

No. 530

PARLIAMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

STANDING COMMITTEE ON LAW & JUSTICE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON

**CRIME PREVENTION
THROUGH SOCIAL SUPPORT**

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Terms of Reference

That the Standing Committee on Law and Justice undertake an inquiry into and report on the relationship between crime and the types and levels of social support afforded to families and communities, with particular reference to:

- (a) the impact of changes in the social services support system on criminal participation rates;
- (b) support programs that can assist in protecting people from developing delinquent or criminal behaviours; and
- (c) the type and level of assistance and support schemes needed to change offending behaviour.¹

¹ Reference received from the Hon Jeff Shaw QC MLC, Attorney General and Minister for Industrial Relations, 20 May 1998 (see appendix one).

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Chairman

The Hon John Ryan MLC, Liberal Party

Deputy Chair

The Hon Janice Burnswoods, MLC, Australian Labor Party

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² Replaced the Hon Helen Sham-Ho MLC, 6/7/98.

Committee Membership

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Chairman's Foreword

In May this year, the Standing Committee on Law and Justice received a reference from the Attorney General to inquire into and report on the relationship between crime and the types and levels of social support afforded to families and communities. This inquiry will come to be known as the inquiry into *Crime Prevention through Social Support*.

On Monday, 26 October, the Committee launched the inquiry with a successful one day conference in Parliament House, which was co-hosted by the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists. 180 people attended the conference and 20 people from Government and non-Government organisations addressed the conference.

In particular, the Committee was pleased that Professor Larry Sherman from the University of Maryland, and Susan Everingham from RAND could travel from the United States, at fairly short notice, to address the conference about early intervention and other strategies in the United States that have proved to be both effective in preventing crime, and cost-effective for Government when compared with 'get-tough' criminal justice policies such as the Californian 'Three Strikes' law.

It is stating the obvious to say how crucial this inquiry will be for NSW, and I have no doubt that the Law and Justice Committee next year will be seeking the full support of all Members of the NSW Parliament, Government and non-Government organisations as it travels around the State to visit and consult with the diverse local communities of NSW.

The inquiry has only just begun, but a number of powerful messages came through on the day of the conference, *that Governments of any persuasion must be prepared to hear*. One of these messages was that 'get tough' strategies such as increased penalties and sentences for offenders may have little deterrent or crime prevention effect. As one of our speakers noted, criminals do not tend to behave like economic rationalists, as they tend not to weigh the discounted future costs of crime against its future benefits. Another message was that there is no single answer to crime prevention: the various prevention programs and strategies are necessarily diverse. For example, I was interested to hear from Professor Sherman that they had found that something as simple as police being courteous could have an effect

on crime rates. That is, if police take the time to listen to offenders when they are being arrested and treat them politely, those offenders would have lower repeat offending rates. However, in my view, the most important message of the whole day was that of the need for long term strategies and investment in those strategies that work. Crime problems associated with unemployment, poverty, isolation, mental illness, substance abuse, child neglect, and physical, sexual and mental abuse are highly complex and can not be fixed in months or even years.

Therefore, as Chairman of the Law and Justice Committee, I invite and urge present and future Governments in NSW and Australia to be far-sighted, brave and smart about crime prevention; I invite them to invest properly in empirical research to determine what actually does work in crime prevention and what is cost-effective; I urge them to actively listen to local communities about their special circumstances and needs; and above all, I challenge all Governments to have faith in our young people, and their capacity to enter and move through life, *with the appropriate support*, free of the need to commit crime. No greater challenge has ever confronted our Governments than that of crime prevention and the protection of our young ones, families and communities from the grave and desperate social and economic circumstances that give rise to criminal behaviour.

I wish all future members of the Law and Justice Committee in 1999 a profitable outcome to this most important and difficult inquiry. They will need the ongoing commitment and support of all Members of the NSW Parliament, and interest groups and organisations to make a real and lasting difference. I trust that you will give them that support.

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN MLC
COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN MLC, CHAIRMAN
STANDING COMMITTEE ON LAW AND JUSTICE

AND

HON JOHN RYAN MLC, DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
STANDING COMMITTEE ON LAW AND JUSTICE

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I promise you solemnly that throughout the day we will not run on time, so you will have to bear with us.

I am Bryan Vaughan and for the last couple of years I have been the Chairman of the Law and Justice Committee of Parliament. Today I expect to be one of the most important days since I came into the place a long time ago. It is a remarkable thing to discuss a subject like this in one day, but we have chosen carefully the people whom we have invited here, and if we do not solve all the world's problems today, at least the legislature will have been listening to you, and that is something I suppose we do not really do often enough. In fact, each one of us is here today, I suggest, to listen to each other.

Today's conference is being co-hosted by the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists, which is well known for its advocacy of the rule of law, the protection of fundamental rights and freedom and informed and sensible debate on policy issues that directly affect individual freedoms and dignity. Steve Mark, who is here, is the Chairman of the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists and he will be addressing the conference shortly. The Committee greatly appreciates the expert assistance and advice of Steve in convening the conference.

I would also like to thank at the outset Peter Homel, Director of the Crime Prevention Division, Dr Don Weatherburn - almost a household name, Don - Director of the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research of the Attorney General's Department. The Committee has also greatly benefitted from their expert advice in organising today's event.

As you may be aware the Committee received a reference from the Attorney General in May this year to conduct an inquiry into crime prevention and social support. It was decided that the best way to quickly raise the public profile of this inquiry would be to launch it with a conference. The Committee has already made a public call for submissions addressing the terms of reference of the inquiry.

I would like to remind everyone today that the closing date for submissions is 26 November this year, as the New South Wales Parliament will be prorogued some time before the State election in March next year. The inquiry will technically end when Parliament prorogues. However, we have bi-partisan support for the inquiry to be referred again to the Law and Justice Committee as soon as Parliament convenes next year.

I anticipate that Jeff Shaw, our Attorney General, and John Hannaford, Shadow Attorney General, may wish to give us that undertaking again this morning. It is such an important and all encompassing inquiry and it will undoubtedly require more than a few months to enable the depth of analysis that has come to be expected from us and in these reports today.

I note that there will be no opportunity in today's busy schedule for questions and comments from the floor. However, the Committee is very interested in the range of views and the broad knowledge and experience that is represented here today, and therefore I urge you all to make a submission to the Committee by 26 November. There may also be a further opportunity to make a submission next year when Parliament and the Committee reconvene.

All participants have received an information package and it includes information about the Committee and the process of making submissions to such an inquiry. You will also find in your information package the program for today, a map to get to the Wentworth Hotel for lunch, which is only five minutes away, and some conference papers from a few of the speakers here today.

I am happy to inform you that the proceedings of today are being transcribed and all participants will receive in three or four weeks a copy of the transcript. I hope that the transcript will provide a useful discussion paper.

I welcome you all here and I want to leave you with just two quotations that I had someone dig up for me last Friday. I was given quite a number to choose from and what I have here is the A one and the B one. The A one is a quote from Ralph Waldo Emerson, and he wrote these remarks in 1841.

"Our age and history for these thousand years has not been the history of kindness but of selfishness. Our distrust is very expensive. The money we spend for courts and prisons is very ill laid out. We make by distrust the thief, the burglar and the incendiary and by our court and gaol we keep him so."

That was his approach. In 1953, only a short time ago, the Peer of the Realm in the House of Lords said this in the course of the debate:

"The whole duty of Government is to prevent crime and to preserve contracts."

A different approach all together.

I would like John Ryan to say a few words and then I shall introduce the Attorney General of New South Wales, the Hon Jeff Shaw.

HON JOHN RYAN: I am not quite sure why a few words need to be said, other than the fact that we are engaging today in probably one of the toughest calls there is in public administration, trying to work out what prevents crime, and there is no obvious silver bullet or easy answer to a question like that. We are hoping by having some of the finest minds in public life at the moment addressing the issue of preventing crime, it might give us hapless politicians, who are frequently blamed with the responsibility for why there is so much crime, some suggestion. I take no personal responsibility for that. Nevertheless, it is usually at our doorstep to which the public comes in order to expect us to find solutions for these incredible social issues of crime. That is fair enough, we do not mind the public asking us to be responsible, but clearly the issues are very complex.

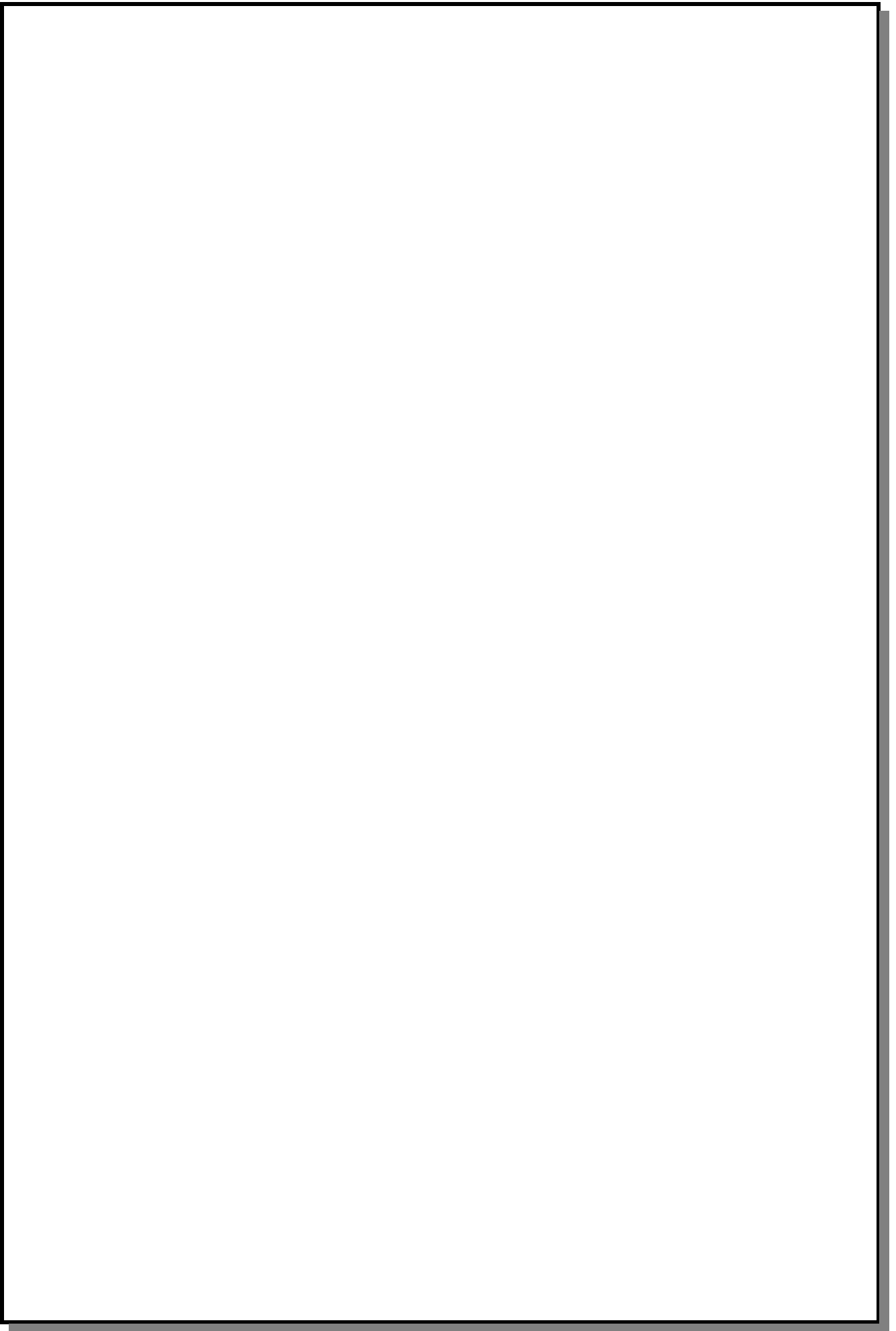
During the course of today, as you see from your program, we have got guests from overseas and all of the usual suspects we have from home who usually dominate the media waves on this subject and I am sure that we should be somewhat the wiser.

I suppose one of the critical issues we want to address in particular is in Government we are asked to examine questions which involve the prevention of crime, usually one of the tough questions that comes through is how do we pay for those particular programs, and the even tougher question than that is convincing the moguls of places like Treasury that the programs that we have in mind are worthwhile. They sometimes take the view that many of the programs which we will talk about today are ones which will simply expand to the same level that money is provided.

Now, we are not going to take that rather depressing view, I promise you, and we are looking for some level of optimism from you in the course of today. We hope that you will find the range of speakers useful and interesting, but one of the other useful things that we would ask you to do during the course of today is have a darn good look at the people who occupy the front seats here. They are some of the members of the Committee and they are the politicians. If you have questions, if you think there is an issue that we did not raise that needed a fair hearing, we welcome the opportunity for you to get hold of us during the breaks, morning tea and lunch time and so on, to assail us with the things that you think are important. At the end of the day I am sure we will have had a very interesting time.

I am going to hand back to our Chairman. I want to say a particular thanks to you. I notice as I just range through the audience, there is someone who I do want to welcome specially today. She was probably planning to have a low profile, but I notice one of our old friends from the State Parliament, The Hon Ann Symonds is with us. She used to chair the Social Issues Committee which grapples with issues just as large as this, and I have no doubt that she, among all of you, has enormous sympathy for what we are embarking on. Welcome to Ann. We appreciate your coming today.

So thanks very much. We hope the day is interesting and invigorating and again I return to our Chairman, The Hon Bryan Vaughan, to start introducing our guests.



HON JEFF SHAW QC, MLC

ATTORNEY GENERAL AND
MINISTER FOR INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: I introduce the Hon Jeff Shaw, Attorney General of New South Wales and Minister of Industrial Relations and Fair Trading. He was admitted to the Bar in 1976 and practised at the Bar until 1986. He filled a casual vacancy and came to the House in 1990. He was re-elected in 1991. I welcome you specially, Jeff, today.

HON JEFF SHAW: Thanks very much, Honourable Bryan Vaughan. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. May I welcome our distinguished international visitors and thank all of you for attending today because I think the program is a vital one and one calculated to lift the debate about crime prevention to a more sophisticated level than perhaps we have been accustomed to in Australia.

May I just mention what I see as the three themes that are relevant to this conference. We are talking about the links between social networks and crime, that is, about how social supports can be strengthened as a means of preventing criminal behaviour. Secondly, we are focussing particularly on early interventions, that is, what can we do to prevent the development of criminal behaviour and how can we intervene when anti-social or criminal behaviour patterns are beginning to take root, either in relation to particular offenders or in the community generally. Thirdly, we are being invited to examine the effectiveness of particular crime prevention strategies and the costs of crime prevention. Now, that is a very wide-ranging brief but basically the questions can be broken down to some fundamental propositions.

The relationship between social circumstances and crime is very well documented. It has become part of the accepted wisdom underpinning ideas about the causes of crime and how crime might be prevented. Study after study in Australia and overseas has demonstrated that people who come from the more marginalised and disadvantaged groups in both economic and social terms are more likely to be involved in crime, either as perpetrators or as victims.

Similarly, research into the incidence of crime indicates there is not an even spread across the country. A disproportionate share of crime seems to occur where there is a lack of social cohesion or lack of strong linkages and support. Despite that well-established knowledge, we as a community persist in adopting an approach, often encouraged by the media and frequently expressed through our leaders, which focusses narrowly on the symptoms of crime by continually ratcheting up the powers

of the criminal justice system, rather than seeking to come to grips with those causes of crime.

In that climate, it is of little surprise that in many countries around the world the most common political response to the perceptions of increased crime is found in measures to impose harsher and harsher penalties and longer and longer sentences on those convicted of crime. That approach comes at a price. No-one would dispute that we need adequate and proper penalties, adequate and proper sanctions where serious crime is committed, but there is a price for that. There are real and meaningful alternatives that can be readily overlooked in what at times appears to be a headlong rush towards deterrence of crime.

For example, a recent study conducted by Susan Everingham of RAND in America looked at the likely costs and crime prevention effects of a number of promising interventions and it found that the two best programs, parenting education and graduation incentives, were likely to be two or three times more cost effective than the enactment of so-called three strike laws. So it seems clear that a cost effective program of crime prevention will include strategies for early intervention, which can either prevent the development of a propensity or disposition in particular young people to engage in criminal or offending behaviour.

Effective programs can also operate at an early stage of an individual offender's behaviour to prevent the likelihood of re-offending or involvement in more serious types and levels of criminal behaviour in the future. There is a great deal of evidence to suggest that the interaction of family and community support systems, the family structure itself and the pathways provided for the development of young people, can have a major impact on the occurrence of crime within particular communities.

This points to another self-evident truth about successful crime prevention activities. Individuals interact as and with families within the context of one or more communities and more broadly with society overall. Successful crime prevention strategies must acknowledge the diversity of interactions and the context in which individual families operate. They need to address the broad range of factors which are likely to have an impact on potential or actual crime and offending behaviour.

So when we look at what crime prevention activities work and whether they are cost effective, we need to consider that the outcomes of particular interventions may depend on the interplay of a number of strategies. For example, programs targetting parenting and families and programs operating in schools will have at least a degree of interdependence. School programs to reduce truanting for example, are likely to be more successful if there is effective family support for education and the schools' programs. Conversely, schools can undertake a number of activities which will strengthen the communities that they serve, such as providing after school care programs, providing space for community activities, involving families as helpers or ancillaries in school based programs.

The State Government here in New South Wales has introduced a number of programs and strategies which aim to prevent crime by strengthening communities and providing support for families and individuals. The recent commitment of \$19 million for the 'Families First' project will give parents regular support and help in the home from professionals and trained volunteers. The project will give particular benefit to those parents who lack extended family or community support and will also link families with relevant social structures and community services.

Another form of early intervention is found in the recent passage of the *Young Offenders Act 1997*, which sets out options for police to deal with offending young people in ways other than through the formal criminal justice system. The use of cautioning and conferencing options in appropriate circumstances should help to ensure that young people will have the opportunity to learn from early brushes with the law and be diverted from paths which may lead to re-offending and later more serious involvement in criminal activity.

In a similar vein, the trial of a pilot drug court scheme, modelled on successful examples in the United States, will commence in February next year. The drug court will provide opportunities for those convicted of drug crimes to receive treatment and rehabilitation for their drug use problems, rather than spending time in prison. Successful treatment of problematic drug use or addiction is likely to have considerable cost benefits, not only in terms of the cost of the administration of the criminal justice system, but also in terms of the cost to the community of drug related crimes against people and property.

The successful operation of a drug court will also enable us to address the social dislocation or isolation which is a frequent outcome of drug dependence. People in treatment are more likely to be successfully assisted to re-establish social networks and supports which in turn will assist them to a more stable life. In this sense the drug court program builds on other Government initiatives which aim to prevent and reduce drug related crime.

One such successful program, not particularly new by now of course, is the methadone program. Numbers of studies have shown that the provision of methadone to opiate dependant people has a major impact on reducing crime committed by this group of people. The methadone program also provides clear evidence of the importance of providing social support as a means of preventing or reducing crime. One of the most important outcomes of participation in a methadone program is that clients are able to regain stability and social support in their lives.

It is true to say that in the crime prevention field we are still discovering which intervention programs are effective. International experience is valuable, but it is important to remember that communities are different, both within and between countries, and what works successfully in Manhattan may not be applicable to Dubbo, and vice versa. It is also true that no one strategy or no one program is likely to achieve significant results on its own. A combination of interventions, working for example with individuals, families and the community on several levels, is likely to have more wide-ranging and long-term outcomes than programs run in isolation one from the other.

The State Government is keen to support and promote crime prevention programs at State-wide and local levels, to determine what works, what is cost effective and what interventions and strategies work well in an integrated overall program. I look forward very much to the outcomes of this particular conference providing us with more ideas that can further consolidate the Government's activities in this area.

I thank the members of the Legislative Council Standing Committee for taking this initiative, I thank the participants here this morning and I look forward to the results of your deliberations. Thank you very much.

HON JOHN HANNAFORD MLC

SHADOW ATTORNEY GENERAL

HON JOHN RYAN: The next speaker this morning, to ensure that we have a nice bi-partisan approach to our reference, is the Shadow Attorney General, the Honourable John Hannaford.

John was elected to the New South Wales Parliament in 1984. Ever since that time he was regarded as one of the sharp-shooters of his party. He was eventually appointed a Minister in 1991. He has held the portfolio in Health. He did a major report on hospitals and health services in Western Sydney. At the time when the last administration was in office John was in fact the then Attorney General and has made major contributions and reforms to our justice system. I welcome the Honourable John Hannaford.

HON JOHN HANNAFORD: I welcome Bryan as Chairman of the Committee, the Attorney, my parliamentary colleagues, ladies and gentlemen.

I guess the real reason why I am here, as has been enunciated by Bryan Vaughan, and that is to get from me a commitment for the support of the reference being undertaken by the Law and Justice Committee and a commitment that if there was a change of Government that the reference will again be made to the Committee. I give that undertaking. That finishes me for this morning but there are some other comments I want to make.

I welcome our international guests and I am particularly pleased to see Susan Everingham here from RAND. I am a strong supporter of RAND, in fact, I read every one of their research papers in this particular area. It is so pleasing to be able to say that a large amount of the work that is done by RAND is in fact picked up here in Australia and we see it in some of the centres that we have got in this State. So welcome to our overseas guests.

In relation to this particular Inquiry being undertaken by the Law and Justice Committee I have to say that I am trusting that the Inquiry is just not going to be just another research venture, because there is an extraordinary amount of international research material and local research material available, whether it is for example the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research's paper on child neglect, its causes and its role in delinquency, or whether or not it is the most recent excellent paper from the RAND Centre called *Diverting Children From a Life of Crime; Measuring Costs and Benefits*.

The fact is that the research is there. The issue is one of collating that research into a meaningful and achievable policy framework and facilitating a community demand, and I emphasise that, facilitating a community demand for implementing that policy.

In the context of this Inquiry I would expect that the term *social support* in the reference is not given any limited meaning but is embraced in its most all encompassing context.

So bearing this in mind and bringing to this particular issue my experience in a multiple of portfolios, whether or not it was as Minister for Community Services or Minister for Health, or Minister for Juvenile Justice, or Minister for Corrective Services as well as being Attorney General at one time, I can say from my view that the major problem is one of securing a co-ordination of government services to achieve the identifying program outcome.

It is about ensuring that the various individual programs of each agency of government work to the same funding time lines and to the same funding priorities to achieve meaningful crime prevention outcomes from all agencies. Whether or not it is Health, Education, Training, Community Services, Juvenile Justice, Corrections, Attorney General or Police, it is a matter of getting them to work together and to work within our identified policy strategy, within agreed coordinated programs with acknowledged time lines and funding priorities, with accepted outcomes assessment mechanisms and with an agreed level of funding. If you can achieve all of that good luck, but that is what we are turning to the Committee to help us to achieve.

The Committee will need to look at issues relating to early intervention as well as to a lot of other traditionally identified causes. The Legislative Council Standing Committee on Social Issues is already tasked to examine that specific issue of early intervention. The work of the two Committees of the Legislative Council, the Law and Justice Committee and the Standing Committee on Social Issues, should be coordinated and I hope that they do coordinate their work.

Early intervention is an expensive model program, however in my view it is essential. If you get the time to have a look at the RAND report, which I have made reference to, that report suggested on the basis of purely a crime prevention program early intervention is not the most cost effective crime prevention intervention, but in looking at that report however RAND acknowledges that this analysis does not take into account the total social impact improvement of such interventions.

I remain, I have got to say, a strong advocate of early childhood intervention as a long term social reconstruct which is needed in today's community environment. I therefore see today's discussion as providing to the Law and Justice Committee an ideas framework within which the Committee will develop its priorities.

I therefore thank all of you for making yourself available to participate in this particular initiative.

The Committees of the New South Wales Legislative Council have in their few short years of operation established a formidable reputation of sound policy development which has received the support of governments of all persuasions and has therefore seen their reports being implemented. I expect that that same outcome will come from this current Inquiry.

An alteration of community behaviour is a long term outcome. Generational change will be the achievement outcomes of this Inquiry is my expectation. That challenge is formidable, it is essential but it is also achievable. I therefore, as a prospective Attorney General, look to this Committee's report as a further catalyst to achieve just such change.

Thank you for giving your support to the work of the Committee and all of us look forward to the outcomes of that report.

HON JANELLE SAFFIN: Thank you John and your point about the body of international research and literature already being available is well taken and in a sense the Committee will be the catalyst hopefully for action including the reports that were done by the Social Issues Committee which has a whole range of recommendations that would be suitable for this reference.

STEVE MARK

CHAIRMAN
INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
(AUSTRALIAN SECTION)

HON JANELLE SAFFIN: It is my pleasure to introduce to you Steve Mark, Chairman of the International Commission of Jurists (Australian Section).

Many people would know Steve in his role as the New South Wales Legal Services Commissioner. He is here today in his position as the Chairman of the Australian section of the ICJ which is co-hosting this conference with the Law and Justice Committee.

Steve is a well-known advocate of human rights and the ICJ is particularly concerned with working to support the rule of law and to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The treatment of criminal offenders and crime prevention policies have clear implications for the rule of law and our fundamental rights.

The Australian Section of the ICJ is therefore committed to the promotion of sensible and informative work on the issue of crime prevention in Australia and in particular the issue of early intervention strategies and the need for effective support and community participation in preventing crime.

The Committee welcomes the support of the Australian Section of the ICJ to this conference and for the Committee's Inquiry into crime prevention through social support and so I welcome Steve here today as the Chairman of the ICJ and also my friend. Welcome Steve.

MR STEVE MARK: I would also like to welcome you all to this conference. I am honoured to be able to participate today on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists (Australian Section) as we are not only interested in the concept of crime prevention but in achieving that noble aim without undue and unnecessary infringement on civil rights and civil liberties.

The International Commission of Jurists, which has been active in Australia since 1952, is an organisation which you have heard works to support the rule of law and preserve the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Australia. Over the years one of the roles that has developed in the International Commission of Jurists has been to comment on legislation or proposed enactments and other strategies that purport to address the concern the community obviously has for crime prevention. In this regard we find ourselves all too often having to comment

critically about legislation which is either unduly or unnecessarily suppressing civil liberties and human rights or is otherwise contrary to the rule of law.

Often such legislation is presented in rubric and rhetoric of crime prevention. Some recent examples of legislation upon which the International Commission of Jurists has commented include the drug misuse and traffic Amendment Ongoing Dealing Act (1998), which is more commonly known 'Three strikes and you are in' law; Children Protection and Parental Responsibilities Act (1997) which empowers local councils to establish safe places for children and give police the power to take children off the streets and deliver them to such safe places and to do so often against their will; more recent proposed legislation which would empower the police to allow DNA testing to be carried out on individuals without their consent and legislation which empowers police to stop and search young people in specific areas on the assumption that they might be carrying a knife.

Much of what we have said about these and other proposed pieces of legislation have been critical about potential infringements on human rights, that said it is however important to note that many people in our society have a deep fear of crime, which is not always unwarranted. Statistics supplied by the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics show that last year in this State one person was murdered every three days; 12,000 people were robbed; 150,000 people were either assaulted or threatened with assault; 131,000 homes were broken into and 46,000 vehicles were stolen. This, plus the daily saturation in the news of stories about crime, make it not difficult to understand why the fear of crime is so pervasive in our society.

From the perspective of the International Commission of Jurists it is important that we have a reasoned discussion or debate about what to do about this level of crime, rather than simply argue about whether or not there has been an increase or decrease or indeed whether we are in the proverbial crime wave that is constantly being suggested.

So if it is understandable that the community is concerned about crime why would the International Commission of Jurists, along with many organisations and individuals in the community, be concerned about the current debate about law and order? The reason lies in the fact that the public is led to believe that the only way to reduce crime is to get tough with offenders by increasing penalties, increasing

police powers and placing restrictions on certain types of behaviour, often at the expense of civil liberties, human rights or indeed as an attack on the basis of the rule of law.

The major problem with this 'get tough' approach is simply that there appears to be little evidence that it will have any success. With each failure we seem to get nothing more than a fresh series of demands for tougher penalties and more police. This is not to say that the community should not demand harsh penalties for heinous crimes, the community has every right to do so, but isn't this in the nature of requiring that the punishment fit the crime?

This seems to me to be a vastly different proposition to leading the community to believe that increasing penalties will reduce the incidence of crime. There are many reasons why increased penalties alone do not seem to deter crime but a recent example given by Dr Donald Weatherburn of the Bureau of Crime Statistics is one that I find particularly pertinent. He observes that drunks and drug users, who make up a very large proportion of the offender population, do not tend to behave much like economic rationalists. They are not weighing the discounted future costs of crime against its future benefits. Two-thirds of the property offenders recently interviewed by the Bureau stated that they did not give any thought whatsoever to the likelihood of getting caught. Therefore, it would appear hard to fathom how increased penalties would have a serious impact on reducing crime from this portion of the population.

So if one were serious about trying to reduce the level of crime in our community it seems that there would be two areas in which one would focus their attention:

- (1) to reduce the supply of people who are motivated to commit crimes; and
- (2) to reduce the opportunities and incentives for crime.

In relation to the first, as we have heard the other speaker say, we could improve the quality of parenting, reduce the level of child neglect and abuse, attack the level of economic and social stress on families; create meaningful jobs for the long term unemployed and many other initiatives which will be discussed hopefully today.

In relation to the second, initiatives which would get heroin users into treatment or to kick the habit rather than increasing penalties or the rate of incarceration must be attractive. The use of therapeutic tools such as EMDR or eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing, a therapy performed by GPs and psychologists in our society to deal with trauma and maladapted behaviour, including drug use and sexual and other forms of abuse, need to be explored as positive ways to deal with some of the root causes of criminal behaviour before it is necessary to use the blunt and very expensive tool of police, courts and more prisons.

This conference is primarily directed at exploring positive solutions to the issue of crime prevention rather than just perennially re-stating the problem. Hopefully this focus on what works and what does not and what the cost and benefits of early intervention of crime prevention strategies are will go some way to reduce the reliance on the all too common but understandable approach successive governments take to the kind of law and order auction which we unfortunately see associated with State elections.

The balance which needs to be struck is between the need to protect society from dangerous criminals and the need to promote and secure a society based on the rule of law, fundamental human rights and essential freedoms.

It is hoped that this conference will explore positive ways of reducing crime through early intervention and other social support strategies rather than relying only on legislation which perhaps unnecessarily impinges on human rights and civil liberties.

Therefore the timing of this conference is opportune and I, like I am sure everyone else in the room, look forward to a very full and exciting program to address crime prevention through social support. On behalf of the International Commission of Jurists I am proud to be associated with such an initiative and such a conference. Thank you for your attention.

PROFESSOR LARRY SHERMAN

PROFESSOR AND CHAIR
DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINOLOGY AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: We now come to the first item in the formal session which is called, "Crime Prevention: what works, what doesn't work". The learned author of the title, of course, is Professor Larry Sherman, who has not only kindly travelled from Maryland to New South Wales but has also survived a jog around Mrs Macquarie's Chair this very morning. I can speak feelingly about that because, as a gentle walker around the same area, I think the likes of Larry Sherman are a menace.

He is very well known in this specialised area of crime and how to try to prevent or minimise it. He is the Chair, as I mentioned, of the University of Maryland, Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice, an acclaimed body. It is in the foremost of empirical research in the United States in relation to effective crime prevention strategies.

He is the author of a report to Congress only last year entitled, "*Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*". This report is a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of Federal funding for State and local crime prevention programs conducted under a mandate from the Attorney General to the United States Congress. The report uses scientific impact evaluations of prevention programs delivered in communities, families, schools, labour markets, commercial premises, police and criminal justice agencies.

He is the author of four other books and more than 100 other publications. He is also the adjunct Professor of Law at the Australian National University and President of the Scientific Commission of the International Society of Criminology in Paris. He is currently directing an experiment with the Australian Federal Police in the use of shaming conferences for juvenile offenders. Larry, thank you very much for coming to Australia and to our conference.

PROFESSOR LARRY SHERMAN: Thank you, Mr Vaughan. I am reminded of the slogan that Tony Blair used in his campaign to go one better than what politicians throughout the democratic world said about crime, which is they are tough on crime. He said that his Government is going to be tough on crime and tough on its causes which reflects a lot of what we have heard today. We would like to add to that, be tough on the cures of crime, looking at it as objectively and ideologically free as possible within, of course, the broader constraints of democratic ideology and human rights, but just trying to find what does and what does not work among all of

the possible solutions that have been tested.

This report that we had the opportunity to do for the United States Congress was in fact a bipartisan compromise on a midnight gridlock about how much money to spend on various kinds of crime prevention programs. In 1996 Congress said it would require the Attorney General to produce an independent report which was written up not by me alone but with my colleagues at the University of Maryland, Denise Gottfredson, Doris MacKenzie, John Eck, Peter Reuter, a native of Sydney who is known for his work on drug policy, and Shawn Bushway, a young scholar working in the area of labour interventions.

In your package you will find a 20-page reprint of the summary of our 550 page report to Congress. It has this web site listed on it on page 2 and at that web site you can download chapter by chapter the entire full report to the Congress as well as perhaps a better Xeroxed copy summary of the report itself. This report, as I said, is responsive to a Federal law that this review be both independent and use rigorous scientific standards, which has some problems in itself that I do want to stress, but the point is to go beyond the kind of quick and dirty selective review that has so often characterised public debate in democracies on what to do about crime.

We proposed in our reviewed commission to examine the seven settings in which we find crime prevention practices. There is often in the US a contrast made between prevention versus punishment or criminal justice versus prevention. We look at the consequences of all of the practices in all of these institutions from the standpoint of whether or not they actually achieve prevention, but leaving open the possibility that what goes on in all of these settings can actually backfire and cause crime in the name of preventing crime. That is the sense in which we need to be tough on the cures of crime. No matter how nice and friendly they sound, they still might be Thalidomide in terms of the actual effects they have.

This view that you have to take crime prevention as seriously as you take drugs, which is what has led the United States Food and Drug Administration to require rigorous research to prove that a drug is both safe and effective before it is allowed to go into the general market, is obviously not reflective of public policy in the area of crime prevention. Crime prevention cures have backfired and have actually caused crime in the name of preventing it. That is why we look at these evaluations to try to reach a standard for deciding what goes on the three different lists of what works, what does not and what is promising.

We in fact have come up with 15 programs under the standard I am about to explain to you that we can say in a preliminary sense work, 23 that do not and 30 that are promising. The premise for this entire exercise is that not all evaluations are created equal. We reflect a large body of scientific literature on evaluation methods, reflecting what is called internal validity, that is within the context of the study itself how strong is the connection between cause and effect.

How certain are we that the program is the cause of the result that we see as opposed to other things that are going on, so-called rival theories that produces that effect. The drop off in crime in New York city is an example. Everybody agrees that the crime rate went down but nobody has any idea which of the 58 candidates for causing crime to go down was responsible for it.

This has nothing to do, I want to stress, with generalisability and the question of whether what works in the United States will work in Australia. We are so far away from having reliable methods of testing generalisability that we decided to focus entirely on this internal validity of the studies themselves, the strength of causal inference, the strength of conclusions that we are certain X has caused Y.

We boiled that down to the Maryland scale of scientific methods which starts at the lowest level with simply a correlation that shows, for example, that there are more police hired in years when mayors are up for election and we tend to think that that may be a causal correlation; it is not caused by an increase in crime but perhaps by an increase in voting.

Correlation is well known to be the weakest form of scientific evidence, even though it is widely used. It has been used, for example, for years in death penalty studies because so many other things can go on simultaneously. At any point of time you see these two things go together but they could be going together entirely by chance.

Therefore, at level 2 in this scale, the before and after comparison, we gained greater confidence that X causes Y because X happened before Y happened. That at least rules out the possibility that Y was causing X, which is often something that happens in level 1, but there are still all kinds of other things that could be going on - for example, changes in the culture, changes in drug use, changes in the economy - that could have happened at the same time that a crime prevention program was

introduced. That is why level 2 is not as strong as level 3, which introduces this new idea of the control group, the comparison, which gives you some indication of what would have happened if you had not introduced the program.

Classically, the way this is done is that you might have, say, a neighbourhood, in which a new program is implemented and a similar neighbourhood some miles away does not get the program, and you compare the crime rates in those two neighbourhoods. The difference with the net effect of the program is reflected in the difference in crime trends between that comparison area and the target area of the program, but, again, if it is just those two cases that you are looking at, you could have chance effects.

For example, in Kansas City we introduced a new program for using the constitutional powers of the police in the US to detect people carrying guns illegally, and we increased guns seized off the street by 65 per cent, gun crime went down by 50 per cent, and in a control area neither gun seizures nor gun crimes changed, but this was not something that we could say with great confidence was causing the gun crime to go down in the target area.

We can rule out lots of other hypotheses, and it is kind of a minimum threshold for suggesting that this thing can work, but it is clearly not as good as having many cases, which is what we have at level 4, that is, you have at least two units in each of these treatment groups - before and after getting the program and before and after not getting the program - and so the program I just mentioned to you for looking for guns on the street has now been replicated in Baltimore with 40 different neighbourhoods, 20 of them getting increased gun seizures, 20 of them not getting increased gun seizures.

We find that the effects are still substantial, though not quite as large as in the original estimate. But that helped to confirm the idea that this is a cause-and-effect relationship between getting guns off the street and having fewer gun crimes, not as strong, however, as level 5, which is the classic controlled experiment used in medicine. It is what is required for testing new drugs in the United States. It is, in fact, the rule that kept Thalidomide out of the United States at a time when it was being implemented in other countries. It is only because we had that rule that we were able to keep an unsafe drug off the market. That is the method that has the greatest power to rule out other alternatives and, in fact, it is the method that the

Australian Federal Police are using in collaboration with the Australian National University to evaluate a diversion program for juvenile offenders and for drink-drivers rather than the use of restorative justice reintegrated shaming consequences.

Using that five-level scale we set an immediately arbitrary level of cut-off saying that if you have at least two studies at level 3 you have some basis for saying this program works. Why two studies instead of one? You may recall cold fusion. This was a great discovery at a Utah university some years ago. It had wonderful implications for curbing air pollution around the world and cutting energy costs. There was only one problem, and that was that nobody could replicate the findings in any other laboratory. So we thought, at a minimum, that having a replication is what would be needed to give us confidence, although what we call promises studies, a much longer list, are in fact programs that have one encouraging evaluation and no contrary evidence at the same level of scientific rigour, and, similarly, we call what does not work the level 3 studies in the other direction. Two or more of those and a preponderance of other evidence, and finally, as I said, what is promising would have a single replicatory study.

Using those criteria what we find works - and again, within the biases of what is out in the literature, many, many programs remain unevaluated; they may work; they may not work; they may work better - quite clearly includes David Old's program of home visits by nurses. This program not only is focused on the parent training of the mother but also on medical and other topics that are covered in a strict protocol. So it is delivered by licensed nurses who are under strict supervision of a medical school.

This program was first tested in a white rural community in up-state New York. It was later replicated in an African-American inner city community in Memphis. In both of those evaluations the program reduced child abuse substantially during the first two years of life, then later reduced arrests, not only of the infants who were being treated with the program but also of the mothers, who were less likely to get involved in crime, more likely to become employed, more likely to get off welfare, and less likely to have as many children as quickly as the control group, the comparison group, not given the program. This is now something that is being used on a wider scale, but there are a lot of interesting and important questions about whether you can get the same results by having fewer home visits.

For example, in the State of Hawaii, they offer every new infant at least one or two visits, but this program, in fact, had 50 visits, so it focuses on this very important question of exactly how the program was done. Tinkering with it, in fact, might change the results substantially. So we know from these studies that a program of 50 visits over the first two years of life with a heavy front loading of about two weeks during the first six months of life gives us these substantial results.

There are a lot of innovations now in having volunteers trained to do the same work but no evaluation on whether the volunteers can do the same work. We are currently negotiating with the Salvation Army to see whether the Salvation Army soldiers or the members, the volunteers of the communities, especially in high poverty areas where the needs of the program is greatest, can deliver this in a way that produces the same results, but it is only by using evaluation that we will be able to answer those kinds of questions.

Susan Everingham will say a bit more about the cost effectiveness of a program like this, but I think we proceed from the premise and with those questions from the fact that the effects are clear from at least two level 5 studies.

Now, this issue of exactly what was done is terribly important in pre-schooling programs. The United States program called Head Start has been available to low income children ages two to five since the war on poverty in the 1960s. That program has never been fully funded. We have never had the political support to pay for every child who is eligible for the program, but what is perhaps more important is the fact that the original program also wrapped together the family and the school, so it doubled the social support of the program, not just directly for the children, but by having weekly visits of the teacher to the home to work with the mother and then, in many cases, bringing the mother back into the pre-school and getting what some theorists call intergenerational closures, so that the adults who are dealing with the children and each other's children all know each other.

This was the content of the program originally evaluated in two sites - Syracuse, New York, and Ypsilanti, Michigan - and in both of those evaluations there was a very strong delinquency prevention effect so that despite some arguments about whether Head Start helps educationally, it was clearly successful as a crime prevention program, but it is not being implemented in the way it was tested, so we still have this very important question about whether in the long run if you do the

program without the weekly teacher visits, if you try to cut corners and save costs, that is going to be cost effective.

For the kinds of kids who shot up the American school system last year, all of whom were identified as manifesting various systems of aggression - and most kids in that category of course do not act in such extreme ways - but for those kinds of kids, who we believe we have all over the world, there are well-tested and proven effective programs for dealing with them through, again, a program that wraps together the family and the school.

Primary attention has been given to programs developed in Eugene, Oregon, by the Oregon Social Learning Centre. Similar programs in Canada have been tested and found effective, and I think that this sort of program again costs a lot for the individuals that you are dealing with but in relation to the amount of harm that might be prevented it is perhaps a program that needs to be on the agenda given the extreme concerns for kids who are getting guns and acting out their anger because they are not getting this kind of therapeutic attention.

We do have a negative evaluation, the Children at Risk program, provided by the Urban Institute, which finds that for the kids with the greatest risk factors, the toughest of the tough in inner cities, that an attempt to deliver a wide range of services, combining school and police and family therapy and so on, broke down because parents simply were not responsive and refused to get involved in the program. So there is that kind of limitation. But we do have evidence that we can implement this kind of approach and that it is effective.

That brings us more generally to the question of what works in schools, and the evidence that Denise Gottfredson reviews may or may not apply to the Australian situation in general because so many of the schools in the United States are simply in chaos. I trust that is not true in any schools in Australia. But in the US, for example, we cannot get teachers to agree what time school starts, when lunch is over and why people should be out in the hallways. Denise finds that if you can get those things straight schools become a much more effective way to prevent crime, and if you take it even further with a zero tolerance for bullying and a very strong response by the school to demonstrate that if you are violent you do not get away with it, that seems to work a lot better than having teachers get up in front of the class and give speeches against violence and then ignore all the bullying that is

going on in the schoolyard, as if the students seem to pay attention more to what the teachers do than to what they say, and this kind of organisational development has been shown to help reduce delinquency rates long beyond when the kids are in school, just as at least one teaching program which is coaching high-risk youth in terms of thinking skills.

Moving beyond schools, we see older male ex-offenders, not the younger but the older ones, vocational training for people who have been convicted of even robbery and assaults.

In terms of dealing with drug markets, the only effective program we found at the level of specific places is civil forces, landlords who evict tenants who are found guilty of drug use, using civil processes to shut down. This program has the effect of not only shutting down the drug dealing but also reducing crime on the block and then it touches very lightly on some of the other criminal justice interventions because of the context of this process in focussing on social support.

It is worthy of note that having police patrols concentrated where crime is concentrated, and three percent of the police solve fifty percent of all the crime, is an effective way of getting crime down, and in fact if the police are doing the right thing, hiring more police can be a way of preventing crime in a community. It can be arguably an integral part of a multi-institutional program for working with families and schools to reduce crime.

The impact of police on domestic violence is a good example of how this can contribute to improving family structure, but there is a hitch here, and that is that arresting domestic abusers only works in general when the abusers are employed or if the employment rate in the neighbourhood is at a minimum threshold level. What we found is that if you are making an arrest in an area of high unemployment, that arrest backfires, it causes more domestic abuse rather than preventing it. We are developing a variety of options for separating the parties without subjecting the offender, who generally has nothing to lose, to the process that tends to cause more anger and more violence.

Now, in the area of what doesn't work, we have a number of programs that I want to just skip over because they are criminal justice things, like Neighbourhood Watch.

Arrests of juveniles for minor offences, we have the legislation that we have mentioned earlier today. We find that there is good empirical support for that, trying to find the version and alternatives for dealing with juveniles who are arrested.

Drug raids have been found to have a big effect on crime for about fifteen days and then they completely lose their effectiveness of having raided the block. Storefront police offices are an important part of community policing. They are of good PR benefit but they don't reduce crime, neither do police newsletters. Last Monday in front of 200 police chiefs this report was announced as being dangerous to the pursuit of police programs in this area, but what I stress is that we have a number of programs that do work and there is lots of justification for hiring more police if in fact they engage in a program that works.

Which brings us to the less promising, which as I mentioned, we originally had the concealed weapons arrest. That is no longer I think a solution that works. Drunk driving arrests, relying heavily on Ross Homel's research here in Australia, as well as Harry Ross' evaluating programs around the world, and as Professor Homel pointed out at a recent conference in Korea, there is a certain limitation to the sound byte quality of this that I think I want to stress throughout: go beyond three words in trying to figure out what this program is, read the fine print and look at the varieties of how it is being done.

Community policing with meetings has been found effective in Chicago. Here is one that is worth pausing over. We found that if the police take the time to listen to offenders when they are being arrested and treat them politely, that the offenders have lower repeat offending rates than if the police say, "Shut up, I don't want to hear about it. Tell it to the judge", which fits a theory called procedural justice in which offenders care much more about how they are treated in the process of justice than about the severity of the outcome that they actually get, and in a way building support for the law and encouraging compliance with the law to make people feel that the law is legitimate, in other words it was a fair cop, and I was treated fairly after the cop. That is something that is very hard to achieve, especially in high crime neighbourhoods where there is much more of a war mentality between the police and offenders, but if we are able to achieve it, it might be a good way of reducing repeat offending.

I think clearly it has been found with field interrogations that doing more of them in a

polite way has been found to reduce crime, doing fewer of them raises crime in controlled experiments, and the premise of that, however, is to observe evidence that the police are doing this in a very polite manner.

Mailing out arrest warrants for absent offenders in domestic violence cases has also been found to be effective in one study, as have higher numbers of police officers in general.

I want to skip to gang monitoring and focus on the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program. This is a program that cost \$1500 to match a mentor with a - forgive the word - mentee, as the Americans are now saying. The program is aimed primarily at children of divorce who are in need of an additional adult figure in their lives. This program has been around quite a while. It is very good. It is screening the adults who volunteer for the program, not only for obvious things like their arrest history, but for their commitment and their willingness to stay with this program.

One of the most famous crime prevention experiments backfired. A program started in the Boston area in the late 1930s had the problem that several years into the program all of the mentors got drafted to go off and fight World War II, which may explain the fact that by thirty years later the kids who got the mentors were much more likely to become alcoholics, to be in a mental institution or to have committed suicide and in general had a miserable life compared to the kids who were denied the benefit. So when somebody argues against using a control group in a randomised design because you can't withhold the benefits from people, you have to go back to the obvious point that you do not know it is a benefit until you have tested it and seen what happens.

We think that Big Brothers/Big Sisters is very sensitive to the issue of continuity long-term and has succeeded in 75,000 cases, in a population of 270 million in the United States, in setting up these matches. We haven't seen a lot of Government investment in this, although if the funding was there we think that the organisation could expand substantially.

After school recreation programs are very popular right now with the Clinton administration and very unpopular at the ideological level with Congress. It is interesting that the Washington Post said yesterday at state level of Government the Republican Party is much more interested in what works and at the federal level it is

much less interested in the evidence about these things and much more interested in ideology.

I, as a criminologist, point out that the evidence in support of after school recreation programs is actually quite weak, that is there is one study in a public housing project where crime went down compared to a controlled project some miles away, but that is one level 3 study, and it could easily go the other way. What we need, and we don't say this just to keep employed, some of us are already quite busy, but we do need more research, more evaluation of these things.

Battered women's shelters are promising evidence that they reduce homicide in the United States, as well as evidence that they help women who are open to the idea of getting out of abusive relationships as a result of going to them.

Schools within schools is a way of creating more intimacy, more face to face knowledge, by breaking up big schools which are thought to be criminogenic into little communities or within schools that create more effective social control which are productively interactive, they know their names. Training and coaching in thinking skills for high risk youth has been found promising in schools for dealing with drug abuse.

I am running out of time but I want to quickly talk about the labour market programs because none of them have done what theoretically seems to be needed, and that is to go to a small neighbourhood where the employment rate is very low. We have neighbourhoods in the US where 60 to 70 percent of the adults are out of the work force and we have never gone into this neighbourhood, which accounts for half the homicides in the United States. We have never gone into them and said everybody here has got to get back to work. Why? Because we have got to create the rhythm of daily life that is associated with work, we have got create the sub-cultural support of getting up in the morning, which means you can't stay up all night drinking, and working for chump change, as they call, is okay because that is what everybody else is doing here. What happens is that with a lot of these job training programs set up a job force which is a residential training program. What we have in those programs is kids getting trained and then going back into their neighbourhood where everybody laughs at them. So why do they work?

The way to deal with that, we think, and the Labour Department in the US is now

going to start trying to structure the programs, is to try to get everybody in the adult potential labour force in the neighbourhood into the work force to transform that maybe five or ten block area in terms of the culture of getting up and going to work in the morning. That is why we think that the job forum was successful, because it took people away from their neighbourhood out into a residential setting, and then when they came back they very often moved out of the neighbourhood, which is another program I want to skip to down here moving urban public housing.

These are people who are living in high unemployment public housing estates. Their rent is being paid by the Government, and so what has happened in Chicago is that that same money has been used to put people into middle-class suburbs where everybody works. So instead of having to face all this unemployment at once, you bypass the problem by taking unemployed people and putting them in neighbourhoods where they are surrounded by employed people.

There is only one little problem with this policy, and it is called NIMBY, as in Not In My Backyard, but the logic of NIMBY is that it is noticeable, and if you do it right you can defuse a tiny population of unemployed people into this massive population of employed people in a way that it is not noticeable, and very often under these so-called controlled programs people move into rental housing and their neighbours have no idea that they are under subsidised housing, and that is the way, we think, it has been working to improve the risk factors for crime, increase school completion and it will increase employment of both the parents and the children who move into those sort of homes.

Enterprise zones is yet another way to try to come back to the employment rate in the inner city and now there are appropriate programs for bussing people out of the inner city to jobs which are growing in the wealthier neighbourhoods.

I come back to prison based vocational education programs for adult inmates. These were also in one study found to be an effective way for reducing crime.

I am going to stop there because I am out of time, but I do want to stress that all of these conclusions are provisioned and that if you believe in the scientific philosophy which is the foundation for this approach, what you have to agree is that the conclusions are simply a matter of the results that you have from the studies that are available. As those studies change, things could be moved off the what works list

and onto the what doesn't work list, and vice versa.

As one of the speakers this morning said, you may get different results from these same programs in Australia, and it would behove I think any Government that is seriously interested in knowing the results of crime prevention programs to approach the process the way the British Government has just done, and I am happy to say that even though the Federal Congress in the United States has ignored our report, the British Parliament has just adopted a program, based largely on our report, called "Reducing Offending", but what still may happen in Britain, although it is not entirely clear, is that evaluation will be embedded into the program, so that we don't undertake this assumption that we got all the answers before we go out and get them in the program. I think it is a very important point for bi-partisan leadership that we approach the program itself as a matter of trial and error and it is just as important to learn something from doing a program as it is to be able to tell the citizens that we are doing something about crime. Perhaps the most important thing we can do about crime is to figure out indeed what works.

HON JOHN RYAN: Larry, I have absolutely no doubt that that web site that you referred to is going to have numerous hits on it over the next week as people read more and get more detail about what you are speaking about.

RHONDA STIEN

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
BURNSIDE

HON JOHN RYAN: Ladies and gentleman, earlier I introduced one of my former Parliamentary colleagues. I notice The Hon Liz Kirby is with us. Thank you for coming again. She has been a lady who has had a long association with the Standing Committee on Social Issues and a person who has taken a great deal of interest, indeed as would be reflected in her speeches in the Parliament. Thank you for being with us today, Liz, we appreciate it.

For the next forty minutes you are going to have the opportunity to meet some people who are at the hard edge of crime prevention. They are people in the main from non-Government agencies, working out in the community. Most of the names of the agencies will be familiar to you and they will have an opportunity to introduce their programs.

In order to save time with having someone come up and introduce someone every ten minutes, what I am going to do is give you a quick outline of what you are going to see and then I am going to ask each of them if they would remember the old adage from show business, never leave the stage vacant, and if they get off and leave as each of them complete.

The organisations that you will be hearing from today, the first speaker will be Rhonda Stien, who is the Chief Executive Officer of Burnside. Rhonda will be speaking about the non-Government sector's commitment to early intervention. My friend Trevor White will be our next speaker. He is the Manager of Executive Services for Dalmar and he will be speaking about children, the hidden victims of violence. He will be followed by three people from Burnside, who work out at Bidwill, namely, Christine Sinclair, who is the Co-ordinator, and Tracy Kruse and Cheryl Meredith, who have been participants in Burnside's programs. Christine, Tracy and Cheryl will be addressing Burnside's very successful NEWPIN model for family support. All participants today have received a background paper on the NEWPIN model. In fact, there is a copy of some information about that in your showbags that you received as you entered the room. And our last speaker will be Louise Voigt, who is Chief Executive Officer of Barnardos, Children's Family Centres. Louise will be speaking on integrated family support services to prevent abuse and neglected children, with a focus on temporary family care. I welcome all of our speakers.

Ms RHONDA STIEN: Thank you very much indeed for having us here today. I suppose we see this as a great opportunity to speak to a group that obviously have very allied concerns as our own but we rarely actually meet and so from our point of view it is terrific.

The reason that we are here is that a number of peak bodies in child welfare and non-government agencies have decided to get involved in a campaign called 'Invest in Families' and this campaign is aimed at trying to get both sides of government to invest in early intervention programs.

We have called our campaign 'Invest in Families' because we are very worried about a trend and that trend is a sense of governments being concerned about expenditure rather than being concerned about making an investment and of course they carry a very very different weight. We say that if you invest money now you will see results in the long term. Our coalition is called the Coalition to Support Vulnerable Families and so we have a particular focus and that is on those children who are most at risk.

There are three main things I want to focus on in my introduction, one is about the history of how our sorts of agencies have become involved in early intervention work; the second is what I call 'concerning trends' and the third is the substantial obstacles before I give you an opportunity to hear about some of these programs.

In terms of the history, it was interesting that the person who introduced us referred to one of the services as 'homes' and of course that is not an uncommon thing, it happens to us a lot too, people think Burnside Homes when in fact we are not the homes any more, people still think Dr Barnardos when it is still Barnardos. Of course many of our agencies have a very very long history, they have been going for most of this century.

For most of this century, and certainly the first half, it has been really a reactive process of child and family welfare. We waited until children needed care and then they were provided with care, usually in a home.

Of course what has been happening for about the last three to four decades is that increasingly we have become concerned about not only the children needing care but why they need care and whether or not there is anything that we could do to prevent these children needing to come into care.

So there has been a far greater focus on the whole reasons for children coming into

care and the major of these are neglect and abuse and abandonment and unfortunately in the situation with many Aboriginal people we all know it was to do with the 'stolen generation' as well.

The context for our work is usually poverty, it is isolation, it is inter-generational abuse, it is psychiatric illness, it is alcohol and other drug dependencies. What we have got here is a very complex and difficult area of prevention to be dealing with. Within this what I call the concerning trends is that, as speakers have talked about, we do have some research albeit predominantly from overseas which tell us what can work and the last speaker has adequately demonstrated that. Yet we still have in this State competition on who can come up with the toughest policies.

Mr Hannaford, I was very pleased to see, said we have to at least say there is enough research but unfortunately I did not like the next part which really said we have to wait for community demand.

What I would say is we have to now have community leadership on this issue. The majority of the community are not going to stand up and say 'Give us early intervention programs'. We need our politicians to say 'We know the research, it sounds easy to say let's have another program which is the fad of the day but in fact we need politicians to explain to the community that does not work. What we need is services that can have long term results and benefits.

The other concerning trend in the other extreme is we keep hearing 'it is back to the community'. A great nostalgia about how things used to be and that somehow if we can just create communities again, but again with no funding that would actually kickstart, particularly some of what Garberino would refer to as our more toxic communities, to actually start turning that around and having a positive cooperative approach.

Along with this is the notion of volunteerism. We are all back to volunteerism in the Olympic State. We are not against the use of volunteers. We see that volunteers have a very strong role to play. Of course we are aware that there are some cost effective benefits to having volunteers but there are also many hidden costs and there are also many communities who will miss out and they are the very communities that most need these services. It is very easy to get volunteers in middle and upper middle class communities, it is not easy to get volunteers in

Claymore and in Bidwell. Also the other issue is who are these volunteers and they will predominantly be women, women expected to work in some of the most difficult areas unpaid and I would say if we actually value this work we would be prepared to pay for it.

I suppose the other final trend is this concern that has come in that somehow social welfare is a black hole and it is not a black hole; there are services that are effective and we need to invest in those services.

The obstacles? Having a long term view. Governments obviously have a short term. We need to invest in services that have an inter-generational mark where we can start to see the results in the next generation in their ability to parent their children.

We also, in the face of insufficient research in this State, have a tendency to faddism. We know in our sector every ten years, almost like clockwork, we will get another farm program for young people.

The social as opposed to physical seems to be hard for Governments to invest in. We only have to look at our Sydney water crisis, that was in the top of our minds, everybody was focused on what was happening, it was a public health issue and yet what we have in our community are very severe social health issues and we are really not investing enough in them.

So with that introduction we are going to give you a very small taste of a few programs which have an early intervention focus and of course the sorts of services in our field range from the highly interventionist at one end, which is going in where families are at the point of breaking down and working very intensely with them, through to the other end of actually visiting families who are having their first child. So what you are seeing is a very very very small window into our world and we thank you for this chance.

The first person will be Trevor Wight.

TREVOR WIGHT

WESLEY MISSION - DALMAR

MR TREVOR WIGHT: Thank you for this opportunity. It is estimated that as many as one in three families in Australia will experience domestic violence. Children who witness domestic violence are often profoundly affected by this experience. These children have been found to have significantly high levels of behavioural and emotional problems. Despite this growing body of evidence which shows that we are missing domestic violence as a detrimental effect on children this is not generally recognised in Australia.

Wesley Dalmar Child and Family Care are responding to these findings with the development of a domestic violence in children's program. This came about basically initially by research by one of our staff for a Master's degree looking at the issue of children's resilience and in that she saw that children who had contact with a positive role model, who were able to get in touch with their inner self, were given scope to express and explore what they were feeling and through a process of socialisation they were then more likely to have high levels of resilience and were able to move on more effectively, both within the school and home environment.

Obviously there was also some research that was mentioned today, such as the Perry School Program and the Head Start Program where those early intervention programs showed that children coming from dysfunctional homes, including those such as those in domestic violence where they can have access to addressing issues such as conflict resolution, were able to engage in cooperative play, have positive role models, that there were increasing positive effects and changes in their circumstances. Basically, results from those indicated that those children having those interventions were able to achieve higher levels of education, increased social interactions, there were decreased truancy levels, fewer incidents of property violation and fewer incidents of drug abuse and criminal activities.

The children coming from violent homes are at a disadvantage both emotionally, behaviourally, socially, developmentally and academically. Often these children feel anger, confusion, blame, guilt, shame, mistrust, these feelings often manifest internally or externally in inappropriate or destructive manners. They often can go on to choose inappropriate avenues to escape, forget or to survive what has happened or is happening to them.

It was as a result of these concerns that staff decided to develop a group work program specifically for children who had witnessed domestic violence. The

Seasons for Growth Group Work Program was adapted and in late last year/this year four groups have been run involving eight to ten week courses for children in two age groups, nine to eleven years old and five to eight years old and group sizes ranged from eight to ten children. Group work activities included play therapy and other group work activities such as role play, which were aimed at addressing communication patterns, gender issues and aimed at promoting skills in responding to anger and frustration.

Parents were not actually involved in the group work program itself but both prior to, during and after were informed about the progress of that group and were involved in trying to encourage some of the skills that were developed.

Follow-up of those children involved in the groups were both by talking to parents and teachers who reported that these children were showing high communication levels, the children were socialising more, getting into less trouble and reducing violent responses such as hitting other children in the playground.

One example of a child involved in one of these groups was a five year old who had been expelled from school for both verbal and physical abuse to other students. She was involved in the context of that group and during one of the sessions witnessed an interaction between two children where one child hit the other child, once those issues had been calmed down and the kids had been put back into their seats this five year old girl said to the perpetrator of that incident "You didn't need to hit her, you could have talked to the teacher" or the group leader in this case and that was just one small example of some changes that had been made.

As a result of those initial responses in that group work activity it was decided to look at ways of adapting those and being, I suppose, more planned and more researched about what would be effective group work programs. The project now developing is really aimed at reducing the impact of domestic violence on children and reducing the incidence of domestic violence through education. We have set up a steering committee who is overseeing the project and they are involved in the extensive experience of staff working directly with child witnesses and their parents, drawing on the studies on the effects that witnessing abuse for children has, reviewing the literature for the programs that have involved children in domestic violence situations and putting that all together.

It is from this research of that literature and other programs that are available that a therapeutic group work model has been chosen and this in some ways draws on some of the psychological approaches, such as psychoanalytical, cognitive behavioural and immersive play therapy. These will be used in this group work programing in future.

The project is being conducted across two geographical areas, one being the north Blacktown area and the other Baulkham Hills Shire area to ensure that we have a program that is adaptable across a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds and also includes sensitivity to cultural, sexuality and disabilities so that they can be imputed there.

The program will deal with children falling within developmental age range of nine to eleven. All developmental age responses were examined and there is scope for the program to be modified to include usage across other age groups.

As said earlier, it would be aimed mostly at children who have witnessed domestic violence, and obviously for kids who are actually in the middle of a domestic violence situation other interventions will also be required.

Examples of children that have been part of the group, and we would see as forming part of these new groups as well, is an eight year old boy carrying knives to school because he is frightened his father will come after him and this is the way he thinks he can protect himself; a ten year old boy who has been witness to domestic violence all his childhood and now abuses his mother because that is all he knows; a nine year old girl who has no friends and very poor self-esteem and is suffering from post traumatic stress disorder.

The domestic violence project will address why and how these children are using this behaviour through the implementation of the group work program described and the developments that we are now putting into place and then working with them to develop alternative skills to their other patterns of response.

The research section of the project will also include a training package so that workers are adequately trained in the issues, the practice and specific techniques needed to address the children using this program.

The project is at its final stages in the development of this new response to them and will be moving on to the implementation of that theory and putting it in practice in the first few months of next year.

Our council will be supporting the hypothesis that therapeutic group work will reduce the impact of domestic violence and educate society about children so that children will build up their resilience and are given the opportunity to explore alternative ways to express what has happened to them. Thank you very much.

CHRISTINE SINCLAIR
LISA DUNCAN
CHERYL MEREDITH

BURNSIDE BIDWILL - THE NEWPIN MODEL

Ms CHRISTINE SINCLAIR: I am Christine Sinclair from the Burnside NEWPIN program, and with me is Cheryl Meredith and Lisa Duncan who are members of our centre. I cannot tell you a lot about our group in five minutes but I would like to put a little bit of a human face to it and talk to you what we do there.

NEWPIN centres were first established in the United Kingdom around 16 years ago by Anne Jenkins-Hanson. They have proven to be highly successful in assisting women who were experiencing isolation, social disadvantage, mental health issues or were at risk of emotionally or physically abusing their children. Centres are driven by four core values. Each core value is support, equality, empathy and respect. They are applied equally to the children as they are to the adults.

Our Burnside NEWPIN centre in Bidwill, Mt Druitt, is a pilot for Australia. It was established only in April of this year and provides access for 17 families and 69 children. Briefly, NEWPIN is a therapeutic network which primarily targets mothers who have pre-school children nought to five years. It offers a process which works with both the mother and child in building their relationship. It offers a 24-hour support network, therapeutic groups, parenting education, personal development, a befriending network, counselling and opportunities for planning and running the centre.

A specialised play program is also provided for mothers of children. The centre is open 9 to 5, five days a week. Members can come in as often as they like. They can come in for five days a week if they choose, but they must make a commitment to come in for two days a week. Many of the women accessing the NEWPIN centre have experienced unpredictable parenting themselves and have not had the opportunity to learn how to provide a secure and nurturing base for their children.

The women who come to NEWPIN have identified changes that they would like to make and NEWPIN assists them in reaching their stated goals. The language and behaviour used by some of the women was inherited from their own family culture. It was often destructive, tearing away at their self-esteem and confidence.

NEWPIN introduces a new way for parents to communicate with their children today, a way that increases a child's sense of worth and value. It changes the message from that of telling a child that they are useless, a failure, bad and will never achieve to being that of a valued and loved person in their own right. When children are

really heard and respected by their parents, their parents become in the eyes of the children someone worth listening to and respecting. This is a reciprocal exchange. Learning respect for one's immediate family will in all probability be translated into the broader community. Therefore, the importance of role modelling is paramount in a child's life.

NEWPIN supports members so they can learn to trust and respect themselves and others. They grow stronger and more responsible for their life choices. Members, both adult and children, learn appropriate conflict resolution skills and different ways of relating with each other. Burnside practices have been responsive to family needs. Burnside NEWPIN Australia has done just that. Some of the women attending NEWPIN requested support for their older children during their own process of development and growth. These older children had limited trust in their mother's development and it was vital that we intervene at this early stage.

NEWPIN youth program, and they named themselves, has been established and the young people attending appear to be enthusiastic and committed to their program. Several of our young people have experienced families where there is domestic violence, drug abuse and disharmony. They are now forming a new support network of their very own. Expanding the NEWPIN program in this way is in line with a holistic approach that is needed to support the process of change for these families.

Also Burnside NEWPIN has developed a program for the partners of our members. The fathers' group does not start until this Friday. However eight out of the nine eligible fathers have decided to come along. One dad has actually changed his work hours so that he can attend. Most of our fathers attended our family camp and two already contribute to our centre through garden maintenance and volunteer driving.

Macquarie University is presently conducting a comparative research project which involves our centre. This study has just begun and we will not have the findings for at least 12 months. While it is very early days and some of the core services are not yet up and running, there is a lot of anecdotal evidence to suggest that families have been successful in bringing about positive changes in their lives.

We have seen some very unhappy, disturbed little children now confidently interacting with their peers and they toddle off to the play room by themselves alone with confidence. The centre has certainly become a secure place for them. Friendships outside the NEWPIN centre have been formed. These support structures strengthen and help redefine the community for the children. Their previous experiences of isolation and fear have been translated into support and safety. The children have a community as well as a family.

The Burnside centre works in partnership with other community services such as the Department of Community Services, local schools, pre-schools, family therapists, family support services and other community-based organisations. We work together to bring about the changes that the families want.

I would like to introduce you to two of our members. We have Lisa Duncan and Cheryl Meredith. Tracy, who was on the agenda, is very ill today and could not make it so Lisa filled in at the last minute to speak to you.

Ms LISA DUNCAN: My name is Lisa Duncan. My children and I have been part of NEWPIN since it started in April of this year. I was not expecting to come today but I am happy to fill in for Tracy who is very sick.

I have four children, two boys and two girls, all under the age of six and a half. My two sons have genetic disorders which has resulted in one of them being severely disabled. One of my little girls also has a learning disorder and will not be ready for school until she is six.

As can you imagine, it is very difficult raising children who have disabilities. I do experience a great deal of stress. I also had limited support, which made things even harder. NEWPIN has helped me in many ways and I would like to tell you of a couple. I have learned to handle my stress much better and not take it out on the children.

I have received lots of support with the children from the play workers and personal support from the staff and other members. I have learned many parenting skills and a different way of communicating with my children. A lot of what I have learned I have been able to use at home, and it is making a difference with my family. I am actually playing with my children now and enjoying it.

My daughter, Kelly, has developed social skills and is talking and playing with the other children of NEWPIN. My self-esteem and confidence have increased since I completed the personal development program. I am now very active in helping out at the centre. Look, here I am giving a talk at Parliament House. My children and I have made many friends that we see outside the centre.

Several of the families have become good friends. We get together for barbecues and play games, et cetera. The kids love it. My husband has joined the fathers' program and also wants to be a better parent to the kids. I have also learned how important it is to encourage our children and that their self-esteem and feelings of worth are being formed today and that is up to me and my husband to see that they grow up happy and healthy.

When I was younger I went through a stage where I rebelled. I do not want my children to feel as if they are worthless and maybe end up in trouble too. I want them to have a better future than my past. I think I will be part of NEWPIN for a while yet. Thank you.

MS CHERYL MEREDITH: Hi. My name is Cheryl Meredith. Believe me, this is really hard for me to do. I have been a part of NEWPIN since April of this year. Growing up, my father physically, emotionally and verbally abused me. I sought love and comfort early in life and as a result, I was a mother at 16. By 25 I had three children. I had a failed marriage, a broken engagement and was left on my own.

I promised I would not do the same things that my father did to me. Unfortunately, it was the only thing I knew and I then became an abuser to my children. I sought help. I went to the doctors, I went to other groups that were shown to me. Unfortunately, they told me, "It is okay, every mother has a bad day. You can fly off the handle". The doctor suggested I go on antidepressants. That is not what I am about.

I have a 16 year old, a 13 year old, a 10 year old and two babies. My family started to break up. I knew I had to do something. I found a counsellor who then put me on to NEWPIN. This is the best step I have ever made. I was no longer told that it is okay to hit my children or put them down. I was offered new ways of doing things. I am now building up the self-esteem of my children by no longer hitting them and putting them down.

My children are now part of the youth group as well, and it is going to take a while but one day they will learn to trust me. I have not hit my children since April and this is a great feeling.

CHRISTINE SINCLAIR, BURNSIDE BIDWILL, NEWPIN
LISA DUNCAN, PARTICIPANT
CHERYL MEREDITH, PARTICIPANT

CHRISTINE SINCLAIR, BURNSIDE BIDWILL, NEWPIN
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LISA DUNCAN, PARTICIPANT
CHERYL MEREDITH, PARTICIPANT

LOUISE VOIGT

CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER
BARNARDOS CHILDREN'S FAMILY CENTRES -
TEMPORARY FAMILY CARE

Ms LOUISE VOIGT: Barnardos used to be known for children's homes, and like Rhonda said, times have changed and moved on and because we worked in substitute care we saw the damage that was done to children by removal. We also saw how many of them ended up in the criminal justice system and how poorly children are served by substitute care and, therefore, the critical reasons for us were for moving into family support in a wide range of different ways.

By family support, we mean making sure children do not come into care and do not suffer abuse and neglect and that whole cluster of problems that ends up as latent criminality which Rhonda has spoken about are issues with which Barnardos felt we had to become involved. I suppose that in terms of early intervention we are not talking about education or other things, but like Burnside, we are talking about getting in there with people whose lives are becoming extremely difficult to see what we can do to help.

One of the issues we identified was that there are many different places you can go for help. One of the issues is that people know where to go. There are 16 different doors. One is labelled domestic violence, one is labelled help with your depression and one is labelled help with accommodation, it becomes very difficult. We are whole human beings and for us it was important that we work with them holistically through a service that could offer a lot of different facets.

We have developed Children Family Centres, a development that has happened elsewhere in the world. Certainly in Britain children's family centres have developed and there has been a lot of discussion in the United States about the importance of locating within deprived communities resources that can help in a wide variety of ways which people actually want to use. Early identification is the place in this State which receives most of the money and we all agree is needed for child protection and the vast bulk of that money is early identification. However, the tragedy is very little is done after that.

A much more positive way we felt was actually locating services in communities that people actually want to use. So we built Children's Family Centres. Whilst they are actual physical surroundings, for us much more importantly they are whole collections of workers who can work in a multifaceted way in a range of problems for families. The majority of our clients are extremely poor. They do not have access to things which you and I may take for granted like decent accommodation, opportunity

for day care, support from extended family and support from community so, therefore, like a lot of other welfare organisations, we have developed patterns of helping within one setting, which means that if you have got a problem in Auburn you know there is one place you can go to if you have problems with kids.

The programs we run within the centre might range from programs related to domestic violence, counselling for child sexual assault, crisis accommodation for families. There is home visiting for sure through a range of different programs and one program that I will be talking about more particularly later is Temporary Family Care. One of the problems about most of the services where people are compelled to go is that they feel that it is not their choice. And very much by reaching out with practical, easy to use services, you are likely to target the very group that you want. One of the things you have to be careful to do is to screen out those where it is less likely that this will be useful.

One of the ways we do that, as do many other welfare services, is by locating our services in very deprived areas. So, for example, in Penrith, in Auburn and now one in the Illawarra, we have Children's Family Centres with whole collections of services.

Temporary Family Care is one of those services which is always in a children's family centre and it is an interesting point that elsewhere in the world people have tried to identify when a child is likely to come into care often by social welfare people trying to postulate whether this or that child is the most likely. But one of the greatest signs is when they actually first come into care, when they actually need care, and it is usually during a crisis situation.

It might be that a mum who has been using drugs is going into detox. It might be that there has been a crisis of domestic violence in the family, but there will be some sort of crisis which means for that family at that time there is nobody to care for the children. From our point of view we felt that this was one of the best indicators of all that a family really was likely to be one of those families where the children were either going to drift into the care system or end up later on on the streets.

So Temporary Family Care is a point where we put a lot of our resources. We recruit from the community, carers who are unlike many of the foster carers you may have read about in that their first commitment is to getting their children back home. No

carer is recruited for Temporary Family Care who is not comfortable about having a natural parent in their own home. They get their sense of satisfaction about making sure that that kid gets back to mum, and dad if he is around, or just dad.

It is a difficult job because often at the time when a child comes into care they are in a very disturbed state. Things have been happening in the family for some time before and their behaviour is often difficult. It means that if in fact you have got the sort of carer who is sensitive and committed to the child's family, the child feels integrated rather than destructed.

In the past, coming to care was a terrible thing. You read about children being washed and reclothed when they came to care, a bit like how people are treated when they go into prison. It is exactly the opposite way with Temporary Family Care. Those connections are made so that our carers have information and talk to parents wherever possible about the minor routines that make such a difference in a child's life, the ways in which they relate to friends around them.

This program makes sure that children get home quickly. There are lots of reasons why children often cannot be cared for, but I think that first time they come "into care" says to you, this is a family where things are going terribly badly wrong. They have not got those sorts of extended family members, neighbours or friends that we would usually expect. And so, therefore, when the child returns home, we make sure that they are knitted into all those community things like the day care programs, parenting programs and very often for our families a number of them will go on to have weekend care. Once a month they will be knitted into a family in the community for "Respite Care".

The coalition that Rhonda was talking earlier about is currently trying to encourage the Government to fund "Respite Care". At the moment there is no proper funding for 'Respite Care for non-disabled children' because very few governments recognise the actual importance of sharing in the community for families who have no other adults to share the care of their children with something like one weekend a month. It is incredibly important for a child because it means it is an ongoing relationship which in many cases goes on for many years. So for us, Temporary Family Care Respite Care is one of those ways of putting back the sorts of supports which very often used to be involved when communities were less fractured. Thank you, very much.

PROFESSOR ROSS HOMEL

SCHOOL OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION
GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY

REVEREND HON FRED NILE: Thank you for that very helpful session. Our next speaker is Professor Ross Homel, who I would like to thank for travelling from Queensland to share in this conference. Many of you who are here today are familiar with his work in the area of early intervention. Professor Homel is a criminologist. He is the Foundation Professor of Justice Administration at Griffith University and a part-time Commissioner of the Queensland Criminal Justice Commission. He is currently a visiting fellow in the Reshaping Australian Institutions project and Research Affiliate at the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University.

Professor Homel's research interests are broad and include prevention of crime, violence, the effects of legal sanctions on criminal behaviour, criminal justice processes, including police enforcement and court sentencing, drugs and crime, areas of the criminal justice system and statistical methods in the social sciences. He is currently heavily involved in several crime prevention projects implemented through community involvement methods at the local level. We are very pleased to have Professor Homel here with us today.

PROFESSOR ROSS HOMEL: Reverend Nile, thank you for that introduction. I hope I can speak from here and be heard and continue the series of men in black. I was commenting to a colleague a moment ago that I always hate speaking after Larry Sherman, because he is such a good speaker and so difficult to follow. I should add that it is especially difficult for me to follow the very moving presentations from our friends from the NEWPIN program and hearing about that other work. I am also aware that it is also nearly morning tea time, so I am going to be succinct for once in my life.

I want to spend a few minutes outlining some of the major findings of a research project that was funded by the National Campaign Against Violence and Crime. The report does exist for the 2,500 people who have already contacted me, but it has not yet been published for a whole variety of reasons. I am assured by the Director of the unit in the Attorney General's Department, Yvonne Korn, that the report will be published in the next few weeks. So please do not contact me for a copy of the report; contact the national campaign.

I might just put up the cover page of the report. That is the name of the report, Pathways to Prevention: Developmental and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime

in Australia, a Report for the National Campaign Against Violence and Crime in the Federal Attorney General's Department and the National Anti-crime Strategy, which is all of the States working together.

The authors of the report are what we call the Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium. What on earth is that? Well, that is a bunch of people that I can persuade to get involved in this project. It is a group of people from three States and four disciplines: myself from criminology, a whole group of developmental psychologists, particularly Judy Cashmore, head of the Child Protection Council in New South Wales; Linda Gilmore, who is from the University of Queensland; Emeritus Professor Jacqueline Goodnow from Macquarie University; Alan Hayes from Macquarie, and Jeanette Lawrence from the University of Melbourne; my good friends in social work, Marie Leech from Uniya, a Jesuit justice research centre; Tony Vinson and Ian O'Connor from the University of Queensland; and two colleagues as well, John Western and Jakob Najman from Sociology at the University of Queensland.

There are 400 pages in this report and the work was done in 16 weeks, so it was very much a group effort. It is like the University of Maryland report - it is very much a product of a whole group of people sending their families crazy for a few months while they work 24 hours a day.

The full-time project officers were Linda Gilmore and Marie Leech, and, as you will see in a moment, they did an enormous amount of work in bringing together a lot of material which is not well researched and not well assembled in the Australian context.

There were three primary aims of the project. The first was to review the literature on early intervention or developmental approaches to crime prevention with a view to clarifying the nature of this approach and its applicability to Australian society. One of the sound bytes that Larry Sherman used earlier on was, tough on crime, tough on the causes much crime and tough on the cures. I think that is a great phrase. I am going to add another one: tough on the criminologists.

It is an indictment of Australian criminology that here in the late 1990s there is as yet no definitive study of the applicability of early intervention in this Australian society. Secondly, we wanted to carry out an audit of the kinds of services and

programs that we have just heard an example of this morning. We wanted to have a look at what is going on in early intervention in Australia. We know that there is virtually no scientific research in the area apart from the work of Associate Professor Matt Sanders from the University of Queensland, with his Triple T program.

There is very little scientifically defensible evaluative research on early intervention which is directly related to crime in this country. But we know there is a great deal going on, so we wanted to do an audit of services, as much as we could in a few weeks, and in particular look at some of the particular innovative services that might be experimental in kind and see how they relate to the risk factors and the other insights of the scientific literature. So, in other words, to ask the question: What is going on out there now and what kind of preventive impact might those programs be having, even though they were not necessarily set up to prevent crime, but what risk and protective factors are they targeting that might mean that they are effective?

So our third aim was to formulate a policy framework for the improvement and evaluation of existing services and, secondly, to develop a framework for the development, implementation, management and evaluation of a pilot intervention that builds on, or enhances, existing programs.

Just before I go on, I should point out that since we did that research I have discovered that early intervention is a term franchised by a number of other fields of academic inquiry. For example, the mental health area actually regard early intervention as something they invented, and they even use some of the words that we use, like "future pathways for prevention".

I am quoting from a guest editorial by Professor Patrick McGorrie from the University of Melbourne. He is talking about early intervention for the prevention of mental health problems, particularly in adolescents. The risk factors, the language, the concepts and the solutions are identical in form to those which we are proposing for crime. They are also almost identical to those that are proposed for the area of substance abuse. They are also, as I discovered last week, very similar to the ideas of the Centre for Adolescent Health at the University of Melbourne.

So we have at least four areas of activity in this country which do not talk to each other, do not know that they exist, all talking about the same thing and talking about very similar models. I think it is time we got together and started to talk about some

of these concepts.

What is developmental prevention in the criminological context? I think I have got about three minutes left. Intervention in early and developmental pathways that lead to crime and substance abuse emphasising investment in child friendly institutions. Those of you who attended the child protection conference in this State earlier this year will have heard James Garbarino talking about toxic environments and children, talking about how unfriendly our society is for children.

We are recommending later on based on this definition that we invest in families - have I heard that phrase this morning somewhere - particularly focusing on multiple risk and protective factors and crucial transition points, such as around birth. I hope you realise that is the first transition point in life, actually getting born, is probably a major achievement, getting born successfully without serious medical complications particularly. There is also the transition from pre-school to school, from primary school to high school and so on.

So that is the broad framework that we are operating in. That is one way of trying to understand what we mean by developmental pathways.

Going back to this diagram, we are looking here at various transitions in life, various developmental phases right through from early childhood to adulthood. Here is the vulnerable child in the vulnerable family and here is a whole set of possible interventions that can take place at that point, or there could be interventions a little later in the pre-school period or in primary or even in high school.

A lot of crime and substance abuse and associated problems do not start to appear for many kids until the high school years. It is not necessarily something that you could have predicted from indicators early on in life. So early intervention could mean intervening at this early high school period. Early does not necessarily mean early in life. It means early in the developmental pathway that leads to the particular problems that we are looking at.

You will notice here there are many intervention points because we are not just talking about multiple risk and protective factors but also multiple points of possible intervention and also at multiple levels, not just the individual, not just the family, but the school, the neighbourhood, any institution in the community that is relevant to

the development of children is the possible point of intervention. One of our conclusions from the scientific literature is that hit-and-run interventions probably are not very effective. You need booster shots so that you need something later on down the track in that school or in that community or in that family which is going to reinforce the good results that have hopefully been achieved earlier on through earlier intervention.

I talk blindly about risk factors and protective factors. Linda Gilmore did a great job in bringing together a lot of the factors that are mentioned in the literature. This is certainly not a complete list, and we could argue about the exact terminology, but you can see that there are multiple factors that have been associated in the scientific literature with crime and associated problems. A number of these are round about the time of birth - peri natal brain damage, prematurity, low birth weight and so on. Some of them are family risk factors, to do with parenting practices, the family environment or parenting style.

Some risk factors occur in the school; some occur more generally in the community through poverty, perhaps housing density and housing conditions, and even things like media portrayal of violence, to which James Garbarino drew attention a few months ago, is one of the most significant aspects of the toxic environment for children that he so eloquently described.

No one program can possibly attack all of those problems simultaneously, so it is almost superfluous to conclude that if we are going to get serious about crime prevention we cannot rely on one good idea or even two or three good ideas, even if they are well established in the literature as being effective. We need multiple kinds of interventions which are co-ordinated in some way.

Now, when we talk about risk factors, that sounds very negative. We also in the literature talk about resilience, or protective factors. These are the things that, despite adverse circumstances, can mean that a kid turns out actually pretty good. And we have all had adverse circumstances in life and, of course, we have all risen above them and turned into the wonderful people that we are.

Again, these protective factors can operate at multiple levels, at the level of a child, the family, the school, and some of them are just the opposite of the risk factors, but others, like social competence and problem solving ability are things which we know

are able to be manipulated and developed, particularly if the right kind of environment is created for young children.

So there are very many protective factors that we want to enhance, as well as risk factors that we want to reduce the effects of.

Larry this morning mentioned the Syracuse program, the home visiting, pre-school, accommodation and pre-school and home visiting, all of that is in our report documented in some detail. I will not go through those details of the overseas literature.

I might just make one comment though. Mr Hannaford said earlier on this morning that the research is all there, all we need to do is pick it up and apply it. I can tell you as a researcher 'hey, it ain't all there'. The knowledge base in this field is remarkably thin. I have had this conversation with Yvonne Korn from the national campaign a few times. We do not know how to prevent crime, or if we do it is only in very fragmentary ways. Our knowledge base is extremely limited. We are grappling with very big problems here and the research base is really much too limited. So, as always, the social problem precedes the scientific base for doing something rational about it so we have got to do the best that we can.

Part of doing the best that we can means getting the best out of all of the programs that we can locate in this country that are already doing innovative things for early intervention. Here is one page of a three or four page list of programs that appear in the appendix of our report as having been included in our audit. This is by no means a completely exhaustive list of all programs. It is very much a sample to illustrate the kinds of programs that are operating. We divided them into two broad groups, those for special needs groups and those which are more generally for children and their families, for family support.

So you can see there is a whole range of programs under Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. For example the Aboriginal early childhood service support unit, which I will show you briefly. This is a program that is operating from New South Wales. The unit supports 27 pre-schools throughout the State of New South Wales, and pre-schools which have 10% or more of Aboriginal children are eligible for involvement in the program. The actual percentage ranges from 10% to 100%. The main goal is to facilitate access for Aboriginal children to pre-school by minimising

or removing the conditions which would otherwise prevent access.

This is really important but really basic stuff. If pre-school is important then getting the kids into pre-school is the immediate goal and there are many barriers which are sometimes cost, you will notice there is a 50 cents, a \$1.00 cost per day but if that is a problem the cost is waived. We know that getting people organised, getting kids organised to actually attend is important so there is a bus service which picks up kids and encourages access. There are lunches and other snacks provided.

There is so much wonderful work being done in the community by programs like this which are foundational to any effective work in this area of early intervention. You can see, just skipping to the bottom, the risk and protective factors that are targeted are essentially encouraging successful school attachment, attachment to school, and easing the transition from pre-school to school. We know these are important from the overseas literature.

I talked about children and family services programs more generally. You can see there the range of programs that we looked at, including the Burnside program. Barnados is not there, not because it is not a wonderful program, we just did not have time to include it. We could not include all of the hundreds of programs that are operating. If you are not there in the list it does not mean that we overlooked you or we did not think you were any good.

Let me give you an example of the program under this category of children and family services. It is one that many of you will be familiar with. The inter-agency school community centres pilot project operated by the Department of Education here in New South Wales. This is a particularly important program because it is a genuine inter-agency program and it could be a model for the coordination of services in order to address multiple risk and protective factors at the local community level.

I am almost out of time for the second time, let me try and bring my remarks to a conclusion. If we look at the programs that are in our report, there are some risk factors that are well-addressed, where there are many programs which are focusing on those problems, well these are protective factors but for example there are many programs looking at social competence, there are many looking at supportive caring parents but you will notice there are a lot of zeros, there are a lot of gaps from our very limited audit in some of the factors that are being addressed.

So we recommend that a more integrated approach be adopted and as a pilot program and here is our major recommendation. Move towards designing a local community based demonstration project. This is a bit of a mouthful. It is very much a group effort. You know anything written by a committee, it is going to be cumbersome and wordy. Implement a neighbourhood or small area intervention, targeting multiple risk and protective factors at multiple life phases and transition points. The focus should not only be on individual children and families but more generally on the functioning of both local and non-local institutions, polices and aspects of social organisation that effect the quality of the local environment for children, that idea of the toxic social environment for children.

Sometimes the decisions that are made up here will have a profound effect out in Bidwell, it is not a local problem; it is a problem right here. So we have got to look sometimes at the broader policies and aspects of social organisation that effect children and families at the local level.

The overall action must be creative, supportive, friendly and include an environment for children, young people and families that better promotes healthy pro-social development.

How do you do all of that? There is work going on in the UK and in the US now to implement this kind of program. We are getting close to it in parts of Australia. As I have said many times, we have to target multiple factors at multiple levels. We need a whole of community approach that incorporates a range of services and programs and a process of community building.

You can go in with your programs and services but eventually the funding stops or priorities change, the critical thing is to give local communities the capacity to intervene in the lives of their own children in their own area so that the community itself is able to provide that more supportive environment even if some of those external resources and programs are eventually withdrawn. In other words, this is very much to do with maintenance and continuity of good effects after the funding ceases. A focus on early in life intervention, that is early intervention, but not excluding interventions aimed at older children and their families. So that is where we are at ladies and gentlemen in terms of our research in this area.

PROFESSOR BOB WALKER

NSW COUNCIL ON THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

HON JANELLE SAFFIN: The next speaker that I have the pleasure of introducing is Professor Bob Walker, Chairman of the New South Wales Council on the Cost of Government. The Council actually is a seven person council, there are four members from the private sector and three from the public and we sometimes think about it as Professor Walker's full-time job, it probably does take up an awful lot of his time, but it really is a part-time position.

He is the first speaker in the segment of this conference titled Crime Prevention Costs and Benefits and the title of his address today is *Service Efforts and Accomplishments, Law Order* - and we have heard a lot about law and order - *Law Order and Public Safety*.

Professor Bob Walker is professor of accounting at the University of New South Wales, that is his full-time job, and has previously carried out consulting for the Public Accounts Committee as well as for governments of different backgrounds. He has had published three books and around 45 articles on topics dealing with accounting and regulatory issues.

Amongst his various roles Bob has been Chairman of the New South Wales Government's Council on the Cost of Government since its inception in 1995 and Professor Walker told me that he talks about it as a model and he calls it 'the elbow of the bureaucrats'. That is an interesting way to look at the Council. The Council was established to review management and operational effectiveness and efficiency in the public sector and advise the government on changes it considers necessary to ensure that the community receives value for money and quality services.

In addition to reviews of performance the Council has the role of developing and overseeing reform initiatives for long term improvements in performance in the public sector as a whole.

One such initiative has been the development of reports on the service, efforts and accomplishments of the key policy areas of Government, this initiative is related to an area of close interest to Professor Walker which is the need for Government to have better information on what it is doing and what it costs and what impacts are occurring. Welcome Professor Walker.

PROFESSOR BOB WALKER: Thank you for the introduction. Ultimately the public sector exists to provide services to the community. Current arrangements for the accountability of public sector agencies place particular emphasis on the publication of annual reports which contain extensive information about financial matters, and that is important. But the challenge for government is to have good quality information about how effectively it is providing services, how well targeted those services are and what they are achieving.

There have been efforts to produce information, in the form of performance indicators, about the activities of government. Many agencies have voluntarily published sets of performance indicators relating to their activities and some States even require that kind of information to be audited. There have been proposals from a New South Wales Parliamentary Committee, the Public Bodies Review Committee, that departments be required to publish performance indicators in their annual reports.

These activities I am sure are commendable but they necessarily focus on the performance of **individual** agencies. They do not have a whole of government perspective.

Experience with what has been achieved in the publication of performance indicators suggests that many agencies focus on processes, how long it takes for the phone to ring before someone answers it, important things like that. They are important. There is no doubt that they are important, but the concern is that occasionally it is useful to stand back and look at what is being achieved, and what are the outcomes of Government activities.

The performance of one agency also can have a knock-on effect on another agency. For example, in the area we are talking about today, an increase in police arrests leads to an increase in briefs requiring preparation by the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, that leads to an increase in court appearances, an increase in persons sentenced and an increase in persons requiring supervision. The quality of police investigations is related to the percentage of briefs that the Director of Public Prosecution prepares, and so forth. There are knock-on effects between agencies.

In the current context the young clients of our Department of Community Services can become clients of the Department of Juvenile Justice and later clients of the Police Service and later clients of the Department of Corrective Services.

For that reason we saw the need to try and take a more holistic view about the performance of Government agencies and to look at the 'big picture'. Indeed, there are other reasons to do this. If you focus on individual agencies you get discontinuities in the data.

Sometime ago I had a look at the extent to which the public service engages in restructures. I got hold of successive editions of the Parliamentary Handbook. In 1988 there were around about 460 agencies responsible to Ministers. Over the next ten years about 430 were abolished, 435 were created, and 160 changed their portfolio responsibilities. In that setting looking at the performance indicators published by individual agencies it is not going to be very helpful in tracking trends in the performance of government.

The other side of it is if you look at what individual agencies produce, often they inevitably reflect individual programs which in turn reflect the current initiatives of government. There can be programs in some agencies designed to address what one government considers requires addressing but again this may be very relevant to individual agencies. For example, Health some time ago focused on programs, some dealing with out-patients and some dealing with overnight stay and they structured their reporting around those two key programs. This might be a very useful way to attract the interest of managers and particularly sensitise them to the fact that it is cheaper to treat people through an out-patient service. But it is not necessarily the best way to report on the overall performance of the health system.

So when the Council on the Cost of Government was asked as part of its priority work plan to develop sets of performance indicators for New South Wales agencies in the general government sector, we looked very carefully at what had been done before in Australia and what had been done overseas.

I have to say that the previous Government had introduced a changed regime for public sector administration involving the reduction of tight controls on inputs, on resource use, while stating that managers should be allowed to manage, and proposing a system of evaluating the performance of managers in terms of what had been achieved by programs.

In many senses that was a good idea and the Council supports the idea of "letting

managers manage” providing that is accompanied by appropriate systems of accountability.

But the fact is that no comprehensive sets of performance indicators for the general government sector were ever produced or published.

So when we were set up and asked to look at performance indicators in 1995 we looked at what had been prepared and what was on the shelf in the form of unpublished reports. We found, strangely enough, that the information presented was largely what agencies had “volunteered”. And (surprise, surprise) it was largely “good news”, there really was not much bad news. That could be that there was only good news to report but it also reflected the fact that most of the indicators were financial indicators about inputs. There was very little emphasis on the quality of services being provided, or on outcomes.

In fact, I undertook another project looking at a document prepared late in 1994 which included about 300 indicators of the performance of Government and found only three dealing with services. Two of those dealt with customer satisfaction about queues in motor registries and the other dealt with consumer response to a new gambling product.

So there was very little emphasis on the quality of services being produced. There is little point in speculating why these pioneering New South Wales reports which did have a lot of good intention never saw the light of day.

The approach we adopted was, as I said, to look overseas. There is an overseas body called the Governmental Accounting Standards Board, which had produced a series of monographs on performance indicators to government. I am a third generation accountant and I have to say that the accounting profession is probably trying to earn some money out of the public sector. I do not see that as a bad thing. The American accounting profession I think were trying to sell their services and suddenly came to the realisation that an emphasis on financial factors was not enough. So they commissioned a series of studies by surveying what was regarded by bureaucrats and stakeholders and lobby groups and politicians in all the American States and major cities. They accumulated some reports on what they considered was best practice in the reporting of governmental activities in a range of areas. They commissioned academics to do the research. They went through an

extensive process. At the end of the day they produced a series of little monographs on a range of topics, many of which dealt with state sector issues: police, fire protection, school education. There were some dealing with local government issues like waste disposal, but a large number of them dealt with state sector issues.

What we did was try to adapt that approach, saying we do not have much time, let's not reinvent the wheel, here are some templates which have been tried throughout the United States in many States and cities, let's see if we can apply that to New South Wales. It was a bit difficult. But the basic approach adopted in these studies is that, first of all, the reports set out the context in which governments are providing services to the community, who are the clients, what is the number of clients, how do we distribute and so forth. Then they provide information about four types of indicators which are pretty familiar I suppose to many of you who are familiar with some of this literature. There are input indicators designed to report the amount of resources, either financial or human, that have been used for specific services or programs. There are output indicators which report units of services produced or services provided. There are some efficiency indicators which deal with the relationship between inputs and outputs. Most importantly, there are outcome indicators designed to report the results of providing those services and what impact they had on the community, what the community's perception is of the quality of those services.

Again very importantly, there is an opportunity for those responsible for producing and providing these services to provide a commentary on what factors have affected service delivery.

When we tried to apply this process, as we see it, Service Efforts and Accomplished reports are providing quite high level strategic information. It may be that individual agencies need to develop key performance indicators for their own activities. We were trying to provide high level strategic information.

When we tried to look at this, and bearing in mind all that restructuring that goes on in agencies, we thought that it would be useful to try to stabilise the quality of performance information that is being produced. To that end we decided to prepare reports having regard to internationally accepted standards for accumulating information about general government agencies. This led us to look at the general

purpose classification used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, which is based on the United Nations' system of National Accounts, and tried to look at sets of activities which broadly correspond with those classification groups. This led us to develop these reports roughly corresponding to the ABS groups. We modified them a bit, for example we thought when we were looking at Sport and Recreation and Arts and Culture that while they constitute a single ABS grouping they have probably got different target audiences, and we produced separate reports for them.

That is the way we went. The end result of this project has been to produce a series of reports including Law, Order and Public Safety which is being issued today. We have a series of about 13-odd reports most of which have been published. The Law, Order and Public Safety project involved working with 11 New South Wales agencies and trying to get key indicators about the overall activities of all of these agencies, not simply looking individually.

When we come to look at a report we are preparing on the environment we have counted 26 agencies who have contributed performance information. What we are trying to do is accumulate information across the sector.

If I could characterise the Council's approach in this way. First, it tries to provide a helicopter view of what is going on. Second, unlike other activities that have been attempted in Australia, this involves a degree of modest intervention. Instead of relying on what agencies volunteer we have sought to build on research, literature and our own judgment to seek information.

It was quite interesting to get representatives of individual agencies in a room together and talk about the kinds of issues which we were looking at. For example, we were discussing how a key indicator of policing activities is a percentages of police time spent actually on patrol or engaged in policing activities. This led a representative of the police service to say 'Well if that's the case, what about the times we find police officers waiting outside courts to give evidence, 13 of them for up to 11 days at a time. Why can't we introduce a better system for call overs in the courts?'

So the focus of trying to look at performance indicators and getting groups of people together has led to some kind of interaction and discussion about issues of how to improve performance on a “whole of government” basis. That is the practical legacy of this project.

We also seek to provide a balanced view of the performance of agencies. We are not trying to find good news, we are trying to present a balanced view.

I guess the subject matter at this conference in this particular document is only dealt with in one half of chapter three of a 150 page report which, as I said, is being released today.

Generally we have tried to present a balanced view of what is being achieved and sometimes we have to report that information is not available about certain activities. As a consequence of some of these exercises we have seen one department re-structure its programs because it went into a think tank mode as to what it was really trying to achieve. A lot of other agencies are actively now trying to get information together relating to the indicators we have suggested.

In many instances we report that information is not available and, in most cases agencies are now trying to obtain that information.

The overall objective of this exercise is to identify what is being tried by government and what is the effect of it. We have, of course, prepared the information at a certain date and it is important to note that since the time we prepared these reports a number of initiatives have been taken. That is what you would expect, because if we are able to provide the agencies and Ministers with information about the outputs and outcomes of certain services. What is known and what is not known about the quality of services being produced, encourages people to think more carefully about those issues and to take steps to fix the problems and to address those issues.

We do occasionally note that major initiatives have been undertaken. For example, in our report we refer to recent initiatives undertaken by the crime prevention division of the Attorney General's Department. Major initiatives include the development of crime prevention strategies and the establishment of grants programs.

Perhaps I might show briefly some of the key indicators we have tried to report in these reports dealing with prevention and deterrence of crime.

What we have done is take the best information available. In some instances the information available has not been too flash and in many instances comparative data between States or longitudinal data about performance over time has not been available. But as we see it, this is a first step towards accumulating information about the overall performance of government.

In this particular case, talking about prevention and deterrence of crime, we have been able to identify for the Police Service “inputs” dealing with full-time equivalent staff and expenditure, “outputs” in terms of police patrols, community-based policing activities and programs, crime prevention projects and the like.

“Outcome” data often involves simply the presentation of statistical information that we consider relevant to assessing outcomes because in many instances it is not possible to establish causal relationships between government interventions and certain outcomes.

For example, if we present information about the incidence of child abuse, it is not possible to say that government interventions have actually changed things in that area. For a start, we do not know what the number of incidents would be if there was no government interventions. There are so many other variables that it is quite a challenge to social science researchers to analyse phenomena, particularly in the short-term. In any event we are trying to present that information in a way that allows stakeholders, (including the Parliament, the community and government agencies), to look at what the facts are and to form judgments about what type of programs are working, and what are not.

I could present you with 20 or so slides indicating other examples of the performance indicators produced in these reports but because time is short, I will leave it to you to seek to try the Internet or contact the council if you want to get a copy of the report.

If I could summarise, the exercise has largely been a pioneering exercise in Australia for the development of performance indicators dealing with the whole of government. There have been subsequent efforts particularly initiated by the

Council of Australian Governments to look at Commonwealth-State service provision. Our exercise, I think, is more comprehensive because the COAG process tends to focus on projects primarily funded by the Commonwealth. We have looked not just at a selection of programs but sought to try to get performance indicators which deal with the major elements of government activity.

The reports we have produced, or are in the final stage of production at the moment, cover about 95 per cent of recurrent spending in New South Wales. I think the COAG exercise covers about 60 per cent. So, we have sought to get a wide coverage and we are also preparing another report dealing with regulatory activities which will cover most of the remaining gap.

I think the first exercise that we produced on Law, Order and public Safety is probably too long and too detailed - 150 pages is quite a lot for an exercise that was intended to provide key indicators of government activity. I am reminded of a visit I made to the United States 20 odd years ago. I was driving around with a man from the deep south called Leroy who had just published a book thicker than a brick. I said, "Leroy, Why did you publish such a long book", and he said, "Bob, I didn't have time to write a short book".

I think there is some element of that in this exercise. If I were to rate them myself I would have given them six out of 10 but we believe you have to start. A matter that I apologise for is that we did not consult stakeholders about what should be in this exercise. The reason? We wanted to get these reports out the door and then have consultation thereafter. Each publication we have produced has in the back a feedback form which invites comments from anyone who receives it as to how we can improve the publication. In addition, we have been undertaking seminars with key stakeholders to get their feedback on what they think should be in the next version. If there is a change of government there may not be a next version, but it is my hope that when the Opposition has looked at some of these materials it will support the continuation of this project.

I mentioned that we were engaging in a process of consultation. It is interesting that we had an exercise dealing with sport and recreation. We ran a seminar last Friday and stakeholder groups were suggesting among other things that we should look at the performance of sporting programs in troubled areas and their short-term impact on vandalism and crime in that area. There was a view that in looking at sport and

recreational services in future we should also include some information about the use of sporting activities as a means of rehabilitation for people who have been injured.

The process of engaging in dialogue with interested parties is likely to give us useful feedback so that we can improve the product. It is my view that this kind of exercise should not be attempted every year, largely because outcome information is not available on an annual basis. Much of the information about the outcomes of government programs comes from external sources such as academic research, publications of the Australian Bureau of Statistics or other independent research bodies. They are not producing information on an annual basis.

In my view it would then be appropriate for this kind of exercise to be repeated on a two or three-yearly cycle, to then provide a robust set of time series data about the performance of government programs.

So, in summary, I do hope that those who are interested will seek out copies of this report. I believe that it does provide the basis for a very considered approach to be undertaken by Parliament, stakeholders and agencies to get an overall view of what governments are achieving through providing services to the community.

Ultimately the aim of the public sector is to provide services, and without good information about the financial costs of those services and what is being achieved and with what effect, I do not think that any government can make informed decisions. Thank you.

HON JOHN RYAN: Thank you, Professor Walker. Professor Walker is probably one of those unfortunate people in public policy who has the job usually of providing governments with information they would rather not have. That he has been able to do it in such a way that the Government has not only welcomed his information but allowed him to publish it as well is indeed a remarkable achievement and I think we have had an opportunity of seeing how effective he has been in that area. One of the biggest problems for most of the helping and social agencies within government and non-government agencies that seek to do it on our behalf is trying to speak the language of the people who control the purse strings of government in Treasury and more often than not the question that Treasury wants to ask is, "If we give you the money for this project, will it work". That is always a difficult question to answer.

SUSAN EVERINGHAM

POLICY ANALYST, RAND (US)

HON JOHN RYAN: I believe that our next speaker might help in helping us work out how the social agencies get to speak for the Treasury agencies. Susan Everingham, one of our overseas guests, comes from an agency in the United States known as RAND. RAND is a well-known, non-profit institution based in Santa Monica, California that helps improve policy and decision making through research and analysis.

The staff disciplines at RAND include economics, mathematics and statistics, medicine, law, business, physical and social sciences, engineering and the arts, a fairly wide range, you will agree. Susan has concentrated on mathematical modelling of complex systems and cost benefit and cost effectiveness analyses. She co-authored RAND's 1994 study comparing the cost effectiveness of various cocaine control strategies.

More recently she has contributed to a study on the costs and benefits of early childhood interventions, a study on the cost effectiveness of drug prevention programs and a project on the impacts of, mandatory minimum sentences for repeat offenders, something that is very topical here. She is currently directing two violence prevention projects, one, extending RAND's diverting children study on the cost effectiveness of early intervention to reduce violence and one investigating why prudent violence prevention strategies are not more readily and widely adopted.

Susan is a member of the American Society of Criminology in the homicide research working group. She has a bachelor of arts in mathematics and biology and an MA degree in applied mathematics. She is eminently qualified, in my view, to comment on cost benefits on crime prevention and I welcome her to our conference today and also to our city of Sydney.

Ms SUSAN EVERINGHAM: I thank you very much for your very warm welcome. I hope that those of you at the back can hear me. If you have a problem hearing or your stomach starts growling because lunch is just around the corner and you cannot hear me, please wave.

I have never been to Australia before and I am enjoying visiting your beautiful city. I am excited to share this research which, if I understand the objectives of this conference, I think you will find interesting.

I want to add to the introduction you just heard to say just a little more about RAND

because I think that will give you a sense of where this research fits into your interests. It was started 50 years ago as a child of the air force doing national security research in the United States, but in the last 20 or 30 years it has expanded in a number of what we call domestic policy areas, not only criminal justice but also civil justice, education, health, technology and so forth.

The one thing I really want you to know about RAND if you are not already familiar with it, is that we really do pride ourselves on our interdisciplinary approach, careful attention to quality and, most importantly, objectivity. We do not go into these studies with prior notions about what the results are going to be. I think that this is important, especially for public policy research.

In the short time that I have today I want to talk to you about a few pieces of research that RAND has been involved in over the last five years. The first, as was mentioned, addresses the cost-effectiveness of several types of early interventions to reduce crime and violence. I was flattered to hear there is some familiarity with this research, but I think some of you may learn a little more about it from what I have to say today.

There are two reasons why I want to talk to you about this. The first reason why I want to share it with you is that I think it will show you that there are some early intervention approaches that can be cost-effective in reducing crime and violence. Second, I think it will illustrate a method for doing this kind of analysis that you might find useful.

Then I will move on to a more recent study that we have done that focuses on very early childhood interventions. This more recent study does not just look at the crime and violence reductions; it looks more broadly at other benefits. Finally, if I have time, I will say a few words about our current work.

As I mentioned, our studies take an interdisciplinary approach. Usually a large staff of people have worked on them. I will not take the time to list them all since most of their names will not be familiar to you, but I do want to mention Dr Peter Greenwood's name. He led this study (and the other study I am going to talk about) and has been involved in this kind of work for over 20 years. He is the Director of RAND's criminal justice program.

This chart may look familiar to you. Crime rates have been generally rising in the United States for decades. Since 1991 or 1992, they have been dropping, for reasons that I have to say are not well understood. Although supporters of various crime control approaches are claiming credit, I do not think that the reasons for the drop are clear right now. In any case, in general crime has been rising over the decades.

There also has been recent interest in the United States in juvenile crime in particular. This has to do with the fact that, for example, arrest rates for juvenile homicide have been increasing and those arrested have been getting younger. Younger kids are getting arrested for homicide. There is also great attention to youth gang activity. And there have been some recent highly publicised, horrific events where school-aged children have been involved in school yard shootings.

The statistics shown in this graph are not only for the United States as a whole but also for the State of California. This research was focused on California, which was the frame for making our calculations. California is on the order of about a tenth of the population of the United States, so it makes up a big part of the picture in the US.

One way to categorise approaches to reducing crime is outlined here. We call the first approach retrospective, because by locking up offenders it acts after the fact, after a crime has been committed. The purposes of this approach are multiple, including incapacitation, rehabilitation, deterrence and punishment.

It is part of a popular "get tough" trend in the United States - I understand you have the same thing here - which continues today despite recent drops in crime.

The second on this list can be considered a different kind of prevention. We call it an immediate approach. But one disadvantage of this approach is that the crime it prevents can be displaced. If you protect *one* neighbourhood, sometimes this does not protect *all* neighbourhoods. So a third approach, which does not have that disadvantage, is a more prospective approach - early intervention for children at risk for committing crime in the future. However, this last approach has received the least attention and the least resources in the United States.

I think there are a couple of reasons for that. For one, there is controversy about whether or not there are benefits to these programs, and part of the reason for the controversy is that the benefits take so long to observe. If you intervene with a child who is two, or five, or 10 years old, and he is not likely to commit crimes until he is 15 or 18 years old, you just do not see the crime reduction benefits right away. But that is what we tried to focus on here: what actually are the long-term benefits of these types of early intervention.

I would like to say a word about terminology here, and I hope I do not slip up. When I talk about 'early intervention' I am talking about prevention programs that intervene before a kid is 18. When I use the term 'early childhood interventions' I am talking about those interventions in the zero-to-three or zero-to-five age range. First, I am going to talk about early intervention more broadly and then I will specifically focus on early childhood interventions a little bit later.

This chart just gives you a bit of an idea of what we did in the RAND study. First of all, we developed a framework for testing the impact of early interventions for at-risk children, estimating the lifetime impact on the crime that those in the treatment group would be responsible for. We did not do any evaluations of programs on our own. What we did was incorporate evaluation research that had been published in the literature. We projected the impact on California and then we compared the cost-effectiveness of the interventions to that of Three Strikes for reducing crime.

I heard the term 'three strikes' mentioned earlier. I did not know whether you would be familiar with that metaphor because it comes from American baseball. I tried to decide whether there was any analogue in cricket, and I watched it for a while and got totally lost. I assume that you know what 'three strikes and you are out' means.

We compared the early interventions to this more retrospective or traditional criminal justice approach, so let me just take a minute to tell you about what I mean when I say Three Strikes. The Three-Strikes law requires extended or very long sentences for repeat offenders. Actually, at this point, about 23 States and the Federal Government have passed such laws. However, the laws are very different. They vary greatly between the States in terms of how severe they are and what triggers the sanctions.

The Californian law is by far the toughest law in the nation. In California, if you commit a serious or violent crime you get a strike. That is, once you are convicted for a serious or violent crime, you get a strike. After that, if you are convicted for *any* felony after the first strike your sentence is doubled. With two strikes and a conviction for *any* felony you get a sentence of 25-years-to-life. So it has received much attention because people can get sentences of 25-years-to-life for doing something that seems relatively minor if they have the requisite priors.

We had done a study of Three Strikes, about the time this law was passed, using a model of what the costs and benefits of this law would be. We estimated it would have a significant impact on serious crime in California - over 25 years, a reduction of 21 per cent - but at a really high cost of about \$5.5 billion per year. That high cost was the result of the high cost of incarcerating people for such extended sentences, which in California is heading towards \$25,000 a year. The cost-effectiveness works out to be about \$16,000 per serious crime prevented.

In this study, we considered four different types of programs and compared them to Three Strikes. All of these programs are early interventions. The first is early childhood intervention. The first type of program is a set of interventions designed for very young children aged zero to five. A variety of things are done in these programs, but mostly they involve visits to the home of families with very young children and/or day care for young children aged two, three, four and five.

I should say that the theory behind *all* these programs is that there is continuity between childhood conduct problems, adolescent delinquency and later criminality. The specific theory behind this first type of program is that childhood development can be compromised by biological and environmental stressors, such as insufficient cognitive stimulation, impaired emotional relationships in the family, and deficiency in nutrition or health care, and that early childhood interventions like these can counteract those stressors and improve developmental outcomes.

The home visits in this first example are intended to provide training and guidance to parents in perinatal and infant care, and to ward off abuse and neglect, both of which, as you know, are associated with troubled childhoods and later criminal problems. The day care component helps to counteract the stressors of suboptimal home situations and also allows parents to earn additional income, which can improve the situation in the family as well.

We did not base this analysis on one particular program or one particular evaluation. We surveyed the literature to look at a number of programs that had been evaluated and then we estimated, on average, how effective they would be and how much they would cost. This description on the chart of weekly visits through year two and full-time day care for children ages three to five is not a specific program with a particular name. It is a composite description of what these programs look like in general.

The reason I am spending a little bit of time on this now - is that, based on the literature when we did this study, it seemed that the program to be effective would need *both* these components. More recent work has suggested that both components may not be necessary. As I go through this analysis you will learn that this type of program is a very expensive option and, in the end, it looks less cost-effective, but more recent work suggests that you might be able to get similar outcomes at lower cost. I will say more about this later.

The next type of program is parent training and family therapy, intended for pre-school-age children who have begun to exhibit aggressive behaviour. Again, a number of specific programs are included in our analysis. One is called functional family therapy, which is intended to modify and improve dysfunctional family communication. Another program specifically trains parents in how to monitor their kid's behaviour and how to then respond appropriately to that behaviour with time-outs and so forth, instead of the alternative of physical response.

Our analysis of the third type of program (unlike the other two) was based on a single program. This program was sponsored by the Ford Foundation and is called the Quantum Opportunities program. Its intention is to induce disadvantaged children to graduate from high school, and it does so through providing learning, development, and service opportunities to the youth and by providing cash and scholarship incentives.

Our analysis of the fourth type of program, again, was not based on a single program. Our estimates were based on a meta-analysis of a wide array of programs designed within the American juvenile justice system. In the United States, the response of the juvenile justice system is intended to be tailored to the needs of the specific individual, so there are a huge number of different programs out there. In the early and mid-70s there had been some research that suggested, or was

interpreted as suggesting that none of these programs were effective. But more recent analysis suggests that programs that focus on improving behaviour, that are skill-oriented, multimodal, and conducted in a community setting, can show improvements on the order of 10 per cent, from 50 per cent recidivism down to 45 per cent.

In fact, there is another popular program started in one county in the United States showing much more dramatic improvement. So the estimates from the meta-analysis which we use here may actually be conservative.

For the youngest children, the programs are targeted - that is, the people are selected to be participants based on the characteristics of the mother. The idea here is that there are a number of family risk factors, such as substance abuse, low birth weight and, most importantly poor parenting, and if you can address those risk factors you can improve long-term outcomes. The three most important risk factors for poor parenting are living in poverty or in a poverty-stricken neighbourhood, single motherhood, and having your children when you are very young.

For older children the program can rely more on the behaviour of the children. The second type of program, parent training, is targeted towards children who have exhibited behaviour problems in primary school; kindergarten, first and second grade. The third type, the graduation incentives program, targets children who are at risk of dropping out of high school, and the fourth type is the most finely targeted because it addresses children who have already come in contact with the juvenile justice system.

What we wanted to do was estimate the cost-effectiveness of these alternatives to incarceration, which we defined to be the number of serious crimes prevented per million dollars spent. You need to know three things to be able to estimate cost effectiveness: How effective the programs are in reducing crime, how much crime they are actually preventing, and what the costs of the programs are. So I am going to go through some charts and show you how we came up with our estimates.

First of all, the literature allows you to estimate how effective the programs are in reducing problem behaviour. These program evaluations were done experimentally with control groups and treatment groups, and the difference between them tells you how effective the programs are. Through the literature we estimated that the first option, early childhood intervention, was likely to reduce problem behaviour by

about 50 per cent; parent training a little bit higher; and graduation incentives a little bit higher. The delinquent program, as I mentioned, was only about 10 per cent effective. By the way, what I mean by problem behaviour is the behaviour or risk factors that are associated with later criminality. Some of the evaluations measured association with probation departments, some of them measured delinquency, stealing etc. We used whatever was measured in that particular evaluation.

However, you cannot take the results from a pilot program and assume that you are going to get the same results when you implement the program more widely in a community, in a city, or in a country. So you have to assume some penalty to take into account the fact that when you scale up the program it is not likely to be as effective as it was when it was being conducted by academics in a very controlled setting.

Unfortunately, there is just about zero evidence about what that penalty should be. The difference between efficacy and effectiveness is a well-understood concept in the medical world, but nobody has done a study in which they say, "This is how good it was in the pilot situation. This is how good it is in the real world. What is the difference?" So we took what I would have to call an educated guess of what the penalty would be. We assumed that the penalty would be greater for less well-tested programs. So the scale-up penalty reduces the effectiveness, for example, for the visits and day care program from 50 per cent down to about 30 per cent.

You also have to take into account the fact that there is going to be some decay over time, and that is what is meant by the the second bar, the red bar indicating further reductions in effectiveness. Here the assumption was that the decay would be greater if the program was conducted earlier. I think that our recent thinking on this is a bit more refined. I am not sure that the evidence suggests that decay necessarily is monotonic with time. It is possible that very early interventions change the life course so much that there is really no decay, that they actually do something that is better than what you can do later. So, keep that in mind when you see the results of this study, which may actually be conservative with respect to the earliest interventions. Our current work is investigating this issue more fully.

So now we know the percentage reduction in serious crime among program participants. What we do not know is how many crimes those participants would have conducted or been involved in if they had not had the intervention. What we used to estimate this was something we called the targeting ratio. I am not going to get into the technical details of how we estimated this, but basically the idea is that the earlier the intervention, the broader the targeting. You know that children of mothers who are single and poor and young are at higher risk for later problems with the criminal justice system, but you are not going to be able to pick out exactly the right families; the families with the children who *will* surely commit crime when they are older. So we had to take that into account when we estimated how effective these programs are. They are more broadly applied when they are applied earlier. But the need for broader application could be offset by their more profound benefit.

The last piece that you need to know to estimate cost-effectiveness is the cost per program participant, which you can estimate from the description of what the program involves. And you notice from this chart that the early childhood interventions are the most costly, mostly because of the day care component. As I mentioned, our recent research suggests that this cost estimate may actually be higher than need be because we assume that the program must include the two components - the home visits and the day care part to be effective. But there is evidence that some of the simpler, less expensive programs can be very effective too. Unfortunately, we have not finished our latest research into this issue, so these numbers are probably a bit off. But I think you are going to get the idea, even though the numbers perhaps will change.

Calculating cost-effectiveness simply means multiplying together how effective the programs are with how many crimes the participants would otherwise have committed and dividing by the cost. What you end up with is a comparison of the four programs with California's Three Strikes. This chart shows you that at least three of the four early interventions - parent training, graduation incentives, and delinquent programs - are apparently more cost-effective than the California Three Strikes law in reducing crime.

The RAND three strikes bar just refers to a RAND-modified version of the Three Strikes law that would do the same thing but do it better than the actual California law by fine-tuning it a bit. But it is still not a great approach. You cannot improve the cost-effectiveness of that approach very much as long as you are putting people in prison for 25-years-to-life. Part of the reason that such get-tough approaches may

be less cost-effective is that most people stop committing crime when they are 35 or 40 years old. If you are putting them in prison for 25 years, you are spending an awful lot of money to keep them in prison when they would not otherwise be committing crime.

Those of you who are sceptical will realise that we had to make a lot of assumptions to be able to do this analysis. In an attempt to allay fears that our assumptions were all wrong, we used an approach called threshold sensitivity analysis, where you vary the parameters and see at what point your conclusions would have changed. For this study we did extensive sensitivity analyses, and this chart is just an example to show you that. The arrow indicates our assumed value, and the difference between red and green is when you would have changed your conclusion and deduced that an approach like Three Strikes would be *more* cost-effective. You will notice that the arrows are pretty far from the change in colour, so we had confidence in our general conclusions. Even though we were not sure what the values of the parameters had to be, our estimated values were pretty far from the point that would have changed our results.

Cost-effectiveness is really only one consideration when you are trying to establish good public policy. Another important consideration is 'what is the magnitude of full-scale impact?' If an approach is cost-effective, but it can only solve a small fraction of the total problem, it may not be a really good way to go. As I said in the introduction, it is estimated that California's Three Strikes law could do a lot - a 21 per cent reduction in serious crime - but at a very high cost. If you project these cost-effectiveness estimates of the four intervention programs on the entire State of California, you see that none of them can have the significant impact of the California Three Strikes law, but all of them cost a lot less. Our conclusion from this was that if you are willing to spend \$5.5 billion on a traditional criminal justice approach, maybe you should be thinking about spending an additional \$1 billion, or some fraction thereof, to fund some of these other programs, generating just as big an impact, perhaps, when you put a few of them together.

Another aspect of this that is worth taking into consideration is the fact that these programs, while they probably do not pay for themselves, pay back a large fraction of their cost by averting prison costs. If somebody does not commit a crime and thus does not go to prison, you are actually saving money. 'Investment' is the term that we heard earlier this morning. You can consider these kinds of programs

investments, because they can save you money down the line.

What this chart shows you is how much payback you get by program, depending on whether or not Three Strikes was implemented. The payback, of course, would be more if Three Strikes was implemented because the prison costs are going to be so much higher.

However, we have omitted some of the costs and savings. First of all, the payback chart only includes the cost of prison; it does not address the other costs associated with the criminal justice system, like the costs of the police and the adjudication process. In terms of benefits, we are only talking about serious crimes averted; we have not included the benefit of pain and suffering avoided for people who are not victims of crime that otherwise would be.

Moreover, this study only looked at the criminal justice benefits; it did not look at the other social consequences such as improved health - the chart should say reduced health care costs - and reduced education and welfare costs for the Government, as well as increased productivity and tax revenue. As you can imagine, compared to alternatives like Three Strikes, these early interventions have multiple benefits that should be taken into account when you are considering whether they are good public policy.

The second part of this talk will now address this issue. We did an additional study where we looked at one type of intervention, the early childhood interventions, in more depth than we did before. The reason we focused on the early childhood interventions was because there has been great attention to recent research in the neural sciences about brain development that indicates so much is going on in the first three years of life. This chart shows that, in the United States anyway, there is not much government spending on children in those early years. The problem with this chart is that some people assume it to mean that the yellow dotted line should be on top of the orange line. That is not necessarily true. We are not suggesting that spending should be increased in the earliest years that much. We are just saying that there is a time period that is very critical to development and, today, the government does not spend very much money on children during this period. Perhaps we should be looking at the possibility of intervening early to avoid problems later.

I will give you the findings up-front in case we run out of time. We found that early

childhood interventions targeted at disadvantaged children can benefit them and their families, and they can generate savings to government that more than justify their cost.

We looked at nine programs, some of which you have heard about already from Professor Sherman and some of which you may be familiar with from other sources. We chose them on the basis of the fact that their evaluations were scientifically sound; that is experimental designs, with treatment and control groups.

The programs, as I mentioned before, vary along several dimensions. They select participants on a variety of criteria, from socioeconomic status of the family to particular characteristics of the child like IQ or birth weight. They provide services, some for the family and some directly for the child, and they intervene at different times in the child's life. Some of them are primarily focused around the pre-natal and infancy period, and some of them offer pre-school and child-care programs for toddlers. The services for the mother are often things like parent training, life skills training, and social service referral. The services for the child in the home would be things like home safety inspections and child abuse recognition. The centre-based services for the child tend to provide social interaction, cognitive stimulation, and health and nutrition screening.

You can categorise the types of benefits into four groups. In the first group are developmental outcomes; in the second are educational outcomes; in the third are what we called economic outcomes; and in the fourth are health outcomes. I know that the audience here is most interested in the first column under "Economic": crime and delinquency. But, again, these types of programs have other benefits. You very rarely think of all the benefits when you are looking at whether or not they are a good investment.

In this chart we summarise what the literature tells us about the benefits of these programs for the children involved. The green boxes mean that the outcome measure is favourable and significant; the orange boxes are mixed results, meaning there were some good outcomes and some that were not statistically significant; and the red are non-statistically significant or negative. You notice here that looking across all these different programs there are a lot of green boxes, meaning a lot of benefits are provided by these programs. If you look specifically at the crime and delinquency column you see that there are some programs, including the Perry pre-

school program, Chicago CPC and the Syracuse program, as well as the Elmira program, which was mentioned this morning. This is David Old's program for higher risk kids that has measured crime-reduction benefits for the children.

There are also benefits for the mother shown in this next chart, in the same categories. However, they have not been measured in most cases because the programs are designed and intended to help children. Only the Elmira - David Old's - program has made an effort at measuring these benefits. A number of these programs, particularly the pre-school programs, probably do provide benefits for the mother in terms of improving her economic situation, which just have not been measured. The other thing I should say is that even though it is not summarised on these two charts, the results are statistically significant; they can be large and significant.

Not only do we have benefits for the children and their families but we have benefits for society at large. This chart shows the categories of benefits for society: increased revenues, reduced need for special services, reduced welfare payments, reduced criminal justice system costs. What we did here was estimate what these benefits would be - the savings to government - to help decide whether spending on the programs would be an appropriate investment. What we did here was a cost-savings analysis - that is, we looked at the difference between cost and savings to government.

This is in contrast to what you will often see, which is a broader *cost-benefit* analysis, where there is an attempt to monetarise *all* the benefits. We took a step in that direction, but we decided not to go that far because there is some controversy about how to monetarise intangible benefits like reduced pain and suffering. So we stuck to a conservative approach and looked primarily at cost-savings to government.

The two programs that we looked at were the only two for which there was enough data to be able to do this kind of analysis: David Old's Elmira pre-natal early infancy program, which Dr Sherman described this morning, and the Perry pre-school, which I will describe to you in a minute. These are the only two we included in our cost-savings analysis because they were the only ones that had measured outcomes with monetarisable benefits and for which the evaluation period was long enough to lend confidence that the results would lead to monetary benefits.

This chart describes the Elmira program. It involved treatment by nurses, from six months prenatally until the child was two years old. The nurses provided parent

education and social support for the mother, in a number of visits over the treatment. All those treated were first-time mothers. The sample can be divided into two groups, higher risk and lower risk families. The higher risk families were the ones with single mothers who were poor, the lowest SES. Lower risk means either single mothers or the lowest SES, not both. The importance of this distinction will become apparent in a minute. The cost of the program was about \$6,000 per child.

The Perry pre-school program was a school-year program for kids ages three and four. The population treated were children with low IQs from low income black families. This was a more costly program, at \$12,000 per child.

In this chart we compare the cost to government savings, and you see that for the higher-risk families in the Elmira program and for the Perry pre-school, the savings significantly overshadow the cost. In other words, the government saves \$4 or \$5 for every dollar it spends. The same result is not true for the lower-risk families, and I will describe why in a minute.

Let me first show you quickly the breakdown of the savings. Notice that the drop in criminal justice cost for the child is a significant fraction of the benefit. This is why I cautioned you about the earlier results. This is a program that does not have a high cost child-care component, and yet there is evidence that there is a criminal justice benefit just from this home visit component alone.

Another important point to remember is that the benefits take a long time to accumulate. The costs occur in the first few years but these kids don't grow up and commit crime immediately. It takes them ten years or so to do so. So policy makers need to not expect a payoff from their investment in year one; they need to realise that the payoff is going to come farther down the line.

Our overall conclusions were that there are prevention programs, or early intervention programs, that are more cost-effective than approaches like Three Strikes. The supporting evidence is thin but sensitivity analysis suggests the results are relatively robust. Two programs combined might reduce crime as much as Three Strikes, so such early interventions warrant further investigation.

In a cost-savings analysis, we identified that investing in these very early childhood interventions may lead to cost-savings to government. The savings are greater

when programs are targeted to the highest risk children - specifically what I mean is targeted to the children who can best benefit from their services - but these savings do take time to accumulate.

Let me close with what our message to our policy makers was. I think some of this may apply here in Australia although I have not looked specifically at your situation. When you are initiating a large-scale program, choose a proven model. We do not know exactly what makes these programs most effective; this is one of the big unknowns that requires more work, and so it is important that the results be evaluated. It is okay to fund new demonstrations but again evaluate them and fund extensions of previous demonstrations so we can learn more about what works and what does not. Thank you very much.

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: There is not one guest speaker here today that I would not have liked to have heard a lot more of and you are certainly in that category.

LUNCHEON ADJOURMENT

CATHARINE LUMBY

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Ms CATHARINE LUMBY: I just want to start by telling you about a strange day I had about a month or so ago. It was a Tuesday morning I think and I got up as usual, took a shower, brushed my teeth, put on a suit, which is unusual, because normally I sit at home in my pyjamas and write, but I actually put on some decent clothes because I was going to a meeting, an early morning meeting, a meeting which just happened to be taking place at Long Bay Gaol.

I hadn't given the location a second thought when I got out of bed. I didn't even think about it when I was at the meeting, which was taking place at one of those little beige coloured places where meetings take place, until one of the executives present offered to give me a tour of the psychiatric wing of Long Bay Gaol. Now, I thought I knew what to expect. I did a law degree in a former life and I continue to read fairly widely about prison reform and criminology. I also know a range of people who work in the criminal law and in social welfare, and they have told me about their own encounters with the gaol system. But nothing I had read or heard or imagined prepared me for the dislocating shock of seeing incarcerated human beings, human beings who are watched, disciplined and directed 24 hours a day, human beings who can't even use the toilet without someone watching them doing it, human beings whose cage at a distance seemed barely human to anyone looking in from the outside, particularly to people like me who think they have read all the right books on criminal law and prison reform and social justice. It had really a very profound effect on me because for days after my visit I kept having flashes of this parallel universe I had glimpsed, a universe whose existence essentially guarantees the order many of us take for granted, the comfort of our daily lives. The spectre of this other place kept bleeding into my reality and I kept finding it hard to separate the two for a time.

The American talk show host Phil Donohue believes that America should televise executions. He argues that if Americans had to witness the fruits of their justice system they would be less enthusiastic about capital punishment. I am inclined to agree with him, for reasons I am going to come back to later, but reasons that also bring me to the heart of this very brief talk I am going to offer you today about the relationship between the media, crime and what I want to call moral panic.

Now, it is no news to anyone here, you are all experts in this area, that the level and intensity of media reporting of assaults, physical and sexual and so on, bears almost no relationship to the incidence of crime in our society. Our nightly news and our

daily newspapers are full of stories about vulnerable, elderly people being beaten in their own homes, decent people being harassed by drug abusers and prostitutes, and the latest shock horror phenomenon, home invasions. The editor who came up with that tag line should be writing scripts for Bruce Willis, a lot of money he could make, or she, I assume it is a he though.

It goes without saying that all crimes against the person, and against property to some extent, are a major social concern, and as someone who had a gun stuck in my face a couple of years back in Paddington, I don't want to seem insensible to victims of crime but I want to focus on something lateral to that today. I want to talk about the issue of how the media often obstruct the formation and implementation of intelligent social and institutional reforms which are designed to minimise crime and essentially to reform our justice system.

In the early 70s a British sociologist called Jock Young coined a term "moral panic". He observed the heightened public consciousness about drug abuse, which resulted in a range of public health campaigns and media publishing of them in the early 70s, an awareness of the heroin problem for instance and marijuana abuse and so on. He studied this and what he observed is something interesting. He said that this heightened public consciousness produced a moral panic.

What happened then was that drug squads were set up by police departments under pressure from politicians, and what happened was an increase in drug related arrests, which of course resulted in media coverage of the issue, which resulted in more public concern, which resulted in more drug arrests. Essentially, what he was identifying was this spiralling effect, something that is also known as an amplification cycle, produced by the interaction between the media, public opinion, interest groups and politicians, and I think that that is a problem we are still facing today.

When a community becomes conscious of a threat - whether we can drink our water, something we all know about, or our personal safety - we start calling on politicians to do something about it, something immediate. The media responds to this public concern by focussing intensely on the issue in question. We saw this with the water issue recently. They become hyper-aware of the smallest manifestation of this problem. They start hunting out victims and perpetrators and packaging up stories about them. Newspapers and current affairs programs run

public forums and stories, serious stories on the issue.

You hear about home invasion, that has now become a type of story on the nightly news. You know what the difference between a home invasion and a burglary and an assault is; it is just worse if it is a home invasion. So the result is an amplification of public concern and a subsequent fuelling of media attention and the pressure on politicians becomes unbearable.

I have got some sympathy with politicians myself because, like the media, we are really way down there in that pecking order, we just hate it, and I think we have a lot in common, I don't know in what aspects but I think we do, and I think it is understandable that politicians take unilateral decisions. They start introducing tough new laws and particularly during election campaigns they come on all Clint Eastwood in their press releases.

Perhaps the worst issue here, or the worst problem, is that politicians in periods under pressure start screening out intelligent policy advice, advice from the sort of people who are sitting around the tables in this room. Whether these people are working in community organisations or they are actually working for the Government policy advisers or they are academics, they are people who are on the ground or have a theoretical knowledge of what is going on and politicians have selective hearing.

In election after election in Australia, and in America where I spent three years and had some time to look at some of the kind of poverty and social justice issues there, we have witnessed the fruits of this moral panic spiral. Worthy, intelligent and educated leaders feel they have no option but to jump on the populist bandwagon when it comes to crime. The results are election promises, which, when translated into policies, frequently cause experts in the field to hang their heads in despair.

Year after year, criminologists, epidemiologists, specialists in HIV and drug abuse, social workers, people who work for important community organisations write opinion columns or talk to the media, pointing out the futility of the quick fix retribution. We know it doesn't work. But then perhaps the stats on the New South Wales gaol population say it far more eloquently. Eighty percent of inmates have been incarcerated for offences related to legal or illegal drug abuse or offences committed while under their effect. Almost a quarter of inmates admitted to using heroin while in prison. Well, I wonder how many do, in fact how many fess up. It is

estimated that more than half these inmates, one study said seventy percent, are illiterate, and of course we know that vulnerable populations, in particular aboriginal people, who I think are representative of about fifteen percent in our New South Wales system at the moment, are disproportionately incarcerated.

So the real picture of how and why most people wind up in gaol, what they experience there and what happens when they leave therefore bears almost no relationship to that common media fancy of mad, bad and wanton criminals who get let off lightly by senile judges and sent off to five star hotel prisons. The thing we know is that most people who go to gaol have a problem with drug use and abuse. Gee, a lot of people I know do too but they happen to be middle class, they don't generally end up in gaol. And of course many of them stay that way when they are inside because drugs are cheaper and more available in gaol and then when they are released they don't have the resources or perhaps the reasons to change their lives. The proof of course is that many prisoners are recidivists and I don't think gaol is a place that most people with other options would choose to go back to.

There are also plenty of high profile drug abusers in the media. They mainly abuse legal drugs. I speak from firsthand experience. I have abused enough chardonnay over lunch with some of them myself. For some reason these people seem unnaturally keen to see poor, badly educated addicts locked up.

So the question that I bring to you today that I have been posing myself is: How do you break this moral panic cycle? How do you change the us versus them mentality which distorts the real picture of criminality of why and how crime arises in our society? It makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for politicians to follow and introduce innovative and rational policies in the arena of criminal justice. If I had the answer to that I guess I would be selling the answer to Bill Clinton, I wouldn't be giving it away for free at lunch, but I have got some modest suggestions.

It strikes me that far too much energy by experts in this area, people who care about it, is put into persuading people like me, the already persuaded, talking to Sydney Morning Herald journalists, writing opinion articles to the Sydney Morning Herald, contributing to reasonable late night discussions on Lateline, going on Philip Adams, whatever else. I have a theory that public experience is fractured in a very radical way by the mass media in the past three decades and that there is a whole arena of media that people like us think of as the opinion making media, but it is not

the opinion making media any more.

I think if you want to look at the sources of moral panic and the spiral of moral panic, we have got to go to the popular media, to what many of the people in this room may think of as the trash or tabloid media. I think we have to take it seriously and I think that we have to learn to speak to those people, and speak in their language.

To do that properly, we could take the Pauline Hanson phenomenon. As an opinion writer I get asked regularly to go on talk-back radio, often on 2UE and places like that, and they get a lot of callers calling in saying, "Well, Vietnamese people have taken our jobs" or "Aboriginal people are all drunk bludgers", and there is no point in trying to argue with somebody like that by using educated rational discourse or statistics. You have to work out how to speak to them, not speak down to them, or against them, and that to me is a problem and a dilemma but I think it is something that needs to be taken seriously.

Having said that, I think the realm of tabloid newspapers, women's magazines, which have unbelievable circulations, in the millions, those magazines, talk-back radio, commercial current affairs, that is the zone where populous political opinion really crystallises. If experts in the field of criminal justice and social justice are serious about breaking the moral panic cycle, they need to compete with these kinds of stories and in these kinds of media. They need to find a way of publicising a contrary view. But that means learning to speak that language to some extent. In practical terms this means becoming far more media savvy, something that academics are grudgingly learning to do as well, and more savvy to areas of popular culture they may once have dismissed as trashy or irrelevant.

A good example of how this works is John Laws recently took a stand against Pauline Hanson, a very noticeable one. A lot of people would lump Alan Jones and John Laws and certain players, radio shock jocks, all in together, but it probably was and is in Laws' interests to separate himself out from those other shock jocks. It is a very competitive market and in the long-term it makes sense for people with an in depth understanding of criminal law and justice to identify and promote people in their field who can talk in a tabloid friendly way about these issues, and culture based, editors, radio commentators and columnists in the tabloid media and so on, and quite directly, in other words, influence some of these people and take them seriously.

One thing I would say also is that, as I think the Hanson thing showed, a lot of those people and a lot of their audience feel that there are a whole bunch of experts and elitists who condescend and look down on them. I think there is some truth to that and maybe it is time to rethink that and highlight it.

Another issue that we need to become aware of is how the media has in a sense become the public fear, a virtual public fear if you like. Nothing significant happens in politics or the law or any other public forum without it being filtered through the media. There is little point in sitting back and just resenting and complaining about this. As politicians know well, the only way to counter negative publicity is to buy back into the system. That means spin doctoring, which means putting resources into training such people in your field about how to deal with the media, and it means taking that task really seriously, not just seeing it as an initiative in public relations, which has a bad name. I find that very amusing, I think it is a very important cog in the wheels of power.

If you believe, as I do, that the moral panic cycle isn't helping anyone in our society, it is not helping criminals, it is not helping victims, policy makers, politicians or the general public, then one thing seems perfectly clear. We can't rely on politicians, who in turn rely on the voters, to take a stand. They won't, because like the newspaper editors or current affairs producers or journalists who write and run the panic stories in the first place, they view their jobs as being on the line every day. They need a good front page story, not a negative one.

The only people in a position to help change public perception, to give people the real complicated story about crime and punishment, are the people who live it, work it and study it, and if there is one thing the tabloid media loves it is a real story.

Just to return to Bill Donohue's proposition that executions should be televised, it is often said that there is too much realistic violence on the TV news. Well, I would like to suggest that there isn't enough. Perhaps if we saw the truth behind violence, if we saw its real roots and causes and outcomes, the cause for retributive justice would diminish and be replaced by calls for social and legal reforms. Perhaps all of us need to spend a little time in gaol. Thank you.

GARY MOORE

DIRECTOR
NSW COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SERVICES

HON JOHN RYAN: Ladies and gentlemen we hope you enjoyed the very salubrious setting of the Wentworth for lunch. Before we start for the rest of this afternoon's proceedings can I give an apology on behalf of two members of our Committee. The Honourable Peter Primrose and the Honourable Jan Burnswoods who are normally Members of this Committee are also Members of another Standing Committee of the State Parliament on Social Issues.

Our next guest is someone who I am sure will be well known to many of you. Mr Gary Moore, who is the Director of the New South Wales Council of Social Services. He too, like some of our other guests, frequently has the job of telling Governments information and news that they do not want to hear and has often a very difficult brief to pursue, but nevertheless he is always incredibly interesting and thought provoking.

Our session this afternoon is *Crime Prevention: Community Perspectives* and it is entirely appropriate that we have someone like Gary who represents the Council of Social Services and has a wide contact with many community service providers to give that particular perspective.

NCOSS is the peak body for the social and community services sector but even more so it tends to be the body within our community that speaks on behalf of disadvantaged people in our community who I think you do not need to be a brain surgeon to realise are heavily over-represented in our justice system.

Prior to joining NCOSS in September 1995 Gary worked as a principal policy adviser in the social policy branch of the New South Wales Cabinet Office, that means he was one of the people who really runs New South Wales, from 1992 to 1995, and as a project manager in the former New South Wales Policy Directorate.

During the 1980s Gary worked extensively in developing and managing employment, training and enterprise development programs within the State Government.

He is currently Chairperson of the Community Welfare Advisory Council and a member of the DOCS expert task force. He is also Chairman of the Forum on Non-Government Agencies, the New South Wales Aged Care Alliance and the New South Wales Children's Services Forum. He is a person whose advice and

expertise is widely sought on issues such as the one we are giving consideration to today.

In 1997 he chaired Youth Force, which was a task force established by the Premier to recommend ideas and approaches for better tackling the employment, education and training needs of young people.

Can I introduce Gary Moore, who I am sure will be very interesting and provoking.

MR GARY MOORE: Thank you for the opportunity to participate in this important forum today. I have a copy of my paper which is available at the desk, so please do not feel as though you have to take notes, it is all there outside. I have called the paper simply *Crime Prevention and Community Benefit*.

For the first time in two decades, an interest in preventing social problems is emerging as a focus in public policy debate.

Fifteen years of significant social and economic change, fostered by global and domestic restructuring of economies, is leaving its mark on the fabric of communities.

In Australia, as elsewhere, we have witnessed a major shake-up of our industries as we move to a services-dominated economy. Formidable gains have been made by some business sectors and huge losses by others, as the nation is exalted to become more internationally competitive.

At the same time, I am sure you have heard some of these statistics this morning, but the statistics tell us that firstly large scale and long term unemployment are constant companions; the distribution of work is becoming polarised; income inequality is on the rise; and locational disadvantage is becoming entrenched.

To add to these national trends, in New South Wales we know that housing related poverty for low income renters and homelessness have increased substantially over the past five years. We also know in many rural communities and several outer urban neighbourhoods, up to 50% of residents are dependent on some form of social security.

Essential public and private services have been withdrawn from small towns, whilst growing populations in Western Sydney, the Central Coast and coastal regional cities still miss out on their fair share of these services.

Notifications of domestic violence and child abuse and neglect continue to rise; and front line welfare agencies, members of NCROSS, report increasing numbers of clients, often with more complex difficulties. This extends to problem gamblers and clients with a mixture of mental health, drug and alcohol and accommodation problems.

These trends, and the many others which social researchers can readily identify, clearly point to the declining living standards and quality of life being experienced by a growing portion of the State's population. They also underline a changing social environment where the potential for increased criminal and anti-social behaviours is ripe.

One of the most significant conclusions drawn by the recent Premier's Forum, 'Working Together In Strengthening Rural Communities' held six weeks or so ago was that the recognition of crime is a complex social problem that is closely related to unemployment, substance abuse and family breakdown. That Forum produced a shared understanding:

"Often the most effective solutions come from communities themselves and the best approach is for local communities to tackle problems in partnership with State and local government."

Public discussions about crime frequently revolve around two core arguments. One promotes the primary responsibility of the individual to obey laws and act in a civil manner. The other focuses on the broader social responsibility, often entrusted to governments, to ensure a social, economic and political environment in which respect for fellow citizens is maximised and social conditions do not deteriorate to a level where crime is encouraged. The reality falls probably in the balance between the two.

At the most populist level, statements are readily made about how much the rate of crime must be increasing, whilst statistics reveal a much more complex picture. Unfortunately, populist debate about these differences does not often occur.

As the quality of life is eroded in a community, especially where significant disadvantage is being experienced by “middle Australians” for the first time in a long time, the spectre of insecurity in a personal and community sense emerges.

This insecurity permeates many facets of day to day life, from the potential or reality of job loss, to the growing cost of child care, health and education. In severe cases it involves the loss of the family farm, the bankruptcy of the small business, the 24 hour security presence of the “walled” private housing estate, the absolute avoidance of public transport or the reaction to so called “draconian” gun laws.

At the same time, population groups such as poorer young people, Aborigines, sole parents and low income migrants feel their disadvantage and social alienation, already strong, becoming even further entrenched.

As greater socio-economic stress is being placed on both “middle Australians” and the traditionally disadvantaged groups, so greater tensions arise between these key strata in many communities. The tendency is to blame each other, rather than seeing the value of tackling common problems in a constructive manner. And, with little historic community interaction or networking between these groups, such as dialogue, leading to agreements, is very difficult.

As previously indicated, there is nearly two decades of economic reform which now finds its way into everybody’s life. The battle to maintain, let alone improve living standards, in these turbulent times, has eroded social capital and given rise to social division.

Attacking so called “overgenerous welfare payments”, restricting government assistance to only the most “deserving” poor, clambering for greater tax cuts and claiming there is a crime wave is a reflection of this social and personal insecurity.

These fears are fuelled by politicians, on both sides of the mainstream political fence, who see short term political gain in exploiting community insecurities for electoral benefit. In these circumstances, the perceived attraction of “getting tough on crime” precludes anything but a cursory footnote to the benefits of crime prevention.

Putting it another way, as Weatherburn and Lind in *Poverty, Parenting, Peers and Crime Prone Neighbourhoods* have and they indicate:

“Increasing police patrols in crime hot spots, improving vehicle and household security and increasing penalties for offending...are attractive strategies because, if they are effective at all in reducing crime, they generally produce relatively quick results...Strategies designed to reduce the supply of motivated offenders, by contrast, do not generally produce immediate effects.”

In *Young People in Crime* (1996) Freeman concludes:

“Research shows that the factors which affect participation in juvenile crime are somewhat different to the factors which affect the frequency with which juveniles commit crime.”

She further states:

“Developmental factors, such as child neglect and poor parenting, strongly influence the probability of a young person getting involved in crime, but they do not appear to significantly influence the frequency with which they offend once they are involved. Lifestyle factors such as drug use and thrill seeking, are the strongest predictors of offending frequency. Furthermore, the number of prior court appearances, the type of offence at first proven experience and the offender’s age are strong predictors of re-appearance in the Children’s Court.”

It is important here to note that contrary to what many believe, only a small proportion of young people, for example, come into contact with the juvenile justice system. In the 12 months in Freeman’s paper, from July 1994 to June 1995, only 2% of young people aged 10 to 17 years came into contact with the Children’s Court.

Similarly, Weatherburn and Lind point out that the aggregate level studies almost universally show a strong positive association between measures of economic stress and reported rates of child neglect and child abuse. They further contend that:

“Research also shows a strong relationship between factors such as poor parental supervision of children, inconsistent, harsh and erratic parental discipline, a weak parent-child bond, and subsequent juvenile and adult involvement in crime.”

Their work raises the hypothesis that social and economic stress exert an indirect effect on juvenile participation in crime by disrupting the parenting process. This is consistent with the views frequently put by workers in family support service agencies and substitute care services which asserts that increased socio-economic pressures directly effects the quality of parenting and the level of juvenile delinquency.

In their 1995 study of locational disadvantage, Bob Gregory and Boyd Hunter clearly outlined the convergence of high, long term rates of unemployment, lower educational achievement and poverty in specific neighbourhoods across urban Australia.

Weatherburn and Lind examine the role of neighbourhoods. They propose an epidemic model of delinquency which is based on the idea that:

“economic stress increases juvenile participation in crime because it disrupts the parenting process thereby rendering juveniles more susceptible to delinquent peer influence.”

They conclude that:

“Low socio-economic status neighbourhoods will generally have larger populations of delinquents and will therefore produce higher rates of interaction between juveniles susceptible to involvement in crime and juveniles already involved in crime.”

Recently released statistics indicate that our communities are experiencing higher rates of child abuse and neglect notifications and rapidly growing rates of domestic violence notifications.

Whilst greater confidence and access to report domestic violence is undoubtedly a factor, the 50% plus increase in some rural and outer urban communities suggests that levels of social and economic stress are making many more family relationships untenable.

So what about some future actions?

It is clear that if we are to seriously reduce the incidence of crime in our communities then governments and the community must act decisively to alter the conditions which promote greater numbers of people to be motivated to engage in crime.

At the same time, governments and the community should be doing much more to reduce recidivism amongst the offending population. We should be better balancing the needs of victims and the needs of rehabilitation.

It is important to note that the New South Wales prison population is expected to reach 7,000 by the end of 1998. Since the late 1980s the imprisonment rate in New South Wales has risen from 70 per 100,000 population to over 130 per 100,000 population.

It would be tragic if a law and order bidding war in the run up to the State election next March saw any political party prepared to countenance the US situation where, in 1997, 655 people per 100,000 population were imprisoned. At least 2% of the total population were under some form of correctional supervision in the US.

The evidence of the research of people such as Weatherburn and Lind suggests three key ways of reducing the supply of motivated offenders. They are: reduce the level of economic stress; prevent geographic concentration of poverty so as to attenuate the influence of delinquent peers; and introduce family and child support programs designed to prevent social and economic stress exerting disruptive effects on the parenting process.

Creating sustainable jobs which are available to people from lower socio-economic neighbourhoods is a priority. Unemployment rates in these neighbourhoods in New South Wales are generally twice to three times the State average. For particular groups such as young people, the over 45s, Aborigines and selected migrant populations the rates are well above 30 per cent.

Effectively tackling unemployment, especially for these neighbourhoods and groups, is a community wide task which must be a State and well as a Commonwealth responsibility. Attracting new jobs to New South Wales in major projects is undoubtedly important. However, a minority of these opportunities ever reach the families and individuals in the neighbourhoods needed to be targeted.

The New South Wales Government must take a more active role in job creation and employment support and it should not rely on extending the Work for the Dole Scheme to the over 45s as the New South Wales Opposition leader suggested over the weekend.

Affordable and secure housing is also a priority on the crime prevention agenda. The recent New South Wales ministerial task force on affordable housing starkly showed the growth in the number of families, particularly in Sydney's private rental market, who struggle to make ends meet. We need urgent government action on planning reforms and financial incentives to provide lower cost, secure housing whilst retaining what is left of the State's boarding house sector.

Providing an adequate level and quality of human services to new or rapidly changing communities is a huge challenge which has State Government agencies and the non-government sector struggling. A succession of State governments has failed to co-ordinate the timely and adequate provision of health, education, public transport and community services with the land use planning priorities accorded to urban fringe development.

If we are not careful, similar negative outcomes will begin to show in large urban consolidation projects. There are some important new steps being made in this area through the collaboration of State Government agencies such as health, community services, ageing and disability, housing, education and training and juvenile justice.

It is stated that a focus is being made on new urban development sites in south west and north western Sydney to understand what level of services will be required and to develop a timetable for funding and delivery. The results of these activities will be critical to watch. It is often the neighbourhoods of poorly planned urban developments over the past 30 years which have produced the conditions for a significant supply of motivated persons and criminal activity.

In recent times more has been publicly said about the desperate situation homeless people find themselves in, particularly across greater Sydney. The incidence of mental health, drug and alcohol problems mixed with insecure accommodation is becoming well documented and, of course, is a potent cocktail. We urgently need the State Government announcements of homeless task forces and teams to deliver tangible relief for this growing sector of our community. We must provide refuges

with enough resources to not have to turn away one in every two clients seeking shelter and support, which is the current situation.

New South Wales Health must take a far greater responsibility for assisting people with mental health problems in the boarding house sector and other supported and crisis accommodation modes. We have street crimes, sometimes violent, caused to and by those who are homeless, and that must be reduced.

In August 1997 the forum of non-government agencies, comprised of all the peak New South Wales community sector agencies, forwarded a comprehensive proposal to the State Government called "Balancing Prevention and Protection in the Best Interests of Children". This document outlined over 20 initiatives, many of which are aimed at improving the capacity of families and parents to deal with social and economic stress.

The State Government's announcement of its 'Families First' package earlier this year is a welcome recognition of the critical role which prevention can play. However, we must not assume that all that should be done has been done. Over 140 family support services across this State desperately require a real injection of additional funds to provide front line support for struggling families.

The innovative programs of agencies such as Burnside and Barnardos which you heard about earlier today need expansion. Unlike other States, we do not have a capacity or, unfortunately, a willingness to provide some form of pre-school experience for all four year olds. As John mentioned in the introduction, in 1997 the Premier established YouthForce, a taskforce to examine initiatives to improve the education, employment and training opportunities of young people. A key recommendation of YouthForce is to provide a second chance education and training opportunity for all New South Wales early school leavers.

Another YouthForce recommendation targets vulnerable young people in or at risk of entering the substitute care or juvenile justice system. It recommends that specific support and brokerage of human services be offered to each of these young people in an attempt to improve their opportunity to live independent, crime free lives. Both of these recommendations are awaiting Government action.

The Government's bill for a Commission for children and young people which will possibly be debated in State Parliament this week will help to decide the effectiveness of prevention and protection efforts for children, young people and families for some years to come.

Finally, may I point to the disturbing growth of problem gambling presenting to many welfare agencies and counselling services. Family support agencies, for example, state that up to 6 per cent of their clients now have a problem gambling issue as part of their reason for seeking assistance. Whilst the number of proposals have been put to the current State gaming inquiry in the fields of better regulation, consumer protection and improved support services, it will be important for the Standing Committee to ascertain what impacts the growth of gambling activity in New South Wales is having on criminal and anti-social behaviours.

In conclusion NCOSS hopes that the work of the Standing Committee in this area is forward looking and productive. Thank you very much.

CHRIS SIDOTI

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER
HUMAN RIGHTS AND
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: I now propose to introduce Chris Sidoti, Human Rights Commissioner, Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. I should like to emphasise that every word spoken here today is being recorded by Hansard, and you may have noticed that at the luncheon, Catharine Lumby's address was also recorded. The transcripts will be available in due course to all registered delegates, and those persons who have spoken here today will have the opportunity of editing the transcript. You cannot say yes was no or anything like that, of course. So it is too late to have second thoughts, apart from the negative becoming the affirmative.

Chris Sidoti, for those persons involved in social issues, is a household name. We are pleased to have him here today. He is the Human Rights Commissioner of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. He is also the Acting Disability Discrimination Commissioner until 17 December this year. Chris's career has been closely identified with human rights and social justice issues both in Australia and internationally. He has had a long involvement with youth affairs.

He is a former President of the Youth Affairs Council of Australia and he chaired the New South Wales Government committee that led to the establishment of the Office of Youth Affairs in 1987. Chris originally joined the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission as its foundation secretary in 1987. He played a key role in the homeless children's inquiry and inquiries into racist violence. The Toomelah Aboriginal community, mental illness and sex discrimination are among those matters he has investigated.

He is currently a member of the Advisory Council of the Australian Association of Young People in Care, the national executive of the National Association for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect and the Human Rights Council of Australia. You could not ask any more from a single person. I welcome him.

MR CHRIS SIDOTI: Ladies and gentlemen, I am down on the agenda as representing youth issues. I am afraid it is a very long time since I have been able to represent young people. The most that I can hope to do is to speak about young people from the work that I and my associates at the Human Rights Commission undertake.

I am pleased to be able to speak today and talk about crime prevention through social support. Certainly in the climate of recent and forthcoming elections, both Federal and State, there is a great deal of rhetoric and misinformation about crime

issues. People are proposing the simplicity of quick fix solutions to complex problems. In the midst of all this, it is encouraging to attend a seminar that recognises the need for positive programs that address the underlying causes of offending behaviour.

People have argued for centuries about what causes crime. Philosophers, lawyers, social workers, journalists, victims and perpetrators have all expressed their views. These views tend, generally speaking, to fall into three broad approaches: criminals are bad, or criminals are mad, or criminals are sad, that is socially and economically disadvantaged. No doubt each approach can point to individual offenders to support its cause, but I think it is now beyond doubt that most criminal activity, perhaps other than murder, serious assault and serious sexual assault, is related to poverty and marginalisation.

For that reason the most effective anti-crime programs are preventive ones that address poverty, homelessness, discrimination, child abuse and neglect, family breakdown and other similar problems, programs that provide support for people at risk of offending. These are the most successful in preventing crime.

Costly punitive measures applied after the event may well be justified in some cases in the interests of justice, but they have proven largely unsuccessful in deterring or reducing crime. In contributing to this debate I would like to outline briefly some of the findings and recommendations of a report produced by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission and the Australian Law Reform Commission in its National Inquiry into Children and the Legal Process.

That report is called "Seen and Heard" and the executive summary and recommendations are contained in a pamphlet that we have outside the theatre which you are welcome to take at the end of the session today. The inquiry into children and the law was a national one. The recommendations we made were not only directed to action by the Federal Government, rather they required changes in laws, policies and programs as well at the State and Territory level, recognising that much of the legal and governmental machinery relating to children's issues and children's services operates at the State and Territory level.

They present an approach to young people that in our view will ensure more effective crime prevention than the knee jerk reaction so common among politicians,

media rabble rousers and police associations. As such, the inquiry's report is highly relevant to the matters currently being considered by the Standing Committee on Law and Justice of the New South Wales Parliament.

I want to focus my comments today on several key areas that need to be addressed in developing programs to prevent juveniles offending, issues dealing with children experiencing poverty and homelessness, children in the care and protection system and children in the school system. I will also make some comments on issues relating to indigenous kids.

Low socio-economic status increases the risk of children becoming involved in the juvenile justice system. That is a simple statement but a statement of fact. A New South Wales study of young people in detention convicted of theft found that overwhelmingly the main reason for their offending was to obtain food or money for their survival.

In his paper, "Juvenile Justice Towards 2000 and Beyond", Ian O'Connor, a Queensland academic, says, "For many disenfranchised and marginalised young people it seems that illegal activities of various kinds are increasingly being seen as simply part and parcel of economic survival, a routine way of managing one's day-to-day living expenses".

In a survey conducted for the Australian Youth Foundation many young people described crime as a way to get by. One young person who came out as gay to his parents said, "I was just shoved right out of home. I really didn't have a job and, like, it was three weeks to that dole that I had to wait and sort of - well the only thing was prostitution".

Homeless children are particularly at risk of adverse contact with the juvenile justice system. They are one of the groups of children most in need of government support. However, gaining access to benefits can be problematic because their lifestyle is transient and does not fit in well with official processes. Those official processes themselves are becoming increasingly complex, so that many young people in desperate need do not even bother applying any more.

Some of the young people who attended our inquiry's focus groups talked about the frustration they experienced when applying for benefits. One girl had to provide

three statutory declarations, including one from her parents and one from a counsellor. Another 13-year-old girl was forced to return to a violent home after six months of trying to get income support because the refuge where she was living could not afford to support her any more and there seemed to be no alternative place of safety.

A Tasmanian boy told us it had taken six months from the time he applied for benefits until his first payment. During that period he said he sold drugs to survive. In Queensland we met a young girl who had a similar experience. Each time her application for benefits was refused she would stay with friends and steal food to survive.

The recently introduced common youth allowance was supposed to simplify procedures and overcome many of these problems. I am not in a position to give you an authoritative assessment of the new system, but a number of peak bodies and community organisations dealing with youth issues have raised questions about the adequacy of the new system to meet the needs of financially disadvantaged young people.

The national inquiry into children and the legal process made a series of recommendations to address these problems. Youth service units should be established in each region as part of the new Centrelink system. These units would be essential to ensuring that the particular needs of young income support applicants and recipients are met. Their role should be to ensure that needy young people are able to get income security, not to keep out as many as possible.

Models of income support service delivery should be designed specifically for young indigenous people and young people from non-English speaking backgrounds to take account of their cultural differences and family relationships. Evidential requirements, particularly those concerning identification, should be interpreted flexibly for young homeless people and should not of themselves bar them from receiving income support.

The adequacy of the rates of benefit payable to homeless and other disadvantaged young people should be subject to regular, detailed reviews to ensure that appropriate minimum rates are maintained. Support programs for young homeless people should be publicised extensively in the youth sector and the community.

Government agencies need to ensure that their publicity campaigns are effective, reaching those most in need of the information.

Support services are of limited use if young people do not know of their existence or how to access them. Children who have been extensively involved in the care and protection system seem to be drifting into the juvenile justice system at alarming rates. A New South Wales study showed that wards of the State were 15 times more likely to enter a juvenile justice detention centre than the rest of the juvenile population.

This is partly because the care and protection system itself often fails to provide an environment conducive to a child's healthy development. Children leaving care often do not receive the support they require. Rather, they often experience inadequate housing, unemployment, loneliness and poverty, all at rates far in excess of those not entrusted to the care of the State.

Our inquiry recommended the development of national care and protection standards for children. Many of the proposed standards are aimed at addressing, either directly or indirectly, the drift of young people in the care and protection system to the juvenile justice system.

There must be a commitment of resources necessary to ensure that family services departments are able to supervise adequately and provide services to families with children under care and protection orders living at home. Although these children have come under State supervision, they are often forgotten, ignored, left unsupported unless and until they come into contact with the police.

Every child in care should have a detailed case plan within six weeks of entering into care. The case plan should cover the educational needs, recreational opportunities and behavioural and or medical intervention requirements for the child. Where appropriate it should include intensive support, therapeutic and rehabilitation programs. It should be regularly reviewed and updated at least six monthly. The case plan should be developed, reviewed and updated in consultation with the child and due weight should be given to the child's wishes in accordance with his or her level of maturity. As the child becomes an adolescent and approaches adulthood, his or her views should be given greater weight.

At least six months prior to the child's eighteenth birthday or planned exit from care a transitional case plan should be developed. The plan should be directed towards assisting the child in the transition to independence or family re-unification. It should designate the support services necessary for this transition both before and after leaving care, and that support should be provided.

A parent does not reject all responsibility for a young person who turns 18, nor should the State when it assumes the role of parent for a child. Case workers and in particular staff in residential care centres should receive specialist training in identifying children and young people at risk of juvenile justice contact and in implementing early intervention and prevention strategies.

Support programs aimed at crime prevention must have the school system as a major focus area. The education system is one of the make or break factors in determining whether young people will enter a lifelong cycle of involvement with the criminal justice system. Children are not criminals when they begin school at five, yet some are by the time they leave at 12, 15 or 17. Schools have a role at least in preventing juvenile offending developing or perhaps in causing it too. I say that without considering the consequences of the greatest single act of mass child abuse in Australia each year affecting 60,000 to 70,000 children annually directly and hundreds of thousands indirectly - the New South Wales higher school certificate examination system. But I put comment on that aside for another day.

There is considerable evidence that early school leaving is related to unemployment, poverty, homelessness and conflict with the legal system. Longitudinal research conducted to determine what individual environmental and social factors increase the risk of juvenile offending suggests that school failure is a major factor. Attention must be given to identifying and addressing as early as possible the needs of children at risk of dropping out, for example, those who come from difficult family environments and those with behavioural or learning difficulties.

In 1997 the Federal Minister for Schools, Vocational Education and Training reported that 30 per cent of young Australian teenagers could not read properly and that there had been no improvement in standards for the last 20 years. Appropriate intervention at the right point in the school life of these children at risk increases their chances of completing and succeeding in education.

The Federal Government Student at Risk, or STAR, program plays a very important role in this regard. It was wound up in December 1996. Our inquiry recommended that this program be reinstated. The inquiry also recommended national standards for student support services. These standards should include professional development training for all teachers and counsellors in identifying disadvantaged and at risk children and referring them to appropriate government and non-government support services and programs.

In addition to school-based programs, the inquiry recommended community initiatives to identify students with particular problems and encourage their continued participation in education. These programs should include providing transport to schools, assistance with meals, primary health care and homework support. Support programs should deal with basic issues of health and nutrition for children from poorer families. Addressing these needs helps children to concentrate in class and means they are less likely to be excluded from school because of hunger-related behavioural problems or easily treated contagious conditions.

Addressing violent behaviour at school is an essential part of crime prevention, both in terms of its immediate consequences and the longer term development of the young people involved. Preventive programs and school-based anti-bullying policies are necessary to address the problem of school violence. They are also an effective means of instilling a sense of responsibility in students. Some schools have developed very good programs aimed at eliminating harassment and assault on school premises.

In 1995 the New South Wales Parliament's Standing Committee on Social Issues recommended that resources be made available for schools to function as models of co-operative, tolerant and non-violent communities. It said that schools should provide programs to foster tolerance and acceptance, offer integrated programs to develop skills and acceptable problem solving behaviour, work to eliminate the destructive practices of bullying and support students exhibiting problem behaviours.

The National Inquiry into Children in the Legal Process endorsed these principles. We recommended a national campaign to reduce school violence. The national campaign should focus on the benefits for youth crime prevention of anti-bullying policies, anti-harassment policies, peer mediation and peer support schemes. It

should establish clear benchmarks.

Addressing truancy is also an important element in crime prevention. Truancy increases the risk of involvement in the juvenile justice system. Evidence received from young people during focus groups for our inquiry suggested that some children are absent more than they attend. Reasons included boredom at school, embarrassment and frustration of poor performance, fear of bullying or harassment, drug dependency, family stress or conflict and homelessness. Addressing the situation of these students requires a co-ordinated government response to truancy.

The inquiry recommended the development of a national strategy to reduce truancy. It should involve a joint project of Federal and all State and Territory education departments, peak groups from Catholic and independent school sectors and relevant community organisations. It should address the development of early intervention and family support programs to address truancy.

During our inquiry we came across some good models of these programs, models that can be developed further. For example, in Kalgoorlie there was a very comprehensive program of assistance and monitoring of those children identified as most at risk of truancy and absenteeism. It was a co-ordinated program operating across a number of schools in the town.

The inquiry did not support some of the more punitive and legalistic approaches for dealing with truancy, such as imposing fines on students or parents. Not only do these approaches not reduce truancy, but the fact is that chronically truant students are often from poorer families who cannot afford to pay fines anyway. These approaches, in fact, encourage young people in offending behaviour by drawing them into the criminal justice system on the basis of educational failure.

School discipline is a significant factor that can influence whether young people enter the criminal justice system. It is difficult to expect people to act justly towards others when they experience unjust treatment towards themselves. So it is important that policies and practices relating to school discipline be included in our consideration of crime prevention.

School exclusion is a particular area of concern. There is strong anecdotal evidence to suggest that a substantial proportion of young offenders are excluded from

school. While there is no doubt as to the connection between exclusion and juvenile offending, there is a need for systematic research to determine more clearly the nature and consequences of that connection. This was one of the recommendations of our inquiry.

We heard evidence that exclusion and other disciplinary measures are often imposed in an arbitrary and ad hoc manner. Some told us that some young people regarded as difficult have been paid by teachers not to attend classes and others not formally excluded have simply been told not to bother coming back to school. Many students are denied natural justice in these processes.

A national survey of some 66 young people suspended or expelled from school conducted by the National Children's and Youth Law Centre suggested that many children are not told their rights during the disciplinary process. The serious consequences of exclusion make it imperative that these decisions are made according to clearly laid out procedures.

The inquiry recommended the development again of national standards, this time for school discipline, setting up the permissible grounds for exclusion and the process to be followed when a government school proposes to exclude a student. To ensure impartiality in reviews of exclusion decisions, we recommended that they be conducted by a panel of school and community representatives, at least one of whom is outside the particular school community.

The inquiry also considered that students subject to exclusion should be entitled to an advocate during any interviews relating to any disciplinary process and review proceedings.

I congratulate the New South Wales Department of Education and Training for its draft policy on exclusion procedures. I intend to examine it carefully for its consistency with natural justice and best practice requirements. If acceptable, this policy could become the basis for the national standards for school discipline that the inquiry recommended.

The national standards should also require that the legislative provisions regarding discipline be widely publicised to students and their carers in readily understandable language, including community languages where appropriate. The inquiry

recommended that each State and Territory collect and publish annual statistics on truancy and on excluded students, including, age, sex, race, length of exclusion, reasons for exclusion and the support provided to excluded students. And it recommended that each State or Territory department of education establish a unit with responsibility for ensuring that appropriate arrangements are made for each excluded child, including counselling or other support and alternative schooling or education.

More broadly, schools can play a role in crime prevention by encouraging civic mindedness and respect for human rights. This is important not only for children at risk but for all children. They have a right and a responsibility to know about human rights. In partnership with families, schools should assist children in understanding their rights and responsibilities in a liberal democratic society. Young people repeatedly told us that schools need to place more emphasis on teaching life skills. This was seen as a way of enabling children to deal with their problems effectively rather than resorting to anti-social or offending behaviour.

In May 1997 the Federal Government announced that from 1999 all students in years 4 to 10 would be required to take classes in civics and citizenship. This will be based on the national civics program, *Discovering Democracy*, which includes material on democracy, the Constitution and the role of different levels of government. This is a very worthwhile initiative, and I commend it. But it is important that information about the political system include information about human rights.

There should be a particular focus on the rights and responsibilities of children as set out in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Most young people who responded to surveys for our inquiry said that they were not given enough opportunities to learn about their rights. Nearly 65 per cent say that this information should be included in the school curriculum. We all know the saying that the best way to learn is to do. Children should be supported to participate in school decision-making process and in school dispute resolution.

Practical experience in mediation and negotiation helps young people to develop a sense of responsibility, a sense that they are valued rather than disenfranchised and an appreciation of constructive methods of resolving issues. Some submissions to our inquiry did not support educating children about their rights because of concern that young people would use that information against their parents. A number of schools displayed a similar attitude when they banned distribution of the

National Children's and Youth Law Centre's community education package "Know Your Rights at School".

Teaching children about their rights and responsibilities in school and in society does not undermine parents' and teachers' authority. On the contrary, it is more likely to enhance authority. Children are more amenable to observing rules they can understand and see the need for rather than rules that seem arbitrary and unreasonable.

The inquiry recommended the development of guidelines on national best practice for student participation in school decision-making. The guidelines should include material that assists students to understand their rights and responsibilities in the context of school decisions affecting them. A handbook should be prepared and distributed to all schools in Australia and, most importantly, made available to the young people themselves.

Indigenous young people warrant special mention. They are overrepresented at all stages of the juvenile justice system from arrest through to sentencing and detention. The police custody rates for these young people is 27 times the national average, and they are detained in juvenile justice institutions at 20 times the national rate.

Indigenous children and their families suffer massive disadvantage in health, education and other areas. Many indigenous families suffer poverty and hardship on a level comparable with any third world country. For many indigenous people their treatment by authorities has been characterised by discrimination, prejudice and even brutality.

The extent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander disadvantage is demonstrated by the statistics produced by the Federal Minister, Senator Herron, in the papers to this year's budget.

Indigenous Australians have a life expectancy 20 years less than other Australians. They die from diabetes at five times the national average. They have an infant mortality rate five times higher than other Australians. Thirty per cent of all maternal deaths are of indigenous women, although they make up only 2 per cent of the population. Indigenous children have a one in three chance of having some form of trachoma by the time the child is nine years old, and a one in four chance of being

undernourished. They have the likelihood of being undernourished compared to other Australians at 16 times the national rate. They experience chronic overcrowding due to housing shortage and, when they have housing, a lack of basic sewerage and roads in remoter communities and of safe water. Their school retention rate to year 12 is 33 per cent compared to the national rate of 75 per cent.

Nearly half of all Aboriginal people today over 15 have no formal educational qualifications, not even a school certificate. Aboriginal children today - not in bygone generations but today - have a one in eight chance of not even going to school between the ages of five and nine. Their unemployment rate is four times the national average and stands at 46 per cent for those aged between 20 and 24, and so on and so on right through the statistics.

In these circumstances it is no wonder that indigenous young people fall so easily into the net of the criminal justice system. The development of crime prevention strategies and social support programs for indigenous peoples must be viewed against the background of past practices which have discriminated against them.

The forced separation of Aboriginal children from their families has caused widespread breakdowns of family relationships and loss of personal, family and cultural identity among indigenous people. Past practices and policies which destroyed families and communities continue to impact adversely on indigenous people today.

The recommendations of the Commission's National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their Families, the report which was called "Bringing them home", merit consideration in government social support programs for indigenous young people. They include standards for the treatment of indigenous children and the development of a social justice package for indigenous families and children to address the gross disadvantage that afflicts them and, indeed, lies at the heart of their involvement in the criminal justice system.

It is not possible now to give a detailed analysis of the recommendations in the report, but I will make just one point. Implementing the recommendations we made, indeed implementing all of our crime prevention and support responses to indigenous people, must be based on the principle of self-determination. This requires, among other things, consultation with indigenous communities and respect

for the decision-making roles of indigenous organisations.

It requires us to assist communities as far as possible to decide what is best for themselves and to go ahead and do it, and it requires the commitment of the level of resources necessary to address the entrenched poverty and disadvantage that they experience.

I cannot stress enough today the importance of early intervention and family support programs as the means of protecting against later juvenile offending. They are relatively inexpensive and have major long-term benefits in terms of children's physical and social development.

The intervention and welfare programs are far less effective once the child has reached high school, for children are already involved in a lifestyle of offending. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission remains committed to social support programs as the best means of preventing crime. In this way, social support programs are not only about the rights of the individual but also about the rights of the community. At base, they are simply the most effective way of ensuring community safety, far more effective than wasting taxpayers' money on more expensive approaches that simply do not work.

As I indicated at the beginning, the most effective crime prevention strategies are those that address the issues of exclusion and disadvantage. The strategies must be grounded in a recognition that children have to be our top national priority. They must be based on clear standards, the sufficient allocation of resources and respect for the fundamental human rights of children and young people. I hope that the seminar today will be an important step towards achieving that goal. Indeed it comes at a very important time as we are about to embark on the next State election. Let us hope we do not have a repeat of the last experience of a State election when both major political parties indulged in a most unseemly auction of who could be toughest on offenders without any regard whatsoever for the safety of the community. Thank you.

HON JOHN RYAN: I am breathless. There was an awful lot in that. Thank you very much for that presentation. You dealt with the many groups of people who frequently find themselves within the criminal justice system who importantly need to be represented at a conference like this.

LINDA BURNEY

CHAIRPERSON
NSW STATE RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE AND
MEMBER OF THE NSW CRIME PREVENTION COUNCIL

HON JOHN RYAN: Again continuing our goal at this point of hearing particularly from people within the community, our next guest is Linda Burnie, who is Chairperson of the New South Wales State Reconciliation Committee and a member of the New South Wales Crime Prevention Council. Linda is a member of the Wiradjuri nation. She grew up in Whitton, a small farming community near Leeton in country New South Wales. She was the first Aboriginal student to complete a diploma of teaching at the Mitchell College of Advanced Education after she won a New South Wales Government scholarship. I got one of those. They were really handy.

In 1979 she began teaching at Lethbridge Park Public School - I have also taught in western Sydney and I know how character building it is - and became involved in New South Wales AECG Incorporated. From 1981 she was with the Department of Education Aboriginal Education Unit and was involved in the development and implementation of Aboriginal education policy, the first such policy in our nation.

Linda currently holds a number of positions, including Chair of the New South Wales Reconciliation Committee, a member of the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, and member of the New South Wales Crime Prevention Council. Thank you, Linda, for coming today. We look forward to hearing from you.

MS LINDA BURNEY: Thank you very much for that introduction. I think after listening to Chris there is not a very great deal more I need to say. But can I begin my 15 minutes by acknowledging that we are holding this gathering on the traditional land of the Eora people, and that is an important protocol that, hopefully, all government occasions and events in the near future will begin with.

The other thing of course is that I am the seventeenth person you have listened to today and I am a schoolteacher, as you have heard, and you know what that probably means, so I am not sure whether I should tell you to get up and have a wriggle or a stretch, but if you feel like it, do not hold back.

There are really two of my positions that I hold at the moment - I might let you know that it sounds very grand but it is also a lot of work and all voluntary, or most of it, particularly the reconciliation activity. But the two things I guess I really want to concentrate on today in terms of what my responsibilities are, firstly, my role with the Council for Crime Prevention as an indigenous person on that and, secondly, my role as Chairperson of the State Reconciliation Committee, and I say that in the

context that very often for indigenous people - and I notice that some of my indigenous brothers and sisters are in the room today - somehow or other when an indigenous person, or an Aboriginal person in my case, gets up and speaks I want you to be very careful about it, because it is not a pan-Aboriginal view. There is no such thing as a pan-Aboriginal view.

Unfortunately one of the challenges in things like crime prevention is that that is often the way in which things are perceived. What I say today is the view of one Aboriginal person, not necessarily the view of Aboriginal New South Wales or the country, and that is an important point to start with, particularly for policy-making. You must understand that Aboriginal society is as diverse and as complex as you in this room, and that is an important first base.

I want to just touch briefly on four issues. The first is the context in which we operate today in this country. The second is looking at things from the historical issues that many of those present have just spoken about. I will speak briefly about cultural difference, briefly about what the implications are in terms of social economic situations and finally about leadership.

What struck me when I was listening to Chris - I was going to finish on this point but I am now going to start on it - is one of the important points that I think Government needs to come to terms with, and also the people sharing this country need to come to terms with and probably change our pattern of thinking, is very often when it comes to indigenous affairs it is always in the newspapers, listening to Government officials and often listening to ourselves out there in our homes and in the supermarkets and in the streets, is what makes us different, what sets us apart as indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

There is another way of coming at it if you like and that is of course what brings us together, what are our shared concerns, what are the things that, whether you are Aboriginal or not, in relation to this particular perspective are similar. What you just heard from Chris today and what you will hear from me are the things that concern each and every one of us as parents, as people living in this country, as members of local communities and the broader community, and that in my view is one of the fundamental principles that should underpin the way in which we approach keeping our kids out of the juvenile justice system, because whether you are Aboriginal or not, as a mother the one thing you don't want is your kids being caught up in that

system. The one thing that you want is all the experiences of human rights that every child deserves in this country. These are the things that it doesn't matter who you are or where you are from that you share, and in my view that is a very good place to start in terms of this discussion.

Of course politically, and I don't make any apologies for all the frustration and the anger that I feel at the moment in terms of what is happening in this country politically, particularly at the Federal level, I don't believe the process of reconciliation, which is so important and so underpinning to everything that we speak about, is being enhanced very much at the moment by particularly the Federal Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and I go as far as saying the Prime Minister as far as his sentiments of recent times.

It is critical for people developing policies and working with indigenous communities to understand that everything in our lives, probably more than any other group in the society, is determined by the political policies. It might sound a bit strange to you but let me go on and explain what I mean. Just the very fact that you are an indigenous person quite often within a party somehow puts up a flag that you have got to have a political conversation with them. The very fact that you are Aboriginal and you are trying to pursue a particular point of view somehow is thrown into a political context.

At the moment the work that many of us as Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have undertaken in this country through the reconciliation process, which includes the social justice issues that you are examining today, are feeling a little jaded, a little tired and incredibly disappointed, because it just seems that our work is being made more and more difficult, and I am absolutely convinced that this has to be the major issue determining what governments do and what we do in our sections, in our work places as individuals, if we are ever going to truly truly address the underlying issues that you have just heard about in terms of human rights experiences of indigenous people in this country.

I tell a very brief story. It only just dawned on me the other day, I turn 42 next birthday, so I was ten years old when the 1967 referendum took place, which means that for the first ten years of my life I lived under the Flora and Fauna Act of New South Wales, and I want you to think about just what that means in terms of how you see yourselves as a citizen and how you feel about yourself as an Australian,

because it has an effect, and I never really realised it and it has only been in the last four years, and I want you to think about this in the context of the Aboriginal people that you know, Aboriginal kids that you are in touch with. I want you to think about it in the context of how you see yourself as an Aboriginal person in society, and it has only, as I said, been four years since I have been able to say proudly and confidently that I am an Australian. It is not because I am not educated, it is not because I don't live in a reasonable home, it is not because of any of those things. It is because of the inability that many of us as indigenous people spent our lives doing and that is looking into the mirror of this society and either seeing nothing or seeing an incredibly distorted image.

That is the important thing to understand because you have to understand that to begin to understand the world view of indigenous people. You have to also understand, of course, the role that police and Government have played in our lives for the last 211 years. Not of all of that is good times, let me tell you. Of course, law enforcement and punitive action really has not been a happy story and for governments to say "Well, get on with it. That is all in the past. Let's turn a new page" isn't enough. That would be the same as me saying to you that everything that you have known, experienced from today backwards doesn't matter to you any more, including your heritage, including your country of birth, or your parent's country of birth, or including your language, or your relatives, or your life's experiences, they are not relevant, turn a new page, get on with it and pull your socks up. No.

The point that I am trying to make is that it has been Government, and it has been in many instances police, that have taken the children away, that have been the punitive expeditions in those horror days of the first 50, 60, 70 years of this colony. The police have generally been very very difficult to convince that they have any responsibility in terms of indigenous issues and understanding them and it is important to understand that there is a huge fear within the Aboriginal community. You will still see in some Aboriginal communities when a white car pulls up and it is Government people, there is still a fear in the older people that they have come to take the kids. That doesn't disappear. You can't turn a page and that doesn't exist any more. That is crucially important also to understand.

In terms of cultural differences, and I am aware that we are behind time and I feel dreadful for just skimming over the surfaces like this, but if I can just go back to the historical for a moment. The other point that I made on my piece of cardboard here is the political failures and the disappointments that you constantly experience as an Aboriginal person and how much at the whim of Government you still feel as an Aboriginal person today. You look at the recommendations from the Bringing Them Home report, and probably one of the most comprehensive examinations of these issues, the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, you go through them and you audit them and you tell me has there been a response, has it been systematic or is it picking and choosing what the different governments will do and what is the political flavour of the time. So the documents, the recommendations are out there, but there has been no real commitment in my view to proper implementation of those documents in their wholeness.

I can't underscore the point that was also made by the previous speaker about cultural difference. Now, very often I get into a taxi and because the taxi driver is Greek he starts talking in Greek, if he is Lebanese he starts talking in Lebanese, Sri Lankan, Fijian, and the point I am trying to make is that there is such an ignorance still about what Aboriginality is in New South Wales. If you don't fit the stereotype of what an Aboriginal person is supposed to look like, supposed to sound like, supposed to eat, supposed to act like, whatever that is, then somehow you are not Aboriginal. I just want you to think about what that means particularly to Aboriginal kids in schools who are fair skinned and blonde eyed like my son, where they are not even recognised as Aboriginal because they don't fit that stereotype. So many Aboriginal kids from the very beginning of their school experience are not even recognised as Aboriginals by that institution because they don't look it, and that too has a cumulative effect, where you are just denied who and what you are. What happens to Aboriginal kids who come to school and start speaking Aboriginal English. They get told from day one that is not how you talk. That is how my auntie talks, that is how my whole family talks, what is wrong with me, what is wrong?

The other thing I wanted to point out very briefly in terms of cultural differences, and you all know this, is that there is very little recognition in the court system or in policing or even understanding by the people who have responsibility in those systems of the differences in terms of Aboriginal culture. Very senior people, probably not only in this place but other places in this State, would probably say there are no real Aboriginals left in New South Wales any more. It sounds shocking

but let me assure you it is true. Certainly, the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs does think that, I am talking federally, with his comments in the paper last weekend about mixed bloods. That's language of the fifties. Aboriginality is about what is inside you, it is about your connectedness to your country, it is about your connectedness to each other, it is about your family responsibilities. It is not about the way you look, not about the way you sound. These are some of the fundamental things that just don't even get considered in dealing with indigenous issues and indigenous young people.

I won't talk too long about the socio economic situation because you have just heard about that, but all I can say is that people who think that Aboriginal human rights are not abused every single day in this country, I want you to think again. Think about what a human right is and human rights we understand to be about access to land, access to health, access to education, just those three things, and then think about them in the context of indigenous children. Of course human rights abuses go on daily, unwittingly and continually in this country and in this State and in this city.

I can take you a very short distance from here - some of you know exactly where I am talking about - to show you that there are children in this city, Aboriginal children, perhaps many other children, but particularly Aboriginal children, young Aboriginal children that are well known do not get a K to 5 education, whatever that statistic was. That is not out there, it is here, it is here where we live, and I think it is a serious issue that governments don't seem to be able to get their heads around and some of us get very cross after a few years of trying to make it clear that this is what is going on. Mix that up with poverty, as has been pointed out, mix it up with drug and alcohol abuse, mix it up with low self-esteem, mix it up with frustration and no wonder our kids are over represented in the justice system.

The last couple of points I want to make are these, in the interests of time. I think that New South Wales really has to make a stand about these issues, and I say that for a number of reasons. It is because at least publicly, I don't know about privately, but publicly in this State we have a Premier and a Shadow Premier who speak bi-partisanship in terms of Aboriginal affairs. That is the public view. I think we have got to work very hard to make sure it is also the private view. I suspect it is not always.

The other thing that I think needs to be recognised very much is that I am so proud of the indigenous leadership in this country and in this State, just so proud, it is outstanding, despite what Federal Parliamentarians are saying about us, and the reason I make this point is that the only way we are ever going to see any change in this area is through not just consultation but partnership with the indigenous community, not in a tiny way, not in a minute way, not in a way where you have got a couple of people on committees, but in a way that truly is what we think about partnership in a business sense. That is when you will see a change, that is when you will see a difference in your outcomes in any area in indigenous affairs.

I think it is happening slowly, but that is in my view the answer or the main big part of the jigsaw puzzle to really see an outcome, where the Aboriginal community can say, "This is what is going to work" and have the support of Government to implement those sorts of things. It requires political bravery, it requires new ways of doing things, it requires sticking your neck out, maybe having it chopped down again because you are trying some of those new ways. The past hasn't worked obviously and there is only one way to change and that is in my view the very very different ways of dealing and thinking about things in terms of Aboriginal young people.

I want to finish up by saying that the other point that I get so frustrated with is that in terms of any outcomes the social indicators, the socio-economic, the social justice issues for indigenous people, are going to have to be not only cross Government, cross department, but also Federal and State Governments have to come together more on this issue because it is a crisis, it is an absolute crisis, and unless there is true co-operation between the Federal and State and probably local heads of Government on these issues, then I really can't see all that much change.

The reason I say that is that I have seen one success in New South Wales when the Department of Health and the Department of Education in New South Wales worked together on what they call otitis media, which is an ear disease that 75 percent of Aboriginal children suffer in Sydney, and a 100 percent in the northern parts of the country, and that is where cross portfolio action has really worked, but it would work better if we could have Federal Government involved as well.

I am probably talking pie in the sky but in my view that is where things are at. Unfortunately, we can never ever get past politics to really address what is an

absolutely outrageous situation in this country as far as indigenous people and indigenous young people and the juvenile justice system, it is outrageous, and every single one of us has a responsibility to think seriously about it, I know that you do, and try and think of ways to do things differently, because the past hasn't necessarily worked.

Finally, I think reconciliation is really the only way forward, and just to let you know, there is a group of Aboriginal leaders, not the ones that Herron recognises, that met with Philip Ruddock, the new Minister for Reconciliation on the weekend. This might interest you, Chris, seeing I have referred to you 6000 times in this speech. He said, "What are some of the bottom lines?" And a decision was made that the bottom line is an apology about the stolen generation to go forward with healing. It is going to be an interesting two and a half years.

MIKE MONTGOMERY

MAYOR
MOREE PLAINS SHIRE COUNCIL

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: I would like to introduce his Worship the Mayor of Moree Plains Shire Council. It is symptomatic of the fact that Australia is supposed to be the most urbanised country in the world, and certainly the most urbanised continent in the world, that I think Mike Montgomery is the only real bushy, as we call them, to come here today. I made an attempt to meet him at lunch time when someone pointed out who he was and I went up to this fellow but he was from a Government department, he had nothing to do with Moree. However, I am certain that I am going to meet him now, or even later I hope.

He has come to speak to us about crime prevention issues from a rural perspective and he is just about the only rural I think in the room. The title of his address today is Solving Rural Community Problems through Effective Partnerships.

The Mayor was first elected to council in 1987 and he has been re-elected twice. In 1991 he was the Deputy Mayor. He held that position until 1996 when he was elected Mayor. An interesting thing about the Mayor is he chairs the New England North West Regional Development Board and the Northern Inland Regional Economic Development Organisation, which are critically important organisations in our State. I welcome the Mayor of Moree Council.

COUNCILLOR MIKE MONTGOMERY: I have been sitting down the back there, ladies and gentlemen, wondering how much trouble I could get myself into this afternoon and I have decided that I will go for broke.

I was having a conversation with one of the members of audience here earlier today about ties and about why people wear them, whether there is a hidden agenda or whether it is just incompetence or lack of taste. It made me think a little bit about the tie that I am wearing today, which is in fact a corporate tie from a large multi-national engineering manufacturing group and that is probably a traditional role that rural councils take; we are looking at earth moving, we are looking at graders, those sorts of things. It made me think a little bit about what a representative of a rural shire, like Moree Plains Shire, would be doing in a forum such as this talking about crime prevention and how we can go about making the community a little bit better. It is not really within the traditional role of local government.

I suppose as the introduction said, I have been on Council for a few years now, but I have only been a mayor for two years and running into the third, so I am sort of in the middle I suppose of a long line of mayors in the past and many to come. But what we have had in our community is continuity with our General Manager, and Mike O'Reilly is sitting in the audience and has in fact written a great deal of what I am going to say later on.

I think it is important for local communities that there is that continuity and you have got the skills within your community to actually go out and make things happen, because you know I will get rolled at the next election or someone else will come in with their own agenda; you need to have those people who can take on board the crucial issues that a community needs to address, not necessarily what the political imperative of the times says should be addressed, and that has happened because we have had people like Mike O'Reilly in our community and we have been thankful for that. Thank you, Michael.

There is a second point as well, and this is where I think I am going to get into some trouble. I have noticed that it seems to me that an awful lot of the victims that we are talking about today of crime appear to be those very people who are the perpetrators and that seems to be what is coming across here today, that those people out there committing the crime in our community are the real victims. I suppose that is an issue I do in fact agree with. But there are other victims as well and they have not been mentioned today and I think it is important, because of what I am going to say a little bit later, that some examples be brought forward.

I will give you a couple of examples. There is a rural community in my shire and regularly a car drives into that community and those people who are in that car sell drugs to the young people in the community and the young people do not pay in cash, they pay in video recorders or they pay in microwave ovens and those microwave ovens and video recorders are stolen from their neighbours and their aunties and their uncles. Those people that are taking the drugs certainly are victims of the system but the people who are having their goods stolen are also victims and I do not think they deserve to have to put up with that day in, day out, week in, week out.

It pains me to say this because it does not paint a very nice picture of my community, but there is one woman she is 68, her windows were broken every night for a week until one of her neighbours came over and stayed in a room. He noticed that she had barbed wire on her window sills to stop these people from climbing into her home. I do not think that woman should have to live in those sorts of conditions. I could go on and on and tell you many many examples of the type of terror that people are living in.

All these people, all of these other victims, besides those people who are perpetrating the crimes, that I have just mentioned have been Aboriginal people. I do not think that Aboriginal people deserve to have to live like that, in fear. The community I was talking about is Toomelah. Those people up there feel helpless. It is the white people who are going in selling drugs to these kids. It is their aunties and their neighbours that are getting ripped off.

When we start to talk about all of the issues that have been addressed today, and I agree with all of these, the long term planning, we have to go in and stop the rot, we have got to go in and make sure that the next generation have a decent opportunity. I agree totally with what Linda is saying. We have to start bringing back that self-respect within the Aboriginal community. We have got to give them something that was taken away from them. We really stuffed this nation up and particularly in rural communities. We are not really doing an awful lot to make it better. But in the short term we need to have results as well.

There is nothing wrong with bringing in all of this long term planning, it has got to be done or else we are just going to remain in the cycle, but we also have to have some short term solutions as well because the people in these communities are scared.

The media might be painting a picture that is worse than the situation but if you are an individual and you are afraid to leave your home because you do not know whether it is going to be there when you come back again that evening, then it is very real to you.

They are the people that I as a local councillor have to deal with. They are not just statistics; they are individual people who have concerns, they are afraid, they are being abused and something needs to be done now. It does not mean you do not take the long term plans or the medium plans to stop it from happening in the future but we have got to make some issues that come forward into our communities now. Having said that, there are things that rural communities can do and I suppose I am

here because some people know of the interesting things that we are doing at Moree, particularly the place management project which is the first rural place management project. It is a way of us trying to address this problem of government departments not working together and also to make our place, our community, the sort of place where people want to go out and enjoy themselves, where they want to live.

I look around here and I do not really see too many people who are from Moree and I wonder if you look inside yourselves whether if a job came up you would actually apply for a job at Moree. Be honest with yourself, because I doubt that you would. It is a great place. It can be promoted slightly better than it has been in some of the metropolitan media, but nonetheless it is a great place but it can be better.

Along with a variety of government departments, each making a \$10,000 contribution to this position, we have employed a fellow named Jim Boyce who we believe can integrate the response that the community needs from those departments to make Moree the sort of place that those people who are currently living there, and those who may be inclined to take up a position there in the future, really want the town to be; and that is an exciting proposal.

When we made the appointment we were thinking of putting it off until the year 2000 because some people think that Jesus Christ is coming back and we thought that he might be able to apply for the job. We also thought that he has been crucified once he might be able to take the job on there as part of the essential criteria. Sorry about that.

As I said, the various government departments who are involved in this process have contributed \$10,000 per annum and our council has put in \$35,000 towards this position and we want to have our community use this as, I suppose, it is a position that will improve the quality of life of not just the Aboriginal people, not just the white people, but all of those people who come to our community and look after the future of it by being involved - the whole of government approach, which is a term I could never really work out (whether it makes a lot of sense). But if we get each of those government departments that have a responsibility making a contribution to a position that will in fact criticise them if they are not working, then we see that as some sort of insurance that maybe we can in fact have some results in our community that has not happened in the past.

My Council has also been involved in purchasing a number of infra-structure items

to try and improve the law and order issues in our community and, as I was saying earlier, about the need for us to in fact take action now as well as plan long term. We see the place management as a medium to long term issue but we have also been involved with purchasing a mobile police van so that they can actually get out into those areas that require policing.

We have also been involved with lobbying to increase the numbers of police that can get out on to the beat. We have been fortunate that the government has responded by allocating Corrective Services to Moree. I know that does not really mean that we get an awful lot of police on the beat but what it does do is free up some of the police that are already there to go out and do the sort of work that is required of them and believe me if you have got 60 or 70 children out at 3.00 o'clock in the morning in four or five different groups and the only response you have got from the police is one van with two policemen in it you are not really going all that far.

We need to have a greater response on the street so that we can deal with some of those issues of multiple gangs out there walking around. They may not in fact be doing a great deal of damage. They may not in fact be doing much at all but I cannot understand why at 3.00 o'clock in the morning there are any people out on the streets at all.

We are not going to introduce any sort of curfew. We believe that people have a right to be out there if they want to be, whether you are under 10 or under 16 or under 65 I suppose. But there is no reason for them to be out there and so what we are trying to do is implement an operational area for parental responsibility in our community but also to boost up, with the help of the Attorney General's Department and the Department of Community Services, the amount of time that our youth services can spend out and about because I do not believe that it is appropriate for the police to be picking up these kids if they have got other duties when it comes to law and order. So if we can have a recognised community based department out there working with the kids rather than the police picking them up I think that is better for everybody.

There are a number of other things that our Council is doing but I know we are stretched for time so I will just wind up with a few other community development issues that I think are important, particularly in our area.

Jobs are so important if we want to have our communities grow and have them develop. We also need to have representation from all sections of the community.

In our area, in our valley, we have the Gwydir Irrigators Aboriginal Employment Strategy and a lot of the irrigators are trying to get Aboriginal people into meaningful jobs, not just the old cotton chipping where you are working down the rows with a hoe, but ending up as classers and as agronomists and as people who can be held up in high esteem as they work their way through the system and are able to succeed. The irrigators are working diligently on this program.

We have also entered into an Aboriginal scheme at the Council so that one of the lamentable situations where there has never been an Aboriginal person on Moree Plains Shire ever can in fact be addressed in the near future. I would hope that that will happen in September 1999 at the local government elections. About 20% of the population in the Shire are Aboriginal and we have never had anyone elected and that is just disgusting.

The final point I would like to make, and this is pretty important, that if any of the programs that we have heard about today are going to succeed, and they are great and we need to do them, but if they are going to succeed in rural areas then we need to have the skilled personnel out there to make it happen. I draw your attention to the point I made about Mike O'Reilly earlier. I would not be here if we had not had a skilled person who has been leading the charge for the last 20 years on our Council staff. The same thing is going to happen with all of these points that were brought up this morning, unless there are skilled people out in the bush who can in fact deliver the projects we have been talking about, you know the early intervention, about going and working with people, unless those people out there are skilled enough it is not going to happen. Have another little bit of a think about whether you would go out to the bush, because I know damn well you are not going.

If you are not going to go there, who is going to do the work? It is no good sending in people to try and do it if they have not got the skills to do it because you will just stuff it up and it has been stuffed up so many times in the past we cannot afford to have it happen again.

I actually blame the Heart Foundation because they have stopped people from eating salt and I know that you all get about an hour away from the sea and you have got to turn back and get another hit because you are on withdrawal, so maybe put a bit more salt in your diet and come out over the ranges. Thank you very much.

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: Thank you very much for that interesting presentation.

STEPAN KERKYASHARIAN AM

CHAIR
ETHNIC AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF NSW

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: Our next speaker will be addressing crime prevention issues on behalf of ethnic communities. We are very pleased to have Stepan Kerkyasharian here today.

Mr Kerkyasharian was born in Cyprus of Armenian background. In 1967 he migrated to Australia. He has done extensive community work in Australia, both in the Armenian community and through the Ethnic Communities Council of New South Wales, of which he was a foundation member. He has been extensively involved in media services for ethnic communities.

As Head of SBS Radio from 1980 he became a major catalyst in the establishment and professional development of SBS Radio. He remained Head of SBS Radio until his current appointment as Chairman of the Ethnic Affairs Commission of New South Wales in 1989. He is also a member of the New South Wales Board of Studies, Independent Complaints Review Panel of the ABC, the Royal Blind Society Advisory Committee, the Police and Ethnic Advisory Council and the Australian Medical Council Committee on the clinical examination process. He was made a Member of the Order of Australia in 1992. We are very pleased to welcome you here and to share your views with us now.

MR STEPAN KERKYASHARIAN: Thank you very much for that introduction and for the opportunity to address the issue of crime prevention through social support from the point of view of ethnic groups within our community.

As the title of this conference suggests, social support structures can reduce crime rates. For a long time crime rates have been thought of in a monolithic way; it happens and it happens in certain places, amongst certain people. Social support is important in a general sense because it looks at crime in a different way, it challenges the idea that crime will go away if we police streets heavily, make tough laws and put offenders in gaol, and we see that these methods fail when they are presented as the only solution to crime.

Today's conference gives us the opportunity to look at crime in a different context, that begins to explain it. It presents crime as a phenomenon which we can only make sense of when we understand the social atmosphere in which people and institutions interact. What these views do not take into account is that a person's background and environment can affect their behaviour. When we look at our

community and try and reconcile crime, social support and cultural diversity then the link between ethnicity and crime is not so obvious. High unemployment, low socio-economic status and disrupted family life are all factors which contribute to crime.

There is a very clear relationship between socio-economic factors and crime. People from ethnic communities are no more or less susceptible than anyone else to the pressures of poverty, unemployment or poor education. A person does not commit crime because of his or her ethnicity. Crime exists in relation to the circumstances that surround the way an individual or a community lives. It is this difference that is often ignored and which leads people to confuse those circumstances with ethnicity.

Social support services help to bridge the relationship between poor socio-economic circumstances and crime participation rates. It is therefore important that social support services reach everyone in the community. This can only happen if the providers of that support look at the barriers which can prevent services from reaching particular individuals or particular groups.

If Government programs are relevant to rural as well as metropolitan areas then agencies need to ensure that programs are designed so services reach people in remote areas. Likewise programs need to consider illiteracy in the community and not promote and deliver services in a way that privileges those who can read and deprive those with literacy problems. Agencies without facilities such as elevators, ramps and tele-typewriters prevent a whole group of people with disabilities from accessing their services. Similarly, ethnic communities are often faced with the difficulties of culture and language when they try to access services and for support. This can limit their opportunities to develop and contribute to the wider community and therefore, it limits their opportunity to participate.

Services such as family support, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, basic education and health access are all central to the ability to live independently and contribute fully to the community.

Information about services and where to get them is vital to make sure that all members of the community have equal access and the best chance at participating in the community. Because these services are your basic living skills for those who are disadvantaged socio-economically, then to go without them increases the chances of delinquent and criminal behavioural.

For example, if drug rehabilitation programs are not promoted to people with limited English language skills and they are at odds with cultural norms or customs, a whole group of people will be excluded from receiving help. When criminal behaviour follows, then it becomes quite clear that it is not the result of that person's ethnicity that they commit crime but because of the drug dependency and the needs that arise from that. Nevertheless, that person's ethnicity was an obstacle to gaining the support that could have avoided criminal behaviour.

The Ethnic Affairs Commission encourages all State Government agencies to turn their attention to designing and delivering services across the community that are culturally sensitive and appropriate. New South Wales agencies are guided by the principles of cultural diversity which help them to do this. The principles are more than an aid. They form the basis of an obligation enshrined in legislation that all agencies have to report to Parliament on what they are doing to make participation and access by ethnic communities and members of ethnic communities easier. They report on these initiatives through the Ethnic Affairs Commission and we also assist them in identifying areas where particular support is needed for communities.

This duty recognises that some community groups face additional difficulties in accessing services because of language and cultural background. This also means that they may have particular needs that must be considered when designing and delivering those services or support. The legislative framework that allows the Commission to check and balance government agency programs also allows us to work closely with particular agencies on identified areas of need.

The main focus is on agencies that have a primary role in delivering welfare services as well as agencies whose business is law and justice enforcement. Law and justice agencies, therefore, need to look at working with the community. This helps to improve services and shifts the attitudes that both law enforcers and community groups have towards crime as a social phenomena.

With a new understanding of crime and its causes, agencies can redirect and redesign services to reflect the real needs of the community. I will give you two examples of the work being undertaken in this area with the New South Wales Police Service and the Department of Juvenile Justice. The commission is doing a lot of work with the police on how police are seen in the community. This affects the ability of police to best respond to and prevent criminal behaviour. These areas

include building a culturally diverse Police Service, looking at prejudice-related crimes, using interpreters and developing community relations.

The police and community training program, which is also known as PACT, involves police working with communities at a local level. The project challenges the idea that police regulate passive communities. It encourages communities and police to work together to find local solutions for local problems. This gives members of the community the chance to voice their opinions and to draw on the support of the police in keeping the community safe. At the same time, it allows police to see their role as one which is to co-operate with the community in finding solutions to crime by looking at what aggravates it.

This approach is especially important for ethnic community groups because it gives them the forum to talk about the particular problems that face them because of their cultural and language backgrounds. Social support in this way becomes central to the question of crime prevention and community safety.

Social support also aims to prevent re-offending behaviour. Again, support services for the community as well as offenders need to be appropriate for culturally diverse groups and in relation to young offenders from ethnic backgrounds, the Ethnic Affairs Commission is working with the Department of Juvenile Justice to make programs accessible. Again, it is about looking at the programs that juvenile justice delivers and making sure that everyone in the community can access them.

Youth conferencing is an example of this. Set up under the *Young Offenders Act*, the scheme has the potential to change offending behaviour by dealing and addressing it in the community context. Youth conferencing tries to keep young offenders out of court and corrective institutions by analysing the offence with all those affected by it. It is a direct example of working with the community in its own setting to address the problems that directly effect it.

From the point of view of offenders with ethnic backgrounds and their families, the whole idea of conferencing needs to translate into a process that can accommodate their cultural and linguistic needs, otherwise, the service is not accessible and it is most likely to fail. In this sense the commission is working with juvenile justice to make sure that both the aim and the process of youth conferences are relevant to as many people as possible.

So we can see that there are many ways to respond to crime if we try to understand it as a product of social conditions. When we do place it in context and recognise its links to socio-economic factors, it becomes clear that social support can have a direct impact on deterring and redressing crime. The point to remember is that for social support services to be effective, we need to consult the community on its needs and design services so that they respond to those needs.

In a culturally diverse society, not taking note of the particular needs and barriers that face groups from culturally diverse backgrounds can undermine the effectiveness of social support networks. Crime needs to be understood from the point of view of every individual's relationship with the community. Only in this way can we take into account the real nature of crime, identify some of its catalysts and understand the real nature of its relationship to ethnicity.

CHRISTINE NIXON

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
NSW POLICE SERVICE

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have another, and I say this seriously, household name in our community, Assistant Commissioner, New South Wales Police Service, Christine Nixon. Christine is here to comment on the role of community policing in crime prevention. Christine was appointed the Executive Director, Human Resources, New South Wales Police Service in 1994. Her policing career commenced in 1972 with periods of attachment at the school lecturing section of the Criminal Investigation Branch, Darlinghurst Police Station and the Commissioner's policy unit.

Christine has studied at Harvard University where she was awarded a Master of Public Administration. She has also undertaken secondment to the London Metropolitan Police, and I understand she watches "The Bill" on Channel 2 regularly. As the Executive Director, Human Resources and Development, Christine has responsibility for police and civilian personal matters, industrial relations, employee welfare, resource management and recruitment, education and training.

In addition to her normal duties, she also maintains a longstanding interest in domestic violence and juvenile justice issues. We welcome you most heartily, Christine.

MS CHRISTINE NIXON: Often when you are the second last speaker and you have written a paper the previous week, after listening to the last few speakers you get to this point and say, "I do not think I want to say the things that I have written". People have said some time ago that if the police had done their job there would be no crime. In many cases people said it was our responsibility and nobody else's. In the 26 years I have been a police officer what I have seen is that a lot of other people think that it is their responsibility as well as ours. I think I should say that to start with.

Obviously the kind of policing we have applied in this State, and listening to Linda talk about the way the police have done their job in some previous instances and I guess in some cases now, makes me remember John Avery's statement that the police are, in a sense, on the grinding edge between the Government and its people. We are the ones generally in uniform who are often there delivering the kinds of policies that governments of various persuasions might have us deliver.

I cannot but say that, having listened to John Avery and other senior people who did go to Aboriginal homes and take those children, some may have done it with a sense of glee but I do not think many of them did. I guess that is an issue for all of us to come to terms with. Peter Ryan recently made the point that one of the enormous issues facing this community is in fact the way we have treated Aboriginal people and we do have to come to terms with that in the future.

He also made the point at a recent seminar of the Council of Civil Liberties that the police are often providing the cement to hold together parts of society, especially when emergencies occur. We help put the wheels back on people's lives. Some of what I will comment on today will be in the context, though, that the police can only play their part and they are not the total answer. No matter how many police there are, we can only provide part of the answer. We can perhaps identify the problem and work with others towards the solution.

The councillor for Moree Plains, who obviously works with the police, mentioned that one of the things about crime is that it is a major thief of liberty. It is also the major thief of the peace of mind of many of us, and we cannot forget that. In terms of working through what works, as we have done today, and listening to people like Larry Sherman and other speakers today, we need to take those things on board.

My research differs from Larry's and also from a British home office study which looked at what works and what does not. I think those studies, together with the more recent work of Ross Homel, should underpin the deliberations of not only this Committee, but also all of us, so we do not waste the precious resources we have. Having lived and studied in the United States and, I guess, travelled to 30 States and also to England, I think it is important that those studies are applied to our cultural context.

I wish to comment on a couple of different issues. The British study suggests that there is evidence that a wide range of initiatives will prevent criminality or reduce risk factors if they target children, families, schools and friends. I guess my experience goes back to 1984 when I was an observer or student of a thing called the future of juvenile justice in the United States. Out of that came a large document, three volumes. Those proceedings 14 years ago in many cases talked about what works and what does not and I suppose at the end of my speech I am going to ask, "How come no one ever paid any attention 14 years ago to what was commonly

known across the United States at least, and that information was available here, to what worked and what did not".

The Perry pre-school or the Head Start studies were things that were commonly talked about in 1984 in the United States. I came back in 1986 and people commonly talked about them here, but it seems to me we did not quite figure how to expand that area. My own experience is that the majority of young people who offend do so to a limited degree and never come in contact with the juvenile justice or criminal justice system again. Those who do persist, though, need to have tailored solutions.

I guess I had a hero in the United States called Jerome Miller, the boss of juvenile justice in Massachusetts. He shut down the juvenile justice institutions and used the money, about \$50,000 a head to actually pay for tailored solutions for young people in those communities, generally run by the communities themselves, so he brought out of the community those kinds of resources but he decided that leaving those young people in institutions was not an effective way to operate. That was back in 1979-1980, so again it has been around for a long time.

In terms of schools, just to comment on a couple of issues, I represent the Premier on the Australian violence prevention awards panel. We have watched a lot of initiatives come forward, but particularly more recently we watched a lot of schools present ways aimed at teaching students non-violent methods and dispute resolution. The programs cover juvenile justice models and peer review and support and, hopefully in the not too distant future, that committee will report publicly about the kind of work we think the schools are doing.

Once we gave an award for a thing called "Ugly Mugs" which was an interesting program where Victorian prostitutes actually identified offenders. The police took around the pictures and these prostitutes identified them. The other was a community band made up of former offenders who did a wonderful job of crime prevention in their community. I think the models and available mechanisms are quite broad.

Clearly, society's major nurturing institution is the family. Having been involved in the horrors and investigation of child abuse as I have since 1978, I have seen many horrendous things done by children to their families and by families to their children.

Some time ago the State decided that it would intervene in families and that the children were not the sole responsibility of the parent or their carer. This decision means that we, the State or the State's operatives must be particularly aware of abuse, neglect or behaviour that may harm a child.

Often what is needed is some current cement, some type of support that allows the family unit to be kept together but with additional assistance. I know in my time in child abuse and other areas I have come across projects and schemes like Wiley Park, Karitane or those kinds of benevolent societies and I think they will work. In many cases they provide assistance, education, respite and skill, perhaps not found in that family. However, there are occasions where children need to be taken out of their families and, hopefully with proper oversight procedures, it is done for the right reasons. But as a police officer I cannot allow a child to stay in a family when I believe they have been sexually abused and I do not think that many other people can, either, no matter how valuable we think the family is.

I would also like to comment about community problem-oriented policing. I have been an advocate for a long time of problem-oriented policing. Some of you may have heard of it but, primarily, I guess, it is best spoken about in terms of illustration.

I worked with the Woy Woy police some time ago about a problem hotel. That hotel generated a thousand calls for police service in a year. That is a lot of work in Woy Woy, let me tell you. When we got there, the police knew what the problems were. They were issues like malicious damage, drink driving, stealing, assaults, vandalism, all related to that hotel. In the end that hotel along with community involvement, the mayor, the council, a whole range of community groups, worked together to try to solve the problem of their hotel and eventually they did, after the seventh time at the Licensing Court. But the point was that it was not just the police who worked together, and it never will be. I guess that was a practical example.

Just out of the State on another one, I worked in Para Hills, a very poor part of South Australia, just near Elizabeth, and again it was an interchange that was a major client problem related to that area. It was about assaults, and about alcohol abuse, and about shoplifting, and about truancy, and about a whole range of issues. Again the community, getting a government grant of \$265,000, worked together to solve the crime.

I have recently been in operations working as a region commander. I guess just so that I got the most experience I was sent out to the south-west to manage an area that covered Blacktown and Mount Druitt, all the way down to Bowral. If you count what is in the middle it is called Fairfield and Liverpool and Campbelltown and all those areas. I learned two things: The enormous capacity of the communities out there to support each other and also the enormous problems facing people in some of those parts.

I watched particularly Cabramatta and made some comments about that publicly, and I guess the issues we are facing are enormous and diverse but I think there are some signs in things like place management, which we have spoken about before, and of government departments working together in a concerted effort with the community so that we can actually do better, and I think that that may be the way forward.

In terms of policing strategies, I think we have not had enough research. David Bradley, the Dean of Studies at the Police Academy, and a wonderful academic and writer about policing often says, "If we were trying to solve cancer with just one or two solutions we would be concerned. We are trying to solve domestic violence with one or two research solutions. There is not enough research available to know what works properly."

Professor Sherman's study was the one in Minneapolis that many people in 1984 chose, anyway, and said, "Well, it looks like assault. It should be dealt with as an assault and you should arrest the offender." To actually persuade police organisations to adopt that model, which is really quite staggering to me, has been enormous. Across New South Wales we have had a terrific study by Julie Stewart, who is here as well, that showed how you can apply that to the effects of arrest. So I think, in policing terms, effective crime prevention strategies are obviously targeting repeat offenders, working with repeat victims, drink-driving and speed reduction, which also works in terms of preventing crime directed at how the police should be patrolling and so on.

Just to finish in terms of not taking too much of Larry's time, I guess we should say that my experience in policing has covered a variety of countries and types of crime. This broad-based exposure to criminal activity and community disharmony has led me to a firm conclusion that insufficient funds are spent on social causes of crime

and preventive measures. If we applied more attention and resources to crime prevention I am convinced the downstream effect would be considerable savings to the community in both money and reduced psychological trauma.

Finally, let me say that some of what we have said today, and many speakers have said it, we have known about for some time. I suppose the real challenge is getting decision-makers, people like me and some of the people here today, to see the value that we all need to be advocates for the facts and to correct the inaccuracies, because often the mythology is greater than many of us can handle. We need to find the resources for prevention and to see that the work of a three-year-old in pre-school can be given to a 15-year-old down the line. We have to at least be able to see that far in front.

Someone suggested as we were walking out to lunch that perhaps a 20-year government might do it. But I will not take a bite on that.

Susan Everingham in her paper today started a point, but I guess she ran out of time. She was going to tell us what the barriers were, I hoped, about how come we could not do these things. I guess that given that we did not get enough time for Susan to say that, I have gone back to what I have always considered when all else fails - follow the rules. I have a degree in public policy, so one should know how come you have not been able to do this. I guess we are missing some issues.

Maybe my contribution is a small one because I think the Committee itself has to think about its responsibility and also about how come it has not happened before because I think that needs to be a key part of the deliberations. I suppose what my professor at Harvard told me in the Kennedy School of Government was that if you want to bring a policy forward and you want it to work there are lots of issues. There are issues like leadership and timing and leverage and opportunity, but, more importantly, the policy itself must be, and should be, legitimate; it should have a clear and obtainable objective; and you have to have the capacity to deliver it. Those three things have to be in place before you can move forward.

I think that as much as time what is available in terms of prevention in this area needs to be part of this endeavour but so, in fact, does the work on how you actually get this done, because I think those of us who have been here today - and there is a huge amount of expertise here today - think that in some ways the future of our

society could well be altered by just some of the issues that have been dealt with today. Thank you very much.

FINAL COMMENTARY

SUSAN EVERINGHAM AND
PROFESSOR LARRY SHERMAN

HON JOHN RYAN: Thank you, for that, Chris. I have had the privilege of listening to Chris Nixon give advice and messages to people from police commissioners, police Ministers and governments and the Parliament for well in excess of 10 years, and I am never bored listening to that remarkable lady, who I believe has had one of the most significant impacts on the New South Wales Police Service over the last decade, and we are very privileged to have heard from her at a conference like this. When you were talking about myths and legends I know that you yourself have been the subject of more myths and legends in the history of public administration in New South Wales.

To conclude our seminar this afternoon we are going to invite back our two overseas guests, Professor Larry Sherman and Susan Everingham, to make some commentary, I guess, on what they have heard. For most of us we will all have the luxury of getting the *Hansard* in a few weeks time to be able to read that through. But two of these people have had to somehow comprehend all of this and make some sort of comment on where they think we should go or what we should conclude, and we want to give them the most time to do that. So can I simply invite them back to the podium to give their concluding remarks. Certainly I am sure it will be well worth the wait of listening and hearing from you. Thanks.

Ms SUSAN EVERINGHAM: I will be really brief because I know we are almost out of time. I would like to summarise what I think I have learned and I hope that some of you have learned. First of all, I think that we have learned that it is *not* true that nothing works, that early intervention has never worked, to prevent crime. This lesson has been suggested by the program co-ordinators who spoke today. It has been supported by sound academic research that Larry and I talked about. *And* it has been underscored by the moving testimony of the participants in the programs who spoke this morning.

I have already reminded you of Larry Sherman's work, you have heard about our work, including the survey of early childhood interventions. I would also like to mention to you some additional work that has been done by Delbert Elliot at the University of Colorado, called the Blueprints project, which outlines 10 exemplary programs that have been proven to prevent violence. Dr Elliott and his colleagues have designed 'blue prints' that describe how these ten programs should be replicated. They are programs you may be interested in learning more about.

Our work says that early intervention can be cost-effective in reducing crime, more cost-effective than other alternatives; and that early childhood interventions produce not only crime reduction benefits but other social benefits, they can generate more in savings than they cost, and thus can be considered investments.

But all this work needs to be considered preliminary because there is a lot that we do not know. Our results are based on few studies, and on small studies. We do not have enough evidence to be sure that the approaches are completely reproducible in other settings and, indeed, how big the payoff would be in Australia.

We also do not know much about scale-up, that is, how well these pilot programs will scale up in government-supported settings. Most importantly, what we do not know is what elements of the program make them effective. As an example, David Old's program which we both talked about, is delivered by *nurses* to *first-time mothers*. These may be two crucial elements, and if those are removed the program may be less effective. We just do not know right now. So it is hard to say a priori what the optimal program would be in a given community.

That speaks to me of the need for more research. However, policy change does not need to await the results of this research. In fact, policymakers can help this process by funding pilot and proven programs, and by insisting that the programs have appropriate evaluations. This would serve two purposes, both to improve the knowledge base and to improve the lives of the people who participate in the programs at the same time.

I think people need to remember that no approach is a silver bullet. Get-tough strategies are not going to solve the problem alone, but neither are early interventions. So it is pretty clear that we need a composite approach, and a balanced approach, to crime.

I think the speakers today have illustrated that the problem is not a simple one, that there are lots of complicating factors here in Australia, as in the United States, but that there is a great deal of support for early intervention that helps avoid crime before it happens. In my mind it seems clear that early intervention belongs in the crime policy tool box. Exactly to what extent and exactly how that should work, what type of programs should be applied, is yet to be decided, but certainly it belongs there.

Let me close by letting you know that the research that I talked about is documented in reports and if you want to get access to them, RAND's web site, www.rand.org, will tell you how to get the publications.

PROFESSOR LARRY SHERMAN: Susan has given me the privilege of having the last word today and the last word is jobs. Susan has got a silver bullet. It is true that many things need to be done, it is true that there needs to be a lot of co-ordination, but it is also true we think, by lots of theory and at least indirect evidence, that when you look at the relationship among the different institutions we talked about today, the family, the schools, the police and other governmental roles, that maybe what holds the institutions together is the viability of the family because there are breadwinners, increasingly in the modern world two breadwinners, who can both contribute to a family and claim economic power in the family, which is perhaps one of the most destructive things about welfare, especially mother-centred welfare, which tends to make fathers irrelevant, and many people think that those policies have contributed to high rates of single parent families.

William Julius Wilson, in his analysis of neighbourhoods in the US which only have 20 or 30 percent of the adults working, points to the disappearance of work as the major cause of the breakdown of the family and there was some debate about this, but just to reiterate what I said earlier, it seems to me that if we have highly concentrated poverty areas in New South Wales, where there is highly concentrated crime, as Mr Moore mentioned in his reference to Don Weatherburn and others, it seems to me that if you take Christine Nixon's arguments about the three essential elements for implementing policy, one of which is having a very clear objective, the second is having the capacity to bring it forward, and I forget what the third one is but the first two are important enough.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Has to be legitimate.

PROFESSOR LARRY SHERMAN: Has to be legitimate, and that may be the crux of it, because in a country with a disaffected middle-class, it may not be legitimate to be focussing a lot of resources on the problems of the very poor. Perhaps the way to make that clear is that there is an epidemic character to violent crime, wherein in what happens in very poor neighbourhoods, with HIV or other virological problems, certainly spreads into the broader community, the same arguments that we made about violence.

It seems to me that there is a dog that didn't bark today, a dog that doesn't really bark that much in the US, I guess it does bark, it doesn't bite, and that is corporation, the private employers who are so important in the job picture, and in the US we don't really do a whole lot about bringing jobs to high unemployment areas through private employment initiatives but at least we talk about it, and I think you have to talk about it before you can make it legitimate. There is a plan that is on the drawing board in Texas right now to have a \$20 million effort over a ten year period for improving employment rates for minority youth in telecommunications, essentially South Western Bell, one of the big draw companies, is thinking about trying to bring the minority youth into the telecommunications industry.

It seems to me that the prime example of how you could go into a place like Moree, and again, not just try to get people who can get through a job training program, who may be the cream of the crop in the high unemployment neighbourhood, and get them jobs, and leave the whole neighbourhood behind, but to take a very different role, one that I think is attainable if you can figure out how to do it, and to go in and get everybody, every adult in that community, everyone possible, working and to totally transform all of the things, all of the ripple effects that would flow out of having a very high participation rate.

What makes it do-able I think is the fact that you can focus in on a very small group. You can have a kind of one neighbourhood at a time approach that would be composed of trial and error and seeing what does and doesn't work, and it is probably going to be different in different neighbourhoods, and it does relate to the larger Australian problem that five prominent economists have just signed a letter about in terms of how to create jobs in this country, but perhaps to go back to the legitimacy issues, the idea of focussing job creation efforts as a governmental program in communities of poverty may not be the way when there are lots of deserving people all over society.

If there could be a partnership with a corporation that has the capacity, not to create millions of jobs, but perhaps create 2000 jobs or 3000 jobs in one of those western Sydney concentrated poverty communities and to demonstrate the effectiveness in the short run and not just 20 years later, but in the short run, to get the adults to work to lay a foundation for early childhood intervention, or school based intervention or police programs to support all this, that may be the place to begin.

I think in terms of listening to all the good ideas, all the good suggestions today, the fundamental question boils down to where do we begin and I guess that is where we come to the last word. I would suggest to you that word is jobs but it is jobs in baby steps, one community at a time and not the whole State. Thank you very much for the opportunity.

HON BRYAN VAUGHAN: It has all been said, hasn't it? A wonderful bunch of people they are, and so are you all in my view.

This Committee of ours has been involved in some very high profile issues and in political terms that equals votes. I am not going to mention what some of them are, they are not worthy of it in this context and in this gathering, but what we are doing here and what we have done here today is of absolute importance. I confess to having been nervous about whether or not this gathering would be a success, that is whether people would involve themselves in it, and just look around you and they are. I think I can speak for John, the Deputy Chairman, Jannelle and Fred, and those who unfortunately debate on another issue, on social issues, which is what we are about here. I do not want to be maudlin about it. I hope that we have all gained something from it. I think you are all crusaders and God willing something will come about it.

HON JOHN RYAN: Can I hold you for just another second. Today is a special occasion for our Chairman. He is retiring from the New South Wales Parliament at the end of this Parliament, not today, but we are probably not likely to have many more public occasions in hearing, so as the Deputy Chairman of this Committee, whilst there is indeed a good representative example of many of the people who have made submissions to our Committee present, I would like to congratulate our Chairman for the excellent job he has done as the Chairman of this Committee and offer him congratulations, not only for today but also for the contribution of his work. I am sure this is just the beginning and I am glad that he had the opportunity to start it off at the beginning as something that will be significant in public administration in our State. Congratulations, Bryan, and thanks.

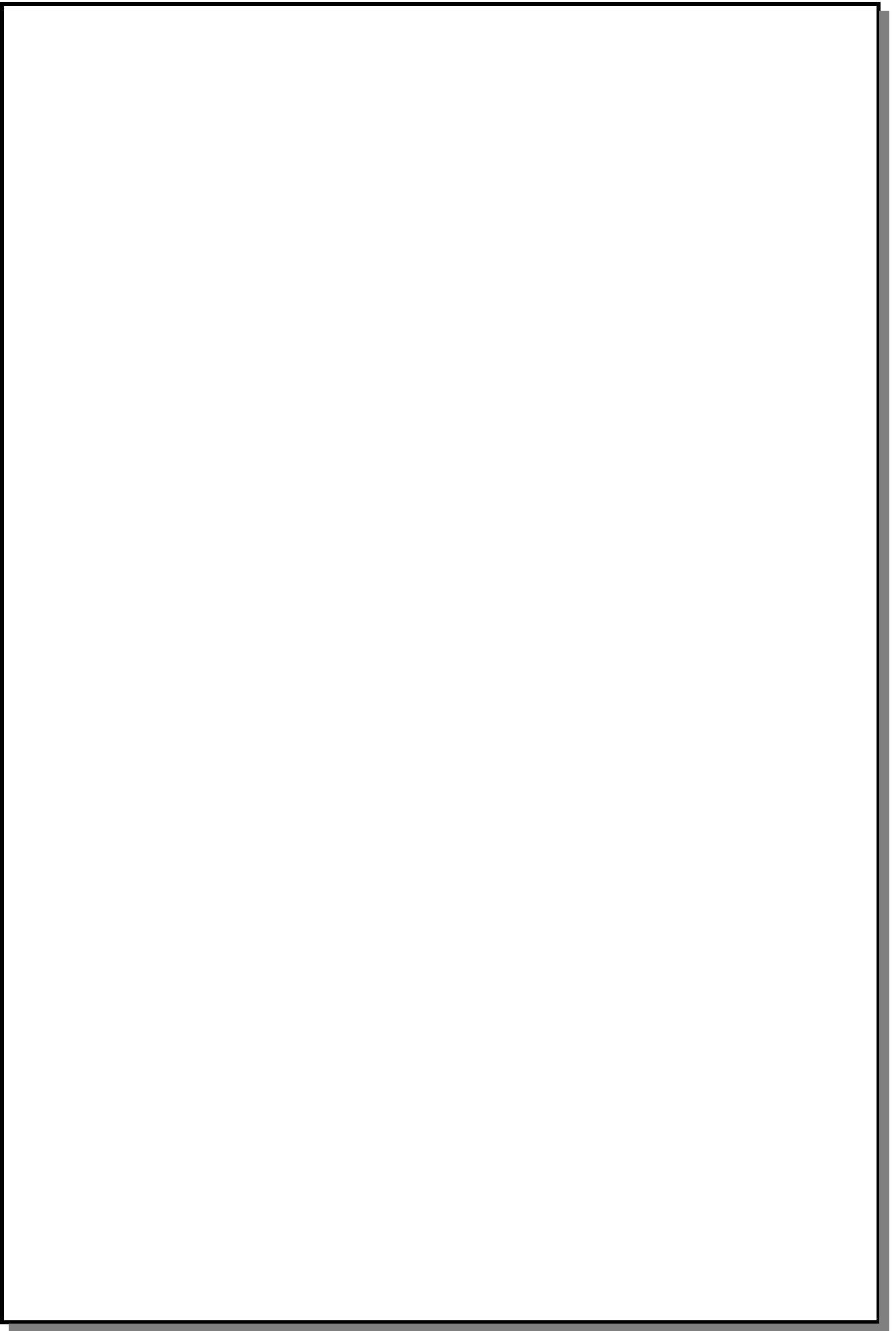
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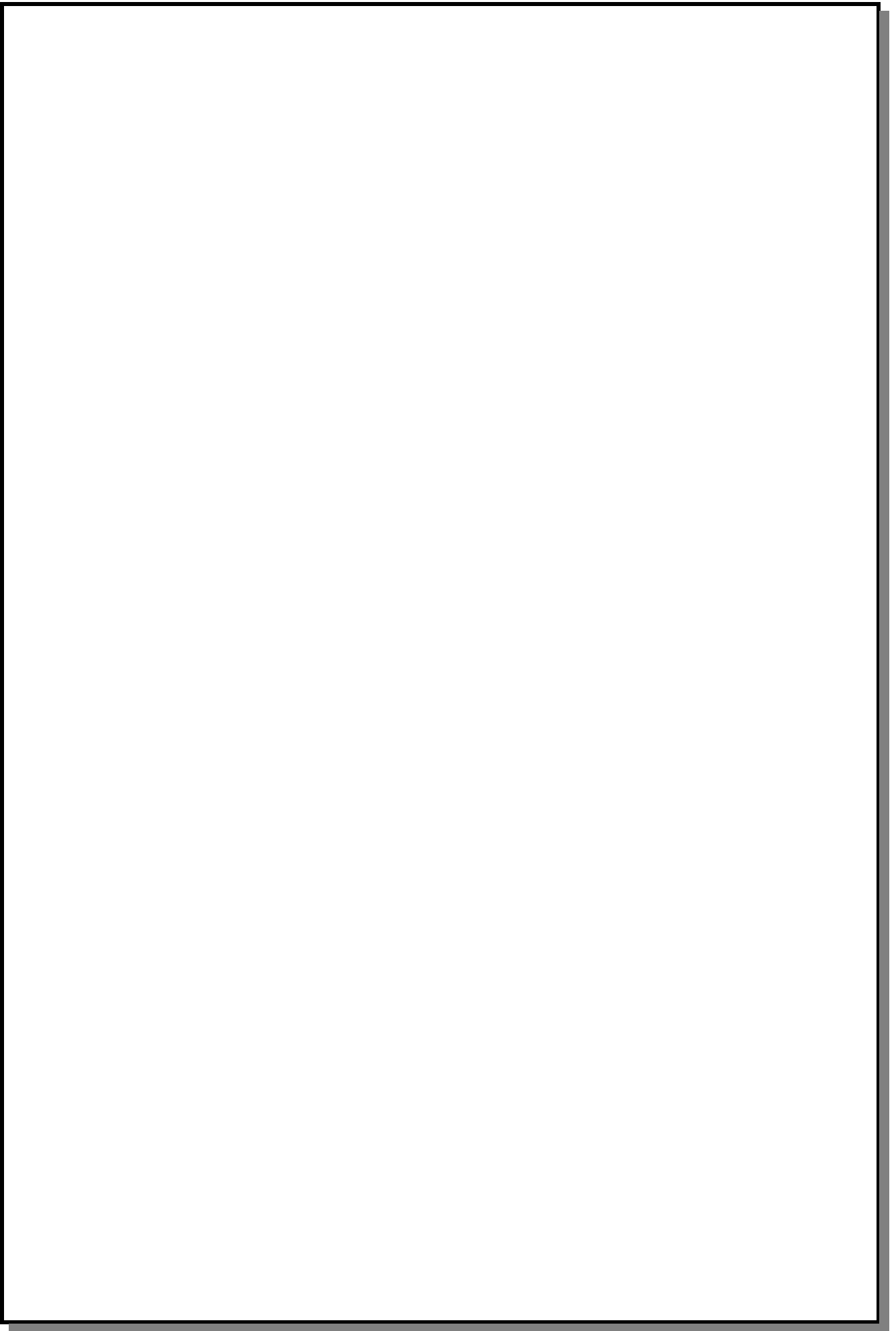
APPENDIX ONE

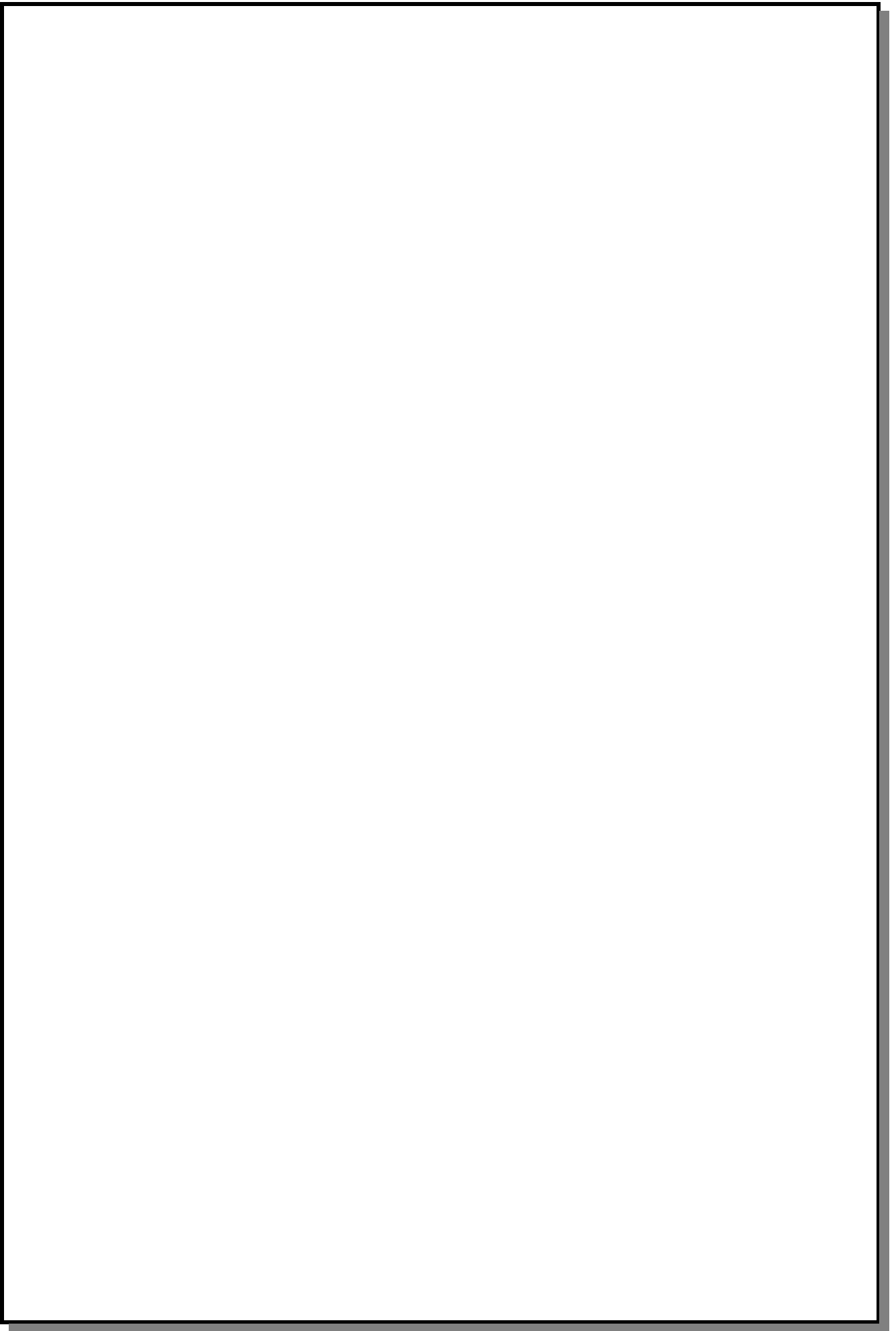
REFERENCE RECEIVED FROM
THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (20 MAY 1998)

AND

LETTER FROM ATTORNEY GENERAL TO
COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN REGARDING THE INQUIRY







APPENDIX TWO

REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONFERENCE

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY
26 OCTOBER 1998

**REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS AT THE CRIME PREVENTION CONFERENCE
26 OCTOBER 1998**

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Abbott, Michael	Project Manager	City of Sydney Service Planning and Policy Unit
Abdel-Ahad, John	Welfare	Dept of Corrective Services
Abram, Cheryl Tang, Anita	Policy Officer	Community Services Commission Community Services Commission
Agriesti, Larry	Manager, OD	NSW Police
Annakin, Lindy	Senior Investigation Officer	NSW Ombudsman
Arranz, Richard	Project Officer	NSW Dept of Sport and Rec
Ashpole, Lynne	Principal Policy Analyst	Ministry for Police
Baker, Eileen	DV Project/Policy Officer	Commonwealth Dept of Health and Family Services
Baker, Joanne	Senior Research Officer	Attorney General's Dept
Bardetta, Frances	President	Association of Child Care Centres of NSW
Barndan, Geoff	Policy Manager	The Cabinet Office
Barnes, Marilyn	Manager, Community Services	Family Action Centre University of Newcastle
Batliwalla, Mahrukh	Executive Member	Ethnic Communities Council
Bauman, Greg	Crime Prevention Officer	Lismore City Council
Belfos, Ingrid	Sutherland Shire Council	
Bensley, Steve		NSW Police Commercial Crime Agency
Bilson, Sandra	Senior Policy Analyst	Ministry for Police
Bishop, Christine	Master of Psychology (Forensic) Program	University of NSW
Bland, Kellie	Liaison Officer, Community Grants Program	Dept of Corrective Services
Boyton, Helen	Cabramatta Project Officer	Strategic Projects Division Premier's Dept
Boyton, Robyn	Senior Welfare Officer	Dept of Corrective Services
Bradley, David	Director, Research and Curriculum	NSW Police Service
Bramston, Troy	Policy Advisor	State Chamber of Commerce

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Brown, Melanie	Project Officer National Campaign Against Violence and Crime	Federal Attorney General's Dept
Bull, Melissa	Lecturer, School of Social Science	University of New England
Burney, Linda GUEST SPEAKER	Chairperson	NSW State Reconciliation Committee
Bursill, Les	Coordinator, Aboriginal AOD	Dept of Corrective Services
Butt, Neville		Fairfield Juvenile Justice
Byers, Julie	Social Planner	Lake Macquarie City Council
Callen, Ann	Project Officer	Dept of Juvenile Justice
Chilvers, Greg	Director, Research and Resource Centre	Police Association of NSW
Clark, Sandy	Solicitor	Burnside Adolescent Legal Service
Conley, Eric	Director, Engineering Services	Armidale City Council
Coultas, Amanda	Solicitor Advocate	Legal Aid Commission
Cregan, Jan	Researcher	NCHSR/Macquarie University
Crooks, Andrew	Philosopher and Political Analyst	Self-Employed
Crowley, Desmond	Senior Policy Officer	Attorney General's Department
Crowley, Margaret	Psychologist	
Currie, Sherida	Legal Officer	Law Society of NSW
Dart, Philip	Assistant Solicitor for Public Prosecutions	NSW Director of Public Prosecutions
David, Jeffrey	Solicitor	Self-Employed
Davidson, Eleanor	Executive Director Student Services and Equity Programs	Department of Education and Training
Davis, Cathy	Senior Project Officer	AusEinet Flinders University of South Australia
Day, Michael	Solicitor	Director of Public Prosecutions
Delbaere, Elana	Master of Psychology (Forensic) Program	University of NSW
Dibley, George		
Dimond, Juliet	Policy Analyst	NSW Health

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Duffield, Joy	Acting Director Programme Administration	DEETYA
Dundas, Kate	Director	Premier's Department
Eggins, Barrie	Medical Practitioner	Self-Employed
Ella-Duncan, Marcia	Executive Officer	Aboriginal Justice Advisory Council NSW Attorney-General's Dept
Evanian-Thomas, David	Project and Liaison Officer	Ethnic Affairs Commission
Everingham, Susan GUEST SPEAKER	Policy Analyst	RAND (US)
Fahey, Megan	Senior Policy Officer	Ageing and Disability Dept
Flaherty, Bruce	Principal Policy Officer	Crime Prevention Division NSW Attorney General's Dept
Flynn, Christine	Children's Policy and Liaison Officer	Community Services Commission
Geggie, Judy	Assistant Director	Family Action Centre University of Newcastle
Georgiou, Deborah	Program Co-ordinator Neighbourhood Improvement Program	Dept of Housing
Gibson, Melissa	Manager, Health Services Policy	NSW Health
Gillett, Wendy	Director, Participation	NSW Sport and Recreation
Gluskie, Clarence Dr	Chairman	Hope for Children Foundation
Gravener, Michael	Social Worker	Come in Centre
Hadjimichael, Noel		State Chamber of Commerce
Halloran, Terry	Acting Assistant Director - Inmate Management	Corrective Services
Hannah, Ross	Director, Corporate Planning and Development	NSW Dept of Corrective Services
Hannan, Hilary	Solicitor	Ebsworth and Ebsworth
Harrigan, Snr Const Caroline	Community Safety Officer	NSW Police - SUTHERLAND LAC
Hastings, Cathy	Regional Violence Prevention Specialist	Attorney General's Dept

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Hayes, Susan	Associate Professor and Head of Dept	Dept of Behavioural Sciences in Medicine - Uni of Sydney
Hickey, Jennifer	Research Officer	Judicial Commission of NSW
Higgins, Sigrid	Assistant Secretary General	ICJ (Australian Section)
Hodson, Andrew	Councillor	Sutherland Shire Council
Holmes, Michael	Director	NSW Police Commercial Crime Agency
Homel, Peter	Director	NSW Crime Prevention Division
Homel, Ross GUEST SPEAKER	School of Justice Administration	Griffith University
Huntsman, Michelle	Capacity Building Officer National Campaign Against Violence and Crime	NSW Attorney General's Dept
Huon, Gail	Associate Professor School of Psychology	University of New South Wales
Ingram, Elizabeth		Schizophrenia Fellowship of NSW Inc
Jay, Elaine	Project Leader	Dept of Community Services
Jenkin, Jean	Lecturer - Special Education	University of Western Sydney
Jenkins, Tony	Senior Research Officer	Dept of Juvenile Justice
Johnson, Grant	General Manager, Vicsafe	Dept of Justice (VIC)
Judd, Glenys GUEST SPEAKER	Coordinator	Wesley Delmar, Quakers Hill Family Support
Kakakios, Michael	Policy Manager	NSW Health
Kennedy, Robert	Research Officer Select Committee on Crime Prevention	Legislative Assembly of Western Australia
Kennedy-Smith, Peter	Barrister at Law	Peter Kennedy-Smith
Keogh, Timothy	Director, Psych Specialist	Dept Juvenile Justice
Kerkyasharian AM, Stepan GUEST SPEAKER	Chair	Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW
King, Pam	Manager, Strategic Initiatives	Dept of Juvenile Justice
Kirkby, Elisabeth	Retired MLC	
Kruse, Tracy GUEST SPEAKER	Participant	Burnside, Bidwill NEWPIN
Leech, Dr Marie	Senior Policy Officer	UNIYA Jesuit Social Justice Centre

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Lind , Bronwyn	Deputy Director	Attorney General's Dept
Lo , Katrina	Senior Policy Officer	NSW Police Service
Lockyer , Donna	Master of Psychology (Forensic) Program	University of NSW
Loughman , Janet	Member	Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW
Loxton , Peter	Assistant Director General Strategic Projects	Premier's Department
Lumby , Catharine GUEST SPEAKER	Lecturer, Media and Communication Studies	Macquarie University
Malamoo , Shireen	Member	Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW
Mamo , Edward	Indo Chinese Support Worker	Nguon Song Group Homes Inc
Maneschi , Margo	Acting Senior Investigation Officer	NSW Ombudsman
Mann , Paul	General Manager	Gilgandra Shire Council
Manning , Fiona		Dept for Women
Mansfield , Lee	Manger	Dept of Juvenile Justice
Mark , Steve GUEST SPEAKER	Chairman	International Commission of Jurists (Australian Section)
Markwell , Pauline	Sydney Leadership Program	Benevolent Society of NSW
Marsden , John	Senior Partner	Marsdens
Marshall , Jenny	Principal Policy Officer	The Cabinet Office
McConkey , Professor Kevin	Head of School of Psychology	University of New South Wales
McInnes , Belinda	Policy and Project Officer, Ethnic Inmates	Dept of Corrective Services
McKay , Elizabeth	Health Improvement - Western Sector	Macquarie Area Health Service
Meagher , Amy	Master of Psychology (Forensic) Program	University of NSW
Meredith , Cheryl GUEST SPEAKER	Participant	Burnside Bidwill - NEWPIN
Miller , Margaret	Community Relations Manager	NRMA Ltd
Miubr , Simon	Researcher	Social Issues Committee, Anglican Diocese of Sydney

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Molesworth, Rodney	Publicity Officer	Federation of P&C Association of NSW
Montgomery, Mike GUEST SPEAKER	Mayor	Moree Plains Shire Council
Moore, Gary GUEST SPEAKER	Director	NSW Council of Social Services
Moore, Mandy	Safe City Program Manager - City of Sydney	Service and Planning Unit
Morris, Suzi	AOD Program Coordinator	Dept of Corrective Services
Morton, Vanessa		NSW Police Service
Mulroney, Louise	Training and Policy Officer	Family Support Services Association
Murray, John	Founding Member	Positive Justice Centre
Nguyen, Vinh	President	Vietnamese Australian Welfare Association
Nicholls MLC, Roger	Chairman, Select Committee on Crime Prevention	Legislative Assembly of Western Australia
Nixon, Christine GUEST SPEAKER	Assistant Commissioner	NSW Police Service
Nixon, Diane	Policy and Project Officer	Burnside
O'Brien, John	Burnside	
O'Reilly, Mike	General Manager	Moree Plains Shire Council
Parkinson, Paul	Councillor	Kempsey Shire Council
Parsons, Jackie	Youth Worker	Shopfront Youth Legal Centre
Patterson, Karen	Principal Policy Officer	Dept of Local Government
Pearce, Janell	Community Development Officer	Port Stephens Council
Pearson, Helena	Co-ordinator	Judge Rainbow Lodge
Perkins, Sue		Schizophrenia Fellowship of NSW Inc
Pierce, Suzanne	Senior Policy Officer	Ageing and Disability Dept
Pisapski, Adrian	Youth Policy Officer	Local Govt and Shares Association
Polzot, Loren	Policy and Training Officer	Youth Action and Policy Association
Rada, Alena	Director of Studies/President	Australasian Law Access and Crime Prevention Association Inc
Rainbow, Lynn	Board Member	Judge Rainbow Lodge

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Reid, Lisa	Youth Crime Prevention Officer	Orange City Council
Rice, Simon	Director	Law Foundation
Richards, Helen	Policy Officer	Dept of Aboriginal Affairs
Rosa, Solange	Campaign Secretary	NSW Council for Civil Liberties
Rossiter, Cathy	Assistant Director National Campaign Against Violence and Crime	Federal Attorney General's Dept
Roumeliotis, Violet	Executive Officer	CRC Justice Support
Rowe, Jann	Solicitor	Dept of Community Services
Samnut, Andy	Snr Operators Manager - Community Services	Canterbury City Council
Sanderson, Kerry	Policy Advisor	Minister for Corrective Services
Sankey, Melissa	Doctoral Candidate, School of Psychology	University of New South Wales
Scott, Eric	Manager, Policy and Membership	Association of Childrens Welfare Agency Inc
Shaw QC, Jeff GUEST SPEAKER	Attorney General	
Sherman, Larry GUEST SPEAKER	Professor and Chair Dept of Criminology and Criminal Justice	University of Maryland
Sherman, Russell	Social Worker	Centacare
Shott, Natasha	Master of Psychology (Forensic) Program	University of NSW
Sidoti, Chris	Human Rights Commissioner	Equal Opportunity Commission
Sinclair, Christine GUEST SPEAKER	Coordinator	Burnside Bidwill - Newpin
Slee, Dr June	Course Co-ordinator Special Education	School of Learning Development and Early Education UWS Nepean
Smith, Dorothy		Schizophrenia Fellowship of NSW Inc
Spangaro, Jo	Policy Adviser	NSW Health
Spence, Nigel	Chief Executive Officer	Association of Childrens Welfare Agencies
Stewart, Julie	Research Officer	NSW Police Service

NAME	POSITION	COMPANY/ORGANISATION
Stien, Rhonda GUEST SPEAKER	Chief Executive Officer	Burnside
Sutherland, Colleen	Chief Welfare Officer	Corrective Services
Symonds, Ann	Former Chair of Social Issues Committee	
Tait, Kathryn	Senior Youth Worker	Dept of Community Services
Thorley Smith, Sara	Manager Behaviour and Attendance, Students Services and Equity Programs	Department of Education and Training
Toner, Helen	Acting Director Psychological Programmes	Dept of Corrective Services
Tran, Tri	Co-ordinator	Vietnamese Australian Welfare Association
Trimboli, Lily	Senior Research Officer	Attorney General's Dept
Venkatramin, Rugmini	National Violence Prevention Specialist	NSW Attorney General's Dept
Voigt, Louise GUEST SPEAKER	Chief Executive Officer	Barnardos
Wade, Andrew		NSW Treasury
Wagner, Regine	Senior Lecturer	University of Western Sydney
Walker, Professor Bob GUEST SPEAKER	Council on the Cost of Government	
Walsh, Peter		QLD Dept of Premier and Cabinet
Weatherburn, Don	Director	NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Webster, Penny	Executive Officer	Schizophrenia Fellowship of NSW Inc
Weston, Ian	Regulatory Consultant	Association of Child Care Centres of NSW
Wight, Trevor GUEST SPEAKER	Manager Executive Services	Wesley Mission - Dalmar
Wilson, Megan	Senior Policy Officer	NSW Police Service
Zahra, Margaret	Solicitor/Advocate	Legal Aid Commission