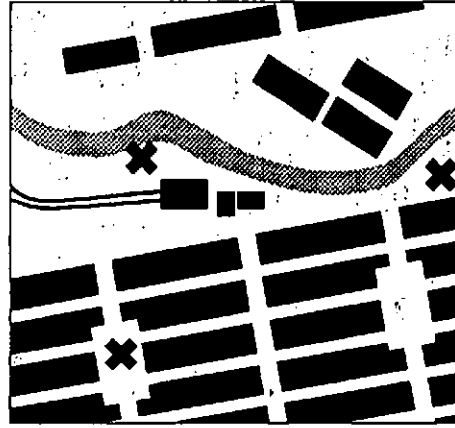
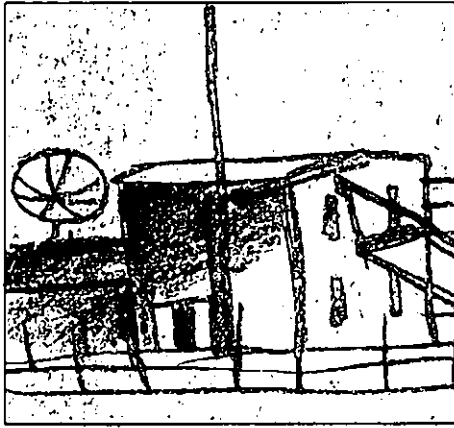


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Volume 5 Number 1 July/August 1993



Children of God

“Going Off The Rails”

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Correction

The Editors apologise to all New
Zealanders for an error which
appeared in the table on page
22 of vol. 4, no. 4 of
Criminology Australia. The
approximate number of prison-
ers in New Zealand should read
4,443. The rate per 100,000
population is correct.

children of god

Harbingers of another (Child Law) Reformation?

CHILD PROTECTION CASES POSE MANY DILEMMAS FOR POLICY-MAKERS, DILEMMAS WHICH HAVE LED TO ALTERATIONS TO THE BALANCE OF INTERESTS REFLECTED IN CHILD PROTECTION LAW REFORMS, MOST RECENTLY THE CHANGES IN VARIOUS AUSTRALIAN JURISDICTIONS DURING THE LATE 70S AND EARLY 80S (ALRC 1982). THE MUCH PUBLICISED "CHILDREN OF GOD" CASE RAISED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT THE LAW AND/OR ITS ADMINISTRATION, HOWEVER. THIS ARTICLE ASSESSES SOME OF THOSE ISSUES.

THE ELEMENTS OF CHALLENGE

The value balance

It is almost trite to note that there are at least three different interests which may be at stake in child protection: those of the child, the parent and the state.

Children are entitled to respect for their integrity (their physical and psychological well-being) and their views; there is also an important interest in fostering and supporting responsible parenting (individuals rather than the state are favoured in moulding nurturing environments for children); but there remains a state role in ensuring swift action to prevent harm to children, or in setting minimum standards of services (such as compulsory education).

The recent "Family" case

The coordinated action by state welfare authorities and Police in Victoria and NSW in apprehending and bringing protection applications in respect of numbers of children from "The Family"—a splinter group from the Children of God religious sect—involved this and much more, however. The subject of a mediated settlement in NSW after four months of bitter (and costly) court proceedings, the "mass" character of these interventions raised issues about the adequacy of procedural protections for parties in such cases, as well as the respective roles to be played by welfare staff and police.

The involvement of a "religious sect" with its isolationist policies (and its perhaps questionable values and practices of child rearing), raised issues about the appropriate criteria and standard of proof of allegations—both prior to taking action and before the courts. And issues about the extent of personal privacy and religious freedom were inevitably posed also. Child protection authorities pointed to their concerns about three main areas: "isolation", sub-standard education, and physical and sexual abuse. But, as Greason goes on to point out:

our understanding of minority religious groups ... is very much coloured by the jealousies of rival religious groups, the bitter recollections of disgruntled ex-members, the moral equivalence of civil libertarians, the moral indignation of investigating journalists and the sickening memories of Jonestown Guyana (Greason 1992, p. 22).

We will concentrate here on the "mass" feature of the case: approximately 130 children were apprehended in

the early hours of the morning in May 1992 in coordinated police raids on sect homes in two states; children whose parents were members of a group with around 10,000 followers worldwide (McMinn 1992, p. 28). Authorities sought to justify the action on the ground that earlier attempts to investigate concerns in orthodox ways caused the families to immediately disappear to "safe houses" elsewhere, that the policy of isolation (exclusion from schools, suppression of emotions) was harmful to the children (members were said to be taught not to trust outsiders), and that there was (or had been) sect literature sympathetic to permissive sexual relations by children (or in observing adult relations). One commentator noted:

According to a Community Services Victoria (CSV) spokesman, the children were living in extremely cramped quarters, adolescent girls were sleeping in the same rooms as married couples, some of the children were living without their parents and without adequate supervision, there was pornographic Children of God literature on the premises, and the children did not attend school (Writer 1992, p. 39).

Within a week, most of the children had been returned home, after the courts concluded that their welfare did not require that they be retained in protective care pending hearings of the protection applications launched under the child welfare legislation in the two states. After a bitterly contested hearing—in which the procedures and evidentiary basis marshalled by welfare authorities was strongly challenged—the NSW case was settled by mediation: conditions were agreed to which entitled the children to various "community" contacts and services, such as three hours sport each week, and assessment of educational levels (*Sydney Morning Herald* 2 November 1992, p. 4).

Issues in bulk intervention cases

Certainly this "mass" feature of the case sharpens the value contest, in several ways.

Individual or institutional paradigms of abuse? Because we (unreasonably) adopt a paradigm which associates deviance with the actions of individuals, only all too rarely do we look at the "collective/institutional" sources of harm (Equity and Social Justice 1985). Regrettably, when society has addressed systemic issues, our actions have often been grounded in ill-based stereotypes and

emotion (as with mass removal of Aboriginal children or concern about fringe religions [Connellan 1992, p. 166]).

Rarely have we even contemplated indicting institutions for the harms which flow from policies of institutional care, or inadequate services for the young homeless; thus governments have been permitted to take the savings from closing unsatisfactory institutional or quasi-criminal responses to the needs of this group, without redirecting those resources to the community support services which are required (Green 1993).

A separate standard of proof for mass interventions? But is the way in which these mass cases are handled typical of the way the child protection system operates? Does (or should) state action against a class of children bear a heavier burden of persuasion, than is the case for an individual? If so, is our insistence on tougher proofs a product of belated recognition of the damage done to Koorie groups in the name of Aboriginal child protection?

Or could it—as Connellan fears (1992, p.167)—be a product of an emotionally charged atmosphere of public debate—one which transforms more complex issues (through media oversimplification) into an adversarial contest between parental “prerogatives” and (self-)justification of the “correctness” of state interventions?

A (rare) case of real procedural justice for children? Again, turning to procedural issues, is this case an atypical one: one where child welfare laws work as they are supposed to—conforming to the injunction in Article 9 of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* 1989 that children be left in the care of parents “except where competent authorities determine, in accordance with applicable law . . . that such separation is necessary for the best interests of the child”?

Perhaps it is simply a product of the unique ability of an organised group to marshal the legal resources and media attention which enables the “promise” of the formal protection of rights contained in the law to be translated into reality; providing an exception to the humdrum experience by ordinary families and individuals of what Naffine et al. (1990) describe as “administrative” (non)justice?

A system ill-designed for systemic abuse? Neither the investigation and casework services (state departments of community services) nor the legal system is geared to handle such “group” actions (Swain 1992, p. 248).

But does this leave the state unable to adequately mount the case for the protection of such children? Could an organised group so isolate itself from mainstream community activities as to virtually render itself immune from action by state agencies concerned about the welfare of the children of the group? And would the provision of powers or procedures adopted to meet that claim so unbalance the system that we would risk the “legal overkill” reminiscent of ill-fated attempts to win the war on drugs?

Among these questions are those which arguably test the adequacy of the architecture of the legal system itself: the specification of the grounds for intervention; the standard of proof and timeliness of resolution of matters; and the relevance of individualised justice models.

CONTESTED VALUES

The values at stake in child protection cases are highly contested, but this is heightened when social deprivation and moral detriment are part of the alleged reason for initial concern. Neither is now a direct ground for intervention, as the legislative policy balance has moved to reflect a “harms” rather than a “needs” rationale. The latter was excised as allowing too much scope for interventions based on woolly information or dubious predictions (ALRC 1981, pp. 207-8, 219-33). But there are variations between the jurisdictions: thus Victoria is even stronger on this than is NSW.

Grounds for intervention

Victoria's “harms-based” model: Victoria legislation spells out the three major of the six grounds in section 63 of the *Children and Young Persons Act* 1989, namely that the child has suffered, or is likely to suffer:

- (c) significant harm as a result of physical injury . . . or
- (d) significant harm as a result of sexual abuse . . . or
- (e) emotional or psychological harm of such a kind that the child's emotional or intellectual development is, or is likely to be, significantly damaged . . .

In each case, these three grounds are qualified by the added requirement that “the child's parents have not protected, or are unlikely to protect, the child from harm of that type”. Where an authorised intervener is “satisfied on reasonable grounds that a child is in need of protection”, as defined above, they may apply to the Family Division for a protection order (s.8(2)).

The NSW position: New South Wales is much less clear-cut. The first two of the three grounds (the third being “presently irreconcilable breakdown”) are that:

- (a) adequate provision is not being made, or is likely not to be made, for the child's care;
- (b) the child is, or is likely to be, abused (*Children (Care and Protection) Act* 1987: s. 10(1).

Abuse” is in turn defined as “assault” (including sexual assault), “ill-treatment” and “expos[ing] or subject[ing] the child to behaviour that psychologically harms the child” (s. 3). Applications are required to identify the ground relied on (s. 57(2)), and the rules of court call for elaboration of facts advanced to sustain that ground (rule 10).

However, the language in which the substantive grounds are expressed in NSW is less specific than is the case in Victoria: a “lack of adequate provision for care” is an elastic and highly malleable phrase, which leaves much room for injection of social and moral values. Certainly there are other barriers to precipitate action in NSW, such as the injunction that applications are not to be made “unless the Director-General is satisfied that no alternative means are available to provide for the welfare of the child” (s. 57(3)).

But the Director-General is hardly a neutral player here: the resources and supports under the control of the Department are the very ones which must mainly be relied on to give viability (or otherwise) to the alternatives. It is a filter better applied by the court itself if it is



Professor Terry Carney
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to have any real substance.

An assessment: Cases based on less tangible grounds such as "social isolation" are necessarily problematic. The ground is (necessarily) very subjective: at one extreme the apparent disengagement from community interaction may indeed prejudice the social and psychological development of the child; at another it may be a relatively harmless over-protectiveness or insulation of the child from the harsh vicissitudes of life.

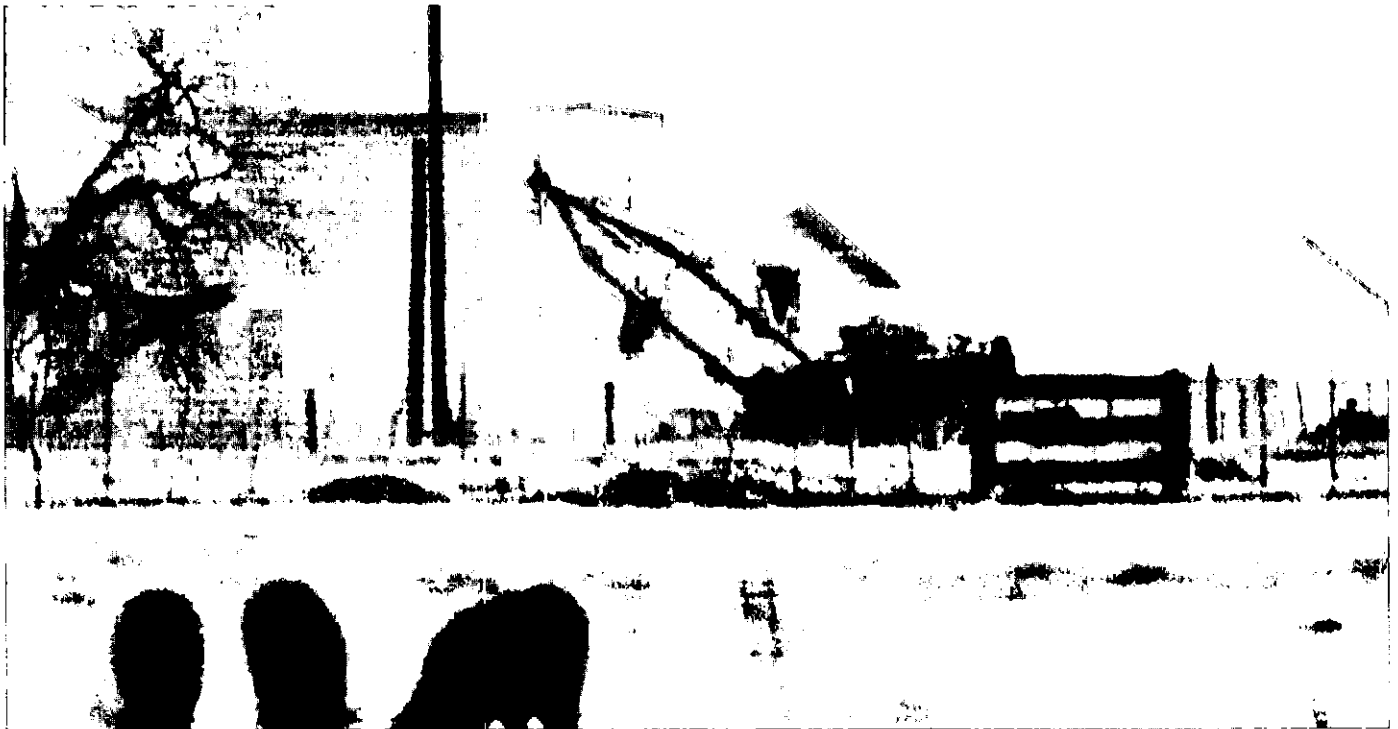
Moral prejudice is equally fraught; so fraught that modern laws have excised it as an explicit ground for intervention (previously a ground such as "exposure to moral danger" was available as a cover all).

No wonder, then, that the Children of God allega-

Instead of modifying the standard of proof, Victoria bars the tabling of material canvassing possible placements of a child until the court has first been satisfied that the grounds for a protection application have been established. A sharp distinction is drawn between a Protection Report (s. 44) and a Disposition Report (s. 48). The first of these must "only deal with matters that are relevant to the question of whether the child is in need of protection" (s. 46).

There is little evidence that this had any influence on the conduct of these applications, though.

The speedy presentment aspect: Procedural precision in the handling and proof of information is of little avail if the case is excessively drawn out, however. Many ele-



The Branch Davidian compound, Waco, Texas 19 April 1993. The final act of one religious cult. Reproduced permission Australian Associated Press

tions about isolation or exposure to morally unsavoury conditions proved to be controversial.

Proof and timeliness

One of the historical lessons for policymakers in framing child protection laws was that consciously or otherwise, the court will defer to judgment of the welfare staff responsible for investigating and bringing protection matters to court. The trend in recent reforms has been to guard against a rush to judgment by including procedural protections, designed to stay the admission into evidence of information which would pre-judge the case (such as proposals about out of home placement), or by raising the standard of proof.

Victorian legislation therefore controls the point at which information is placed before the court, while NSW raises the threshold of proof.

Victoria's controls over reception of prejudicial matter: Victoria retains proof "on the balance of probabilities" (s. 82(1)(c)) while NSW law requires that the court be satisfied that it is "very highly probable" that the child is in need of care (s. 70(2)). Was this feature one of the ones which led NSW to settle? Regrettably we shall never know.

ments go to make up speedy processing of applications: speedy launching of proceedings, provision of information in a timely fashion, and the avoidance of unnecessary adjournments. Victorian legislation is particularly weak on the last of these (while NSW lays down very onerous timetables), placing more weight on timely provision to the courts of assessment and other reports. NSW legislation overall is strong in all three areas.

In NSW hearings are to come on within eight days of lodgment (though non-compliance does not vitiate the order: s. 58(1A)(2)); similarly the power to adjourn a hearing once an application has been lodged is limited to two periods of respectively five and three days duration should the child be in the care of the Director-General at the time: s. 80(3).

Victoria gives some urgency to lodging the application, but then differentiates between cases where the child is placed outside the home (where the limitation on the duration of temporary accommodation orders generates its own momentum) and those children remaining at home (where fourteen days service of notice of the hearing, and provision of documents five days ahead of the hearing, are the only obligations: ss. 70(2)(c)(i) and (ii).

Given the access to strong legal representation, these

provisions appear to have operated as intended, by enabling the issue of out-of-home placement to be speedily resolved.

Prompt presentation of supporting material: The timeliness of preparation of information necessary to enable a thorough but speedy resolution of the issues, is covered by legislation in only one state.

In Victoria the legislation requires that protection reports be provided to the court within twenty-one days of commissioning, and at least three working days prior to the hearing (s. 45). In Victoria the report is prepared, on the request of the Family Division, by the chief executive of the relevant Department (the Director-General of Community Services: ss. 44, 45). NSW does specify the range of issues to be covered in the assessment reports insisted on before fostering or wardship orders may be made, but there is no requirement for speed: Reg 11.

Speedy conclusion of the application: New South Wales places much emphasis on a speedy conclusion of the hearing, however. Thus s. 76(2) limits adjournments to eight days unless the parties consent after receiving legal advice on the matter. Reasons must be supplied to the parties and the Minister and Attorney-General where adjournments exceed forty-two days: s. 76(3). Victoria is much more relaxed (indeed too blasé) about this. All that is provided is that:

the court must proceed with as much expedition as the requirements of this Act and a proper hearing of the proceedings permit, and in deciding whether and for how long to adjourn a proceeding ... the court must have regard to these requirements (Community and Young Persons' Act 1989: s. 25(6)).

While the NSW timetable may be too onerous in respect to difficult or complex cases (where excessive haste is not compatible with honouring the guiding principles laid down in s. 55), at least there are prescribed standards, and some accountability mechanisms, against which to test the practice (which unsurprisingly is reportedly at odds with the strict requirements of the law).

As it transpires, these provisions do not appear to have had a material bearing on the (protracted) development of the cases: strong legal representation had its own effect in drawing out proceedings.

Care pending a hearing

Victoria and NSW differ in their approach to the provision of care prior to the hearing. Victoria is distrustful of allowing out-of-home care to be organised other than under sanction of the court; NSW, however, entrusts this responsibility to the Department, provided the child has been removed from the family by authority of appropriate warrant or legal authority.

NSW Departmental discretions on placement: In NSW a child who is lawfully brought into the care of the Director-General (under apprehension and search powers etc) may not be retained in care for more than three days (without the consent of the parents in the case of under sixteen-year-olds, etc: s. 14 (2)) unless a care application has been lodged within that time: s. 62(2). But the choice of placement pending the hearing is presumptively that of the Director-General (s. 62(3)), subject to any

court order to the contrary (an apparent reference to s. 88 allowing discharge on order of the Supreme Court).

The Victorian preference for court adjudication: Victoria also provides for taking the child into safe custody when required (s. 69) and conditions that authority to retain the child on provision of information to the parents (as in NSW: for example, s. 61A). But thereafter the presumptive rule is that a court must promptly deal with further custody. This is done by insisting that the matter either be brought before the court "as soon as practicable and not more than one working day after the child was taken into safe custody" (s. 69(4)). A bail justice must deal with the question if it has not come to court within 24 hours of the child having entered temporary custody, but any order made subsists only until the application is heard by the court "on the next working day": s. 74(2). Moreover, the legislation provides for the making of a specific order at this time: an "interim accommodation order" (s. 73). Orders for out-of-home accommodation are limited to a period of 21 days (s. 74(1)).

These provisions guarantee that the courts will be the ultimate arbiters. But, as the Children of God cases illustrate, it remains possible for children to be removed from their homes even though the risk to their welfare may not be imminent or substantial, and the procedures are less prompt than they might be.

CONCLUSIONS: JUSTICE AND THE "MEGA-CASE"

As this brief review suggests, one of the least explored aspects of the Children of God case has been what it tells us about the adequacy of the practice of the reformed child welfare laws, of which Victoria and NSW provide two fairly representative models.

Swain correctly suggests that the case presented an opportunity to test aspects of the system such as the:

adequacy and compatibility of definitions of child abuse and neglect across state borders ... the timeliness of intervention; and the capacities of our legal protective and police systems to really protect children (Swain 1992, p. 248).

The basis of intervention: This brief review confirms that there are indeed differences in the specificity of definitions of neglect, but it is not without significance that it was the state with the most open-ended definitions (NSW) which settled the actions most promptly. Certainly there is nothing in the experience to suggest that it is not preferable for all states to adopt the clear and principled stance of the Victorian legislation, with its focus on identifiable risks of harm to children.

The manner of intervention: Swain also suggested that the real issue is "not whether to respond to notifications of suspected abuse or neglect, but how and when" (Swain 1992, p. 247). Commenting on the English Orkney "sect" cases, Goddard writes:

The question must be asked whether it was really necessary for the children involved to be removed from their homes early in the morning in such a fashion. There are occasions when such practice may be necessary (if a child's life is in danger, for



example) but it is not clear whether such conditions applied in the Orkney cases (Goddard 1992, p. 33).

The same question lies at the feet of the authorities in this case: despite the confusion (and distortion) of charge and counter charge surrounding these proceedings, the objective observer must remain sceptical that it would not have been sufficient to proceed in a calm and orderly way, using the "notice" provisions of the legislation in the two states.

Two standards of justice? On the issue of whether mega cases are treated differently from individual cases (including whether "groups" can partially insulate themselves from meeting routine standards), the verdict must stand as "unproven". This may not be as troubling as it seems.

Goddard found that the literature about the incidence of undetected/unremedied sexual (or other) abuse of children within groups coming to official notice through the evidence of children or former adult members of such groups was equivocal. All three hypotheses remained open: that the "abuse" occurs as reported, that nothing at all occurs, or that the truth lies in between (Goddard 1992, p. 30).

Not exactly a helpful set of conclusions, but certainly not one which would justify a sudden rush of legislative blood aimed at tilting the balance any further in favour of the state. In short, the current orthodoxies may have been shaken by the publicity surrounding the Children of God interventions. But the case for a "reformation" has yet to be established. Rather, we should devote our attention to ensuring that the most recent set of reforms is enabled to do its job of striking the delicate balance between competing interests.

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"going off the rails"

A profile of serious and repeat juvenile offenders and policy responses in Western Australia

Studies have consistently shown that a small proportion of offenders are responsible for the bulk of crime committed by juveniles. One recent analysis of juvenile crime statistics in Western Australia showed that 13 per cent of offenders committed 43 per cent of all offences (Raynor 1988, p. 22). Accordingly, resources devoted to this group are out of all proportion to their number. Moreover, the difficulties in curbing recidivist behaviour has led to the introduction of "get tough" legislation with provision for mandatory and indefinite periods of detention. (However, this will now be dropped because of the lack of deterrent effect, and the WA Government has foreshadowed the introduction of new legislation relating to juvenile offenders.)

Surprisingly, there is a lack of both longitudinal and sociological data on serious and repeat offenders. This overview, based on recent empirical and qualitative data compiled by official sources in Western Australia, attempts to construct a social profile of this group of offenders in order to probe the impact of personal and structural disadvantage on their criminal behaviour. Moreover, the article seeks to examine the extent to which current approaches, and programs, reflect this understanding.

Definitions and Demography

In Western Australia more than 60 per cent of young offenders do not offend more than once or twice. However, of those who do appear in Court on multiple occasions, there are differing views on what constitutes recidivist behaviour. For example, the President of the Children's Court has cautioned against use of the term:

It [recidivism] is random and depends on the offender's age and the type of offending they are involved in ... Sometimes a kid will commit a very large number of offences in a very short time and have no criminal history before or after that. He just goes off the rails for a month. Another kid will be at it year in and year out (Select Committee No. 3, p. 7).

However, there is a general acceptance that in a significant number of cases offending starts to become an entrenched way of life by the time a juvenile has appeared in Court on five or more occasions. Within this benchmark, the proportion of chronic recidivists does significantly decline. Based on 1990-91 figures for Western Australia:

22 per cent appeared in the Children's Court on five or more occasions (or 1 800 youth);
8 per cent on 11 or more occasions (665 youth);
and 2 per cent on 21 or more occasions (166 youth).

A significant proportion of these youth are Aboriginal who comprise:

45 per cent of youth with a history of 5+ court appearances; and 66 per cent of youth with a history of 21+ appearances.

Rates of recidivism fluctuate. Between 1988-89 there was a 5 per cent increase in the number of individuals with 11+ Court appearances. However, this figure declined by 12 per cent in the year 1991-92. The reasons for this upward, and downward, movement are purely speculative as no sustained trend has emerged.

Characteristics of Recidivist Offending Behaviour

It can be difficult to identify serious and repeat offenders early in their careers. The most obvious predictors involve the nature of the offending behaviour itself, that is, where offending behaviour begins early, involves violence and escalates rapidly (Wolfgang 1988, p. 18).

However, there are a series of strong co-relationships between social and personal disadvantage and recidivist offending. While disadvantage is common to most juvenile offenders, the defining characteristic shared by serious and repeat offenders is the level of disadvantage experienced in their lives. In other words, serious and repeat offenders represent an extreme end of a continuum where personal and social disadvantage has become entrenched. This disadvantage can be grouped into the following areas: family background; poverty/low income; and school failure.

Family Background

For some time there has been a strong acknowledgment in the literature that a very common feature of young offenders is a lack of structure in their lives. They either do not have a family who cares for them, they have an aimless existence, or they do not have a firm set of values laid down in their early lives (Rutter 1983). However, the relationship between a background of family deprivation and dysfunction and involvement in juvenile criminal behaviour has several complex components.

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In the first place, youth workers, in evidence to the Select Committee on Youth Affairs, highlighted the existence of an "underclass" of unattached young people who:

- live outside the welfare system; do not attend school, do not receive social security benefits and are not "street present". They fear contact with the police and welfare systems;
- are not attracted to crisis accommodation because it is part of the "system" and are unwilling to submit to the structures, rules and authority figures found in refuges; and
- are extensively engaged in crime as a means to support themselves.

There are numbers of Aboriginal young people who fit this category, some of whom have spent three or four years living on the streets without positive adult influences (Select Committee No. 3, p. 9).

The apparent rise in numbers of such marginalised young people parallels other information given to the Select Committee on Youth Affairs, particularly growing concern about the number of unsupported 12-15 year olds, and the lack of funding for accommodation programs for this age group (Select Committee No. 1, p. 13).

A significant proportion of children who are made wards of the State also commit offences. In fact, 21 per cent of all children who had been through the "Out of Home and Alternative Care" program committed offences in 1990-91. Young people coming into out-of-home and alternative care have a high incidence of educational and emotional problems which, if unresolved, are likely explanations for offending behaviour.

However, it may also be the case that the system of foster care is inappropriate for many teenagers, and that this may be a link in the pattern of offending behaviour. It is known that the "parenting" model of foster care is unsuited to many teenagers who do not want "substitute parents", but who need support and guidance (Select Committee No. 2, p. 15). The breakdowns in foster care for teenagers was a factor mentioned by a magistrate in evidence to the Select Committee on Youth Affairs:

a lot of that offending is because of insecurity as the kids are moving from one foster home to another. They are looking for some attention and the only attention those kids get is when they are centre stage in Court (Select Committee No. 3, p. 11).

No research has been conducted in Western Australia which documents the outcome of out of home and substitute care proceedings to determine whether intervention has been a "positive" experience in some meaningful sense. In fact, there has been little follow-up of children after the termination of their guardianship at age 16.

Another group who are potentially "at risk" of developing patterns of offending behaviour are young people whose family backgrounds are characterised by poor parenting skills. Among the limited research in Western Australia on this group is a recently completed study of "at risk" students at a senior high school in a low socio-economic area of Perth's northern suburban corridor.

The study showed that students who exhibited difficult or serious behaviour problems had typically not

learnt appropriate social skills from their parents. The social environment of these students was shaped by single parent families, low incomes and high rates of unemployment. Lacking means to resolve conflict and frustration, a significant number were found to be depressed and angry and resisted the authority of parents, teachers and the law. It was these students who were most likely to leave school early, and to drift into unemployment and crime (Select Committee No. 1, p. 7).

The co-relationships between juvenile criminal behaviour and a breakdown in effective parenting and socialisation was a theme raised by several senior school staff in evidence to the Select Committee on Youth Affairs. A deputy principal of a primary school in another low socio-economic area of Perth outlined the interplay of these forces. It was estimated that up to 30 per cent of children at this school were "at risk" of failing to meet basic educational achievements and, among this group,

Peer interaction is very poor and usually results in verbal abuse and acts of aggression. In short, they do not know how to play and socialize productively. Gangs have been formed to graffiti, damage and steal from local shopping centres. The majority of these children's parents acknowledge their children's anti-social behaviour but have lost control in directing them due to inconsistent measures of discipline and parental supervision (Select Committee No. 3, p. 12).

In addition to poor parenting and socialisation, a background of child and sexual abuse is gaining recognition as a causal factor in some juveniles' involvement in repeat offending behaviour. Recent official reports in both Western Australia and New South Wales have highlighted this relationship, but there is no comprehensive data available to document its extent. However, American studies have shown that:

- some delinquent juveniles have endured child abuse at far higher rates than estimates for the general population;
- victims of child abuse are involved in delinquency at a higher rate than their peers from the general population; and
- experiencing physical violence as a child correlates to delinquent behaviour that also involves violence (Select Committee No. 3, p. 12).

Poverty/low income

Recent figures for Western Australia compiled by the Department of Social Security show that 27 per cent of children 0-16 are living in families on some form of low income, including family allowance supplement, unemployment, sickness, and special benefits, and sole parent pensions.

Although a link is frequently drawn between low income and involvement in juvenile crime, there is a lack of detailed statistical studies to determine the extent of this relationship. For example, no published studies have been undertaken in Western Australia to show the family income status of offenders who had appeared in Court on five or more occasions.

Nevertheless, there are some other clearly documented co-relationships between a low income background



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**the system of
foster care is inappropriate for many
teenagers, and
this may be a
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of offending
behaviour**

and juvenile crime. In particular, youth unemployment is a key characteristic of recidivist offending behaviour.

A 1987 study conducted by the Department for Community Services (since re-structured to become the Department for Community Development) found that of the 13 per cent of young people who committed 43 per cent of all offences, 86 per cent were not employed at the time of arrest (Raynor 1988, p. 22). A similar study in 1992 found that of the 115 youth in detention, only 11 per cent were attending school or in employment pre-admission (Select Committee No. 3, p. 11).

While the association between unemployment and crime is clear, its interpretation is not. Theories about causal variables include the impact of boredom and frustration characteristic of unemployment and the role that a lack of work plays in weakening the individuals' attachment to society (Farrington et al 1986, pp. 335-36).

A weakening in the attachment of seriously disadvantaged youth to mainstream society has been raised as a serious concern by the Salvation Army, whose Employment 2000 program in Western Australia targets youth seriously disadvantaged in the labour market. In addition to suffering socioeconomic disadvantage, this group possesses one or more of the following characteristics: specific learning difficulties; a low IQ; an unattractive personal appearance and anti-social behaviour. Most have little hope of obtaining employment through the formal job interviews required to obtain social security payments, every one of which reinforces the idea that they are "not good enough" (Senate Standing Committee 1992, p. 82).

School failure

The link between school failure and involvement in delinquency is well-established (Knight 1985). In fact, it has been claimed that up to 70 per cent of juvenile offenders evidence significant learning difficulties (Select Committee No. 2, p. 2).

A recent study of the educational backgrounds of detainees at Perth detention centres documents the extent of this relationship. For example, the study revealed that at Longmore Training Centre, which caters for boys 14-17 years of age, average literacy levels were consistent with middle to upper primary school, while at Riverbank, which caters for 16-17 year old boys, similar average levels were found (Select Committee No. 2, p.3).

School failure and involvement in criminal behaviour is part of classic delinquency theory. In the 1950s and 60s it was argued that working-class children were handicapped in the competition for education because their parents were less likely to have taught them the skills to achieve in education: abstract reasoning, middle-class manners, and the postponement of immediate gratification in favour of long-term goals. Unable to achieve the status according to the standards of the school, some of these youth join an offending sub-culture in which status can be achieved (Farrington et al 1986).

This interpretation is consistent with information given to the Select Committee on Youth Affairs which indicated that:

- most young offenders either cannot read or write or have low skills in this area;

- unresolved social problems is the primary reason these young people cannot learn; and
- these children have not acquired the life skills which are informally part of the school system and, therefore, they cannot participate in the classroom setting. (Select Committee No. 3, p. 11).

The lack of resources to adequately address basic literacy and numeracy skills, particularly in schools with high rates of early school leaving, truancy and disruptive behaviour is an on going manifestation of the failings of the school system to meet the needs of socio-economically disadvantaged youth. In fact, recent research has highlighted a gap between the policy and the practice in the delivery of services to students with special needs. This gap is characterised by "low funding and service delivery levels and a general low level of awareness of special education practice in the regular classroom system" (Dimmock & Bain 1992).

More recent theoretical work on school and delinquency focuses on aspects of school climate; that is, school organisation and processes including streaming and the conferring of rewards, contribute to the creation of a failure status which is independent of such factors as intelligence and social class (Knight 1985).

The alienation of some students from schooling is slowly emerging as a policy issue in education. In particular, it is becoming more widely acknowledged that, despite rising retention rates, there is evidence of a sub-culture of students who are regular truants, who are not motivated to achieve academically, and who evidence behaviour problems. However, there is a lack of recent research on the extent of this group. In fact, there is no reliable data in Western Australia on the number of persistent truants (Select Committee No. 2, p.3-7).

Nevertheless, there is a strong belief which links persistent truanting and involvement in juvenile crime; and between young people suspended and expelled from school and offending behaviour (Select Committee No. 2).

Mental health issues

From at least the early 1980s, research has indicated that a significant proportion of recidivist offenders experience a variety of emotional and behavioural problems. This pathology includes mental illness, developmental neglect or abuse, and drug misuse. Until very recently little attention was paid to this relationship. A study in 1990, for example, of juveniles on remand in South Australia showed that this group were as disturbed as a group of similar aged adolescents attending a psychiatric clinic (Caseworker 1990, p. 26).

A recent report into Western Australia's child and adolescent mental health service found that young people in the juvenile justice system have diminished mental health, confirmed by:

the high proportion of such young people with family problems, who exhibit conduct disorders, who have school and learning difficulties, who have low self-esteem, and who have problems related to physical, sexual or emotional abuse.

A recent survey, conducted over six months, at the Longmore Remand Centre showed that:

up to 70 per cent of juvenile offenders evidence significant learning difficulties

- approximately 25 per cent of detainees met the criteria for depressive disorder;
- 21 per cent had made a previous suicide attempt; and
- at least 80 per cent were regular users of illicit drugs. (Health Department 1992, p. 61)

Work has been undertaken to devise a screening procedure to improve the monitoring of these youth while they are in custody and their follow-up and support when they are discharged into the community. Nevertheless, the Report on child and adolescent mental health services noted that current services for offending youth with mental health problems are inadequate, in terms of:

Several studies, including those undertaken by Watts and the Select Committee on Youth Affairs, have found that Perth is limited in its treatment options for drug treatment, especially those offering support to offenders who are mentally impaired from substances, and programs which can provide long-term residential programs.

Multiple problem youth

The extent of social and personal disadvantage among serious and repeat offenders is such that most experience all, or most, of the background characteristics listed above. However, the connection between youth with multiple problems and offending behaviour has been more widely studied in American research: findings from



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- the poor availability of services;
- the unwillingness of some services to accept referrals of offenders; and
- the failure to provide services for young Aboriginal offenders and those with cognitive impairments resulting from substance abuse (Task force 1992, p. 62).

The same lack of adequate services is evident for young offenders with problems resulting from drug abuse. A study of juvenile offenders' drug use patterns found that:

Drug use in the young offender group must not be seen as simply experimental. There is evidence of significant long-term abuse. The destructive manner in which these youth use drugs means that even the "experimental" use will often cause long-term damage (Watts 1992).

the National Youth Survey, showed that a majority of serious offenders experience multiple problems during late adolescence and early adulthood and that these young people have longer criminal careers; are less likely to "mature out" of deviant behaviour patterns through normal developmental processes; and are less responsive to treatment interventions (Elliott et. al 1989, p. 192).

While no similar longitudinal studies of multiple problem youth have been undertaken in Australia, one study into the social background of recidivist car thieves is revealing of the links between multiple social and personal disadvantage and involvement in repeat offending behaviour. The study found that 93 young people, with an average age of 16 years, accounted for 44 per cent of the total number of motor vehicle charges laid against juveniles in 1990. Of this group:

- 62 per cent have parents who are separated (or dead);
 - 50 per cent have resided with relatives or are in care;
 - 57 per cent are perceived as lacking parent or adult support;
 - 76 per cent are neither employed or attending school;
 - 75 per cent who had left school had problems when at school
 - 66 per cent were Aboriginal; and
 - 74 per cent had been convicted of 51 or more charges.
- (Department for Community Services 1991, pp. 7-8)

The multiple problems experienced by the youth studied in this report raises some disturbing questions. It could be argued, for example, that the failure to provide an adequate level of basic educational, mental health, drug rehabilitation, accommodation and other services to such youth, has meant that serious offending is less about the exercise of individual and family responsibility than an inevitable outcome of gross social inequality. Moreover, repeat offenders have received every disposition available to the Court, including periods of incarceration and these traditional approaches have proved to be costly and substantially ineffective. What additional approaches should be put in their place?

Policy Directions

In recent years a consensus has been building at the policy level to challenge traditional responses to serious and repeat offenders. In particular, there is a growing acknowledgement that resources for this group of offenders has been overly concentrated at the wrong end of the offending cycle, that is, in criminal sanctions including incarceration.

The calls to shift resources from court-imposed sanctions to early intervention and prevention has seen the growth in Western Australia of coordinated crime prevention programs at the local level, mentor and reparation schemes, a serious and repeat offender task force to work with families and a planned probation scheme.

However, there remains a considerable gap between the policy and practice in this shift in resources. Juvenile Justice Budget outlays for 1992-93 prepared by the Department for Community Services (now the Department for Community Development) show that over 37 per cent of monies are spent on detention, and only 17 per cent on community-based prevention (Select Committee No. 3, p. 47).

Early intervention and prevention type approaches will help to curb the progression to more serious behaviour in some relatively intact youth. However, this will not necessarily address the needs of the considerable number of serious and repeat offenders already in the system and those who, for whatever reasons, will fail to respond to longer-term preventative strategies.

Charting future policy directions is hampered by a lack of systematic research on program outcomes. Nevertheless, the literature on serious and repeat offenders points to some clearly defined needs which require additional resources and program development.

Firstly, there is a need to develop an effective mechanism to identify multiple problem youth and to develop across-government case management strategies for such youth, especially those whose behaviour may not have

involved them in the juvenile justice system. Identification of such youth necessitates close cooperation between agencies, and should form the basis for more systematic referral to intervention services.

Secondly, and consistent with the above, is the need to broaden intervention programs which deal with multiple problem youth, especially in the areas of polydrug use, family mediation/counselling and mental health problems (Elliott et. al 1989, p. 203; Watts 1992, p. 19). A high priority should be given to prevent the escalation of the relatively non-serious manifestations of these behaviours into the more serious.

The emphasis in developing such services should be on a community, rather than an institutional model. American research has highlighted important shortcomings relating to institutional treatment services: correctional staff become frustrated about their realistic chances of meeting the chronic educational, psychological and vocational needs of detainees and especially given the powerful, anti-social inmate cultural systems characteristic of juvenile correctional systems (Krisberg 1988, p. 45).

Thirdly, emphasis should be given to the provision of well-managed and intensive community-based programs, especially those addressing educational, training and employment needs. Research suggests that the critical component in the success of such intensive programs revolves around changing the short-term payoffs from criminal activity by providing attractive and viable options (Krisberg 1989, p. 47).

Currently, it is difficult for young offenders to access meaningful literacy and numeracy programs because of the competition for places and because most programs operate on a 16-year-old age limit. Moreover, restrictions limit the accessibility of wage subsidy programs such as Job Start: the period of subsidy has decreased; a 16-year old age limit applies as does a four-week waiting period. Consequently, youth released from detention are ineligible for such programs, quickly get bored and re-offend (Select Committee No. 3, p. 50).

Fourthly, additional resources need to be devoted to expanding alternatives to maximum security, with its well documented contamination effects. Western Australia has pioneered a Station Program involving the placement of repeat offenders, particularly Aboriginal people, on outback stations as an alternative to incarceration and to provide positive work experience. Over 80 offenders have so far been placed. However, the Program has limited capacity to absorb the required number of offenders. The Select Committee on Youth Affairs was informed that:

the most effective model for alternatives to custody are programs which are the least institutionalised but still very well structured, more personalised in their delivery, more normal in terms of relating to the youth's return to the community and which may even hold the prospect of employment (Select Committee No. 3, p. 51).

A survey of Aboriginal youth in detention, conducted by members of the Aboriginal community, devised a program framework consistent with the above model. The survey revealed the support of Aboriginal youth for a program which would take them away from the influence of peers, drugs and the thrill of stealing cars for a period

Western Australia has pioneered a Station Program involving the placement of repeat offenders, particularly Aboriginal people, on outback stations as an alternative to incarceration

of nine months, the distinguishing features of which would include:

- Establishment of regional camps in selected locations throughout Western Australia;
- Involvement of Aboriginal communities to teach bush skills and culture;
- Involvement of local timber and fishing industries to provide pre-employment and employment skills;
- Construction of a hostel for reception of offenders and for follow-up training and employment opportunities;

Program design of this type is aimed at providing offenders with opportunities which they have not had in their own lives. In other words, changing the short-term pay-offs of involvement in crime (Select Committee No. 3, p. 52).

Conclusion

Serious and repeat offenders are among the most disadvantaged group in the community. The lack of adequate service delivery to meet the needs of this group has trapped many in a cycle of offending from which it is difficult to emerge.

While there is evidence of increased policy development, and program funding to provide services to this group, a key issue remains whether there is sufficient political leadership to support new approaches to serious and repeat juvenile offenders. The alternative is increasing reliance on "get tough" approaches, the political rhetoric of which has already masked some of the real issues in reducing the numbers of this group of offenders.

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program evaluation for police and law enforcement agencies in Australia

applying a Federal model

Avast amount of public funds and intrusive powers are provided to Police and Law Enforcement Agencies (LEA) in Australia to carry out their functions. It is appropriate, therefore, that these organisations are strictly accountable. This accountability is possible using contemporary program evaluation systems, such as those being currently applied in the Federal sphere.

A 1992 study of the Australian Federal Police (AFP) and its application of the Federal government's 1987 program performance evaluation initiatives is the basis of this article.

Federal Program Evaluation Initiatives

Federal Government concern for accountability in the public sector led to the introduction of the concept of performance evaluation in 1985.

That system has progressed and is currently managed under the auspices of the Financial Management Improvement Program (FMIP) whereby the methodology for evaluation is based upon the quantification of services in respect to resources - *efficiency* - and quality - *effectiveness*. The latter concept was traditionally viewed as difficult to measure in terms of the service and strategic nature of public sector outputs and outcomes (especially for police).

In order to give form to FMIP some key definitions and concepts which provide the framework for consideration of the AFP system of program evaluation are:

Performance Information: "Performance information relates to all information both quantitative and qualitative which inform various decision-makers about how well an activity, a major program, organisational unit or the organisation as a whole are performing against a set of policy objectives, targets and priorities" (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990, p.73).

Efficiency: "is about the degree of economy in the use of resources to achieve results" (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990, p.74).

Effectiveness: "relates to the extent to which stated objectives and related targets are achieved. Access, client attitudes and satisfaction and service quality are generally accepted as part of effectiveness" (House of

Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990, p.74).

Policy Outcomes: "incorporate considerations of effectiveness, social justice and efficiency. In some cases "effectiveness" criteria can be overtaken by "efficiency" considerations where the pursuit of savings are given higher priority than the improved provision of some service or outputs" (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990, p.15).

Social Justice: a 1989 publication (*Towards a Fairer Australia*) provides valuable direction for federal bureaucrats (and to those in other jurisdictions). It defines the four aspects of social justice as: Equity; Equality; Access; and Participation, and how consideration of all or what aspects are appropriate, and need to be injected as social objectives for programs.

It can be seen that, in the Federal context, program evaluation is based upon a number of different sources of *performance information* that not only considers *efficiency* and *effectiveness* of resource utilisation, but should also consider *policy outcomes* and the *social justice* impact of policies when evaluating corporate performance.

Within this evaluation framework the AFP has been cast. What then has been that organisation's reaction and what sort of evaluation system has evolved?

The AFP and Evaluation

Program evaluation began in the AFP on 1 July 1987, and immediately some problems were identified in its application:

- The program structure (budgetary) and organisational structure of the AFP diverge.
- The development of performance indicators and procedures for their collection, collation and analysis has proved difficult (*AFP Annual Report, 1987-88*, pp. 77-8).

The AFP followed up on these identified problems and by 1990-91 had developed a system of performance indicators, and later a parallel budgetary system.

Currently, the AFP's program evaluation system differs significantly from its initial one which was based on *Index Theory*, that attempted to quantify activity in each program and then to use that quantification to evaluate the program's *efficiency* and *effectiveness*.

Index Theory used over 800 indicators which had

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Superintendent
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Northern Territory Police

COPS provides a database for recording police and law enforcement activity from start to finish. It is not only a case management system which provides activity and workload results, but also quantifies outputs for efficiency purposes

varying weights applied and the system developed into one that focussed on workload and activity rather than output and outcomes.

The unsatisfactory practice of solely using activity to evaluate *efficiency* and *effectiveness* was recognised and major changes were made, whereby evaluations of *efficiency* and *effectiveness* now also consider outputs and outcomes, along with activity.

The question was how to evaluate these outputs and outcomes. The result has been the development of three separate sources of information which are used to indicate program performance. These provide details of activity, output and outcomes, which in turn, are used to evaluate *efficiency* and *effectiveness* of programs. These three sources of information are:

- Development of improved information systems - computerised databases to provide on-line information;
- Incorporation of Critical Success Factors (CSFs) in the Corporate Plan; and
- Using a professional survey organisation to monitor and analyse effectiveness of some programs.

Information Systems

The most significant initiative in this area has been the development of the Computerised On-line Policing System (COPS). COPS provides a database for recording police and law enforcement activity from start to finish. It is not only a case management system which provides activity and workload results, but also quantifies outputs for efficiency purposes, for example, total crimes attended and persons arrested over a period. It also provides indicators for evaluation of effectiveness; for example, how many investigation files are on hand and how long they have been on hand over specific periods.

COPS uses periodic reports (Sitreps) that show the detailed and systematic breakdown of activity and output of programs. For example, the *Duration of Ongoing Investigations* and *Results of Operations Incidents Reported for the month*.

COPS not only provides important intelligence and management information, it is output orientated and able to be linked to other key information systems pertaining to program budgets and personnel allocation (contained on other databases). This enables efficiency on a dollar basis to be evaluated, which is essential for proper budget management and hence satisfies much of the FMIP evaluation requirements concerning resource usage.

COPS provides excellent indicators of *efficiency* but has a lesser role to play in evaluating *effectiveness*. In terms of *effectiveness*, COPS is able to be used to help evaluate *effectiveness* as it "relates to the extent to which stated objectives and related targets are achieved . . ." (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990, p.74). The monthly and annual Sitreps provided by COPS can be matched against related objectives of programs to assist with evaluating whether the objectives have been achieved. However, other indicators such as results of community surveys and evaluation of service quality by client departments, are needed to evaluate " . . . access, client attitudes and satisfaction and service quality."

(House of Representatives Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration 1990). These are detailed later on.

Finally, the other databases which the AFP information system use should also be considered because, when used in conjunction with COPS, they enhance the quality of evaluation by maximising information available to managers. These databases range from national, multi-agency and solely AFP intelligence databases, to accounting, personnel and communication databases; all of which provide a vast amount of information from hitherto unused sources of evaluation information.

Critical Success Factors

The proposed Corporate Plan for 1992-95 includes Critical Success Factors (CSFs) which are akin to Performance Indicators. In the previous corporate plan provision for evaluation was not included. The CSFs in this plan are either:

- efficiency factors that are able to be applied to all programs to ascertain the relationship between outputs achieved and resources deployed, for example clear up rates per officer, offences reported, response rates, cost of programs, and
- effectiveness factors which, like efficiency factors, are open to general application for example, market penetration, quality of strategic assessments, quality of investigations carried out to satisfaction of client departments, and so on.

CSFs are a simple but integral concept. They are defined as "the limited number of areas in which satisfactory results will ensure competitive performance for the individual, department, or organisation. Critical success factors are the few areas where "things must go right" for the business to flourish and the manager's goals to be attained." (Martin 1990, p.88). These factors identify the essential corporate objectives that must be achieved and are the most important benchmarks for evaluation of efficiency and effectiveness in terms of a program's objectives. CSFs may be applied to individual sub programs or may transcend all sub programs and be program wide. For example: ethical standards which are applicable to all programs.

CSFs are integral to good management practices because they are developed in conjunction with the program managers and program managers are able to involve personnel of all levels in CSF development for their program. This results in ownership of CSFs by the staff and hence commitment for their attainment. This process and resultant CSFs exemplify modern management practices.

Another important aspect of CSFs in this context are their importance in evaluating outcomes: the long-term and continuing effects of a program in the community, and social justice issues. Traditionally, outcomes and social justice issues were not considered integral in evaluating performance of public organisations; however, today their importance cannot be emphasised too much. One way of evaluating effectiveness in terms of outcomes and social justice issues is by community surveys.



Community Surveys

The New South Wales Police commenced the use of large-scale social research surveys in 1988 to help evaluate community policing initiatives and the AFP adopted the initiative in 1990. The use of surveys helps *effectiveness* evaluation by considering community feedback on key topics that pertain to outcomes while also measuring the relative success of the organisation's commitment to the social justice principles, that are integral to all federal programs.

Frank Small & Associates, marketing and research consultants who have pioneered this type of evaluation system for policing in Australia, undertook the surveys for both the New South Wales Police and AFP and lead time is required to evaluate comparative performance. However, the first few surveys are useful because they provide information on the current community attitude towards police and their service level area. After several surveys the results will be more indicative and useful.

The use of these surveys to help evaluate effectiveness is illustrated by looking at some of the questions being consistently asked in current surveys. Examples are:

access: How responsive are police to community concerns?;

client attitude: I'd like you to tell me whether you feel safe or unsafe doing any of the following activities?;

client satisfaction: How satisfied were you with the way the police treated you on your most recent contact with them?; and

service quality: How good a job do you think the police are doing in preventing crime?

Every six months the published survey results illustrate the effectiveness of the Community Policing program in the ACT. The answers to the questions provide timely and pertinent information relevant to the evaluation of *effectiveness*: access, client attitudes and satisfaction with service quality.

Surveys are an innovation in the Police and LEA sphere for evaluating performance in areas hitherto not considered relevant. Like database information and CSFs, surveys cannot alone satisfy evaluation requirements. They must be integrated with the other means of evaluation to achieve the end: the timely evaluation of organisation performance.

The Current AFP Evaluation Model

The new system relies on integrating a vast array of information from different sources to provide appropriate evaluations of efficiency and effectiveness. I suspect that the strategic importance of these innovations may not be fully understood. I make this comment on the basis that there is no formal structure or methodology in place to coordinate the results of these diverse evaluations nor to present them together in a formal manner on a regular basis. However, any delay in instituting a revitalised evaluation system by waiting for a formal coordinating and reporting system to be created would have been debilitating to the process of program evaluation and its acceptance as a proper practice within the AFP.

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Finally, the change from the centrally coordinated and recorded activity-based evaluation system to the system where program managers will have to evaluate and present (and justify I hope) their evaluation themselves is indicative of the devolution of responsibility: let the managers manage.

The AFP is clearly committed to improved organisational performance in line with Federal government policy. This change in evaluation systems is in line with that policy and reflects the long-term commitment to improved performance.

Application to other Police and LEAs

There is little doubt that the AFP evaluation system has application to most other LEAs because of common functions. The AFP presents a microcosm for community policing because of the size and nature of the city of Canberra. In respect to the investigation of serious and complex organised crime (drugs, corporate and computer crime), it is well placed because of its national orientation and the national and international nature of such crimes.

In all of these areas the AFP needs to be viewed by interested organisations when considering evaluation of their organisation's performance.

Conclusion

The evaluation system of the AFP has evolved in tandem with the changes it has made in management practices. The past evaluation system was centralised, activity based and, most importantly, only considered activity and not outputs or outcomes.

The new evaluation system is based upon devolved management systems and practices where program managers use an array of information available to evaluate their programs' performance. The system considers outputs and outcomes as the means of evaluation and compares that information against past performance, community opinion, social justice elements and current critical success factors.

Overall the evaluation system can be expressed as a matrix with the various programs listed on the vertical axis and the elements used to evaluate efficiency, effectiveness, policy outcomes and social justice impacts of

programs listed on the horizontal axis. By totalling up all the elements of performance on the horizontal axis an overall evaluation of the AFP's performance can be made.

The result of all these changes is a system which the managers must come to terms with and use to enhance their management performance. There is now a benchmark to evaluate the organisation's performance.

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dangerous places

Spatial Distribution of Crime in Adelaide

Study of Crime and Place in Adelaide

Research into the spatial distribution of crime has focused on three interrelated questions:

- How are different crimes distributed geographically?
- Why do some areas have higher crime rates than others?
- What socioeconomic characteristics are correlated with high and low crime areas?

This article addresses the second and third of these questions, and outlines some of the findings of a study of the social correlates of crime and place in Adelaide. More specifically, the study was undertaken to explore the correlations between the crime rate and various demographic, social and economic features of 174 suburban localities in metropolitan Adelaide.

Methodology

The data were obtained from the following sources. The Collectors District data file from the 1986 Census of population was used to develop a demographic, social and economic profile of suburban localities. The term suburban locality in most cases refers to identifiable separate suburbs but in several cases due to the small size of these units, contiguous suburban localities were collapsed into larger entities. This produced a total of 174 suburban localities.

The indices used in developing the demographic, social and economic profile of suburban localities were: incidence of labour force hardship; ethnic composition; educational status; percentage of affluent families; percentage of deprived families; housing quality; welfarism; familism; percentage of the population with family income greater than \$40,000; percentage of houses owned; percentage of home purchasers; residential stability; percentage of married and divorced persons in the locality; and percentage of people aged 10-19 years, 20-29 years, 30-60 years, and over 61 years. Details of the derivation of these indices and the variables used in developing some of the composite indices used in the analysis are:

1. Labour force hardship

percentage blue collar workers
percentage unemployed

2. Ethnic composition

percentage of the population who are bilingual
percentage overseas born

percentage non-Christian

percentage Aboriginal

3. Educational status

percentage with a degree or higher
percentage who left school after 15 years
percentage with a qualification

4. Affluent families

percentage with a qualification
percentage married women in the workforce
percentage families with income >\$40,000 in 1986
percentage of households with two cars
percentage people employed
percentage nuclear families

5. Deprived families

percentage female single parents
percentage left school before turning 15 years
percentage unemployed
percentage unskilled workers
percentage families with income <\$12,000 in 1986
percentage of households with no car

6. Housing quality

percentage of households paying rents >\$200/week
percentage of households paying more than \$600/month
percentage of homes with four or more bedrooms

7. Welfarism

percentage unemployed
percentage single parents
percentage public housing tenants

8. Familism

percentage nuclear families
ratio of children aged >4 and women aged 20-39
expressed as a percentage

9. Percentage Income >\$40,000

10. Percentage Owners

11. Percentage Purchasers

12. Percentage Residential stability (the percentage of persons residing in the same area in 1981-1986)

13. Percentage married persons

14. Percentage divorced persons

15. Percentage aged 10-19 years

16. Percentage aged 20-29 years

17. Percentage aged 30-60 years

18. Percentage aged 61+ years and over

19. Standardised mortality ratio

20. Property value (mean property/dwelling price)

21. Residential density (persons per hectare)

The crime data obtained from the South Australian

THE RESEARCH ON WHICH THIS PAPER IS BASED WAS COMMISSIONED BY THE CRIME PREVENTION UNIT OF THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT. WE ARE GRATEFUL TO THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN POLICE DEPARTMENT FOR PROVIDING US WITH THE APPROPRIATE CRIME STATISTICS.

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Police Force for the year 1989 was merged with the data profile of suburban localities. The crime data consists of information for both offences recorded and offenders apprehended by major offences codes (see Table 1). In this article we use both indicators of crime. These measures enable associations to be made between demographic, social and economic indicators and the gross crime rate for the area.

Pearson's zero order correlational analysis was used to determine the association between various demographic, social and economic variables and the crime rate.

Table 1: **Crime Data**

The crime data consisted of information for both offences recorded and offenders apprehended by major offence codes. As such the following data was extracted for all three area units:

- (i) gross crime rate per 1,000 population*
- (ii) gross offender rate per 1,000 population
- (iii) offences against the person per 1,000 population
- (iv) larceny per 1,000 population
- (v) break and enter per 1,000 population
- (vi) public order per 1,000 population
- (vii) property damage per 1,000 population

*population refers to total population

The Findings

The analysis shows that the average crime rate in 173 suburban localities in Adelaide (excluding the inner city area) was 135 per 1,000 population. Of the 173 suburbs, 120, or 69 per cent, of suburban localities have a crime rate less than the average.

The correlation coefficients are given in Table 2 and show that the gross crime rate is significantly and positively associated with apprehension rates, percentage of population who are 20-29 years of age and the percentage divorced. The crime rate was significantly but negatively correlated with the following variables: "familism", percentage of affluent families, "housing quality", percentage of owner-purchasers, "residential stability" and percentage of married persons.

The apprehension rate was correlated with a larger number of variables. It was negatively correlated with income, "affluent families", education, "housing quality", "owner-occupiers", "owner-purchasers", "residential stability", percentage aged 30-60 years and percentage married. It was positively associated with "deprived families", ethnic heterogeneity, "welfarism", "labour force hardship", percentage 20-29 years of age, public rental, and percentage divorced.

Table 2: **Correlation Coefficients Selected Socioeconomic Variables & Crime Rate: Adelaide Suburbs (excluding Adelaide)**

	Crime Rate	Apprehension Rate
Income >\$40000	-.05	-.37*
Population	-.10	.01
Familism	-.18*	-.05
Affluent Families	-.13*	-.40*
Deprived Families	.07	.47*
Ethnicity	.03	.29*
Educational Status	-.00	-.34*
Welfarism	.06	.48*
Housing Quality	-.13*	-.27*
Labour force Hardship	.01	.42*
Owners	-.06	-.12*
Purchasers	-.13*	-.22*
Public Rent	-.00	.38*
Residential Stability	-.13*	-.12*
Age 10-19 years	-.00	-.05
Age 20-29 years	.23*	.24*
Age 30-60 years	-.13	-.26*
Age 61+ years	.03	-.00
Married	-.22*	-.19*
Divorced	.25*	.41*
Apprehension Rate	.73*	-

*Coefficients significant at 0.5 level

Generally, the areas with high ratings on the socioeconomic indices of "familism", "affluent families", "housing quality" and owner purchasers tended to have lower crime rates. Low ratings on these indices together with a high percentage of the population in the 20-29 age group and high percentage of divorced persons in a suburb tended to render the area more crime prone. Similarly, the apprehension rate in economically poorer areas with a larger concentration of the population in the age group 20-29 years, divorced persons and high population mobility tended to be significantly higher.

These results are consistent with the general findings of previous Australian and overseas studies which show that environmental, demographic and economic factors play a significant role in making certain areas of the city more crime prone. In the case of suburban Adelaide the factors which were most frequently negatively correlated with the crime rate are:

- "familism";
- "residential stability";
- "housing quality";
- "affluent families";
- apprehension rate, and
- owner-purchasers.

These factors suggest that the suburban localities with economic stability, community cohesion, good housing conditions and commitment to a "family oriented society" tend to be less crime prone.

Further analysis was undertaken to ascertain the differences between suburbs with different levels of "familism", "residential stability", "housing quality", "affluent

families", apprehension rate and owner purchasers and the mean crime rate. This was done by first ranking the suburbs on each of the above-mentioned attributes from high to low and then clustering the suburbs into five separate categories or groups. The mean crime rate for each group was then computed.

The results are presented in Tables 3 to 8 and show an almost linear relationship between apprehension rates and the indices "purchaser-owners" and "residential stability" and crime rates, and a bimodal relationship between "familism" and "housing quality" and crime rates. The relationship between "affluent families" and crime appears to be curvilinear. These findings suggest a complex association between the crime rates and socioeconomic factors.

This analysis again indicates that strong negative associations appear to exist between socioeconomic factors indicative of community cohesion and the crime rate. Consequently, it can be argued that the presence of a sense of community may be viewed by offenders as a cost (in terms of the chance of being caught). The positive associations between the apprehension rates and the crime rates suggests that offenders may commit crimes in their own area rather than moving to other areas.

Closer examination of the data suggests that, perhaps in economic terms, crime patterns can be explained as a function of a cost-benefit model, that is that areas with high perceived costs tend to have lower crime rates and areas with high perceived benefits tend to have high crime rates.

Table 3: **Familism**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1	104.84
2	118.99
3	151.01
4	114.56
5	183.99

Familism score rank

*Rank 1 = high familism
5 = low familism

Table 4: **Residential Stability**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1*	117.57
2	107.74
3	122.05
4	160.14
5	166.88

Residential stability score rank

*Rank 1 = high residential stability
5 = low residential stability

Table 5: **Housing Quality**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1*	90.02
2	105.58
3	212.71
4	125.54
5	142.07

Housing quality score rank

*Rank 1 = high housing quality
5 = low housing quality

Table 6: **Affluent Families**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1*	88.04
2	103.34
3	203.40
4	154.06
5	125.25

Affluent families score rank

*Rank 1 = high affluent families
5 = low affluent families

Table 7: **Apprehension Rate**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1*	189.92
2	165.83
3	132.30
4	97.07
5	89.11

Apprehension rate score rank

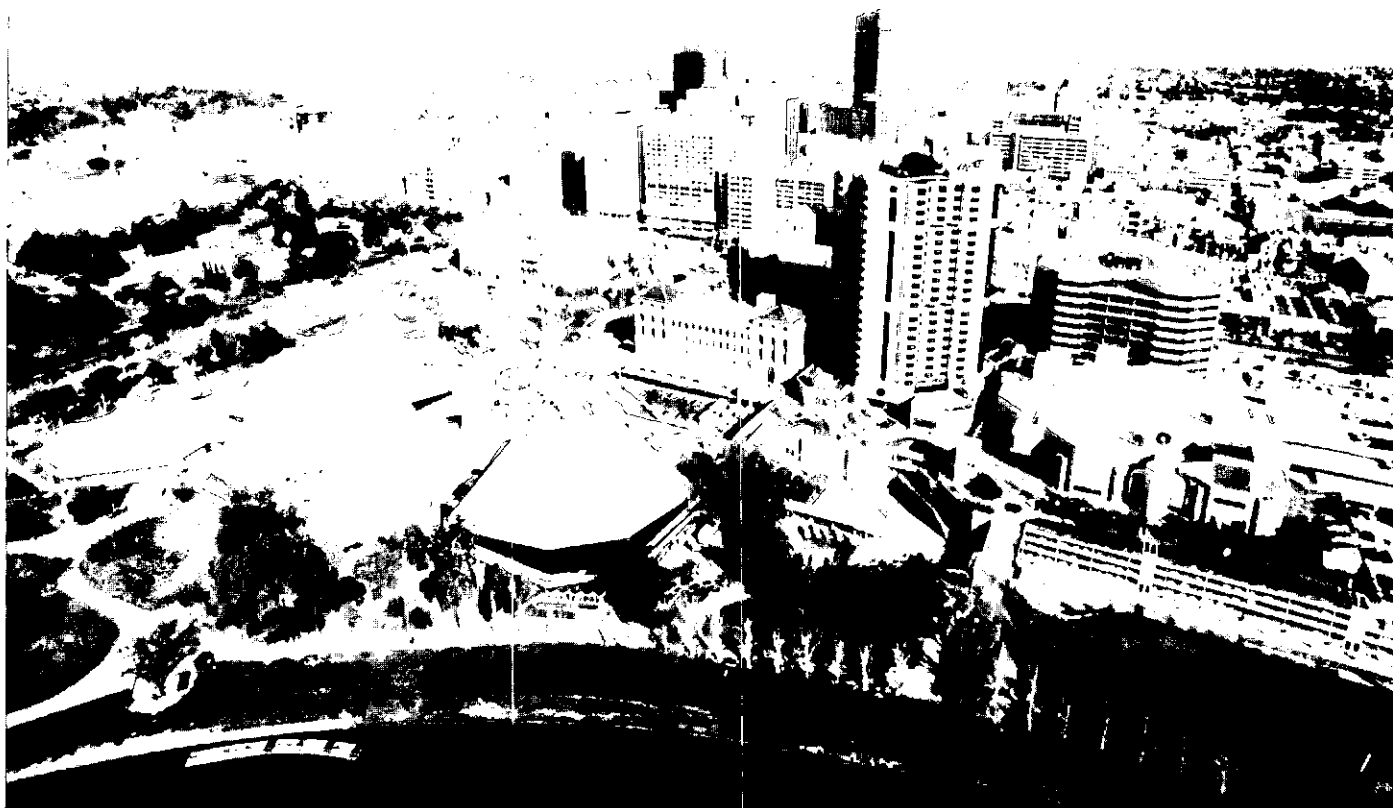
*Rank 1 = high apprehension rate
5 = low apprehension rate

Table 8: **Percentage Purchaser-Owners**

Suburban Locality Group	Mean Crime Rate
1*	90.10
2	136.70
3	152.82
4	142.01
5	153.07

Rank percentage purchaser-owners

*Rank 1 = high percentage purchaser-owners
5 = low percentage purchaser-owners



The city of churches.

Photographer:
David Pain

Discussion

The findings regarding dangerous places in Adelaide raise a number of critical points. Firstly, the recognition of a wide range of social, economic and demographic correlates of crime indicates the need to address the wider social structure when attempting to design crime prevention strategies or re-education programs. Obviously, programs that only address the circumstances of the criminal or specific crimes will fail in crime prevention. Whilst focusing on "criminal types" is important, strategies need to take into account the wider range of influences on the level of crime in any given area. In this respect, more crime prevention funding should perhaps be channelled into discovering those characteristics of society that are correlated with crime, and into discovering how these factors can be better incorporated into crime prevention and re-education strategies.

Secondly, the evidence suggests there is an apparent association between community cohesion and stability and crime rates. If, as has been shown, there is an inverse relationship between community cohesion and stability and the crime rate, one can expect that community based crime prevention strategies will be more successful in highly cohesive and stable neighbourhoods. Therefore, to be successful in less cohesive communities, these community based programs may also need to concentrate on gaining greater community involvement and pride.

It is in this respect that urban planners may have an important role to play. Current government policy and planning has led to increased privatisation of consump-

tion with most recreational activities undertaken in the private domain. Whilst such policies have led to the increased use of the private home and garden (a characteristic of increased suburbanisation), they have also resulted in a diminution of household involvement and interest in the wider community.

evaluation of the enforcement of Australian drug anti-trafficking legislation

A Research into Drug Abuse (RIDA) Project conducted on behalf of the National Police Research Unit

Marks (1992) estimates that Australia spends some \$320 million each year on efforts to enforce the laws against the supply and consumption of illicit drugs. Yet despite these costs, and the importance of law enforcement within the context of Australia's National Campaign Against Drug Abuse (NCADA), little research has been conducted on the effectiveness of law enforcement activities (McDowell 1992). This is a serious deficiency, because considerable controversy continues to rage both in Australia and overseas about the most appropriate ways to tackle drug abuse. Issues canvassed include not just the relative merits of supply-reduction (law enforcement) strategies and demand-reduction (education and treatment) strategies (Wardlaw 1992), but also the viability of continued policies of prohibition (Hall 1992).

In 1989 the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority undertook a review of these questions. One of the recommendations (4.19) of the subsequent report, *Drugs, Crime and Society*, was that funds be made available through the NCADA Research Program to compare the effectiveness of different law enforcement strategies and recommend on best ways to attack the traffic in illicit drugs. This article later outlines how that recommendation has been turned into a two-year research program. First, however, it is useful to describe the broad context of the project and to give an indication of the sources which have helped set its directions.

Although most nations are committed to prohibition of a range of illicit substances (McDowell 1992), Australia's lack of research on the effectiveness of supply-reduction strategies echoes international experiences. This is despite the fact that enforcement programs are costly, and agencies often must choose from a wide range of possible approaches. Supply reduction strategies can include crop eradication and substitution, interdiction of imports, destruction of local cannabis plantations, targeting major traffickers and intensive street level enforcement which focuses on lower-level dealers and users (Parliamentary Joint Committee on the NCA 1989). Tactics brought to bear in pursuing these outcomes can include undercover operations, electronic surveillance, street observation and arrest, community-based intelligence (hotlines, "beat" police, problem oriented policing and so on), asset seizures and historical conspiracy investigations (Kleiman & Smith 1990). In determining which strategies and tactics to adopt, police and other relevant authorities must weigh a range of factors which include

government policy, agency resources and powers, available intelligence information, potential conflicts with other initiatives (for example, intensive street observation and arrest may confound needle-exchange programs) and, of course, the likely short- and long-term effects on drug availability and consumption (for a review see Wardlaw 1992). In the United States (see Moore 1990) and to a lesser extent in Australia (see, for example Elliot 1982 and 1983, commenting on Williams, Stewart and Woodward Royal Commissions) there has been discussion of the relative merits of targeting major traffickers as opposed to street-level dealers and users. Strategies which target large-scale traffickers appeal to a sense of justice in that they are more likely to affect individuals or groups deriving large profits from the trade, and also may appear to have potential to eliminate significant sources of supply (Phares 1975). Some researchers suggest, however, that because major traffickers are difficult to detect and can be replaced in the market relatively quickly, intensive lower-level enforcement may be more effective in disrupting supply chains and reducing drug availability (see Kleiman & Smith 1990).

An assumption underlying much of this debate is that the key to success of anti-trafficking strategies is whether they raise the price of, or "search time" for, illicit drugs. As Wardlaw points out, evaluations based mainly on this measure apply more to the US than to Australia. The US has seen much more widespread misuse of drugs than this country, and the devastating effects on impoverished inner-city neighbourhoods are much more evident (Johnson et al. 1990). This has made it difficult for policy makers and public in the US to contemplate alternatives to strict prohibition and strict enforcement, or to separate the costs of drug use from the costs of prohibition itself. This restriction does not apply to Australia, where misuse of drugs other than alcohol is less widespread and the effects are far less visible, and where policy makers are more aware of the costs of prohibition. As *Drugs, Crime and Society* points out, these costs can include:

- conceding a monopoly on supply and distribution to criminal elements, thus forcing users into contact with the subculture;
- increasing the potential for corruption of law-enforcement officials;
- reducing users' access to health and other "helping" professions;
- increasing the likelihood of drug-related crime by reg-

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- ular users in need of funds for an expensive product;
- increasing likelihood of intravenous drug use by consumers seeking maximum effect from a given quantity (leading to risks of HIV infection);
- other health risks associated with unregulated marketing of a consumer substance (for example, cutting drugs with contaminants).

The need to take account of these broader social costs has meant that an Australian assessment of the effectiveness of anti-trafficking efforts inevitably has to be based on more than a purely "technical" cost-benefit analysis. US based work—for example Reuter et al. 1988; Reuter & Kleiman 1986) and the summaries in the 1990 (vol 13) edition of *Crime and Justice: a Review of Research* (Tonry & Wilson 1990)—can be a significant starting point. However, a review also must encompass approaches to evaluation in countries such as the United Kingdom (Wagstaff & Maynard 1988) and The Netherlands (Ruter 1986; Englesman 1989), where there has been greater emphasis on trying to balance the conflicting demands of supply and demand reduction. Another reference point, of course, is Australian work, both on specific topics such as possible relationships between heroin use and crime (Dobinson 1989) and on general policy issues (Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority 1989; Wardlaw 1992).

It must be acknowledged, though, that in terms of yielding models of successful evaluation of anti-trafficking programs, even this literature has been disappointing. Despite the massive amounts being invested by the US and other countries, evaluation of strategies and tactics has been scant and current approaches still rely more on "bets and gambles" (Moore 1990, p.152) than research evidence. Nonetheless the literature has helped to clarify issues to be considered, questions to be asked and measures which could be applied in developing more systematic assessment of anti-trafficking programs.

It is useful here to summarise the thrusts of several key recent works which deal with the United States, Europe and Australia, and which provide the beginnings of an evaluation framework. Kleiman and Smith (1990) in their review article "State and Local Drug Enforcement: In Search of a Strategy", commissioned by the US National Institute of Justice (NIJ), summarise research on relationships between illicit drugs and crime, analyses enforcement strategies in the light of models of drug markets and contrasts drug law enforcement in the major cities of New York, Los Angeles and Detroit. Their discussion of models of drug markets and the appropriateness of strategies to markets is particularly useful.

Kleiman and Smith argue that neither high level enforcement (targeting major traffickers) nor retail level programs are likely to contribute much to solving crime in the United State's major cities if these strategies are applied in unfocussed ways. High level enforcement has proven successful in terms of arrests and drugs seized, but may have little overall effect on markets. Evidence suggests that high level traffickers removed from the industry can be replaced with relative ease, and the authors argue that high level enforcement may even remove weaker criminal organisations, leaving larger ones to dominate markets.

The article contends that street level enforcement may ultimately be more effective in supply reduction. Operations in Lyn, Massachusetts and on a much larger scale in New York were successful in inhibiting local markets and reducing drug-related crime. Such programs are costly, however, and political factors can make it difficult for the focus of street level enforcement to be shifted to other areas once desired outcomes have been achieved. The authors conclude that enforcement authorities should be more flexible in the types of anti-trafficking strategies and tactics pursued, and should invest more in collecting data on the characteristics of the particular markets they are policing.

Moore (1990) in his article "Supply Reduction and Drug Law Enforcement", also commissioned by the NIJ, provides a comprehensive review of strategies employed by US governments to reduce the supply of illicit drugs. Such strategies include efforts to persuade and assist source countries to eradicate or substitute crops, Interdiction (for example, customs) programs, Federal investigations and state and local initiatives. Moore contends that, contrary to widely held belief, each of these strategies has recorded successes. Reliable indices suggest, for example, that the US may seize a quarter to a third of all cannabis, and 25 per cent of the cocaine, shipped to its markets. The author argues, however, that "in the absence of well-developed theory to guide calculations of effectiveness", policy makers should be wary of becoming "locked into" particular approaches. His key recommendations are that the United States continues with a portfolio of supply reduction programs rather than choosing any particular program as essential, and that the main emphasis be on undermining "connections" between buyers and sellers at all levels of the market. Moore also argues forcefully for improved measures of effectiveness and independent evaluation of supply reduction efforts:

it is absurd to spend \$750 million on Federal supply reduction efforts and begrudge the \$10 million to measure the effective prices of drugs in illicit markets in the United States, to analyse growing conditions in host countries, and to produce responsible estimates of supplies reaching the United States.

Wagstaff and Maynard (1988) in their report for the Home Office and Planning Unit *Economic Aspects of the Illicit Drug Market and Drug Enforcement Policies in the United Kingdom*, review literature on the cost-effectiveness of illicit drug markets in the UK and provides preliminary cost-benefit analysis of drug enforcement work by Customs and Excise. As with the US studies, the researchers express frustration about the absence of adequate data: "it is important to emphasise that all the estimates derived in this report are based on an underlying data-base that is woefully inadequate for the task at hand" (p.10). However chapter 7, Suggestions for Future Research, provides valuable ideas about the types of data (for example, drug purity, prices and consumption) which could give a more accurate picture of drug markets, and on the econometric analysis which would help in assessing the effectiveness of enforcement strategies.

In the report *Drugs, Society and Crime* (1989), the

Despite the massive amounts being invested by the US and other countries, evaluation of strategies and tactics has been scant and current approaches still rely more on "bets and gambles" (Moore 1990, p.152) than research evidence.



Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority provides a comprehensive summary of current information on the extent of illegal drug use in Australia, and on the social costs and benefits of drug law enforcement. It also review evidence on relationships between illegal drugs and property crime. While not able to provide specific information on the costs and benefits of anti-trafficking strategies it constitutes a balanced and informative introduction to the range of policy issues relating to control of illicit drugs.

Wardlaw's (1992) *Overview of National Drug Control Strategies* provides a comprehensive review of issues relating to drug control strategies in Australia and other Western countries. Issues covered include the emergence of drug controls in Australia, the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse and its attempts to integrate law enforcement strategies, and the history, application and assessment of drug control strategies in the US, The Netherlands and Great Britain. Wardlaw's article is an invaluable summary of the literature of effectiveness of anti-trafficking programs and an important reminder of broader social and policy issues which need to be taken into account in measuring the effects and effectiveness of anti-trafficking strategies.

The Present Project

Pursuant to the recommendation of the Parliamentary Joint Committee, the Research Into Drug Abuse Advisory Committee (RIDAAC) advised the National Police Research Unit (NPRU) Board of Control of the need for research into supply-reduction strategies. At its meeting in early October 1991, the Board of Control welcomed the approach from RIDAAC and authorised the Director of the NPRU to prepare a formal research proposal. In late October 1991 RIDAAC resolved to seek "in principle" support from the Federal Minister for Aged, Family and Health Services for a "Comparison of Anti-Trafficking Strategies" project. In November 1991 the Director of the NPRU convened an Advisory Committee comprising representatives of New South Wales, Victorian and South Australian police and the Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department (Dr. Grant Wardlaw) to oversee formulation of the proposal. Adam Sutton (co-author of this article) was invited to

collaborate on project development.

A Research Into Drug Abuse (RIDA) grant proposal was developed and submitted in August 1992, and approved in October 1992. Adam Sutton was appointed Project Coordinator, and Stephen James, was appointed Project Officer in February 1993.

The objectives of the project are:

- to document patterns of production, distribution (including importation) and sale to Australian end-users of heroin, cocaine, amphetamines and cannabis; to document perceptions by federal and State police, National Crime Authority, Australian Customs and other relevant bodies of the processes described in point 1 above;
- to document strategies and operational priorities developed by relevant agencies to combat illicit drug trafficking, and review measures used to assess their effectiveness;
- to compare the anti-drug strategies and priorities adopted by relevant Australian agencies and assess the need for, and feasibility of, a coordinated national approach;
- to recommend ways to improve measures of the effectiveness of anti-trafficking strategies and ensure appropriate integration with the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse.

The project aims to enhance the capacities of Australian authorities to develop and implement supply reduction (anti-trafficking) strategies in a coordinated and cost-effective way, and help them assess the effects of these initiatives. It will stimulate exchange of information on the nature and extent of trafficking and on the effectiveness of prevention programs. The research also aims to ensure that supply-reduction initiatives are more effectively integrated with demand reduction programs promoted as part of the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse, and will provide a basis for avoiding conflicts between the two approaches.

The project is being conducted over 24 months, and consists of four phases: background research; developing and testing research instruments; data collection and analysis; summary of findings; discussion and recommen-

dations. Information on the nature and extent of trafficking is being obtained through critical assessment of existing studies and discussions with relevant intelligence bodies in Australia and (possibly) overseas. Data on agency perceptions of drug-trafficking, anti-trafficking strategies and measures of effectiveness are being collected from agencies themselves, primarily through semi-structured interviews with senior and middle management and relevant operational personnel. All state, territory and federal police departments are being interviewed, as well as the National Crime Authority, Australian Customs, Federal Attorney-General's Department, Australian Bureau of Criminal Intelligence, and where possible, state Attorney-General departments and Directors of Public Prosecutions.

Conclusion

The present project has been given its imperative by two interrelated factors: the recognised importance of supply-reduction within a framework of national approaches to minimising the harms associated with illicit drug supply and consumption; and the substantial ignorance that exists in our knowledge of the appropriateness and effectiveness of various strategies and tactical approaches. Most recent Australian literature gives weight to these imperatives. Wardlaw (1992, p. 5) writes in the context of Australia's National Campaign Against Drug Abuse:

The problem is that one of the critical stakeholders in the drug control field, law enforcement, was not persuaded by the appropriateness of the new directions embraced by the NCADA, was virtually excluded from the campaign (in terms of new funding or policy debate), but continued to operate as a separate area of drug strategy with considerable government and popular support.

In a recent summary of the evaluation of the NCADA's first three years, Miller, Hamilton and Flaherty (1992) express regret that the evaluation task force lacked a law enforcement specialist. And McDowell (1992) reiterates the point concerning the paucity of international and Australian research which is able to offer a substantive basis for comparisons of effectiveness and efficiency between jurisdictions and between particular approaches.

The project's task, then, is to redress the lack of knowledge regarding Australia's supply-reduction efforts and the interface between supply-reduction and demand-reduction. The initial stages will be concerned particularly with assessing the nature of, and interrelationships between, drug intelligence, supply-reduction policy-setting, operational approaches, and performance evaluation. Our conceptual approach to this task can be described as a "critical systems" perspective, in which these enforcement procedures are measured against "best practice" models. Following and based upon this work we will develop an integrative model which locates supply-reduction law enforcement (with its possibilities and limitations) within a realistic context of national drug harm minimisation.

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perspectives on justice

The "Perspectives on Justice" conference held in Brisbane on 19-20 March 1993 represented a necessary stage in the development of the Justice Studies School in the Faculty of Law at the Queensland University of Technology. Quite apart from being the first conference to be organised by the school, the conference was a national event which served to indicate the breadth of study, interest and focus encompassed by Justice Studies.

The conference committee took the view that Justice entailed a wide ambit, including a focus on criminal and administrative law reform, the impact of laws and the legal system on special groups within our society such as indigenous people, women and adolescents, and matters of social justice reflecting the concerns of equity and access. A prime concern of the School of Justice Studies has been the training of Police Service personnel and this, also, was reflected in the conference program.

The School of Justice Studies

Justice Studies was established during 1990 largely in response to the recommendations of the Fitzgerald Commission of Inquiry into official corruption. Although in many ways Justice Studies has become synonymous with police education and training in Queensland, the concerns of Justice Studies have always been and will continue to be, with the range of justice and equity issues. These issues, which are the concern of social theorists and practitioners alike in contemporary Australian society, remain embedded in a specific focus upon the areas of law enforcement and justice administration. The concept of justice remains the over-arching concern of Justice Studies.

The Conference Program

The conference was opened with an address by Her Excellency Mrs Leneen Forde, the Governor of Queensland, who was a member of the Council of QUT at the time of the establishment of Justice Studies and has remained a strong supporter of the work of the School.

The keynote address was provided by Tom Sherman, inaugural chairperson of the Queensland Electoral and Administrative Review Commission and currently Chairperson of the National Crime Authority, as well as President of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering. Mr Sherman's address cast an international perspective on proceedings, indicating the importance of

Australia becoming and being aware of crime in the global context. This awareness of global crime has implications for Australia's own fight against crime and the possible contribution that Australia can make to combating crime.

The paper included a wealth of detail and some interesting commentary on extradition treaties, mutual assistance and specifics such as money laundering, all of which are important to the development of national or international strategies of crime prevention. In conclusion, Mr Sherman suggested that Australia could take considerable credit for its efforts in the field of international criminal law in recent years.

The second keynote address was provided by Professor Paul Wilson, former Dean of Arts, QUT and well-known Australian criminologist. Professor Wilson took a more theoretical stance, painting a fairly pessimistic picture of increases in crime in Australia as we approach the 21st Century. He suggested that crime would be seen increasingly by both politicians and the general public as being the work of rational calculating criminals and not the result of social forces or social inequalities.

Professor Wilson followed this hypothesis with the suggestion that politicians, faced with increased levels of crime, would move more and more towards the twin preventative measures of greater punishment and increased, improved technologies. He foresaw the very real possibility that criminal justice agencies, in their efforts to combat increased crime, would revert to pre-Fitzgerald models, based upon traditional notions of policing.

Irene Watson, Aboriginal lawyer and activist, speaking on the topic of Justice and Indigenous People, dissembled any views that we may have previously held about self-determination and sovereignty in a reasoned and clinical fashion.

"Depression, oppression and death" was one particularly evocative phrase utilised. Ms Watson pointed out that the recent Mabo judgment, far from being a cure-all for the past and continuing dispossession of Aboriginal people, would be repeating the mistakes and injustices of the past. The decision in Mabo did not protect Aboriginal people from continued dispossession because of the Crown's right to extinguish Aboriginal title. Neither would the decision in Mabo necessarily improve the living conditions for most Aboriginal people. What needed correcting was the accumulated lack of justice in the discrimination which had been the lot of the indigenous people of this country for far too long.

MR C J LENNINGS IS LECTURER, JUSTICE STUDIES, QUEENSLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY AND ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR SIMON PETRIE IS DIRECTOR, JUSTICE STUDIES, QUEENSLAND UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY.

Jocelynn Scutt, a lawyer and writer, in her paper "Women, Sex and the Law", discussed the implications of continued patriarchal domination and paternalism within the legal justice systems for women in our society. The accumulated lack of justice, lack of understanding and lack of progress towards change could no longer be tolerated. One conclusion drawn from her paper was that we were beyond the point of making suggestions that change should occur to the point that change should be demanded. It was not good enough that we continued to experience some of the appalling judgments that had been handed down in recent times by a judiciary that appears to be out of touch with the progress in contemporary Australian society, out of time with modern thinking on social issues and arguably, out of time in bringing enlightenment to their judgments.

Mr Bill Aldrich, Acting Commissioner of Police, outlined a variety of possible directions for the Queensland Police Service including specialist programs and increased community involvement. Forging new directions for the Queensland Police Service involved careful scrutiny of recruitment policies and training as well as reforms to operational practices. These issues, sensitive as they are, have been guided by the Fitzgerald recommendations, many of which have been implemented. A number of other papers on policing, including one by Terry O'Gorman, President of the Queensland Civil Liberties Council, led to a lively assessment of the future directions of Queensland policing. Whilst there was considerable support for the initiatives of female recruitment and community policing, doubts about the likely continuation of these programs and support for the spirit as well as the letter of reform surfaced.

There were also a number of important session addresses. One of the most topical, by Professor

Lawrence of the Royal Brisbane Hospital, examined the issue of the assessment of dangerousness and the implications of involving psychiatry as gate keepers to the legal system. A review of the Garry David case in Victoria highlighted the difficulties inherent in our society between recognising individual freedom and the protection of society from avowedly dangerous people. One fruitful conclusion from the paper was the recognition of the growing inter-disciplinary nature of studies of, and approaches to, legal matters.

The issue of Administrative Law reform was taken up in a number of papers, including a session addressed by Maurice Swann, Deputy Director of the Australian Government Solicitor. He was concerned to address the twin issues of who will review administrative decisions and how the benefits of such a review body could be balanced against the inevitable costs of setting up such a body. Other papers in this area were concerned with the social justice agenda, particular issues relating to ageing, migrants and the social implications of a review of the Murphy case.

Conclusion

The conference produced a wide-ranging analysis of the issues of justice within contemporary Australian society. It managed, in various papers to make use of international, national and regional perspectives and explore the significance of the culture of reform in many facets of the law and legal practice. A general conclusion drawn was that, for all the reform that had occurred, radical change was still required in many areas (such as women, youth and indigenous peoples and in access to various administrative tribunals) to fully realise the goals of social justice.

The collected papers from the conference are available, at cost, from the School of Justice Studies.

letters to the editor

The Editor

As one of the Royal Commissioners into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, I was amazed to read the following passage in the Foreword to the Australian Institute of Criminology's publication of the Research Papers of the Commission's Criminology Unit:

[T]he reaction [to the research papers] of those working in the Royal Commission varied between total hostility and rejection to cautious approval. The hostility towards the work of the Criminology Unit reached a climax only a few months after the work started when it became clear that the research showed that Aboriginal persons in either police or prison custody were no more likely to die than were non-Aboriginal people. This general finding was interpreted by some significant elements of the staff as undermining the very foundations of the Royal Commission. To even hint that such a conclusion was possible was seen as disloyal, misguided and obviously wrong.

At one stage the very existence of the Criminology Unit within the Royal Commission was threatened. It was able to continue its work, however, albeit with a smaller staff, and new research papers were published at frequent intervals. Slowly the intense criticism of the research program and its productions started to abate, and some expressions of interest and even appreciation were heard ...

Not surprisingly this passage has been quoted to support a suggestion that thinking hostile to honesty and objectivity was "prevalent" in the Commission (Brunton, *Black Suffering, White Guilt?*, p.3) and transmuted into a newspaper proposition that "Commissioners and staff members tenaciously resisted accepting evident" that there was not a larger proportion of blacks than of whites dying in custody (Devine, *The Australian* 29 March 1993). These suggestions are absolutely false.

I attended all meetings of Commissioners and was in charge of two offices of the Commission and in close touch with two others, but never did I hear anything of the sort suggested in the Foreword. Commissioners were never asked to entertain, and would never have

entertained, the notion that the Criminology Unit should do other than report its findings objectively.

There was certainly criticism of what was originally a general Research Unit on other grounds, particularly its failure to take up wider social issues of possible relevance to the high rate of Aboriginal imprisonment, and the absence of Aboriginal input into its work, whether through staff appointments, use of consultants, or even surveys of Aboriginal views or experience.

This admittedly "intense criticism" did not abate because of growing satisfaction, but because of lack of response. The problems were addressed in other ways—the establishment of Aboriginal Issues Units to provide machinery for Aboriginal input into the Commission, and the expansion of the National Office to employ researchers on the wide range of social, economic and political issues dealt with in the National Report. Naturally the staffing of the Criminology Unit, as it became, was reduced when large areas of research were taken over by others.

Contrary to the suggestion that it was only at a later stage that "some expressions of interest and even appreciation" were heard, the work actually done by the Unit was reviewed at each meeting of Commissioners with both interest and appreciation. Any tension was over the two issues which I have identified.

Mr Biles, one of the authors of the Foreword, has now informed me that the intense criticism to which he referred did not come from any Commissioner, but "principally from the non Aboriginal legal staff of the Western Australian Office". I know nothing of this criticism or what may have caused it, but I find it difficult to imagine how criticism from one section of staff in one of the eight offices of the Commission, whatever it was, could have been seen as a threat to "the very existence of the Criminology Unit".

Far from seeing the Unit's finding that the number of deaths mirrored the high rate of Aboriginal custody as "undermining the very foundations of the Royal Commission", others in the Commission saw it as making the underlying reasons for the high custody rate a central issue to be addressed in the Commission's National Report.

Yours sincerely
Hal Wootten

Mr Wootten's amazement at the Foreword to the Institute publication of the Royal Commission Research Papers is itself somewhat amazing. He claims in his letter that he never heard it suggested that there was any criticism within the Royal Commission of the central research finding which showed that Aboriginal people were no more likely to die in police or prison custody than were non Aboriginal people.

I accept entirely that Mr Wootten himself did not directly criticise this finding, even though he and the other Commissioners were cautious in the extreme in responding to it. Mr Wootten repeatedly said that more work was needed on the issue and the other Commissioners were largely silent. Certainly, as far as I am aware none of them expressed any satisfaction or appreciation of the fact that our research had shown that one of the assumptions underlying the establishment of the Royal Commission was without foundation.

Rightly or wrongly, my colleagues and I gained the clear impression, especially in the first year of our work, that some of our research findings contained messages that some other elements of the Royal Commission did not want to hear. There were many examples of this, with perhaps one of the clearest being the interim report of December 1988. The basic finding, as far as it was known at that time, was included in the appendices to that report without comment or interpretation. Some weeks later after a journalist had studied the report closely a newspaper carried the heading "Sting in the Tail of the Black Deaths Report".

By way of further example, the Commissioners unanimously decided that I was not permitted to outline our research findings in a television interview in February 1989. Commissioner Muirhead, the National Commissioner in charge, later overruled this decision

and asked me to appear on the program. After the program went to air Commissioner Wootten asked for three copies of my remarks to enable his staff to respond to media inquiries that were anticipated on this subject.

At the same time, the WA office staff circulated an extremely critical minute to all staff, including Commissioners, which accused me of undermining their work and of being disloyal. There certainly was hostility on this subject, as well as criticism resulting from the other issues raised by Mr Wootten in his letter.

As we said in the Foreword to the book of research papers, that hostility subsided with the passage of time. If Mr Wootten had cared to continue the quotation from the Foreword by just one more sentence, the reader would have been better informed. That sentence read:

This changed attitude continued and at the very end of the Royal Commission the then National Commissioner, Elliott Johnstone QC, indicated to a small gathering of staff that the work of the Criminology Unit had been of fundamental importance to the whole thrust of the final report and that the earlier vilification had been undeserved.

I deeply regret the need to draw attention to some of the internal disagreements that occurred within the Royal Commission, but, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the emotion generated by the inquiry, it was a work environment with more than the normal level of interpersonal disagreements. More important, however, is the value of the actual work that was done in the Royal Commission, and more of this is now available for assessment through the publication of the research papers.

Yours sincerely
David Biles

inmates pages

One Day in the Life of Society's Reject

David Pike, Long Bay

7:06 am. The clanging and crashing of metal on metal, as locks are unlocked, bolts are drawn back and doors are opened, wakes me up to a cold reality. No more the pleasant dreams of fantasy, only the harsh truth. It is time to start a new day. A new day on the inside. A new day on the inside of gaol.

I get out of bed fast, because now I'm in a race against other inmates. Why am I in a race? I'm in a race because if I'm not fast enough, I get no fruit or jam for the day. I pull on my tracksuit bottoms and jacket. Now I'm ready, ready for the race.

The door opens and I'm off. I don't run, because if I run, I lose face and face is important. I just walk very fast. I see other inmates converging on the fruit. I get to the fruit and grab six pieces. Today it is apples, yesterday it was pears but today it is apples. I put two pieces each in my jacket pockets and the other two go into my tracksuit pants.

Now I go for the jams, it is apricot. There are only four packets left, I take them all. The inmate behind me says nothing, he realises that today he has lost the race. Tomorrow he will not be so slow.

I relax now, the race is over, for me anyway. I walk back to the cell slowly, saying good morning to those around me. I have the time now.

I watch, with a knowing smile, the new inmates arrive for fruit and jam. They start swearing profusely when they find there is nothing left, either fruit or jam. I feel no pity for them, even though I was once in their situation, they must learn to survive as I did. If they don't survive then they are weak and in gaol the weak are victims. Prey for the taking.

I walk back into the cell and empty my pockets. I place the fruit and jam into my cupboard, behind my clothes. Why do I do this? I do this because I trust no one. It is easier to remove the temptation of "borrowing" my fruit and jam by hiding it.

The clanging and crashing starts once more, as doors

are closed, the bolts drawn and the locks relocked. Slowly I remove my jacket and tracksuit bottoms and get back into my bed. I don't eat breakfast. The fruit and jam, which I have just raced to get, is too valuable. In a couple of hours I will sell it to the new inmates for something. I don't know what they will pay, but it will be more than I paid.

Slowly the noise fades, as I fall into the dream worlds of fantasy. **7:09 am.**

1.16 am. I lie on my bed awake, listening to the sounds of the night. I cannot sleep, even though I want to. This is the worst time in the day for me. This is the time when I realise just where I really am. It is the silence that does it. No one else is awake, or if they are, they make no sound. That's when the noises come. The worst torture imaginable, the sounds of freedom. A dog barking somewhere outside of the walls, the sound of buses and cars driving along the main road, right past the gaol walls and, off into the distance, the sharp, shrill sound of a car alarm as someone seeks cheap room and board in the cell next to me.

I can hear the sounds of freedom, yet, that's all they are now. Sounds. I cannot hold them or feel them, only be tortured by them. This is the real punishment in gaol. This is when I realise just what gaol is. That's when death seems more attractive. It offers a peace which cannot be found here on the inside.

This is the time when revenge seems sweeter. Revenge, against everyone and everything. The need to maim and kill. The need to punish society for punishing me. I don't like what happens to me, but it is so unavoidable. The demons from which I suffer gain strength, while I become less able to understand why I am here.

Sleep is my only escape from this, but the arms of Morpheus no longer beckon me into their embrace. Is it any wonder that I think so often of suicide and the silence it offers. The only reason that I am still alive, is that I'm too scared to do it.

I lie here in the darkness, surrounded by stone walls, listening to the sounds of freedom. Still awake. **1.19 am.**

**Domestic Violence Education Program:
An Inmate's Perspective**
Les Scammell, Coorna

When asked to participate in this program, I had mixed feeling—being an untested trial program, I had no idea what to expect.

As I am a male and the course is being presented by a woman, I expected a very feminist approach—I wasn't disappointed. Having worked through 75 per cent of the course, I can now see why! The approach must be from the feminist point of view. After all, we are men and statistics show that we are the major offenders—even if we weren't, we need to learn and understand this problem from the woman's point of view.

Domestic violence is not just "wife bashing". This course covers areas of verbal, economic and sexual abuse which cause far more damage than physical abuse alone. Let's face it, bruises heal—the associated trauma doesn't. One major lesson that I have learnt from this course is how to recognise a potential situation developing. If you ask any man why he has bashed his wife—he can't tell you—he claims it just happens in the heat of the argument. If he was aware of this situation developing, he could act to defuse both the situation and himself—before it gets out of control.

Unfortunately, one of the troubling aspects of domestic violence is the effect it has on children. If they grow up witnessing abuse, they learn that this is the way of the world—and so perpetuate the problem. They not only suffer, they grow up to repeat what they have learned.

We live in a male-dominated society and this is where the problem begins. Men want to dominate—if we can't dominate in our group, workplace or society we believe we can certainly do so in the home. For this reason, I believe domestic violence programs should start in school as part of a balanced life skills program.

While there are a lot of positives in this program, there are some negatives. Some men are so "macho" that this course could only reinforce their opinions of women.

This course is really best suited to those in minimum security institutions (medium security at the worst) where gaol pressures are minimal. The course should be directed at those coming to the end of their sentences so that they are in a position to apply their newfound knowledge.

This course could be best summed up by the comment by one of the participants: "Before starting this course, if I had heard Rex Mossop's comments about going home to bash his wife because his footie team had lost I would have laughed along with everyone else. Now, what I find disturbing is not only the comment but that a great many of my fellow men still find it funny".

I'd thoroughly recommend this program to any inmate—or institution—as the social benefits gained far outweigh current attitudes.

Memories of nature
Don Hadley, Grafton from his collection
Thoughts of ... Nature motivation & mankind

I remember a sun-drenched beach
with sand so fine it squeaked
and night creatures could be traced
by phosphorus trails in the sea.

I remember a harsh red gorge
where graceful gums stood straight and tall
and kangaroos drank in deep pools
while bower birds gathered everything.

I remember the vivid greens
of Karri forests, giant stately trees,
the delicate fur of tiny possums,
the brilliant blooms of spring.

I remember white fields of frost
and emerald lawns of green,
golden reds of liquid amber trees
celebrating the onset of autumn.

Yet only now, within grey walls,
with bars throwing shadows on the floor,
can I see the beauty that was in these,
and at the time I missed.

Our lives in limbo
K.C., who is studying at the Broadmeadows College
of TAFE

It is hard to know why
Our lives have gone.
Our lives as they were
Are no more. Can never be
the same or even near?

It is hard to know how
Our lives can be replaced.
Our lives might improve. . .
Out of limbo. Can we ever be
the same as once we were?

It is hard to know when
Our lives will improve.
Our lives, how? How soon
After release. Can we be
as strong as once we were?

It is hard to know where
Our lives will resume.
Our lives where they were.
We have to wait. Can we
live to see ourselves again?

PUBLICATIONS

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Australian Studies in Law, Crime and Justice

Killing the Beloved

Patricia Weiser Easta

1993. ISBN 0 642 19305 3. 214 pp. AS30.00. (soft cover)

Killing the Beloved describes the tragic circumstances and contributing variables surrounding many deaths relating to homicide between sexually intimate partners. The pathos and human misery in these events is incalculable.

Dr Easta's research provides an analysis of data relating to homicide between sexually intimate partners, with the aim of providing policymakers, and other relevant agencies and workers with an empirical basis for the prevention of homicides of this type. In addition, the analysis of judges' sentencing remarks breaks new ground in Australian research, finding inconsistency and gender bias in the sentencing practices of the judiciary.

Conference Proceedings

Conference Proceedings No. 18

Police Technology: Asian Pacific Police Technology Conference

eds Julia Vernon & Des Berwick

1993. ISSN 1034-5086. ISBN 0 642 19060 7. 282 pp. AS35.00. (soft cover)

Police Technology: Asia Pacific Police Technology

Conference provides a forum for the presentation of technological developments relevant to police and law enforcement agencies and emphasises the improvement of police performance through the use of technology.

Technological advancements presented here include the traffic or red light/speed camera, mobile satellite communications, computerised mapping, facial reconstruction programs, and firearms simulation technology. Maintaining a high standard of evidence is also addressed, including recent developments in forensic science, the preservation of evidence, and the possibilities for the use of video-recorded evidence.

Conference Proceedings No. 19

Serious Violent Offenders: sentencing, psychiatry and law reform

eds Sally-Anne Gerull & William Lucas

1993. ISSN 1034-5086. ISBN 0 642 19258 8. 276 pp. AS30.00. (soft cover)

Serious Violent Offenders discusses the major problems faced by courts and criminal justice practitioners in dealing with offenders who have personality disorders. The inadequacies of a system which lead to the controversial *Community Protection Act 1990* (Vic.) are also reviewed. Other issues discussed include the treatment of violent offenders in prison; the principles of sentencing; and the process of review prior to release.

Facts and Figures in Crime and Criminal Justice

General Editor, John Walker
 (Subscription AS10.00 per annum)

Australian Prison Trends

ISSN 1037-6925

Compiled by Sue Salloom

February, March, April and May 1993

Australian Prison Accommodation and Occupancy January-March 1993

ISSN 1035-039X

ISBN 0 642 19332 0.

Compiled by Sue Salloom

May 1993

Australian Criminology Information Bulletin

ISSN 1034-6627

Vol. 4, No. 2, April 1993

Vol. 4, No. 3, June 1993

Subscription AS20.00 p.a. (6 issues per annum)

Deaths in Custody, Australia

ISSN 1038-667X

General Editor: David McDonald

Free of charge to subscribers to Trends and Issues

or *Criminology Australia* - contact Australian

Institute of Criminology

No. 3 *Deaths in Juvenile Detention, 1980-1992*

Christine Howlett

May 1993. ISSN 1038-667X. ISBN 0 642 19259 6.

National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health and the Australian Institute of Criminology

The following three working papers are available at a cost of AS5.00 each plus postage and packing (AS2.00 for first book, AS1.00 each book thereafter) from:

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GPO Box 4 Canberra ACT 2601

Feasibility Research into the Controlled Availability of Opioids Stage 2

Working Paper No. 1

Estimating the numbers of heroin users in the ACT

Ann Larson

1992. ISSN 1039-088X. ISBN 0 7315 1459 9.

This working paper estimates the numbers of heroin users in the ACT, using national population based surveys and using list-matching techniques from the ACT Drug Indicators Project data for 1988 and 1989.

Working Paper No. 2

Australian Drug Markets Research: What are we doing? Where are we going? What are the gaps?

ed. Gabriele Bammer

1993. ISSN 1039-088X. ISBN 0 7315 1571 4. 32 pp.
This booklet is the proceedings of a one-day workshop held at The Australian National University on 22 February 1993. It includes presentation summaries by police, academics, criminologists, drug enforcement agencies and others. One chapter is devoted to a discussion on methodological issues in drug markets research, and another chapter identifies the research gaps.

Working Paper No. 3

Drug Use and HIV Risk among Homeless and Potentially Homeless Youth in the Australian Capital Territory

Beverly Sibthorpe, Ayse Sengoz & Gabriele Bammer in collaboration with The Youth Affairs Network of the ACT

1993. ISSN 1039-088x. ISBN 0 7315 15862.

One hundred and fifty-five people aged 12 to 17 years who were homeless or potentially homeless were interviewed about drug use, HIV risk behaviours, family drug use, physical and sexual abuse and attempted suicide. Three issues of particular concern arose from this study; they were high levels of binge drinking, physical and sexual abuse and attempted suicide.

Law Reform Unit

ACT Attorney-General's Department
GPO Box 158 Canberra ACT 2601
Tel: (06) 207 0542 Fax: (06) 207 0538

Jane Mugford, Patricia Easteal & Anne Edwards of the Australian Institute of Criminology for the ACT Community Law Reform Committee Research Paper No. 1 Domestic Violence

ISBN 1 86331 159 9. 340 pp. (soft cover). (gratis)

This publication has been produced as a research report for the ACT Community Law Reform Committee. It includes chapters on monitoring domestic violence orders, breaches and assaults, and chapters on interviews with police officers, magistrates, domestic violence crisis service workers and others. The final chapter is a discussion of this issue and thirty-eight recommendations are made.

The Law Book Company Ltd
44-50 Waterloo Road North Ryde NSW 2113

(Routledge Publication)

Suicides in Prison

Alison Liebling

1992. 288 pp.

ISBN 0 415-07559-9. A\$120.00 (hard cover)

Suicides in Prison traces the recent history of suicide in prisons in England and Wales and provides the first major theoretical discussion of the nature and causes of this worrying phenomenon. It is the first major study in this area to draw directly on the experiences of both prisoners and staff. The interviews conducted by the author, Alison Liebling of the Institute of Criminology, Cambridge, help to cast new light on the circumstances which can lead to suicide or attempted suicide.

Department of Justice and Attorney General
Office of the Director of Prosecutions
State Law Building
Cnr Ann & George Streets Brisbane Qld 4000
Tel: (07) 239 6822 Fax: (07) 220 0077

Queensland Criminal Law Journal

Vol. 1, No. 1, 1992

1038-6408

(Subscription price to be determined)

Attorney-General's Department of South Australia

Office of Crime Statistics

GPO Box 464 Adelaide SA 5001

Tel: (08) 207 1513 Fax: (08) 207 1730

JUSTATS: an occasional bulletin on criminal justice issues

ISSN 1039-7833. A\$3.00 mailed.

Allen & Unwin

9 Atchison Street St Leonards NSW 2065

Directing the Top 500: Corporate Governance and Accountability in Australian Companies

Roman Tomasic & Stephen Bottomley

1993. ISBN 1 86373 353 1. A\$24.95 (soft cover)

With the fall of many of Australia's corporate high-fliers in the 1980s, the behaviour of Australia's leading business people has become a matter of public concern. Based on interviews conducted with senior executives from Australia's top 500 public companies, *Directing the Top 500*, puts under the spotlight the attitudes of senior managers towards their corporate responsibilities. Their corporate behaviour is examined in the context of a detailed explanation of the legal rules which govern them.

Centre for National Corporate Law Research
University of Canberra

PO Box 1 Belconnen ACT 2616

Tel: (06) 201 2559/2731

Corporate Crime and Corporations Law Enforcement Strategies in Australia

Discussion Paper 1/93

Roman Tomasic

1993. A\$25.00.

This discussion paper is based upon an empirical research project "Corporate Law Sanctions and the Control of White Collar Crime" funded by the Criminology Research Council. Part 1 comprises a review of the relevant literature; part 2 discusses corporations law enforcement strategies in Australia.

Drug and Alcohol Services Council

161 Greenhill Road Parkside SA 5063

Drug Problems in our Society: dimensions and perspectives

ed. Jason White

1993. ISBN 0 7308 2776 3. 442 pp. A\$45.00. (soft cover)

Drug Problems in our Society contains papers presented at an international conference, "The Window of Opportunity: an intersectoral approach to drug related problems in our society", held in December 1991, in Adelaide, South Australia. The conference brought together people from disciplines as diverse as law enforcement, sociology, medicine, nursing, psychology and many others. Speakers from overseas provided an international viewpoint. The papers represent the diverse nature of presentations at the conference. Topics covered include: the policy framework; legal issues; the alcohol policy debate; primary health care; workplace interventions; treatment; HIV/AIDS, and much more.

Oxford University Press
GPO Box 2784Y Melbourne Vic 3001

Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency

Richard J. Lundman

1993. 2nd edn.

ISBN 0-19-506407-0. 292 pp. A\$29.95. (soft cover)

Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency is written by Richard J. Lundman, Professor of Sociology at The Ohio State University. It provides an analysis of intensive supervision programs, connecting these with earlier intermediate intervention programs and probing the effectiveness of this entire class of supervision methods. In this second edition chapters have been updated to reflect the transformation of prison-visitation programs and to include Jerome Miller's recent account of the Massachusetts experiment in closing training schools.

The Federation Press
PO Box 45 Annandale NSW 2038

Domestic Violence in Australia: the Legal Response

Nicholas Seddon

1993. ISBN 1 86287 113 1. 160 pp. A\$25.00.

Cheque with order price A\$23.50.

Domestic Violence in Australia is primarily concerned with legal measures for dealing with the problem of domestic violence. It explains the law to all people who

provide help and support to domestic violence victims, as well as to lawyers. Recent legislation is also discussed.

Concise Jurisprudence

Sandra Berns

1993. ISBN 1 86287 109 2. 180 pp. A\$25.00.

Cheque with order price A\$23.50.

Concise Jurisprudence explains the ways in which different theories confront the central issues of contemporary jurisprudence and several new ideas are canvassed. This book provides the reader with much greater understanding of the role of law in our society and the role of judges and the courts.

Australian HIV/AIDS Legal Guide

John Godwin, Julie Hamblin, David Buchanan and David Patterson.

1993. 2nd edn. ISBN 1 86287 060 8. 500 pp.

A\$45.00.

KS Consulting Service

GPO Box 2293 Canberra ACT 2601

BluePrint for the Casino Industry: Federal Hotels and Wrest Point

Keith Sutton

1992. ISBN 0 335 09459 7 A\$50.00. (soft cover).

BluePrint for the Casino Industry records the events leading up to the opening of Australia's first legal casino, Wrest Point, in Sandy Bay, Hobart. Wrest Point opened officially on 10 February 1973, and had a dramatic effect on the psyche of Australians. The casino's successful operations changed the prejudice in Tasmania, and Australia, that casinos inevitably were controlled by criminals and that gambling was somehow "sinful". This book shows how administrative and legislative controls, if carefully thought through and faithfully observed by casino managements and governments alike, can ease public disquiet.

Crime and Violence Prevention Unit

Staff Rotation Scheme

The Violence Prevention Staff Rotation Scheme is a joint Commonwealth, State and Territory initiative intended to reduce unnecessary and costly duplication in the development of projects and programs and to assist the States and Territories make better use of the resources and expertise within the Crime and Violence Prevention Unit and the Australian Institute of Criminology.

The Scheme is open to government and non-government personnel working, or wishing to work on violence reduction programs or projects which will be

of use to their own organisations. Placement with the Institute is primarily for a relatively short term of up to three months, though type of project, duration and other details are negotiable and will depend on the circumstances of each case and the needs of the organisations involved.

Further information about the scheme can be obtained from Anita Scandia, Crime and Violence Prevention Unit, Australian Institute of Criminology, on (06) 274 0289.

Australian Institute of Criminology

(Please note that Conference information is subject to change. Check conference details with the Conference Program at the address below)

1993

14-15 October

An International Symposium on Offender Management: Policy and Practice in Correctional and Forensic Services, Perth (in conjunction with Edith Cowan University)

23-25 November

Crime in the Workplace

1994

21-26 August

The Australian Institute of Criminology is a co-sponsor of the 8th International Symposium on Victimology, Adelaide

The Conference Program of the Institute is always keen to hear from people interested in participating in, or speaking at, Institute Conferences. If you would like to be involved in any of the above events, kept informed of planning for them, or have any suggestions for Institute Conferences that would address issues of national importance in the criminal justice or related areas, please contact the:

Conference Program

The Australian Institute of Criminology
GPO Box 2944 Canberra ACT 2601
Tel: (61) (06) 274 0223/0230 Fax: (61) (06) 274 0225

The Australian Crime Prevention Council National Biennial Conference 1993

Chaos or Reason: Community Safety in the Twenty-First Century

21-24 September 1993, Brisbane

Topics to be discussed will include: social factors influencing offending behaviour such as unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, intolerance, racism, sexism, domestic violence; policing; sentencing and penalties options in Australia; early intervention strategies to criminal behaviour, particularly in the area of education; minority groups; correctional approaches that promote dynamic solutions to criminal behaviour.

For further information, contact:

The Secretary
Australian Crime Prevention Council
PO Box 700 Lutwyche Qld 4030

9th Annual Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology Conference

28 September-1 October 1993, Sydney

The keynote speaker at this conference will be David Garland. Conference themes will be: politics, crime and justice; juvenile justice; class, race and gender; ethics, responsibility and accountability.

For further information contact:

The Convenors

ANZ Society of Criminology Conference
c/o Institute of Criminology
University of Sydney
173-75 Phillip Street Sydney NSW 2000
Tel: (61) (02) 225 9239 Fax: (61) (02) 221 5635

Annual Australian Law and Society Conference Shifting Boundaries: law, democracy and the liberal state in a changing international order

10-12 December 1993, Macquarie University, Sydney

The theme for this year's conference encourages the exploration of issues of change: the desirable direction for change in forms of law; of democratic, political and social organisations and practices of government which are being sharply posed by a range of developments at the level of the nation-state; localised and regional identities and the international community as the nation approaches the turn of the century.

For further details, please contact:

Ms Victoria Havryliv
School of Law Macquarie University
Sydney NSW 2109
Tel: (02) 805 7073 Fax (02) 805 7686

Tenth National Behavioural Medicine Conference The University of Sydney

29 September-1 October 1993, Sydney

For details of conference program, contact:
Conference Secretary
Behavioural Medicine Conference
Faculty of Health Sciences
Cumberland Campus
PO Box 170 LIDCOMBE NSW 2141
Fax: (61) (02) 646 6540

Australian Institute of Judicial Administration Incorporated

Twelfth Annual Conference

1-2 October 1993, Sheraton Hotel, Hobart

The main topics at this conference will be: court governance; court buildings and accommodation; prosecution policy and systems; and criminal legal aid. Information about the conference can be obtained from:

Mrs Margaret McHutchison
AIJA Secretariat
95 Barry Street
Carlton South, Vic.
Tel: (03) 347 6815/18 Fax: (03) 347 2980

Law Faculty, University of Wollongong Fourth Annual Australian Law and Literature Conference

8-10 October 1993, University of Wollongong

For further information please contact:

Penny Pether
Tel: (042) 214 293 Fax: (042) 213 188

**Public Health Association
Conference on Suicide
28 February-1 March 1994, Canberra**

Preliminary Notice and Call for Expressions of Interest
For the past decade, suicide has vied with road crashes as the leading cause of death by injury for men. While suicide rates have declined somewhat for women, and remain stable for middle-aged men, the number of men at the beginning and end of their lives choosing suicide has grown.

This conference will attempt to provide a forum to discuss the dimensions of the problem in Australia, publicise research being conducted on this topic, and to collect and publish the contributions of key researchers and conference speakers.

Further information is available from the Public Health Association secretariat (tel: (06) 285 2373; e-mail pha@peg.pegasus.oz.au)

Centacare Australia and the Australian Catholic University

Families and Violence

4-5 February 1994, Macquarie University, Sydney

This conference marks the International Year of the Family. Papers and workshops on any aspect of violence in relationship to families are welcome. Abstracts of 200-300 words are due by 31 August. Topics could include: family trends, family life and relationships, children and young people, family policies, family economics, support programs, law, the impact of organisations and institutions on family violence and intervention strategies.

Contact: Christine Trimmingham,
Australian Catholic University

179 Albert Road Strathfield NSW 2135
Tel: (02) 739 2100

Overseas

Eleventh International Symposium on Economic Crime

Cross Border Commercial Crime: Communities at Risk - The Impact of the New Europe on International Business

12-18 September 1993, Jesus College, Cambridge, UK

This program will not merely be of interest to those engaged in preventing and controlling economic crime within Europe. The conference has been carefully designed to be of immediate practical relevance to the international community at large. The diversity and complexity of the risks and threats facing those engaged in international trade and business in our radically changed and changing environment, is reflected in the program which addresses issues as disparate as the involvement of traditional organised crime and terrorist organisations in fraud and economic crime, to the problems of preventing controlling abuses in the banking and financial sectors. For further information, please contact:

Mrs Ruth Easthope

Jesus College

Cambridge CB5 8BL England

Tel: (0223) 339426 Fax: (0223) 324910

World Congress on Penitentiary Health Care and Treatment of Offenders

6-9 June 1994, Tokyo, Japan

The main theme of the conference will be: the philosophical and cultural approach of penitentiary medicine and rehabilitation aid. Topics will include treatment and health care of adult and juvenile offenders with emphasis on narcotic addiction, mental disorders, sexual deviation, AIDS, forensic science, and prevention of juvenile delinquency. Discussions will draw upon international experts, clinical studies, and practical experiences of prison authorities from around the world.

The official languages will be English and Japanese with simultaneous translation.

For further information, please contact:

Secretariat for ICPMS'94 Japan,

c/o Japan International Cultural Exchange Foundation

2-15-5-207 Shoto, shibuya-ku,

Tokyo, Japan

Tel: 81-3-3467-7316

Fax: 81-3-3467-7317

Management Training for NSW Police

The University of Wollongong, through the Department of Management and the Illawarra Technology Corporation, will be providing a new training program for the middle management of the NSW Police Service. The Command Development Program will culminate in the award of a Graduate Management Certificate. The program was recently launched by the Minister for Police, the Honourable Terry Griffiths, MP, the Commissioner of Police, Mr Tony Lauer, and Deputy Chancellor of the University, Dr Brian Gillett, at the Police Academy in Goulburn.

Honorary Award for Hal Wootten

In recognition of his contribution to a wide range of different organisations, the degree of Doctor of the University of Technology, Sydney, was recently conferred on Hal Wootten, former Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales.

International Agreement on DNA Technology

A team of ANU scientists representing Australia in Geneva has successfully negotiated an international agreement on DNA technology which will help prevent the theft of intellectual property of the world's plant breeders.

DNA profiling, the technique being perfected for plants by ANU and CSIRO researchers, is similar to forensic techniques commonly known as "DNA fingerprinting" used increasingly in criminal law.

Criminology Research Council Grants

At its meeting on 6 April in Melbourne, the Criminology Research Council approved the following applications for funding from the Criminology Research Fund.

- **Post-Release Experience of Imprisoned Mothers**
Children of Prisoners Support Group Co-Op., Sydney.
A grant of \$27,262.40 was made to examine the experience of women with children during the period immediately after release from prison and during the subsequent two years.
- **An Evaluation of Protective Behaviours - a School-based Anti-victim program** - Techsearch Inc., The University of South Australia, Adelaide.
A grant of \$22,345 was made to conduct an evaluation of this program. The evaluation will determine the nature and extent of teachers' use of the Protective Behaviours Program and the factors which influence their decision to use it or not to use it.
- **The Influence of Interpersonal Competence on Personal Vulnerability** - Drs Carlene Wilson and Ted Nettelbeck, The University of Adelaide.
A grant of \$30,798 for a period of two years was made to develop and validate a test of interpersonal competence. This will be the first step in an education program aimed at reducing victimisation.

- **An Evaluation of Attitude Behaviour Change Programs for Male Perpetrators of Family Violence** - Dr Christine Alder, The University of Melbourne.
An additional grant of \$16,790 was made to enable a larger sample size to be included in the project.

- **Systematising Police Summaries in the Mention Court: Victim Impact Statements through the Back Door?** - Dr Roger Douglas and Ms Kathy Laster, La Trobe University, Melbourne.
An additional grant of \$4,890 was made to enable an increase in the size of the research sample which will enable a valid comparison between the general sample population of all assaults with the sub group of special assault. The findings will provide empirical evidence about assertions that special assault is treated differently from other assault cases by criminal justice agencies.

- **An action-research of a pilot domestic violence community intervention project, Stage One: A case study.** Associate Professor Denis Ladbrook, Curtin University of Technology, Perth.
A grant of \$31,795 was made to fund a pilot study to test and to document intervention procedures developed by interaction between community groups and involving the police. It will provide pointers to ways of dealing with domestic violence. The Council also accepted the following final reports for completed research projects. All Criminology Research Council reports are lodged with the J.V. Barry Library of the Australian Institute of Criminology where they can be studied or borrowed through inter-library loan.

- **"Social and Psychological Moderators of the Effectiveness of Employment and Training for Repeat Juvenile Offenders"**, Dr Philip Ullah and Ms Pera Odgers, University of Western Australia (CRC 2/90).

- **"Program Evaluation at Barwon Prison (1991-1992)"**, Dr Robert Semmens, The University of Melbourne (CRC 4/90).

- **Prisons and Women**, Blanche Hampton, (published by New South Wales University Press). Project undertaken by Women and Girls in Custody, Subcommittee of NSW Prisons Coalition, Sydney (CRC 39/91).

- **"Estimating the Numbers of Heroin Users in the ACT"**, Dr Gabriele Bammer, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, The Australian National University, Canberra (CRC 7/92).

- **"Conflict Resolution & Causal Attribution in Adolescent Offenders"**, Associate Prof. Jeffrey Bailey & Kathleen Ellerman, University of Sth Queensland, Toowoomba (CRC 22/92).