be more concerned with punitive, rehabilitative, and diversionary measures. It is therefore up to other agencies within the community to offer a complex and complete range of preventative programs.

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Appendix A: Am I a Winner? Experiments and Exercises

Trait Checklist

Move quickly through the following list of traits. Use a check mark (/) beside those that fit your self-image. Use a cross (x) to mark those that do not fit. Use a question mark (?) to indicate the ones that you're unsure about

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Like myself | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't enjoy work |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afraid of or hurt by others | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't like myself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> People can trust me | <input type="checkbox"/> Can't hold a job |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Put up a good front | <input type="checkbox"/> Trust myself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Usually say the right thing | <input type="checkbox"/> Usually say the wrong thing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Feel bad about myself | <input type="checkbox"/> Enjoy people |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fearful of the future | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't enjoy being the sex I am |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dependent on others for ideas | <input type="checkbox"/> Discouraged about life |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Waste time | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't like being around people |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Use my talents | <input type="checkbox"/> Have not developed my talents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Think for myself | <input type="checkbox"/> Glad I'm the sex I am |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Know my feelings | <input type="checkbox"/> Often do the wrong thing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Don't understand myself | <input type="checkbox"/> Involved in solving
community problems |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Feel hemmed in | <input type="checkbox"/> People like to be around me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Use time well | <input type="checkbox"/> Competent on the job |
| <input type="checkbox"/> People avoid me | <input type="checkbox"/> Control myself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Disinterested in
community problems | <input type="checkbox"/> Enjoy life |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Enjoy work | <input type="checkbox"/> Trouble controlling
myself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Enjoy nature | |

Now look at those traits you have marked: is there a pattern? are they winner traits, loser traits, a mixture? what traits would you like to change?

Date

Date

Yes

No

Appendix B

Identification: _____

Date: _____

In order to help us plan our work we need to know your opinions about being a parent. The answers you give us will help us to know what to put into our parenting courses in the future.

The following questions ask you to mark an answer which best describes your feelings. While you may not find an answer which exactly states your feelings, please mark the answer with the number that comes close to describing how you feel.

YOUR FIRST REACTION TO EACH QUESTION SHOULD BE YOUR ANSWER

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly		Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly
Agree					Disagree

____ When my child came home from hospital, I had doubtful feelings about my ability to handle being a parent.

____ Being a parent is harder than I thought it would be.

____ I feel capable and on top of things when I am caring for my child.

____ I can't make decisions without help.

____ I have had many more problems raising children than I expected.

____ I enjoy being a parent.

____ I feel that I am successful most of the time when I try to get my child to do or not do something

____ Since I brought my last child home from the hospital, I find that I am not able to take care of this child as well as I thought I could. I need help.

____ I often have the feeling that I cannot handle things very well.

Circle the answer which best describes you as a parent.

i) I can handle anything that happens.

ii) I can handle most things pretty well.

iii) Sometimes I have doubts, but find that I handle most things without any problems

iv) I have some doubts about being able to handle things.

v) I don't think I handle things very well at all.

Circle the answer which best describes how you feel.

I feel that I am:

i) a very good parent.

ii) a better than average parent.

iii) an average parent.

iv) a person who has some trouble being a parent.

v) not very good at being a parent.

____ I feel alone and without friends.

____ When I go to a party I usually expect not to enjoy myself.

____ I am not as interested in people as I used to be.

____ I often have the feeling that other people my own age don't particularly like my company.

____ When I run into a problem taking care of my children I have a lot of people to whom I can talk to get help or advice.

____ Since having children I have a lot fewer chances to see any friends and to make new friends.

____ Roughly how many times YESTERDAY did your child disobey you?

____ Roughly how many times YESTERDAY did you hug, praise or show affection to your child?

____ Roughly how many times YESTERDAY did you have to punish your child? (smack, shout or tell-off).

____ How would you rate you child's behaviour? (Circle the correct one)

i) Very badly behaved

ii) Badly behaved

iii) Not bad

iv) Well behaved

v) Very well behaved

Appendix C: Weekly evaluation

I would appreciate your responses to Session _____

Just tick the rating you would give to each criteria.

	Very Good	Good	Average	Poor	Remarks
Contents-Topics					
Written Materials/Handouts					
Exercises					
Group discussion					
Overall Rating					

Added Comments:

What did you like best about this session?

What did you like least about this session?

Were there things that you wanted to discuss at this meeting which were not covered?

Name:

Date:

Appendix D: Budget

Funds requested from Good Neighbourhood Program:	\$
Consultant	
10 hours @ \$40.00/hr (program preparation)	400
Evaluation & Review	240
Purchase Videos	500
Hire of Venue	
\$150 per program x 4	640
Hire of overhead projector	
4 sessions x 4 @ \$10.00	160
Paper/Textas and other supplies	100
Total	\$2,040

Funds provided by other sources:

Office of Corrections	\$
Salary	
20 hours program preparation @ \$16.00/hr	320
Facilitator	
4 hours preparing each program	256
8 sessions @ 2 hours per session x 4	1,024
2 hours evaluation each program	128
Video Machine & Television hire	
8 sessions x \$20.00/night	160
Typist - 2 hours @ \$10.00/hr	200
- 2 hours pre program preparation @ \$10.00/hr	80
Photocopying	
- Program (500 x .05c)	25
- Handouts 120 x 4 sessions @ .05c	24
Telephone - Program Preparation	100
- Program calls	64
Total	\$2,381

Community Services of Victoria	\$
Salary	
Facilitator - 4 hrs prepare each program	256
- 8 sessions @ 2 hours per session x 4	1,024
- 2 hours evaluation each program	128
Photocopying	10
Phone	100
Total	\$1,518

Budget Totals

Total funds requested from Good Neighbourhood program were \$2,040

Total funds provided by Office of Corrections were \$2,381

Total funds provided by Community Services of Victoria were \$1,518

Total Budget for the Program \$5,939

Elements of Intervention with Young People for whom Drug Use is a Feature

Marion Watson, Coordinator,
Assisting Drug Dependents Inc., Canberra

The Drug Referral and Information Centre has been in operation for 11 years and is now based in Canberra's city centre, above and overlooking a popular meeting area - particularly for young people. The DRIC and its services operate under the incorporated entity Assisting Drug Dependents Inc. (ADD Inc) and all subsidiary agencies determine how they will work towards reducing the negative or harmful impact of drug use on the individual.

The philosophy and objectives of the DRIC and its subsidiaries (Crisis Detoxification Centre, Half-Way House, Needle Exchange Program and ACTIV League) have always been the major features of a cohesive approach to dealing with drug users. The structure of the organisation means that drug users can be contacted and assisted through:

the education of users (newsletter and personal contact) and advocacy process, referral (ACTIV League);

provision of resources for safe drug usage, education, referral (Needle Exchange Program);

street-based counselling, court intervention/evidence, referral, liaison, education (DRIC);

residential detoxification using natural therapies, education, referral (CDC); and

supported, residential return to the community, education, referral (Half-Way House).

These agencies or projects combine in their activities to create in themselves a network of services that can support customers from the "street" back to the street. In the process of providing this support, service coordination and education of users are of the highest priority. All agencies work collaboratively, and strive to ensure comprehensive information sharing and follow-up of services. This does not breach confidentiality. As the services are from the non-government sector there is no obligation to disclose to any other organisation issues or problems that the individual wishes to keep personal.

Philosophical Basis of Service Provision

The philosophy includes dealing with the fact of drug use, and leaving the decision to become abstinent, to the individual. This philosophy, in its expanded form, allows workers to understand the intended results of our contacts with young people. All workers and potential workers are presented with this philosophy on application for positions within the ADD Inc Agencies. If the philosophy has no meaning or is unacceptable, potential applicants self-select out of those positions for which they might have applied as it is essential that all employees agree with the philosophy which determines the process of service delivery and the reasons for the kinds of services provided.

Process of Service Delivery

There are few demands placed upon individuals who approach our agencies for available services. Those that are enforced relate in particular to the behaviour of the individuals while they are on the premises of the services (no violence or threats of violence to workers or other customers).

Service delivery is contingent upon: adherence to the above behavioural requirement; knowledge of the capacity of the agency to facilitate accommodation of the needs expressed; the availability of appropriate referral services.

The provision of resources entails: information, education and referral; assistance with those "problems" that the young person presents for solution by the workers; assistance with accommodation; intervention with the Courts; assistance with negotiating with the family (and other significant individuals); and diversion from the legal system into more appropriate systems of support and care.

It is the intention of the Centre to offer non-punitive and non-coercive choices to the individuals interviewed. In essence, there is a very low number of young people who appear at the organisation in the early stages of "criminal" careers. Many of the young people seen have no knowledge of choices of behaviour and are not keen to spend time in custody. In many cases, these young people have already been in contact with the juvenile justice system, and while their own or their family's drug usage may have been raised, appropriate steps to deal with the possibility of usage developing into dependency are not taken at this early stage.

Delivery of the service is casual but clearly outlined; there is no need to adopt either parent or police roles. The absence of moral judgements, not disinterest or undervaluing of the very real nature of the confusion and distress that young people experience, is a major reason for their attendance at our services. Not only do they rarely know what to do about alcohol and drugs, they also have great problems receiving serious recognition for their needs. There are many apparently insurmountable problems with being under 18 and the fact that other services are extremely selective about the problems that they are prepared to deal with means that by the time the individual reaches the DRIC services, problems have multiplied.

The primary focus of service delivery is the provision of facts. In the main there is a great absence of factual information for drug users and for workers. Facts about drugs, drug usage and safe means of doing drugs are not readily available unless a person has the ear of a tame pharmacologist who is not bound by "abstinence" ethics and is prepared to provide clear and accurate information about "recreational" drug use. Ethical limitations (how can you tell a young person "how to use drugs safely"?) prevent most workers in this field from even accepting that young people do use drugs for fun. DRIC's services assume that it is fun unless otherwise indicated by the young person.

Assessment of young people in context must consider not only what the person is doing now, but where they have come from. In the process of interview the individual determines their own limitations and expectations, and the workers attempt to work within the framework that is provided by the young person.

Interventions in the Juvenile Justice System

By the time young people present at the Centre's services there are many interventions that may be required. The range of requirements extend from intervention with parents and Welfare Services, Court appearances to arrange diversion, Court ordered counselling (usually pre-sentencing), negotiating with parents re custody/access, residential detoxification and reports to the Court.

In the near future it is expected that under the Drugs of Dependence Act ACT (1989) there will be provision for the "treatment" of drug dependent young people as an alternative to other forms of sentencing. This allows for those people for whom drug use is a feature (a cause or a mitigating circumstance) of their criminal activity, to be sentenced to either residential or street-based "treatment" for their drug use in order that "disposal" of the case be expedited in the most appropriate fashion.

The outcome of this (DODA Sentencing) would, at least, be that the individual would have supervised support with counselling for the duration of the "sentence" and that acknowledgement of the fact of the young person's drug use would occur at Court level.

For some sections of the legal profession there is a reluctance to take on cases involving drug use, thus restricting access to caring and skilled defence counsel. The agency operates in the knowledge that often the expectations of the community, the family, the Court system, the police and the individual are predetermined and that

treatment and sentencing options are few and far between. The organisation and its subsidiaries work towards changing the nature of outcomes that are reasonably expected under a system of justice that works best for those who can afford individualised counselling and expensive legal defence.

The agencies operate to provide advice, support, education, resources and pragmatic resolution of the presenting problems . Assisting Drug Dependents Inc. also works to intervene between "justice" or the community's requirements and the reality of being a small, non-voting individual in a big system designed to cater to the majority.

Conclusion

Although our "model" has no name, it could be called the "common-sense" or pragmatic model. However, many people have no understanding of drug use, so unless a number of people understand and agree with our approach, can it be called "common-sense"? Does this mean that those who demand abstinence as a prerequisite for young people being involved in their programs are called "nonsense models"? This is not intended.

Young people are a reflection of adults. Their behaviours reflect our behaviours, magnified and exaggerated because young people's behaviour is overt and exaggerated.

"Street kids" develop "families" with stricter rules and more biases than "normal families" and they attempt to become "adult" as quickly as possible. Our expectations of those young people push them into untenable positions. Train us to be parents and then we can train them to be children.

The system must operate in favour of retaining children in children's roles until they know how to be adult and can deal appropriately with the expectations thrust upon them.

Availability of Resources

The major issue confronting workers dealing with young offenders, most of whom are using alcohol and many of whom use illicit drugs, is that their drug use has never been confronted in any other context other than to be instructed not to do it.

Parental alcohol or drug use must be considered a feature of juvenile drug use. Young people do not decide that drug use is important or desirable or useful in isolation. The modelling and socialisation they receive has shown them that (like violence) alcohol or other drug use is a fact of life. Reversing this perception must be seen as a personal choice and the individual must see that they have the capacity (let alone the inclination) to achieve this outcome.

The Youth Justice System in New Zealand

Faith Denny, Senior Program Adviser
Department of Social Welfare, Wellington, New Zealand

Recent reforms of legislation relating to children and young persons in New Zealand, *Children, Young Persons. and Their Families Act 1989*, have resulted in a separation in jurisdictions between children and young persons in need of care and protection and those who offend against the law. Young persons (aged between 14 and 17 years) who are charged with committing offences are now dealt with in a newly-established Youth Court.

This separation of jurisdictions has occurred through an ideological shift from the "welfare model" of dealing with young offenders to the "justice model". Rather than embrace the "just deserts" aspects of the justice model however (which attributes offending to the full choice of the offender, who in turn must be held responsible for the offence), there is an attempt to view the principle of justice in a wider perspective, which places the origins of crime in a broader macro-economic and social context - for example, the well-known relationship between incidences of crime and unemployment. Thus a major role of the youth justice system is to avoid adding further injustice to existing social and economic injustice.

Whilst it is acknowledged that neither of these two models exists in its pure form, the key issue is where the balance of considerations lie. Under current legislation, principles of diversion and proportionality of dispositions to the offence committed by young persons are of primary importance.

Another key aspect of this legislation is the involvement of families. In this context, a family group has been defined in law to recognise different cultural understandings of family. It means extended family - something more than the nuclear caregiver family, and includes Whanau, hapu and iwi for Maori and equivalents in the various Pacific Island cultures (see p. 226 for definition of terms). Family group involvement is based on the premise that most families care about their children and young people, and within them hold information that is of more complete than workers

outside the family can access to the same extent. The role of the professional in the Youth Justice system therefore is to manage the system in order to reduce as much as possible the harmful effects that contact with the criminal justice system inherently has on children and young persons.

The Family Group Conference

A new statutory process, a Family Group Conference (FGC), is a key diversionary mechanism. A FGC is convened and facilitated by a new statutory official known as a Youth Justice Coordinator (YJC).

Features of the diversionary process are:

when a child or young person is charged with an offence, no information may be laid until a FCG has been held. The prosecuting authority must refer the matter to the YJC;

when the offender has been arrested, the court may not enter a plea, but must refer the matter to a YJC to convene a FGC. The exceptions are where the charge is a purely indictable offence, or where on legal advice, the young person indicates a non-guilty plea. (Applied to 1989 court appearance statistics, it is estimated that about 95 per cent of cases would be available for diversion.);

the FGC is authorised to find alternatives to prosecution in dealing with an offender who admits guilt;

families are entitled to deliberate in private and to arrive at decisions and plans, which must then be negotiated with the officials present;

when a FGC agrees on an alternative measure, the YJC is bound to try to persuade the prosecuting authority to accept that decision;

when a FGC does not agree on an alternative, the matter proceeds to court for adjudication. The law provides, however, that the court be informed of the wishes of the Family Group, so that prosecuting authorities may be held accountable should they override without acceptable cause, the plans, decisions or recommendations of the Family Group;

when the Family Group Conference is unable to prevent a prosecution, the Conference has a role in advising courts on appropriate sanctions for the young offender.

There are statutory time frames within which FGCs must be held. These range from within seven days for a young person who is held in custody to within 21 days for a young person not in custody.

Principles of the New Legislation

There are general principles that underlie both the Youth Justice and Care and Protection parts of the legislation. These are that:

families should participate in decisions affecting children and young persons;

wherever possible the relationship between a child or young person and his or her family should be maintained and strengthened;

consideration must always be given to how a decision will affect the welfare of a child or young person, and also how it will affect the stability of the family;

consideration must also be given to the wishes of the child or young person;

the support of the parents, guardians or caregivers and of the child or young person should be obtained where possible; and

the child or young person's sense of time should be a factor in the implementation of decisions wherever practicable.

If any conflict of principles or interests arises, the welfare and interests of the child or young person shall be the deciding factor.

The Youth Justice parts of the Act have their own specific set of principles. Summarised, the principles state that:

unless the public interest requires otherwise, criminal proceedings should not be instituted against a child or young person if there is an alternative means of dealing with the matter;

criminal proceedings are not to be instituted solely to provide assistance or services needed to advance the welfare of the young person or his/her family group;

measures taken should be kept in the community where practicable and consonant with the need to ensure public safety;

age of itself is a mitigating factor in determining whether a sanction should be imposed, and in determining the nature of the sanction;

sanctions should take the form most likely to maintain and promote the development of the offender within his/her family group, and be the least restrictive form appropriate;

any measures taken should have regard to the interests of victims; and

the vulnerability of young people entitles them to special protection during any investigation relating to the commission or possible commission of an offence by them.

Te Tiriti O Waitangi - The Treaty of Waitangi

The premise for the development of a bi-cultural society in New Zealand rests on the Treaty of Waitangi. It must also be the premise for a bi-cultural Social Welfare Department and Public Service. Summarised the Treaty maintains the following points.

Article One states that the Maori accede Kawanatanga, i.e., the right to govern, the Crown.

Article Two states that the Maori retain Tino Rangatiratanga, that is Maori control over Maori possessions, interests, customs, and the Maori language.

In **Article Three** the Maori were given citizenship which assures them rights of access into NZ society.

Currently there is debate about the extent to which Kawanatanga (the Crown) has influence over Tino Rangatiratanga (custom). Maori claim it has no influence over Tino Rangatiratanga, whereas the Government claims that it does retain the right to govern and make laws for everybody.

The Department of Social Welfare as an agent of the Crown has an active duty to ensure that practice under the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989*, is consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. This ensures that Whanau, hapu and iwi (the family) have a right to make decisions about their children and young persons who are in need of care and protection or who have committed offences against the law; and whanau, hapu and iwi have a right to access the services and resources of the Department of Social Welfare to assist them to provide care, protection and control for their children and young persons.

Translated into daily practice with Maori children and young persons and their whanau, hapu and iwi this means that the Department:

does not view the Maori child or young person in isolation from their whanau, hapu and iwi;

does not view Maori people as being all the same;

does view the Maori as a tribal people;

does understand that genealogy, or common blood ties, identifies a Maori person as a member of their whanau, hapu and iwi;

does understand that a structure that is not based on genealogy or common blood ties is not a whanau;

does understand that the physical, social and spiritual well-being of a Maori person is inextricably related to a sense of belonging to their whanau, hapu and iwi;

does understand that the Maori child or young person does not "belong" to their birth parents but knows many people within whanau, hapu and iwi who are bound to provide for their physical, social and spiritual well-being, and upbringing;

does understand that these tribal responsibilities take precedence over the views of the birth parents;

does understand that the centrality accorded the child or young person under the paramountcy principle is not in keeping with Maori tradition;

does understand that, in the case of a Maori child or young person, his or her interests can only be determined after having regard to the views of the child or young person's whanau, hapu and iwi;

does understand that, through the tribal traditions and lore of inherited circumstances, whanau, hapu and iwi have a duty and a right to make decisions regarding their children and young persons;

does understand that it is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi for the Department to make arrangements for Maori children and young persons without prior negotiation with, and the agreement of, their whanau, hapu and iwi.

Under this new act, there is provision for the Director-General to approve the establishment of Iwi and Cultural Authorities. When and as they establish, Iwi (Tribal) and Cultural Authorities will take over the full range of social services currently provided by the Department. In the case of Maori young people, their tribal affiliations will determine which Iwi Authority will have the responsibility for providing care, protection or control.

Sentencing Options

Warnings and Formal Police cautions are available diversionary sanctions. The Youth Court cannot make any orders unless a Family Group Conference has been held.

Standard disposal options available to the Youth Court include: discharge; admonishment; conditional discharge; orders for fines; orders for restitution; and orders for forfeiture of property.

Higher tariff disposals available to the Youth Court have been formed with regard to the following principles.

Proportionality: the principle which limits excessive attempts at rehabilitation, and open-ended orders where these could not be applied to adults committing the same offence, and which recognises the mitigating factor of youthfulness, and youth time-frames.

Equality: the principle that responses to like offences should be similar, that seeks to limit the influence of personal, social, cultural or economic status factors in determining individual outcomes, and which limits the more coercive, controlling sanctions to certain classes or offence, rather than classes or offenders.

Determinacy: the principle that all sanctions should have definite limits, known in advance.

Specificity: the principle that the exact nature of any sanctions should be known, in advance.

Frugality: the principle that the sanction should be the least restrictive option available.

The orders available, in ascending order of severity, are:

Supervision Order - with or without conditions, limited to a maximum of 6 months;

Community Work Order - with the consent of the young person the court may order not less than 20 hours and not more than 200 hours of supervised work in the interests of the community, within a 12 month period;

Supervision with Activity Order - with the consent of the young person a three month order of structured supervised activity, which may be followed by a three month Supervision Order;

Supervision with Residence Order - an order which totals nine months in all, the first three months of which is spent in the custody of the Department of Social Welfare. The custodial period reduces automatically to two months provided the young person does not offend while in, or abscond from, the custodial placement. The appropriate place of custody is determined by the Director-General of Social Welfare, not the court; and

Transfer to the District (Adult) Court for Sentence - where the Youth Court declines to sentence, usually on the grounds of seriousness of the offence(s). Only 15 and 16 year olds may be so transferred.

Supervision with Activity is the highest tariff non-custodial equal to a Supervision with Residence Order. The Youth Court may not order Supervision with Activity unless the nature and circumstances of the offence are such that, but for the availability of the order, the court would have considered a Supervision with Residence Order.

The Youth Court may not order Supervision with Residence or Transfer to the District Court unless: the offence is purely indictable; or the nature and circumstances of the offence, had it been committed by an adult, would have resulted in a mandatory whole-time custodial sanction for that adult; or the court is satisfied that because of the

special circumstances of the offence or the offender, any order of a non-custodial nature would be clearly inadequate.

On the completion of the Supervision, Community Work, Supervision with Activity and Supervision with Residence Orders, there is a requirement that the person or organisation supervising the Order report back to the Youth Court on the effectiveness of the Order and the young person's response to it.

Community-based Services

The Youth Services Funding Program was developed to resource community-based youth services that are in keeping with the objects and principles of the Act. It provides money for services that support young people who are:

affected by substance abuse or prone to substance addiction;

subjected to special or unusual circumstances such as being "prospected" for gang membership;

"failing" in the school system e.g. unable to cope because of literacy/numeracy difficulties or not achieving well academically and are thus at increased risk of being involved in negative activities such as offending;

at risk of involvement in negative activities because family relationships have broken down and they are living away from home;

requiring organised recreation activities and who would otherwise be involved in negative pastimes such as offending or substance abuse;

ordered by the Youth Court to undertake a Supervision with Activity order. The Youth Court will make orders after receiving a recommended plan of activity from Family Group Conference.

The major objectives sought for the Youth Services Funding Program are:

an increase in the ability of family/whanau, hapu, iwi and family groups to address and meet the needs of their young people;

an increase in the number of young people remaining in their community and being maintained within the family/whanau, hapu, iwi and family group; and

a reduction in the need for the Department of Social Welfare or other organisations to become closely involved in the lives of young people and their families.

The Youth Services Program funds a wide range of community services, including residential and day-based. Provision is also made for financial assistance to be made available for individuals for whom a Supervision with Activity Order has been made by the Youth Court. Such financial assistance will meet 100 per cent of costs incurred by the person or organisation overseeing the Order.

Residential Services

For the purpose of the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act*, "residence" means: any residential centre, family home, group home, foster home, family resource centre, or other premises, approved by the Director-General; and any other residential program that is approved by the Director-General whether administered by the Crown or not. The definition does not include a penal institution, any place of psychiatric care, or a children's health camp.

Currently the Department operates four residential centres three of which cater for Youth Justice and one for Care and Protection services under the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act*. Secure care is provided as part of each residential centre's overall services. The legal criteria for the use of secure care is set out in the Act. Admissions to secure care may only occur to prevent further absconding (where that will harm well-being), and to manage behaviour that is dangerous, either to others or to the child or young person.

The Department of Social Welfare acknowledges that residential care is highly intrusive, and accordingly it has a stated policy that placement in a residential centre is an option only when it is clear that less restrictive community-based alternatives are not viable.

Other policies of the Department with respect to residential care include regionalisation (the Department currently has four Operational areas) and localisation. There are two key features of these policies.

Regionalisation: no child or young person should be placed in a residence outside the regional boundary in which he/she lives. The exceptions are where:

a placement in another operational area is negotiated in order to maintain links and encourage placement within family, whanau, hapu, iwi or family group;

the care of the child or young person, or the protection of the community, cannot be guaranteed within regional boundaries.

Localisation: residential placements should be as close as possible to where the family, whanau, hapu, iwi or family group live. This is to ensure their ongoing involvement in residential programs, and seeks to reduce any sense of alienation during the period that the child or young person is in care or custody.

This policy also seeks to encourage the integration of children and young persons back into their families, family groups and tribal communities, following release.

In 1986, *Puao-te-Ata-tu, the Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare*, was released. This report recommended community oversight of Departmental residential centres through the establishment of Residence Management Committees (RMCs). An RMC of up to nine persons has since been appointed for each residential centre. They have a statutory responsibility to oversee and monitor the implementation of residential services policy. A director is responsible for administering policy and managing the day-to-day operations of the centre. Directors are accountable to both the RMCs and senior management of the Department.

Under the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989*, admission to residential centres will result from: arrest and/or remand from the Court; or placement as a result of a Court Disposition.

Accordingly, the role of residential centres varies. In the cases of arrest and/or remand the role of residential centres is to provide custodial care. For admissions that are the result of a Court Order, either under the Care and Protection or Youth Justice parts of the Act, the emphasis is on achievement of agreed program results relating to the plan that has been developed for the child or young person at a Family Group Conference.

Family Group Conferences will be involved in decisions leading to admissions, except in the case of arrests and some remands, where they will have the role of making recommendations to the court concerning the ongoing custody of the child or young person.

For all admissions, the nature of the service provision relies on the productive use of time through time-limited programming which is aimed at achieving specific practical outcomes, recognises the importance of family authority, and enables and encourages family involvement.

Any residential centre has both generalised and individual programs which provide a framework for working with the children and young persons in residence. General programs can be defined as those planned activities that are common to all residents, e.g. the provision of educational/vocational training. Given the clear role of residential centres to manage behaviour and provide care and control, the program focus should be on the development of life, social and competency skills.

Individual programs relate to a specific resident and are developed around the identified reasons for placement at the centre and the results sought. In the cases of children and young people whose placement in a residential centre is the result of a court disposition, these programs will give effect to any approved plan.

The critical elements of any program, either general or individual, are that they are:

planned;

developed in consultation with a variety of significant people including the children or young people themselves and their families

forward focused, time specific and reviewed at regular intervals;

provide for purposeful activity;

provide for family and community involvement; and

able to be evaluated as to their effectiveness.

Important principles in the development of a high quality, culturally appropriate residential program are as follows.

Family Integrity: residential programs should support rather than compete with the family, whanau, hapu and iwi.

Individualisation: residential programs should strive to provide care in a manner that recognises and addresses the unique capacities, needs and situations of the individual child or young person in care/custody.

Continuity of Care: residential programs should strive to ensure that the care provided is appropriately integrated into the rest of the Department's Social Work Services.

Fairness and Humanity: residential programs should take non-racist, non-sexist and non-violent approaches which emphasise fairness and humanity.

Normalisation: residential programs should reflect and support patterns of behaviour characteristic of normative, family and community living.

Involvement in Decision Making: residential programs should inform and involve the children or young persons in care/custody and their families in decisions relating to their stay in residential care.

Accountability: residential programs should be planned and implemented with appropriate reporting and provision of information to enable practice to be monitored.

Evaluation: residential programs should be assessed regularly in terms of the effectiveness, appropriateness and efficiency of their activities.

The Department's legal mandate for secure care is clear. There is, however, considerable controversy over the philosophy for secure care, i.e. whether it should exist and what moral mandate there is for its use.

One position persistently advocated over recent years is that the Crown, through the Treaty of Waitangi, does not have the right to assume the role of protector of Maori children; that the concept of Tino Rangatiratanga provides for iwi to have responsibility for Maori. The proponents of this position argue that secure care violates the rights of Maori.

In a similar vein, rights activists argue that confinement in secure care for any child or young person should only occur with court sanction (the Department's questionable use of secure care in the past as recorded by various Commissions of Inquiry is cited).

Another position advocated by some sectors in society is that young people who transgress in certain ways should be locked away for long periods of time.

The Department's position is essentially pragmatic. The differing perspectives and our challengeable history in the provision of secure care are acknowledged. The position taken, however, is that the state does have a final responsibility for the care and control of children and young people in some situations.

The *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989* changes the balance of power and responsibilities in favour of families, and the state will exercise its direct care responsibilities much more as a response to processes which rely on family decision-making. Within this context there is still a need for secure care facilities for those children and young people whose behaviour is unmanageable elsewhere. Its use is tightly prescribed legally and subject to regulatory control and judicial oversight.

Training Courses

Training provided by the Department is a mixture of nationally developed modular training packages and regionally developed training in response to local needs. The majority of training is delivered at the local level. The modular training packages developed in relation to the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act* include:

- overview of the Act
- powersharing
- managing change
- Family Group Conferences
- reporting
- Community Services
- Residential Services
- Planning Program Development
- Secure Care

In addition, Evidential Interviewing and Supervision with Activity modules are currently being developed. Induction Training for all Youth Justice Coordinators involves a three-day workshop, which is followed up with monthly/six weekly ongoing training on a regional basis.

Data Collection Systems

One of the key facets of a systems management approach to youth justice is the availability of accurate data to local managers. At present the Department has an interim data collection system which was in existence prior to the implementation of the new Act, and a paper-based system that captures information about new processes e.g. the Family Group Conference.

An integrated computerised system, the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Information System (CYPFis), was implemented nationally in July 1990 and it is intended that the CYPF Information System will be linked to the other major computerisation project that the Department has under way in the income support area of its services. This is known as SWIFTT (Social Welfare Information for Tomorrow Today).

Te Rangatahi Mahi Kotahi (Young People Working Together)

In March 1988, Te Rangatahi Mahi Kotahi Trust commenced in Wellington to provide a service to meet the needs of young people at intermediate school (aged 10 - 13 years), in their transition to secondary school.

The focus of the Trust is preventative youth work and targets the transition between intermediate and secondary school, as this has been identified as an important, and sometimes difficult, time for young people.

The broad aim of the Trust is to facilitate positive change in attitudes toward school in those young people who are identified as the most likely to develop patterns of "failure" in the education system.

The outcome sought by the Trust for those young people is to enhance and extend their stay at school, which will further improve their future employment prospects and ultimately lead to them becoming positive contributors within the community.

Relationship with School

A common theme of young people at risk is that of a negative school experience. The inter-departmental Working Party on homeless youth (street kids) clearly identified poor educational attainment as a central part of modern-day youth problems, and pointed to school support as a legitimate means of intervention and prevention. Of the street youth population, they reported that "many are truants from school, or school leavers whose schooling did not extend beyond the Form Two level."

For those young people, school has largely been unable to provide them with a real sense of achievement, self-worth and involvement. It needs to be acknowledged however, that it is difficult for schools to be instrumental in promoting change. While some of the issues for young people who are at risk are changing, the needs remain the same. Acknowledgement of the continuing extent of this problem is necessary, and the identification of a way to begin working which is truly preventative.

Te Rangatahi Mahi Kotahi attempts to "catch" young people before they develop the patterns of behaviour that will impact on their ability to remain in school. The Trust recognises that the provision of a positive and comprehensive program will not, by itself, do more than provide different subject matter, and different styles for delivering that subject matter.

In providing this service, the Trust has determined that parental/family and teacher involvement is essential to bring about any long-term gains for the young people who participate in the program. Parents and families of any young person are the key to their sense of identity, and provide the majority of a young person's learning of social and cultural skills and values.

The Trust not only requires active involvement from, but also works alongside and supports, parents and families of the young people. Influencing the family environment is the most effective way of sustaining the positive changes that young people make in both the home and the school environment. Working alongside parents and families

requires that the workers of the Trust share information with them about their young people; assist them to develop their own strategies to address particular issues that may arise; support those strategies by incorporating their ideas into the program; and encourage families to take a more active role in their young person's learning, both at the Trust and at school.

Trust workers maintain regular liaison with participating schools and individual teachers. The intent is to facilitate change within the school - away from the traditional approach that only teachers educate - towards a more participatory and coordinated approach that involves all of the significant people, and especially the family, who influence a young person.

By taking a young person out of the classroom one day a week to participate in the program provided by the Trust, the workers are able to identify the ways in which a young person learns. Regular liaison with, and the cooperation of, their teachers provides opportunities for developing the most effective ways in which individual learning needs can be catered for using a group process.

Te Rangatahi Mahi Kotahi Trust is not a "soft" option for either the young people and their families, nor the participating schools. Our service and program are geared to the future, and are not designed to be reactive to immediate and presenting needs. As they progress through the program, the young people are increasingly expected to face the consequences of their behaviour and to accept responsibility for themselves.

The program is designed to support the overall aim of the service. Incorporated into the program are practical activities that reinforce the informal and formal learning that is provided by families and teachers respectively. Continuity and consistency are essential factors in supporting and encouraging young people to bring about significant changes in their lives.

Emphasis is placed on acquainting young people with the considerable number of community services available to them and their families, that can provide for their cultural, recreation, social, educational and legal needs.

Attention is paid to promoting the value of mental, physical and emotional health, and the very basic ways that these can be maintained through respect for self and others. Activities are planned in such a way so that the young people systematically learn, and improve on developing better communication skills, self-discipline, adopting healthy practices - combining nutrition and exercise, and planning for their future.

Parent and family involvement is an integral part of the program design, with regular opportunities for their involvement being catered for in our program planning.

When a young person leaves or completes the program, the Trust will provide follow-up for 18 months. This entails the Liaison-Coordinator maintaining a monthly contact with the young people, their families, and teachers for the first six months. Thereafter, contact will occur every six months.

Conclusion

Te Rangatahi Mahi Kotahi Trust is attempting to work with young people in a way that is not readily understood, given that there are no sure methods for determining that the

young people would have "failed" anyway. There are many worthwhile community-based services working to address the needs of young people who have come to the attention of statutory authorities such as the Departments of Social Welfare and Justice, and the New Zealand Police. The Trust is one of few community-based services that is working preventatively by attempting to divert young people away from that often unproductive attention.

Definition of Maori terms

Whanau: the smallest social unit within the biological family. The terms covers the two preceeding generations of grandparents and parents; the generation of the person concerned and the two succeeding generations of children and grandchildren.

Hapu: the term is used to denote the extended family group. It expresses the birth of common whanau from common ancestors and stresses the blood tie which unites them for the purpose of cooperation and, in the past, active defence.

Iwi: refers to all Hapu descended from common ancestors and thus related by blood. Therefore, whanau, hapu and iwi are hereditary rights and all members of an iwi are related by blood descent.

Reform of the South Australian Children's Court

L. Kingsley Newman, Senior Judge
Adelaide Children's Court

The proposals in this paper, and the responses of others to them, are presently under consideration by the South Australian Cabinet. They should be treated as such, that is, proposals only and not current Government policy. The proposal to reform the juvenile system by simplifying the method of operation of the Children's Court in both the criminal and civil jurisdictions, and to take over the work presently undertaken by the Screening Panel and the Children's Aid Panel, was placed before the Attorney-General in late 1990

The reason for such a proposal is to improve the relevance and response of the system to juvenile offending; to ensure greater accountability and competency development of the child; to increase public protection; to introduce the concept of accountability to victims; to reduce costs; to take over and simplify the present screening system; and in the civil jurisdiction to reduce the trauma of court proceedings for child sexual abuse victims.

Criminal Cases

There are growing concerns about the delays which occur in the juvenile justice system in South Australia and the effectiveness of the system insofar as the impact upon juveniles is concerned.

In his speech at the opening of the Young People and Crime seminar in Adelaide in May of 1990, the Hon. C.J. Sumner, MLC, Attorney-General asked, inter alia; "can we say that our criminal justice response to juvenile offending has been successful?"

The Attorney-General suggested changes to criminal justice systems were needed and expressed concerns about the response time involved in dealing with young

offenders; that is, the question of delays between the occurrence of an offence and the official response.

...there are examples particularly in the case of first offenders, where second and further offences can occur prior to any response by authority to the initial offence. i.e. even prior to consideration by a screening panel or a children's aid panel...further difficulty is that the official sanction is not only removed by time from a juvenile offence, it is also often removed from the nature of the offence. Young people are not instructed to make good the damage or nuisance caused. The actual sanction, where there is one, often appears irrelevant to a young offender... there is a need to have the capacity to relate the official response to the nature of the offence...the principle of ensuring a speedy and relevant response to offending among young people is important and may be more important than the severity of the sentence. If there are significant delays between offences being committed by young people and formal assessment by screening panels, aid panels and courts we must look at ways to reduce them.

In a letter of 22 June 1990 asking me to look at specific areas of European systems while overseas, the Attorney-General said:

there are two areas in the operation of the juvenile justice system which are of particular concern ...

The first matter of concern is the delay that can occur between an alleged young offender's first contact with the police in the disposition of the offender, whether by a children's aid panel or the court... [Another matter] is the repeat offender. Community perception is that young offenders can return time and time again to the children's court without receiving punishment that will bring home their responsibilities for their behaviour or influence them to change it.

The recent amendments to the *Children's Protection and Young Offenders Act* which make community service orders a discreet sentencing option are intended to make young offenders aware of their responsibility for their behaviour. Presumably other countries have ideas in this area.

The other major concern which I feel needs to be addressed is the over-processing which occurs both in aid panels and in the Children's Court, a concern shared by the Children's Court Advisory Committee. Despite the decline in numbers in the Children's Court, South Australia has the third highest level of processing of young offenders in Australia (after WA and NT).

For this reason the report of the *Children's Protection and Young Offenders Act Working Party* recommended that the use of screening panels, their effectiveness and alternatives should be considered again at a future date.

What's Wrong with the Present System?

Both the aid panel and the Children's Court are over-processing. The response to children who continue to offend is inadequate both in terms of effective intervention and swiftness of intervention. Courts and panels have taken the conflict out of the hands of those most involved. The victims are allowed no active part in either proceedings. A prominent feature of British criminal justice is that the victim of the offence is officially a nobody.

Defendants no longer present their own account of what occurred. Lawyers and social workers compete as spokespersons for juveniles who have become estranged

from the decision-making process. The present system is too fragmented e.g. there are over 452 people at 64 locations involved full-time or part-time in panel meetings.

Returning to the question of over-processing, in 1984, while court appearances dropped 14 per cent after aid panels were introduced, panel appearances later blew out by 71 per cent. The last survey in 1989 by Joy Wundersitz concluded that this effect is a lasting one. In fact, it has since grown worse. The past 12 months have seen an additional 8 per cent blow-out.

Instead of diverting children from the justice system we are actually feeding more into it. A NACRO (UK) study of the English (police) diversionary system reached the same conclusion. Additionally, it criticised the system's inconsistency in different areas and found it discriminated against black children.

Aid panels are not alone in over-processing. The court is doing the same thing with 30 per cent of matters coming before the court ultimately being discharged without conviction, without penalty.

As children do not have the money to pay fines, the vast majority of matters are finalised by way of a bond or a work order option. Although the consequence for the child at the end of the process is not severe, the time taken to actually resolve the matter is out of proportion to the gravity of most final orders made. Our formal, traditional, adversarial approach, results in the court being constantly cluttered up with relatively minor matters and unable to respond quickly to the serious, hard-core group of offenders and to In Need of Care Trials. Additionally, the constant adjournment of proceedings for reports, for legal advice, for pre-trial conferences and the time spent waiting for lawyers to see their clients or to come from other courts all result in tremendous wastage.

All of this leads to the delays in the response time in dealing with young offenders as highlighted by the Attorney-General. Moreover, each extra step in any system of itself brings about added bureaucratic delay. To work swiftly and efficiently, systems need to be as simple as possible, involving as few people as possible. Most importantly a fragmented system, part of which is controlled by one body and part of which is controlled by another, is less powerful and its accountability and responsibility are reduced. This division leads to confusion in the minds of ordinary people who no longer know just who is responsible for controlling juvenile crime, the police, the welfare, the courts, the government?

The solution to these problems is to restore the court to the position it once held, but to reform its practices so that it may deal with the majority of matters in a less formal way - in much the same way as is currently done by panels - but by a person in authority, a Children's Court magistrate, the same person the child will appear before in court for significant fresh offending if he fails to heed the magistrate's advice.

A great deal of the child's present involvement in the court process is peripheral.

The adversarial system amounts to a contest between professionals that excludes those who are most concerned, and is therefore a poor mechanism for dealing with the human considerations that surround most delinquent acts. Little good is done if children must wait to get into court simply to witness outside experts rushing through a ritual where others take over the conflict and present it in a way that is acceptable to the court but in many instances is meaningless to the child.

The question must be asked - are we really achieving the objects of Section 7 of the *Children's Protection and Young Offenders Act* as outlined by the Full Court in *Hallam - v - O'Dea* (1979) 22 SASR 133 and *R - v - Homer* (1976) 13 SASR 382, namely:

normal sentencing principles do not apply in the Children's Court. The philosophy section (Section 7) declaring the court must seek to secure for the child such care, correction, control or guidance as will best lead to the proper development of his personality and to his development into a responsible and useful member of the community and in so doing is to take into account certain enumerated factor ...

means, in the case of a juvenile dealt with under the provision of the Act, that the court is trying to find out what is the best means of turning this delinquent juvenile into a responsible law abiding adult and that has really nothing to do with the seriousness of the crime nor the degree of complicity qua some other companion in crime, and no useful comparison can be made between an order made under a non-punitive system and a sentence imposed on an adult.

If the court is to achieve any of these objects, it must engage in clear dialogue with the child. However, current literature suggests our formal court system and the use of lawyers does not make the system clearer for juveniles (Christie 1977; Wilks, Birnie & Chamberlain 1979; Naffine & Wundersitz in press). Since the advent of legal representation for 80 per cent of offenders, youth have become even more estranged from the decision-making process than they were in the past, much more so than their French counterparts (Hackler & Garapon in press).

Involvement of the court with the youth should be the whole point of this exercise! In reforming the system in the manner outlined below, to achieve the real objects of the system, it is essential that simplification take place; that barriers such as the adversarial approach be removed; bureaucratic processes be minimised and an effective contact and dialogue between the juvenile and the court be put into place. Indeed, under our fragmented approach, the court is unaware of any details of previous dealings with or history of the child and cannot possibly meet the principles set out in Section 7. Clearly the system fails to maintain a constant approach and there is no real accountability on the part of the child. Poor public perception of the system is entirely understandable when those who work in the system are obliged to work in the dark.

For some time there has been a great deal of interest in the French system resulting from the successes which are being achieved there and from the recognition that the adversarial system is ineffective in achieving the objects of juvenile justice.

The French system is dedicated to the youth of France as the future of the nation to be valued and included in the community. The objective is clearly specified as the re-education of those involved, that the French word "education" connotes parenting rearing or bringing up. Surely these should be our aims also.

Professor James Hackler describes the operation of the French system thus:-

the French police do not lay charges; they simply refer the case to the prosecutor, a magistrate who performs a role comparable to Canadian or American prosecutors. The prosecutor can screen out the case or send it to the juvenile court judge (le judge des enfants). Complicated cases or serious crimes go to the judge d'instruction, a magistrate who has the authority over more detailed investigations. A case involving a juvenile and an adult, for example, would go to the judge d'instruction; but since most juvenile offences are minor, the vast majority of such cases terminate with the judge des enfants - approximately 90% of them are handled informally in the judge's office. Juveniles who have been dealt with informally cannot be incarcerated. However, if the case is serious or if the child continues to offend, the judge des enfants refers the case to trial in the formal court-room, where two lay judges sit with the judge des enfants while the procurer and defense lawyer present their arguments...(Hackler 1988).

When the judge decides not to use the formal court machinery, very little distinction is made between delinquency and welfare cases, and the emphasis turns to meeting the needs of the juvenile. Instead of handing down a decision, the judge concentrates on working out options and arranging for a variety of services.

Even though the judge has the power to remove a child from a family, judges discuss placements with juveniles rather extensively. If family ties are positive, arrangements can be flexible, making it easy for a juvenile to keep in touch with parents. Being placed in a residential facility becomes a matter of negotiation rather than a "sentence" (Hackler 1988).

Had South Australia had the French system, the example I used in a paper delivered in Spain of a 14-year-old school student with the \$5.00 watch taken from a shop would have appeared before a special type of magistrate in his or her office. The real issue, namely the upset at home, would have been quickly determined. The theft charge would end there and the problems at home could be worked on at once. This immediate response would cut out the delays in our current panel and court systems. (The case in question in fact took over 12 months to reach a conclusion under the present South Australian system.)

This shop stealing case is by no means an isolated example. On the contrary it is typical and illustrates the futility and artificiality of the present system of dealing with juvenile offenders in our courts. Additionally, child sexual abuse by family members would be capable of much swifter resolution with less trauma for the child if the chamber approach outlined below is adopted.

A Model for South Australia

Specially selected and trained magistrates would be needed and, for that reason, a separate Children's Court registry would be required to service the metropolitan and country areas. The magistrates would perform a screening function and would deal with the vast majority of children in chambers at one single appearance by the child. No prosecutors nor defence lawyers would be involved. Each magistrate would have a social worker assigned and the only other staff required would be a secretary to attend to both the magistrate's and social worker's correspondence and reports, make appointments and to man the telephone. In Need of Care cases would come before the

magistrate in chambers for informal resolution whenever possible. Judges sitting in court would, in the normal way, hear criminal cases involving very serious offences or as a last resort, cases of fresh offending by children who have failed to respond to the informal chambers approach. Contested In Need of Care Cases would also be heard by a judge.

In criminal cases, once a crime report were received from the police, the magistrate would decide:

- had an offence been committed;
- is the child's involvement significant; and
- is it in the public interest to proceed further?

If the answer is no to any of the above, the matter would end there. A cautionary letter from the magistrate might be appropriate.

A yes to all three questions would result in the magistrate deciding if the matter should be concluded by way of police caution, not by a commissioned officer or by some specially designed arm of the police force, but by the reporting officer in person. The child would sign an acknowledgement of caution which the officer would return to the court to be placed on the child's file. Where more than a caution is needed, the social worker would gather sufficient background information to formulate a plan designed to keep the child from further offending.

A letter would be sent to the child, his/her care givers and the victim fixing a time and date to see the magistrate in chambers. The victim would not be obliged to attend. Most children admit guilt. The child and the care givers would be counselled by the magistrate and the child made to realise that the victim's rights have been violated. If the victim wishes it, arrangements for compensation could be agreed upon and personal apologies offered.

By agreement, the child could be referred to programs designed to induce appropriate awareness for the rights of others and to develop general competence. In cases where no compensation can be paid, environmental improvement work designed to compensate society generally could be undertaken. Placement in group homes could be agreed upon if needed and offered by the social worker.

Agreement having been reached, the magistrate would note that in the file and the appearance would end with all parties signing the magistrate's minute. The file would remain in the magistrate's office.

The social worker would follow up to see the plan was kept. Any changes would require the magistrate's approval. No penalty would flow from a child failing to complete a program or leaving a placement; however the child would be aware that any fresh offending would always result in his reappearance before the same magistrate who would be aware of any breakdown in the program.

Problems and Deficiencies it Overcomes

One person, the magistrate, takes responsibility for each offending child. This brings to the system a degree of consistency and accountability that is currently totally lacking. At present a child can appear before panels and courts in many locations and in each case the individuals involved in seeing the child have no way of knowing how others have attempted to guide him. By the same token, by the time two different tribunals have told a child not to offend again or else, and nothing happens, that child has to be pretty dull to realise that none of us know what has taken place elsewhere.

Over-processing will be eliminated. By following strict guidelines, 79 per cent of matters currently going to panels unnecessarily and 3 per cent of court matters will either end with no further action or by way of police caution. Under these circumstances it should not take long for police to realise it is better to accept responsibility for concluding minor matters on the spot rather than having to return at a later time to administer a caution to the child and his parents. In this way police would assume a greater degree of responsibility for crime prevention on their own patch instead of passing everything on into the system for someone else to worry about

No record of police cautions or chamber appearances could be alleged in later life or used to label a child as a delinquent. As no police prosecutor and no defence counsel are involved in chamber appearances, the current delays induced by the adversary approach to court proceedings would be eliminated completely.

The court, freed from over-processing, adjournments and ritualistic formalities, would be free to make an immediate response to the 3.7 per cent of hard core offenders who commit more than half of the offences which come to court and free to speedily determine contested cases.

As well as hearing criminal case, the Children's Court hears applications brought by the Minister of Community Welfare seeking a child be declared in need of care by virtue of abandonment, neglect, or physical, mental or sexual abuse.

In concurrent criminal proceedings in the adult courts, the Crown Prosecutor would be bound to ask that any sentence of imprisonment fixed by the court be suspended and the presiding judge be bound to impose no more than a suspended sentence. The offender's name and all detail which might identify the child would be suppressed from publication.

Problems in Civil as opposed to Criminal Matters

In the criminal division of the court's work, the Department does not appear as a litigant. It is the Police Department's role to prosecute and the court's function to adjudicate after hearing the defendant. The Department is the instrument provided by the state of provide unbiased professional advice to the court both in the way it would deal with the offender and to provide treatment programs to which the court makes referrals. In many ways, the Act makes the court dependent upon the Department and in this area the court and Department work together in a very close partnership.

Litigants in In Need of Care cases must justifiably feel compromised by this situation. The Department is the Official Adviser to the court on how to properly deal with offenders, but when it comes to In Need of Care proceedings the court is expected to treat the Department like any other litigant and ignore the fact that in other areas it is its principle adviser. Although this can be done, and is done, those "on the other side" find this hard to accept. It also creates something of a strain on the relationship between the court and the Department which should not exist.

To overcome this, the Department should not prosecute these cases but provide the support services and be called as Crown witnesses in any hearing.

Court Resources

If this system is to work effectively, three judges would be required to deal with the serious criminal offenders and In Need of Care matters. This would ensure an ongoing swift response by the system to the hard core offender and the urgent In Need of Care issues.

Obviously, more specially trained magistrates would need to be appointed. It is difficult to assess the number at this stage.

In one study of the French system to hand, the experience is that two magistrates are required to service a population of about 250,000, 50 per cent of whom are under 25 years of age. Clearly this will need to be studied further to arrive at the correct figures for South Australia.

However, it should be borne in mind, that very significant savings would be made by discontinuing the present screening and panel system, and by the reduction of the volume of work going through the system by reason of the elimination of over-servicing and by the rationalisation which the new system would bring. The savings made would, in all probability, pay for the additional magisterial and support resources.

Moreover, the magistrates and their staff in maintaining files will undertake much of the administrative work presently undertaken by others in the system. As a guide, aid and screening panels meet at nearly 61 locations throughout the state. The high costs involved and lack of consistency which results will be minimised if the proposed system is implemented. Currently more than 223 senior police officers and 229 social workers devote all or part of their time to sitting on screening and aid panels.

Costs

This proposal will need to be analysed and costed in detail if approval in principle is forthcoming, however if the current 79 per cent over-processing by aid panels and 30 per cent over-processing by courts could be eliminated, the cost savings are obvious. The constant adjournments of proceedings for reports, for legal advice, for pre-trial conferences and the time spent waiting for lawyers to see their clients or to come from other courts can all be avoided if we follow this model.

Under the proposed system everybody wins.

There will be a significant impact on other agencies presently involved in the juvenile justice system, i.e. the police and Department for Family and Community Services. The proposed model is a radical departure from present SA practices but moves the primary focus away from the process and on to the outcome, i.e. the effectiveness of the system in terms of cost to tax-payers; expeditious resolution; the interests of the juveniles, and the interests of the community.

The roles of these agencies will change to some extent, but they too will benefit in the achievements of this more effective system and hopefully make savings. The present strains on available resources in the area of juvenile justice are largely the result of a phenomenon of busy-being-busy rather than being busy achieving clearly identifiable results.

It is recommended:

that the present screening and aid panel system be abolished;

that three judges be appointed to deal with serious juvenile criminal cases and In Need of Care matters throughout the state;

that sufficient specially selected and trained children's magistrates be appointed to deal with all other matters in the manner outlined in this report;

that a social worker from the Department for Family and Community Services be assigned full time to each magistrate and as required in country locations visited by the magistrate on circuit;

that each magistrate be provided with a competent secretary;

that the Attorney-General be responsible for bringing about In Need of Care proceedings, because of the altered close relationship that would exist between the magistrate and the social worker;

that a high level committee be established under the chairmanship of the Senior Judge of the Children's Court in order to formulate concrete and detailed proposals for consideration by Cabinet. The committee should have the power to call on agencies to assist in the preparation of the submission, including a cost/benefit analysis.

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Introduction to State-Based Task Groups

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Young People and Crime: Costs and Prevention (Potas, Vining & Wilson 1999) reports on research carried out by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the Youth Bureau. The conclusions include the belief that a strong economic argument can be made for directing resources away from the criminal justice system and into social programs in order to prevent delinquent behaviour.

By focusing on educational, health, housing and employment problems of the young and disadvantaged, it may well be possible to reduce our need to put increasing resources into the criminal justice system.

People working with young offenders and those at risk have identified certain areas in need of improvement. Prior to the Crime Prevention Policy Forum, the Youth Bureau conducted a survey of all forum participants. Key issues have been identified in both social programs and the criminal justice system. These included the following:

Relations between young people and the police need to be improved;

alternatives to imprisonment (especially for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people) need to be explored;

improved targeting and implementation of more innovative programs is required;

community involvement needs to be encouraged and focused;

the way in which the media reports youth crime needs to be addressed;

the issue of training needs to be addressed in terms of access and appropriateness for young offenders;

more and better parenting programs are required;

non-traditional prevention strategies need to be piloted and evaluated; and

there is need for improvement in the area of youth advocacy.

However, the issue raised most frequently was the need for improved coordination between governments, non-government agencies and individuals providing services and programs to young people.

Coordination and cooperation have been recognised as key issues for some time. Moving forward on these issues is not always easy but, despite the difficulties, significant gains have been made. There are some positive examples of cooperation and coordination in action which need to be acknowledged.

The Youth Ministers' Council meetings in December 1988 and June 1989 epitomised a new spirit of cooperation between governments in addressing youth issues. These meetings endorsed a proposal that a bilateral approach be taken by the Commonwealth with interested state/territory governments to investigate avenues for increased cooperation between the two levels of government.

In July 1990, the Youth Ministers' Council gave support to the, then proposed, Youth Crime Prevention Policy Forum and Ministers acknowledged that recommendations from the Forum may include proposals for joint Commonwealth and state/territory bilateral initiatives in program implementation, evaluation and research.

The coordination of the Commonwealth Government's Youth Social Justice Strategy, which was announced in the 1989-90 Budget, has been implemented through Youth Strategy Coordinating Committees in each state/territory. These committees are made up of representatives from three Commonwealth departments, relevant state departments and agencies, local government and appropriate community organisations.

It is significant that coordination between all the players is a continuing priority of the Youth Social Justice Strategy. Yet, as forum participants recognised, there is need for improvement. Coordination is an incremental process, one that develops as people become used to working together across former boundaries. All those working to facilitate coordination should make use of the mechanisms which already exist and seek ways to make them work more effectively.

With more coordination across the youth sector and feedback on how programs are working, it is possible that existing programs and services might benefit more young ex-offenders and assist in preventing recidivism. For example, from Forum participants' feedback there would seem to be a need to re-examine SkillShare and JOBTRAIN to improve accessibility to young offenders.

These programs are not youth specific, yet they are large programs with significant numbers of young people accessing them.

In 1988-89 some 7303 15 to 19-year-olds were placed in JOBTRAIN. They represented 21.2 per cent of all JOBTRAIN participants for that year. How many of these were young offenders and how these numbers might be increased are issues to be explored.

In 1990-91 JOBTRAIN funds were increased from \$99.3 million to \$121 million and the most disadvantaged were targeted as the main focus group. SkillShare in 1990-91 has been increased from \$77.65 million to \$90.797 million. Together these two programs total \$212 million.

In developing policy for youth crime prevention there is obviously a need to consider longer term structural changes. However, there is also a need to focus attention and energy on short- and medium-term outcomes which are achievable and

realistic. It is important that a shared commitment has emerged from the Forum both in terms of improving coordination and effectively accessing existing programs to benefit young offenders and those at risk.

Recommendations from State-based Task Groups

South Australian

National Crime Prevention Strategy

Increased flexibility and access to Commonwealth program guidelines, for example Skill Share program

Increased speed in response to issues

Increased allocation of funds to enable evaluation to occur

Development of special crime prevention strategies by Aboriginal communities for Aboriginal youth.

Northern Territory

Follow-up opportunity to incorporate information from conference into policy/program initiatives

Distribution of conference proceedings to a wider audience than participants

Youth Policy development in consultation with a broader section of the community eg. Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal, young people, Govt/non-Govt sectors

Coordination of services/programs for young people to be developed to link/access/evaluate and disseminate information.

New South Wales

That the conference recommend the ratification of the United Nation *Convention on the Rights of the Child* by the Federal government and that Federal instruments be developed concerning such ratification. ASAP.

That the IAC form a position on the NSW *Kids in Justice* report and that if considered appropriate present the report to other states as a model in addressing youth justice concerns.

Youth Bureau coordinate a response to the report from all relevant Federal government Departments.

That these proceedings and results be distributed more widely than just to those who have participated in the conference, for example, other relevant government and non-government organisations, including youth organisations and opposition parties.

Tasmanian

The current situation - following a review of Youth Affairs - is that coordinating mechanisms are soon to be in place between Government and non-government organisations and the community.

The problem/major hurdle is the lack of a representative state-wide peak youth body.

With this in mind, the following are Tasmania's recommendations.

That the state develop a strategy on Youth Crime Prevention

That the Federal Minister for Youth write to the State Minister and the Youth Strategy Coordinating Committee to request that Tasmania develop a Youth Crime Prevention Strategy.

That the Youth Crime Prevention Strategy have wide representation from government non-government and young people.

That the strategy focus on a number of elements, including: research (size and location of target groups; access information; good programs); attitudinal change; develop links between all relevant participants; recommend and pilot programs; utilize existing programs as appropriate; and evaluation.

Tasmania has unique problems in demography (high rural population and highly mobile population); climate; and lack of immediate and accessible statistics and inconsistency of statistics available. Because of these problems it was recommended that Tasmanian delegates report back to colleagues as innovatively as possible with papers, concepts etc.

Western Australian Recommendations:

At present in WA, there is a Community Policing Council which operates within Police Regions. The membership is as follows: a Community Policing Officer from Police Departmentt (a non-rotating member).

While different communities run different strategies and agendas, there is a prevalent law and order perspective. Current objectives are very broad, largely based on English Watch Committees.

It is proposed that the membership be extended and the ownership be broaden to key statutory bodies. Different departments would contribute their relevant knowledge and expertise. Department actions should reflect their primary roles, if needed or relevant to the community.

The objectives of these committees would be:

to respond on a local needs basis, to juvenile offending through identifying: i) areas where increased coordination of services delivery may increase the quality of life for young people and ii) existing practices that may be altered or modified to better address juvenile offending; iii) target groups or situations if appropriate.

to provide information and/or recommendations to the executive level of the relevant departments and to the State Advisory Committee on youth offending.

Primary Membership would be:

Youth Affairs Bureau
Department of Community Services

Ministry of Education
Department of Employment and Training
Local Government

Membership as required:

Sport and Recreation
Health
Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority
Multi-cultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission
Alcohol and Drug Authority
Department of Community Services and Health
Department of Employment, Education and Training
Department of Social Security
Non-governmental groups.

Victoria

As a matter of principle all schools to have as a high priority objective the development of social justice and human rights values, conflict resolution and democratic decision-making and social skills.

SkillShare and Jobsearch is not meeting the needs of young people within the Federal Social Justice Strategy. DEET as matter of urgency review this program immediately in consultation with relevant youth agencies and the users, particularly socially disadvantaged young people.

Need for a separate forum to address the role of mediation centres and to get more knowledge and therefore develop as possible alternatives other means of crime prevention.

In principle, the aims are good for crime prevention but we need a thorough evaluation to be made of the Bonnemaision program before implementing such a model on a statewide level.

Need as a secondary crime prevention program for the Youth Lawlines services to be expanded.

Protective Services need to be reviewed in the sense their practices.

Need for extension of youth housing programs that allow range of options and effective support services.

Expressing major concern and disappointment about the transfer of the Employment Access Program from CSV to Dept of Labour. There needs to be a monitoring of whether the CSV clients are still being serviced.

That the police warning system be maintained. Expressed concern that the other primary prevention programs by police have been overlooked. The area of youth/police relations in Victoria be addressed. That a generalist task of all police in Victoria should be proactive towards developing better youth/police relationships

Need for the Office of Corrections to establish a youth strategy in consultation with Community Services and other community agencies. That the Office of Corrections and CSV share resources and programs for those young people in the dual track.

That other youth services be made available to schools such as youth workers, support services and accommodation

Youth income support needs to be seen as an effective tool in youth crime prevention. That cuts to youth income support be stopped and young people provided with income which enables them to live to an effective standard.

As a major recommendation, young people be involved in the Social Justice Strategy.

DEET to establish a working party made up of participants of this conference to assist in monitoring and development of the programs and policies being recommended at the conference, including community based organisations.

Parenting skills programs need to be seen as a crime prevention initiative.

The concern about the homeless young people who do not want to look for help due to the fact that they are being rejected by mainstream society particularly about those who had been called "feral kids" many of whom are juvenile single parents who appear to be harassed rather than helped by present social service structures.

Need to develop adventure-based experiential learning programs as a crime prevention strategy so that it can be effectively evaluated.

That all supervision units be evaluated. They do primary programs but secondary programs as well eg. in schools

Queensland

Information Sharing

- a) Burdekin Funding IDC and areas that it covered and who was represented.
- b) If possible work towards a Social Justice Strategy - IDC difficulty.
- c) State IDC on Youth Affairs and working party on crime prevention. Problem interrelationships between the two.

Need for community involvement not just consultation even at the proposal level.

Need for mapping of current departmental programs in the Crime Prevention Area and need for proper evaluation and coordination.

Concern with regard to use of Jobtrain and Skill Share - quite narrow labour market approach only.

Appendix 1: Alternative Workshop

In attendance were: Tim Ewens (Chair); Selina Saunders (Qld); Arthur Grogan (NT); Lawrie Hughes (NT); Marion Watson (Rapporteur)(ACT); Deb Bills (SA); and Joi Rosoman (NT).

Introduction

The above members, representing government and non-government sector organisations from various states, held an informal discussion during which it was agreed that the outcomes of these discussions should form the basis of the following recommendations and be forwarded to the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Department of Education, Employment and Training.

It is recognised that underlying causes of juvenile or young people's criminal activity were a reflection of:

1. the Law;
2. the young person's origins and current needs;
3. the lack of a coordinated approach to young people's programs and care needs.

Crime, for young people, is a natural course of action. Many actions that are permissible for adults are considered crime in young people and are dealt with under juvenile justice systems instead of being addressed in the context from which the young person comes, or in which the "crime" occurs.

This list of recommendations is not exhaustive, it merely indicates that for those people attending, these issues are outstanding and unaddressed in a national context although examples of programs that attempt their resolution are occurring in some states.

Recommendations

That allocation of funding for juvenile crime prevention must be from a designated source labelled as such.

That juvenile crime prevention must be viewed from the broader context of health and safety of young people; and that as such the most positive outcome for the young person, the family and the community must be the guiding principal when interventions occur.

That the extensive research undertaken to describe the factors in the commission of crime be referred to in the development of policy and programs directed at the reduction of crime related to young people.

That the differing needs and circumstances of young women and men, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, and people of non-English speaking backgrounds be recognised in the development of policy and programs.

That as a matter of priority in each state or territory, where this has not yet occurred, a workshop inviting all interested and involved parties should be held to discuss the principles and procedures for dealing with young people's crime and crime prevention.

Crime and Corrections

It is believed that the majority of young people commit what might be described as some kind of "crime" prior to reaching legal adulthood.

It is considered that special Children's Court magistrates or judges should be appointed in order that expertise in young people's matters be held in the judicial system.

Detention for juvenile protection (welfare) purposes is not an appropriate reason for institutionalisation as this exposes young people unnecessarily to juvenile justice or "real offenders".

The justice system has a responsibility to deal with young people as quickly as possible following a pattern of:

1. appraisal of the crime and the relevance of dealing with it under law;
2. referring the offence back to police for "caution" or other non-legal resolution;
3. expediting the court process so that the matter(s) are not held over for long periods of remand.

It is considered that regular community based police be selected for duty for a specific period in order that young people and youth workers become acquainted with those police with whom they will come in regular contact. These police should have a special interest in the area and be instructed in non-legal, non-violent methods of dealing with minor and/or first-time offenders.

It is recommended that young repeat offenders be diverted through a Juvenile Panel System and referred to a residential setting that will provide the young person with training and/or education instead of institutionalisation.

This system could be used in conjunction with Community Service Orders.

Education and/or Training

The training of youth workers be undertaken as a priority involving definition of role and professionalism in their activities.

That youth worker training be made available specific to the programs/projects in which they work e.g. that non-Aboriginal people work with Aboriginal youth participants in workshops dealing with personal and institutional racism.

Education and/or training must be relevant to the young people for whom it is intended.

Truancy or juvenile offenders should be referred to school-based programs that are work orientated and involve practical skills and allow the young person to define their own objectives and be involved in the design of their own individual program.

Education and the education system must be the primary focus of secondary prevention. Such education can and should begin as early as pre-school.

There must be flexibility in employment and retraining programs in order to accommodate young people with varied capacities for learning in educational settings.

There must be creation of employment opportunity for young people to which training programs can be directed.

Young women must be provided with options for future employment/roles in order to change their perception that their only positive, possible role will be parenting.

Sex and Drugs

Young, sexually active (homeless) men and women are also targets for recruitment to the "quick money" of street or bar prostitution. This results from inadequate or no housing, lack of financial support and a non-caring or inappropriate attitude of carers or the community.

Education on sexual transmission of HIV must be seen as a priority for young people.

Drug (including alcohol) use must be dealt with in the context of the young person and the environment from which she/he comes.

Sexual activity often occurs in the context of drug use and ignorance of safe sex/contraception; these issues must be addressed in context with trained workers who are capable of giving facts and answering young peoples' questions frankly and comfortably. The increasing incidence of pregnancy in young women must be considered an outcome not only of unsafe sex but also the lack of income and personal security/safety.

Family Involvement

Family involvement is essential in the resolution of "criminal" activity.

Parenting education programs are extremely important and should be run in conjunction with any corrective exercise for young people.

Parenting programs should be available to the wider community on request.

Community Development

Community development must be viewed as a priority in youth crime prevention programming.

The Bonnemaison Model should be viewed as just one community development model and that adjustments to this model may be required for wider application of the model to the Australian (varied) setting.

Accommodation for Young People

An extension of youth housing options (such as supported accommodation owned by the government and leased to young people under more positive independent conditions without creating ghettos of young people) must be made available.

These options must look at the training and education of young people and their needs as individuals with age appropriate rules of conduct that accept the fact of the young persons lifestyles. (The current SAAP guidelines don't allow for enough flexibility in dealing with young people who use alcohol or other drugs, or who have problems associated with drug use).

Income Security

Financial security or adequate financial support must be available, crimes of poverty such as prostitution and stealing are frequent in young people and the causes of these crimes must be removed.

Policy and Program Development

The development of policy must be done in consultation with those people that the policy impacts on. This includes young people and those who work with young people. Any preventive program must involve, at the planning stage, those people that the program impacts on.

Programs for Young Aboriginal People

Strategies designed for, and culturally and environmentally relevant to, Aboriginal young people must be developed and implemented. The concept of the existence of pan-tribalism while admirable is not accurate, and a variety of programs designed for the region in which the program is to be implemented must be undertaken in consultation with the consumer group.

The elders in the Community must be encouraged to take a leading role in addressing and resolving the problems in that community.

That all these recommendations should be taken as relevant to the development of programs and policy and evaluation of same, for and of Aboriginal people, where appropriate.

Evaluation

Evaluation for both the NGO and GO sector programs if it is to be implemented must be:

properly resourced (it is estimated that the amount of funding required to properly evaluate any program/project is half of the cost of the program implementation);

designed for the program to be evaluated;

intended as a tool for improvement of the project/program (i.e. educative) not merely as an indicator of "success" or "failure";

successful outcomes must be measured in terms other than completion of the program.