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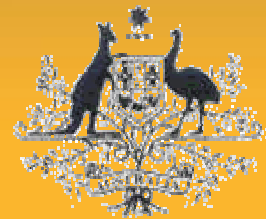
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SUMMARY PAPERS
ICPC ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM PROCEEDINGS
COMMUNITIES IN ACTION FOR CRIME PREVENTION

SEPTEMBER 14 - 15, 2006
NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AUSTRALIA
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The ICPC Annual Colloquium is always an opportunity to learn about, or sometimes discover, innovative crime prevention initiatives in the host country, and in 2006 Australia had much to share. The Colloquium is also an opportunity to gather a large range of practitioners, researchers and policy makers from every continent, and to have more in-depth exchanges on public safety, community policing, and crime prevention challenges in a wide variety of contexts.

Face-to-face exchanges are precious and cannot be replaced, but we wanted to compile the main presentations of the 2006 Colloquium on 'Communities in Action for Crime Prevention', co-organized by the Australian Institute of Criminology, and ICPC. We hope that these proceedings will be useful in disseminating this collective 'know how' and expertise, and will make you sorry that you missed the event.

Each year ICPC, as part of its governance meetings, also commissions an Annual Lecture on Crime Prevention. We were delighted that Peter Homel of the Australian Institute of Criminology accepted the invitation to deliver this year's lecture, and it is included here with the Proceedings.

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Background Paper

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Communities in Action for Crime Prevention

Introduction

The Annual Colloquium of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime offers an important opportunity for assessing some of the current and emerging trends, progress and challenges in the field of crime prevention. Each year provides an occasion to focus on a particular set of issues, as well as on the significant achievements of the host member government. Over the past five years these colloquia have considered the role of evaluation, school safety, cities and urban renewal, sustainable governance, and the role of the private sector, and the member governments of Quebec, Belgium, South Africa, France and Chile have all provided very supportive and informative venues.

This year the 6th Annual Colloquium is being hosted by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, a country with a very strong commitment to crime prevention, one which has accumulated considerable experience and practice, and is a research leader of major relevance internationally. The overall focus of this year's Colloquium is on the role of communities in crime prevention, more specifically on 'communities in action for crime prevention'. The Australian government has recently committed \$58 million over four years to the National Community Crime Prevention Programme.

Communities in action

The definition of 'community' in relation to crime prevention has been the subject of considerable academic debate in the recent past.¹ In the 1990's it has on the one hand been promoted as the rediscovered locus for successful intervention, in place of, or with, government, or on the other, dismissed as an amorphous term with multiple meanings, too broad to be meaningful, and one which allows policy makers, politicians and individuals to evade clear commitment or responsibilities. It has also been a concept which has not lent itself easily to translation into other languages such as French, for example. Community crime prevention has also been seen by some as ineffective, or at best difficult to evaluate, and thus best avoided in favor of approaches which are more amenable to evaluation.² Yet there is no dispute that community involvement has become an essential ingredient of crime prevention in all kinds of partnerships involving municipalities, the police, schools, health and social services, and the private sector.³

It is not the purpose of this background paper, or the Colloquium itself, to retread that debate, but rather to use the term as a way of looking at a number of *collectivities* of interest clustered around crime prevention at the community level, and at the role of community members in responding to them. This is about the activities and practices which have been developed by, or with, collectivities and partnerships of local groups, residents, institutions and their representatives.

¹ See eg. Hope, 1995, Hughes, 1998, Crawford, 1997; Foster, 2002.

² See Sherman et al. 1997.

³ In countries such as The Netherlands, the community has had a major role in crime prevention for many years, see Swinnen et al., 2005 for example.

Communities are usually defined as groups of people who share a geographical territory or place, as well as an overall culture and institutions. This may include remote or rural indigenous communities, wealthy suburban estates, gated communities, poorer inner-city housing estates, informal settlements and slums.

The term 'communities of interest' (Willmott, 1986) has also been used to refer to groups who have a particular set of shared experiences, cultures or backgrounds, although not necessary living in the same geographical area. This can include women concerned about safety, young people who feel excluded, the homeless and street youth, youth gangs, the elderly, urban Indigenous populations, or recent immigrant families, for example.

In spite of the difficulties of defining community, it is evident that crime prevention activities which involve communities can be very active, innovative, effective and sometimes inspired in their ability to transform neighbourhoods, and to respond to local problems. This applies to places as far apart as post-apartheid eThekweni (South Africa), Downtown Eastside, Vancouver (Canada), Pierrefitte-sur-Seine (France), Diadema, (Brazil), and Brisbane (Australia).

Recent trends

Some of the recent trends in community involvement in crime prevention are illustrated in this paper, and the Colloquium itself will showcase some excellent examples. But the Colloquium is also an opportunity to look at some of the cross-cutting trends and challenges in crime prevention, some of which ICPC and its member governments and organizations will be paying greater attention to in the near future.

Major global trends affecting all regions of the world, impacting safety and security in developing and developed countries, and at national and local levels, include **terrorism** and what has been termed the **urbanization of political violence**;⁴ the continuing expansion of **transnational organized crime, corruption and trafficking**; and the rapid growth of cities with increasing rates of **migration to urban areas** and across borders.⁵ The outbreak of homicides involving gangs and the police in Sao Paulo, Brazil this year provides one example of the strength of organized crime and the powerful impacts of organized crime and corruption on local communities.

These trends in turn have exacerbated problems of racism and adaptation for existing, migrant and immigrant populations, and **ethno-cultural** communities. A number of countries have seen an increase in the **migration of indigenous peoples to urban areas**, in search of better educational and employment opportunities, or in some countries, to escape military conflict or environmental disasters. In Australia 30% of the indigenous population now live in major cities; in Canada 50% live in urban areas and another 20% off reserve; in New Zealand, the majority of Māori live in urban areas; and in Chile, a third of the Mapuches the main Indigenous group, live in urban areas.

Urban **youth violence, youth gangs and guns** are of increasing concern (ICPC, 2005 a & b and 2006; Small Arms Survey, 2006). In some countries, particularly in Latin America, sub-Saharan Africa, and parts of the Asia-Pacific region, organized armed violence involving young men as both perpetrators and victims has reached

⁴ See Stephen Graham in 'Urban Insecurity: New Threats, Old Fears' UN-HABITAT 2006, pp150-151.

⁵ UN-HABITAT 2006, *State of the World's Cities 2006/7*.

epidemic proportions.⁶ In developed countries, youth violence associated with guns, gangs and drugs is also receiving considerable attention, as the riots in France in November 2005, racial clashes in New South Wales in December 2005, the murder of a young immigrant women in Belgium, and the rise in gun-related deaths in Toronto, Canada over the past few years all underline. In many of these kinds of events, the role of the media can be inflammatory and divisive, as was the case in Belgium, following

Preventive policing has lost some of its momentum with the new focus on terrorism since 2001. This has resulted in the reallocation of resources, affecting their capacity to maintain some of the 'achievements' of two decades of community or problem-oriented policing.

There are also more demands placed on the police, an increasing complexity of problems requiring new skills, ever expanding new technologies to be integrated, and a changing environment which sees an increasing use of private security. Large-scale sporting events are now making major demands of the police as well as city and national governments. Local police partnerships with the community still face many challenges, from confidentiality and data sharing problems, to mistrust between the police and disadvantaged communities, including marginalized youth.⁷

At the community level, there have been increased demands in many countries in the North and South for the police to exercise more control over 'antisocial' behaviours such as begging, wandering, or other forms of occupation of public space considered to be 'undesirable'. Similarly, behaviour related to the more widespread availability and use of alcohol or illicit drugs, such as public use, micro-trafficking or driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol, have led to increased demands for police intervention.

Issues of **public space** and semi-public space continue to be a challenge, both in terms of access, occupation and control, and the privatization of gated communities or shopping malls for example. While some progress has been made, the **safety of women** continues to be somewhat isolated from mainstream crime prevention strategies, with greater attention given to *responding* to violence against women rather than *preventing* it, as well as seeing it as just a 'women's issue' rather than one of a gender. The connections between intimate violence against women, their safety in public spaces, and violence in general are often not understood by municipal governments, and community organizations may find it difficult to work in ongoing partnerships with them.

Violence is estimated as costing countries from 5-25% or more of their GDP, and domestic violence some 2%, providing strong incentives for investing in prevention.⁸ In a climate of heightened concerns about security it is, nevertheless, worth reflecting on the dangers of increasing **anxiety about risk and safety**. One observer has suggested, for example, that Britain's massive and continuing investment in crime prevention has been counterproductive 'People who are constantly told they should be fearful and should protect themselves from criminals become fearful...'⁹ The media often plays an exacerbating role in this process, especially in their response to particular tragic or dramatic events. Increasing concerns about security can set up a vicious circle of demand for visible and quick fixes, which may not be the most beneficial for communities in the longer term. Not everyone has the means to purchase 'security'. The risk of creating 'security classes' with security for the wealthy

⁶ See Background paper to the 11th UN Congress workshop on crime prevention, 2005 (ICPC, 2006).

⁷ See Sansfacon, 2006, *Police and Prevention: Re-emergence of a Strong Idea?*

⁸ Inter-American Development Bank see Bulivic et al., 2005.

⁹ Michael Tonry, 2004, quoted in Tilley, 2005 p.6.

and insecurity for the poor, formed one of the main conclusions of ICPC's 2005 Colloquium on the role of the private sector in crime prevention.¹⁰

Responding to the challenges

These trends represent some formidable challenges for governments at all levels and for their citizens. What is clear is that the task of preventing crime and ensuring community safety is not a one-time affair, but requires continual application, adaptation and innovation.

For good community intervention, projects need to be *sustainable* in the sense that they can develop beyond the life of initial pilot or demonstration funding, but to do so they also need to be *sustained*, with continuing support from governments and partners, and embedded in regular administrative and management structures.¹¹ Communities evolve, and new and old members need to be actively encouraged and supported, so that they stay engaged or draw in newer members. Encouraging active community involvement in strategic partnerships is a challenge in itself.

Some of the significant responses to these issues for community crime prevention include:

- greater stress on local involvement and ownership,
- moving away from an emphasis on deficit models,
- greater attention to the specificity of local contexts,
- an emphasis on leadership, skills and capacity building,
- the use of participatory approaches,
- social mediation approaches for local dispute resolution,
- a more nuanced understanding of partnership building and its challenges.

Many of these responses are intertwined and complementary. Rather than narrow down community prevention interventions, the value of taking a broad approach which may include urban regeneration and management, urban renewal, infrastructure development, or working with the health sector, for example, characterizes a number of innovative and effective projects, all of them combining very careful community participation.

Local ownership, local knowledge, specificity and context

Local involvement and ownership are increasingly recognized as key factors for the sustainability and effectiveness of change initiatives at the local level. While not new to discussions of community crime prevention, there more attention is being given to *what* this means in practice, and *how* it can be achieved. This is also true of other fields, including development aid. There is a growing consensus that the pattern of bi-lateral and uncoordinated technical assistance which has characterized much development aid has not worked. A major factor has been that countries or organizations did not feel ownership of the new institutions of approaches, which were often not adapted to local contexts and capacities. If initiatives are to be sustained and effective, people must feel they have had a major role in creating and shaping them. Multi-lateral approaches, which are country-led, and adapted to recipient country's needs and capacities, now form the basis of the European Union's approach to technical assistance, as well as that of other regions and countries, and are exemplified in the 2005 *Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness* which also gives

¹⁰ See ICPC, 2005, Conclusions of ICPC's 5th Annual Colloquium, Santiago, Chile.

¹¹ Cf. municipal toolkits developed by ICPC and the Fondation Dr Philippe Pinel (2004) and by CSIR, South Africa.

greater attention to accountability and how this can be assessed on the part of both donor and recipient countries.¹²

This is also evident in relation to Indigenous communities. Internationally there is now wider recognition of Indigenous peoples and their cultures than in the recent past.¹³ The *UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues* (UNPFII) which was established in July 2000 by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), reflects the increasing focus in many countries on the active involvement of Indigenous individuals, families, and communities in developing strategies and initiatives, based on their own aspirations, and the importance of developing culturally appropriate consultation and participation mechanisms to work towards positive outcomes. They are now **more involved as partners** with other levels of government, the private sector and civil society in project and programme development.

Recent examples include Australia's *Shared Responsibility Agreements* (2004), strategies developed by the Inter-American Development Bank (2006), the World Bank, (2005), and regional consultations organized in collaboration between the UN Permanent Forum and the Australian government in 2005 on partnerships between indigenous peoples, governments and civil society, and with the Canadian government in 2006, on developing indicators for well-being.¹⁴ More specific monitoring structures are also being developed to ensure that local voices are heard in the accountability processes.

The importance of **specificity and context** (Foster, 2002) is found in an increasing number of reports which have emphasized that communities or neighbourhoods are not uniform, and are often made up of different groups with different knowledge, resources and capacities. Specificity and context have been aided by technological advances such as the police use of crime-mapping techniques, or the development of geo-coding to provide more detailed mapping of neighbourhoods in Canadian cities. Yet such techniques and research cannot substitute for building 'people' knowledge on the ground, and the importance of undertaking very careful research and partnership building at the community level, what Janet Foster has called 'people pieces'. It has also been argued that particular communities, or contexts, are part of the *structure and content* of community safety practices – 'as much about politics, economics and cultures, and the normative and ideological, as about rational debates about techniques that work according to evidence-based evaluation.'¹⁵

In a rather different way George Kelling has recently underlined the importance of local knowledge and experience. Reviewing the five-year progress of the Chicago Safer Cities police-partnership initiative, he argues that all new ideas about policing since the 1970's have 'bubbled up' from the local or city police departments, based on close knowledge of neighbourhoods and communities, not down from state or federal police (Kelling, 2005).

¹² See the Background Paper prepared for the Programme Network Institutes' workshop at the 15th Session of the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (Shaw & Dandurand, 2006).

¹³ See goals and action of the International Decade of World's Indigenous People (1995-2004), and the second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2014).

¹⁴ See also Protocols for Consultation and Negotiation with Aboriginal peoples and the Torres Strait Islander Communication Guide (The Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy and Development 1998), and A Guide for Consultation with Maori (Ministry of Justice, New Zealand 1997).

¹⁵ Hughes & Edwards, 2005 (p. 30).

Moving away from deficit models and strengthening capacity and skills

While by no means universal, greater attention to the specificity and context of communities can also be seen in the **move away from deficit models** of communities or groups, so that they are not just defined in terms of their 'problem'. Stereotypes about 'good' or 'bad communities, public-housing estates or neighbourhoods can shape public policy responses in a way which is counterproductive, or fails to recognize the specific characteristics and strengths of residents (Foster, 2002; Whitzman & Slater, 2006). It has been discussed especially in relation to Indigenous communities.

This involves on the one hand, a very detailed analysis of the causal and protective factors and assets of communities, but also a focus on **strengthening leadership, capacity and skills** of community members or groups who do not always have the necessary skills and experience to apply for funds, or implement, manage and evaluate projects.

In relation of urban Indigenous populations, recent research in Canada suggests the need to identify the *specificities* within the larger urban Indigenous communities such as geographic distribution, gender, the diversity of culture and language, links to rural and remote communities, and presence or lack of urban Indigenous organizations and institutions within cities to provide assistance and support in examining the well-being of Indigenous population in urban areas (Newhouse & Peters, 2003). Awareness of the importance of capacity building can also be seen in the variety of *intermediary organizations*, Indigenous and Non- Indigenous, NGOs, Foundations, etc., that are assisting Indigenous individuals and communities build healthier and safer communities. This includes providing support for training, the exchange of expertise, comprehensive reports and guides to good and inspiring practice, and culturally appropriate tools for partnership and problem diagnosis (Capobianco, forthcoming).

Real participation

The development of meaningful **participation**, rather than consultation, in community safety and prevention is seen as a key mechanism for facilitating ownership, leadership and building skills and capacity, and for helping to change attitudes, strengthen social networks and build trust between partners. Safety audits undertaken by women leading to municipal action, participatory rural appraisals, the direct involvement of children and youth in researching, planning and implementing neighbourhood projects, participatory budgeting and forums in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, all provide some important examples.¹⁶ The emphasis among Indigenous communities is that partnerships should be 'by' and 'with' those communities. It is also important to underline that crime prevention, which is really participatory, offers a role to communities which the justice sector has not been able or willing to provide.

Community partnerships 'Trust has to be constantly renewed'

There appears to be more recognition of the need for **flexibility** in community involvement, and of the range of **'types' of partnerships** involving communities. The traditional distinction between 'bottom-up' projects initiated by local residents, business groups or NGO's, and 'top-down' government or police-initiated projects, for example, does not do justice to the full range or complexity of community partnerships and how they can be built or sustained.

¹⁶ See eg. *Youth, Children & Urban Governance*, UN-HABITAT, 2004; *Youth in Community Driven Development*, World Bank, 2006; Shaw & Andrews, 2005; Donzelot, Mével et Wyvekens, 2003.

Large metropolitan cities, small neighbourhoods within cities, and smaller rural towns may all develop or need rather different types of community partnerships.¹⁷

Attention to notions of community readiness, and past experiences of partnership work can help to guide the kind of work needed to build partnerships. South African experience in supporting the development of crime prevention strategies in small towns, presents good arguments for flexibility and not imposing a set approach on municipalities and their communities. In these settings, the role of the police in prevention is limited by lack of trust, and by the crucial links between crime and alcohol and substance abuse.¹⁸

On the basis of experience with the 16 cities in the US which formed part of the federally funded *Comprehensive Communities Program*, George Kelling notes that the term 'partnership' is used in many different ways, and organizations and citizens could be simultaneously involved in very different kinds of relationships, depending on the problem at hand. He also cites the example of the Boston *Ten Point Coalition*, a group of clergymen who both worked in partnership *with* the police in the Boston gun violence reduction project, but also advocated strongly *against* them.¹⁹ He also provides one of the clearest illustrations of the importance of working *with* communities from the experience of the *Greater Newark Safer Cities Initiative*, where the use of a neutral convener (in this case the university) and the choice of location for developing partnerships was crucial:

'The implicit message of holding the session in the courtroom, and having it chaired by a probation officer, was that the criminal justice agencies were taking action and were being supported by the community and service agencies. Holding the session in a neighbourhood church, chaired by the pastor of that church, sent a very different message....the *community* would no longer tolerate violent behaviour and *it* was being supported by criminal justice and service agencies.'
Greater Newark Safer Cities Initiative. Kelling 2005 p. 132.

Private-public community partnerships in service provision, including health, criminal justice, education, housing and crime prevention continue to develop, with the growth of corporate social responsibility.²⁰ In the area of social housing, for example, renewed interest in private-public partnerships is evident in many countries.²¹ Landlords, insurance companies, architects and housing companies are involved in a range of initiatives to enhance safety in 'housing communities'. These include good design and planning of housing, housing management, prevention, and intervention programmes helping to strengthen the protective factors for at-risk youth.

The San Romanoway Revitalization Association in Toronto Canada, for example, involves a broad range of partners including local businesses, corporations, governments, and volunteers to help build effective and sustainable partnerships.

¹⁷ Cf. what comprehensive community programmes mean to different communities in the US, OJJDP, 2005.

¹⁸ See Colloquium presentation by Barbara Holtmann 'Working with Communities for Peace and Safety.'

¹⁹ Kelling elaborates a continuum of 9 categories of partnership, from collaboration, coordination, cooperation, consent and indifference...to active resistance (2005 p.137).

²⁰ See Capobianco, *Sharpening the Lens: Private Sector Involvement in Prevention*, Background Paper for the 2005 ICPC Colloquium in Santiago, Chile; and Colloquium Conclusions, ICPC, 2005c.

²¹ See Capobianco, *Public-Private Community Action Towards safety: A Focus on Housing in Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods*, 2006.

The private sector has played a key role in developing a support network and highlighting the positive things happening in the community through neighbourhood revitalization. They have helped construct a neighbourhood playground, office space, contributed to renovations, and provided job opportunities for high school drop-outs or those previously involved with the criminal justice system. Outcomes from 2002-4 include significant reductions in violent and property crime, an increased sense of safety and greater daily resident interaction.

Some of the key lessons about effective prevention in the area of housing in deprived neighbourhoods include:

- Active consultation and participation of residents, especially young people, in partnership with housing authorities, local authorities, local businesses
- The combination of preventive approaches (situational, community, developmental)
- A long term commitment and an integrated plan of action towards improving the living conditions of inhabitants
- Integrating the expertise and support of the private sector.

Other examples include school-community partnerships which involve local businesses not just in financial and sponsorship terms, but more actively in working with pupils in the school.²²

Social mediation and the role of women

There is increasing use of **social mediation** at the community level to prevent conflicts spiraling out of control, but also to help strengthen local networks. The example of the social mediation project developed in the highly multi-cultural municipality of Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, France will be presented at the Colloquium.²³ Another is a social mediation project focusing on drug use in public spaces in the Goutte-d'Or neighbourhood in Paris.²⁴ It aims to reduce the risks associated with drug use without excluding. The community-based programme is animated by an NGO which provides *on-site* support, needle exchange and other services in the neighbourhood for those with addiction problems. The programme '*adultes-relais*' now supports some 6000 social mediators in cities in France, with the twin objectives of strengthening social and cultural ties among inhabitants by promoting dialogue and public peace, and supporting the economic integration of the mediators themselves, who are often recruited from neighbourhoods with high unemployment. Women are often selected for this role because of their good mediating skills.

In Montreal, Quebec, a social mediator has been hired to work in a housing complex to facilitate dialogue between the residents. They come from a variety of different ethno-cultural minorities, and the project aims to create a multi-cultural community which works well together not in conflict. Other examples of social mediation projects at local neighbourhood level can be found elsewhere in Belgium and The Netherlands,²⁵ in South Africa and Latin America. In Colombia, the development of conciliation and mediation centres (*Casas de Justicia*) has been very popular with communities and effective in providing for the non-violent resolution of conflicts in areas previously without access to such approaches (Buvinic et al. 2005). The majority of cases related to non-compliance with agreements, rights violations, domestic disputes, or money

²² Colloquium presentation by Sandra Dean 'Comprehensive Communities within School Safety.'

²³ Hibat Tabib, *Community Conflict Resolution*.

²⁴ Fayman, Salomon, Fouilland & Ayangma, 2003.

²⁵ See, for example, Swinnen et. al. 2005, on urban community-based projects in Belgium and the Netherlands.

issues, and some form of conciliation was reached in 46% of cases registered and full agreements in 83% of cases.

The significance of the **role of women** in community-level partnerships and projects is evident. In many projects, whether concerned with community safety in general, or more specifically with women's safety and violence against women, women are often the main 'volunteers'. This has been the experience of a joint municipal-UN Volunteer project in Antananarivo, Madagascar (ICPC, 2006); of an urban Aboriginal community project, in Winnipeg, Canada (Silver et al, 2006); and in the slums areas of Mumbai, India, where local *panchayat* police stations are run by trained local women, helping to bring security to the slums, as well as build bridges between the police and distrustful and disenfranchised populations (Roy et al., 2004). In migrant communities women often play a key role as community net-workers, whether in community-generated initiatives or planned interventions such as family support and early intervention programmes, such as the ongoing *Pathways to Prevention* project in Brisbane.²⁶ On the other hand, as that project has found, women also form a major component of project staff in such projects, reflecting their dominance in early education health and social services, and this difficulties of attracting male staff affects their ability to develop gender specific services for male family members.

Community participation in integrated urban development

'some of the most successful attempts to influence the quality of life and reduce crime have not come from crime prevention initiatives *per se*.' Foster, 2002, p.30

The importance, and power, of good community participation is well illustrated in a number of successful projects which have used a **broad and integrated approach** to building safe and healthy communities. These include urban renewal or regeneration, health-based, or community development approaches. Safety and crime prevention is one of a range of outcomes, and sometimes, a by-product.

In its work with cities on crime and violence reduction in Latin America, the Inter-American Development Bank has adopted an epidemiological approach similar that of the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002). It sees prevention and reduction of all types of violence as the goal, not just criminal violence, so that solutions go well beyond the police and justice system, involve a wide range of actors, and recognize the importance of local government. Domestic violence has been mainstreamed into the initiatives (Buvinic et al. 2005).

In Bogota, for example, under the strong leadership of the municipality homicide rates fell from 80 to 28 per 100,000 people in 1993-2002, accidents were reduced by half, and police arrest rates increased by 400% without an increase in the force. A combination of strategies included developing strong community-police partnerships at the neighbourhood level, helping to rebuild trust, developing a culture of citizenship, citizen campaigns on disarmament, restricting alcohol sales, establishing family police stations for family violence prevention, and the professionalization of the police (see box).

²⁶ See eg. Lamb, Homel & Freiburg, 2005 on *Pathways to Prevention* project in Brisbane, Australia; .

What Worked in Bogotá

In the 1993-2002 period, homicide rates in Bogotá plunged from 80 to 28 homicides per 100,000 people; accidents were reduced in half; and the police increased capture rates by 400 percent without an increase in the size of the police force. The Bogotá success with violence reduction illustrates the importance of political commitment, sustained across three different administrations, and of the allocation of sufficient resources to combat crime and violence. Among the strategies implemented, the available evaluation data links the following to reductions in violence:

- *Campaigns to Promote Citizen Disarmament and Control of Alcohol Consumption.* Effective information systems provided detailed information on violent crime events, resulting in the formulation of the *Plan des armes* that controlled the circulation of firearms. In 2001, for instance, around 6,500 firearms were voluntarily returned to the police as a result of the Plan. In addition, with the implementation of *Ley Zanahoria*, alcohol sales ended at 3 AM on weekends to reduce the rates of violent crimes. Firearms and alcohol control had a significant (although not large) effect in violence reduction.
- *Actions to Recuperate Decayed Urban Spaces.* Two of the most violent areas in Bogotá—Avenida Caracas and the Cartucho zone—underwent urban and transport infrastructure renewal. As a result, levels of crime and violence declined substantially in both areas. In Avenida Caracas, the levels of homicide declined by 60 percent from 1999 to 2003. At the same time, in the Cartucho zone, robbery went down by 70 percent between 2000 and 2003.
- *Frentes de Seguridad.* Neighborhood crime-monitoring committees encourage collaborative relationships between community police officers and local residents, which have reversed the levels of mistrust between police and community. As a result, there has been an increase in crime prevention efforts.
- *Family Police Stations.* Evaluation data shows that protective measures available through these police stations established to control family violence were more effective than conciliation measures in reducing physical violence against women in the family.
- *Professionalization of the Police.* Police reform and modernization were accomplished through a plan emphasizing results-based performance. An epidemiological approach was introduced to monitor crime and violence data, which allowed the design of crime prevention actions. Training in preventing policing has been widely accepted by citizens as an efficient alternative to reduce violence and improve coexistence.

Source: Llorente and Rivas, 2004, in Buvinic et al. 2005.

In **eThekwini (Durban), South Africa**, the municipality has established a locally-based **integrated urban regeneration and maintenance** initiative iTRUMP, which is inclusive. A very careful consultation and participation process with the local informal traders, previously excluded. The approach applied at Warwick Junction, a transport hub which has been transformed into a safe, healthy and economically very successful market area, has become the model being used for the rest of the municipality. Herb traders, cardboard collectors and those selling bovine heads and mealies, now have thriving livelihoods which have created a chain of jobs across the city. They have a sense of community ownership and provide informal control and prevention. Reduced crime has in a sense been a by-product. The approach also applies 'careful and reflective' safety through environmental design principle with a participatory planning and locally-based management system, so that street knowledge can be built upon. This is also an approach which recognizes that cities and communities should not strive to create uniformity, but to celebrate the specificity and character of different localities (Dobson, 2006; and forthcoming).

In **Vancouver, Canada**, the city has undertaken an urban development revitalization programme, combining a series of initiatives to deal with the very serious problems in one inner-city neighbourhood. Downside Eastside is a community characterized by significant poverty, rapidly declining business, homelessness, major health and drug problems including drug injection and mortality, and the sexual exploitation of youth, First Nations and women.²⁷ It represents a major challenge for the city. The revitalization programme has combined the Downside Eastside Crime Prevention/Community Safety Project, the four-pillar drug strategy, and city infrastructure initiatives, with a partnership agreement on a five-year intergovernmental collaboration. There has been a very strong focus on community engagement. The Community Development Project funded by the federal government (National Crime Prevention Centre), places a strong focus on community building and partnership building.

The outcome after five years has been significant achievements in health, crime, housing and economic development. Over the period 1996-2002 drug overdose deaths fell 68%, homicides 68%, robbery 38%, and there have been significant improvements to infrastructure, including 1,300 new housing units, four new health facilities and a safe injection site, new businesses and social enterprises, incentive programmes, and heritage and revitalization strategies (Au, 2004). While significant challenges still remain, the initiative continues to have success in increasing understanding among different sectors of the local and neighbouring communities, and engaging different cultural and ethnic communities in the project and its continuation. In April 2005, agreement was reached between the federal, provincial and municipal governments to continue funding the project for a further 5 years to 2010. A number of **lessons learned** have so far been derived from the implementation of the comprehensive community initiative in the Downside Eastside.

These include (Au, 2004):

Programme design

- The importance of communicating the project's objectives and goals continually and regularly to the community, to help build trust, and make the links with crime prevention very clear.
- Giving clear attention to marginalized groups, cultural groups, First Nations and those living in poverty in designing community participation processes.
- Clear decision and accountability processes.
- Skill development at all levels, from government staff (community development and capacity-building techniques) to community members (training in proposal and report writing, communication, negotiation, mediation, and outcome measurement...)
- On-going support beyond the life of the project for leadership development, relationship building to support emerging leaders and sustain new partnerships.....

Project management & administration

- Project staff need to be able to advocate and mediate on behalf of the community and use a flexible approach to problem solving
- Planning for sustainability from the outset, with community planning beyond current resource availability.....

Evaluation

²⁷ More than fifty women have gone missing from Vancouver's Downside Eastside in recent years, 60% of them Aboriginal.

- Adopting a theory of change approach using a logic model developed in a participatory way
- Use a participatory methodology (involving project participants in advising, hiring, analysis of findings)
- Establishing agreement and understanding about the evaluation approach with funders and government agencies from the start
- Ongoing discussion with project participants on what to expect from the evaluation...

Flexible evaluation and outcomes

There is no question that evaluation remains a centrally important tool for crime prevention, as last year's conference organized by the New South Wales Department of the Attorney General and the Australian Institute of Criminology underlines.²⁸ Nevertheless, the need for a more **flexible** approach to **evaluation** and assessment of the outcomes of programmes is a recurrent theme, as well as the need to 'take time'. As Janet Foster has noted, the Priority Estates Project which focused on improving housing management in difficult to let public housing estates in Britain, did result in a drop in crime after 10 years.

The experience of the on-going *Pathways to Prevention Project* in Brisbane, an early intervention project developed on classical evidence-based and research principles, provides a pertinent illustration of the need for projects to take time to work with the needs and rhythms of communities, for there to be flexibility in the adaptation and delivery of programmes, and for projects not to be pushed to produce quick results in unrealistic time-frames.²⁹

In relation to complex community initiatives, often involving a variety of prevention approaches simultaneously, evaluation has long been a challenge. This has tempted some to suggest that only single interventions and those which have been shown to produce results (usually in the short-term) should be contemplated. It is interesting, therefore, to note George Kelling's recent discussion of the five year *Greater Newark Safer Cities Initiative*, inspired by the Boston 'pulling levers' approach to violent crime reduction (Kelling, 2005). The project, which is still gaining momentum, involves at least 40 agencies and community groups, most of them continuously, and has experienced multiple changes in leadership. The project has had 'no shortage of interagency hostilities, corruption, professional rivalries, 'thinking inside the box', and political dealings', yet it has 'survived and thrived' (p.108). While there have been reductions in high-rate offending and re-offending, homicides have not, so far, been reduced. Kelling defines the success of the project other than in terms of crime reduction outcomes: 'Good policing, like good research, is policing that is done well, not that gets any specific outcomes' (p. 140).

'Lessons learned' from the *Greater Newark Safer Cities Initiative*:

- organize around an urgent problem, not around system change
- get the high moral ground
- deal with race
- find a common language
- work with what you have got
- fall on the sword

²⁸ *Delivering crime prevention: making the evidence work*. November 21-22, Sydney, NSW
www.aic.gov.au/conferences/2005-cp/

²⁹ Lamb et.al. 2005.

- respect discretion
- keep the process open
- keep schmoozing (face-to-face interactions apart from meetings)
- keep the community and community groups up front
- take your time

Kelling 2005 p.138-140

It is also worth recalling the change in direction towards community-based policing approaches signaled by the Los Angeles Police Chief Bill Bratton. He warned other US cities not to follow the strategy used in California against gangs in the 1990's, one based entirely on a law enforcement and a 'get tough' approach, but to work with everyone in the community.³⁰

The need for flexibility in evaluation and a broader definition of 'success', and greater project support through technical assistance and training for community-based projects, are some of the lessons learned from another long-term evaluation in the US. The *Community Prevention Grants Program*, initially established in 1992, provides communities with funding and a guiding framework for developing and implementing comprehensive youth crime prevention strategies. Since 1998 grants in six states has been evaluated.

Conclusions

Many of the approaches being used to support and strengthen community action around community safety are not new. Similarly, many of the arguments about the difficulties and challenges of developing sustainable and effective initiatives and partnerships have been voiced before.³¹ In a sense the same issues tend to recur in slightly different forms in different generations, but just as trust has to be continually renewed in partnership settings, so the successes and failures of community action need to be continually aired and discussed. There is much to be learned from exchange of experiences, and without doubt awareness of the community role in crime prevention is now much more widespread, and understanding of what community action entails has achieved greater depth and sophistication from that existing twenty years ago. This reflects changing perceptions of rights, and government and citizenship roles and responsibilities, advances in research and knowledge, as well as the much more technological and inter-connected international world of crime and its prevention.

In surveying the results of some 30 years of accumulated experience, experiment and research in crime prevention, the message seem to be clear: taking action at the community level should not be formulaic, or limited only to one type of approach. It should not be based on fear or the demand for quick results. Community action which is supported by governments, is attentive to the local context, based on painstaking and inclusive partnership building, careful assessment of causal and protective factors and detailed knowledge and understanding of all the different groups and sectors, and which includes a range of interventions providing longer as well as shorter-term outcomes, is likely to be both effective and sustainable.

³⁰ Arana, 2005. 'How the streetgangs took Central America'.

³¹ See, for example, Hope and Shaw, 1988 *Communities and Crime Reduction*.

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Colloquium Programme

Thursday 14th September

9:00	Session Chair Robert Cornall AO , Secretary, Attorney General's Department, Australia
9:00 – 9:30	Welcome to Country Aunty Agnes Shea and Wiradjuri Echoes dancers
9:30 – 9:45	Conference Welcome Senator Chris Ellison , Minister for Justice and Customs, Australia
9:45 – 10:00	ICPC President's Address Raymonde Dury , President ICPC, Belgium
10:00 – 10:30	Keynote Address Communities need to function before they can act on crime prevention Dr Sue Gordon AM , Chair, National Indigenous Council, Australia
11:00 – 11:15	ICPC Director General's Address and Chair Valerie Sagant , Director General, ICPC, Canada
11:15 – 12:00	Keynote Address Changing Attitudes: shifting cultures Scott Rankin , Director, Big hART, Australia With Trevor Jamieson and Alex Kelly

1:00 – 2:30

Concurrent Sessions A

Working with young people Rapporteur Paula Miraglia	Crime Prevention and Urban Renewal Rapporteur Peter Homel	Building partnerships Rapporteur Margaret Shaw
<p>Needs and Challenges in providing Community-based Crime Prevention Services for “at risk” Youth (Dr. Julia Tressinder, AIC, Australia)</p> <p>Mentoring – helping to make safer communities (Jane Barr, manager, Educatin and Support, Berry Street, and Lyn Simmons, Coordinator, Reaching More Kids Project, Australis)</p> <p>Project Oriented School mentoring (Glenn Cullen, Menslink ACT, Australia)</p>	<p>Community Renewal in the UK (Sheila Stokes White, Strategic Solutions Ltd, Morpeth, England)</p> <p>The GLOVE Project: Gendre, Violence Prevention, and Local Governance in Victoria (Carolyn Whitzman, University of Merbourne, Australia)</p> <p>What makes an Urban Village? Exploring the relative role of social ties and capacity for action in Australian communities (Rebecca Wicked, Griffith University, Australia)</p>	<p>St Lucia: The National Crime Commission (Linwall James, National Crime Commission, St Lucia)</p> <p>Recent Developments and Practices in Crime Prevention, Germany (Erich Marks, German Congress on Crime Prevention Council, Germany)</p> <p>Law enforcement and HIV prevention and control in Guangxi Province, China (Li Huojia, Guangxi Public Health Department and Li Jianping, Liuzhou Public Security Bureau, China)</p>

2:30 – 3:30

Concurrent Sessions B

Families/Women Rapporteur Paul Mazerolle	Enhancing Participation in the Justice System Rapporteur Hibat Tabib	Building Partnerships Rapporteur Alfred Gay
<p>Issues relating to Women from a Policing Perspective (Susan Pienaar, Assistant Commissioner, South African Police Service, South Africa)</p> <p>A Gendered Approach to CPTED (Vikki Booth, Crime Prevention Unit, SA Department of Justice and Jennifer West, Adelaide City Council, Australia)</p>	<p>Local Communities for an Effective Crime Prevention (Massamba Sita, UNAFRI)</p> <p>Conferencing Young Adults (Dean Hart, NSW Attorney General's Department, Australia)</p>	<p>Working in Partnership: a joined up Approach to Community Safety (Malcolm Jenkinson, Neighbourhood Amenity, City of Melville)</p> <p>The Renwick City Plan: Creating a Safer City (Aoife Winter, Randwick City Council, Australia)</p>

4:00 – 5:30

Concurrent Sessions C

Crime Prevention and Diversity Rapporteur Toni Makkai	Working with Offenders Rapporteur Ray Carroll	Building Partnerships Rapporteur Michael Coe
<p>Community Conflict Resolution (Hibat Tabib, Director and Founder AFPAD, France)</p> <p>Crime Prevention in the Chinese Community (Ivan Wong, Chinese Australian Services Society, Australia)</p> <p>Working with Communities for peace and Safety (Barbara Holtmann, Crime Prevention Centre, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, South Africa)</p>	<p>Community Engagement Strategies to overcome Employment Barriers for post-release Prisoners (Sally-Ann Upton, Boystown, Australia)</p> <p>Responsible Driver Programme (Sharon Maddox, Penrith City Council, Australia)</p> <p>Rural Alcohol Diversion Program (Bruce Flaherty, NSW Attorney General's Department, Australia)</p>	<p>Local Policy and Violence Prevention – the Case of Diadema (Paula Miraglia, Sao Paulo, Brazil)</p> <p>Partnerships with Horn of Africa Communities on Public Housing Estates (Catherine Guinness, Jesuit Social Services, Abdurahman Osman, Somali Community in Victoria, Australia)</p> <p>Crime Stoppers Australia: a national Perspective (Peter Price, National Crime Stoppers, Australia)</p>

Friday 15th September

9:00 – 10:30

Concurrent Sessions D

Working with Young People Rapporteur Mary-Anne Kirvan	Policing and Communities Rapporteur Erling Borstad	Building Partnerships – NGOs Rapporteur Jenny Fleming
<p>Comprehensive Communities within School Safety (Sandra dean, Safe and Healthy Schools and Communities, Canada)</p> <p>Group Conferencing in Victoria: the Impact on Juvenile Offending Pathways (Charlene Pereira, Department of Human Services, and Chris Hammat, Anglicare, Australia)</p> <p>Chance on Main Early Intervention Program (Ross Park, Glenorchy City Council and Mike Duval-Stewart, Chance on Main, Australia)</p>	<p>Violent Crime Reduction Strategy (Colleen Gwynne, Northern Territory Police, Australia)</p> <p>Policing Drugs in Remote Communities (Judy Putt, Australian Institute of Criminology, Australia)</p> <p>Alcohol Supply Reduction Plans in East Arnhem Land (Tony Fuller, Northern Territory Police, Australia)</p>	<p>YSAS (David Murry, Victoria, Australia)</p> <p>DRUG ARM Australasia (Caroline Salom, Queensland, Australia)</p> <p>Ted Noffs Foundation (Matt Noffs, Sydney, Australia)</p>

10:45 – 11:30

Chair:

Peter Homel, Australian Institute of Criminology

Keynote Address: Calamity of Catalyst: Futures for Community in 21st Century Crime Prevention

Honorary Professional Research Fellow W.G. (Kit) Carson, University of Melbourne and Professor Emeritus, La Trobe University, Victoria, Australia

11:30 – 1:00

Concurrent Sessions E

Improving Practice through Evidence Rapporteur Susan Pienaar	Drug and Alcohol Prevention Rapporteur Paul Girard	Communities and Crime Prevention Rapporteur Susan Dennison
<p>Tools and Processes to advance Evidence-based Crime Prevention in Canada (Mary-Anne Kirvan, National Crime Prevention Centre, Canada)</p> <p>Delivering Sustainable Reductions in Vehicle Crime (Ray Carroll, National Motor Vehicle Theft Reduction Council, Australia)</p> <p>But what can I do? Crime Prevention Myths, Facts, Tips and Traps (Angelina Edwards, Executive Producer of Lifelong Learning at Radio Adelaide, Australia)</p>	<p>Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Licensing Program (John Fox, Queensland Police, Australia and Noel Rumble, Queensland Transport, Australia)</p> <p>City Watch House Nursing Service (Keith Evans, Drug and Alcohol Services, Australia)</p> <p>Cyrenian House Prison to Parole Program (Tom Darby, Cyrenian House Drug and Alcohol Agency, Australia)</p>	<p>Friendship Centres and Aboriginals Living in Urban Areas (Alfred Gay, National Association of Friendship Centres, Canada)</p> <p>Yumi Lukautim Mosbi: the “Let’s look after Moresby” Crime Prevention Project in Papua New Guinea (Iva Kola, National Capital District Commission and John Dinsdale, Law and Justice Sector Program, Papua New Guinea)</p> <p>Streetsafe in Hobart and Launceston: A good Practice Model for Community Safety Programs (Matthew Richman, Tasmania Police, Australia)</p>

1:45 – 3:15

Concurrent Sessions F

Violence Prevention Rapporteur Barbara Holtmann	Policing and Communities Rapporteur Linwall James	Promoting Social Inclusion Rapporteur Valerie Sagant
<p>Stalking Violence, a preliminary analysis of the etiology and escalation of risk and the implications for crime prevention (Carleen Thompson, Griffith University, Australia)</p> <p>Research on Violence in Australia: new Findings and Implications for Prevention (Paul Mazerolle, Griffith University, Australia)</p> <p>Developing a Violence Prevention Strategy (Michael Coe, Office of</p>	<p>Strategy Plan for Crime Prevention 2002 – 2005 (Erling Borstad, National Police Directorate, Norway)</p> <p>Nexus Policing and the Philosophy of Action Research (Tess Walsh, Victoria Police and Jennifer Wood, Australian National University, Australia)</p> <p>Remote Community Drug Strategy (Peter Bravos, Northern Territory Police Drug Enforcement Section, Australia)</p>	<p>Homelands Partnership Project (Michael Keating and Owen Kennedy, Queensland Police Service, Australia)</p> <p>Engaging Security to Improve Young People’s Access to Public Space (Garner Clancey, CHD Partners, Australia)</p> <p>City Safe, Townsville City Council (Adrienne Isnard, Townsville City Council, Australia)</p>

Crime Prevention, Australia)		
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3:30 – 4:30

Concurrent Sessions G

Improving the Evidence Base Rapporteur Mark Liddle	Policing and Communities Rapporteur Erich Marks
Estimating the Cost-savings of Reduced Crime while on Methadone Treatment (Kate Hetherington , National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, Australia)	Youth Community Alliance – Enhancing Youth/Police Relationships (Lyn Hinds , Australian National University, Australia)
CCTV, Sexual Assault and Jury Outcomes (Toni Makkai , Australian Institute of Criminology, Australia)	Policing Pacific Island Communities, the Fiji Police Experience (Commissioner Andrew Hughes , Commissioner, Fiji Police)

4:30 – 5:00

Concluding Session

Chair: **Paul Girard**, Quebec Ministry of Public Safety, Quebec

ICPC Colloquium 2007

Erling Borstad, Assistant Chief of Police Analysis and Crime Prevention Section, Norway

Concluding Observations

Valérie Sagant, Director General, ICPC, Canada

Welcome to country

Aunty Agnes Shea

I would like to firstly acknowledge the Minister for Justice and Customs, members from other government and non-government organisations and the delegates from other countries. In my view, because of the work you are doing, you are all distinguished guests.

My name is Agnes Shea and I am a Traditional Owner of the Ngunnawal Country.

We traditional people of the Canberra region acknowledge your energy and efforts to reduce crime and keep people safe. We would also like to take the opportunity to welcome you to this, our land, Australia. I understand that this is the first time the ICPC have met outside of Europe and the Americas. This is your annual event. I hope the time you spend here and the relationships you develop will be enjoyable and strengthen your action around the world.

Now more than ever we need people to help countries and cities enhance safety and reduce violent crime and the fear of crime. I wish you all the best for the next few days and hope you enjoy your stay.

Thank you.

ICPC's President Address

Raymonde Dury, ICPC's President, Belgium

Honourable Minister,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

We all know that very few countries, if any, are immune to crime. While related to growing urbanization, crime also affects rural areas and leaves no communities untouched, including aboriginal communities. Experience teaches that effective responses involve some degree of imagination and creativity, cannot be reduced to single – and simplistic – measures and require a long-term vision and approach.

Emanation of this vision of community safety, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) was created in order to facilitate the sharing of information on preventive efforts from all parts of the world, to foster evaluation of policies and practices, to promote the best ideas.

Based in Montreal, Canada, the ICPC has a world wide calling. Its mission is assured through its Internet site, publications, networking and international events it organizes such as this one.

The ICPC exists because of deeply committed individuals who believe in prevention of crime, and also because governments recognize its utility. Initially created by the Governments of Canada, France and Quebec, the Centre is financially supported today by a dozen states and cities and collaborates with many others.

Australia has been an invaluable partner over the past 5 years. Invaluable because of its own innovative policy, research and action in crime prevention; because of its keen interest in sharing experiences with other countries; and last but not least, because of its constant support of our Centre.

I'd like to give special thanks to Ms. Dianne Heriot, Director in the Attorney-General's Department and Ms. Toni Makkai, Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology. With their respective teams, they made this colloquium possible.

International analysis is at the centre of ICPC's mission and it is also at the very heart of our discussions for the next two days. But if it is to enhance and refine our knowledge and analysis, international comparison must be rigorous and respectful of differences in political and legal systems and cultural diversity must not be underestimated.

ICPC's task is to decipher those contexts, build analytical grids capable of making such comparisons useful and identify key elements of transferability. The goal is obviously not to promote a single model but to allow for basic principles to be adapted them to specific situations and cultural contexts.

One of the universally recognized principles is the role of communities in prevention. This theme was chosen together with our Australian partners to stimulate analysis of the various ways communities deal with violence and crime.

Why is this so fundamental? Because crime prevention is about strengthening social bonds, it is about living together, peacefully and serenely, in full respect of individual freedoms. Economic development, the extraordinary technical progress of this last decade which facilitates exchange and mobility, and the strengthening of the rule of law worldwide are not sufficient to guarantee the quality of daily life. Preventing crime is one of the key challenges and one of the strongest demands of citizens.

I am convinced that our exchanges will further contribute to the quality of our thinking and practice.

Keynote Address, Dr. Sue Gordon

Communities need to function before they can act on crime prevention

Introductory Remarks

As Chair of the National Indigenous Council (NIC), I am honoured to be invited to deliver the keynote address at this important international event. I wholeheartedly support objectives of the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) to help countries and cities enhance safety and reduce delinquency, violent crime and fear of crime. The conference theme “communities in action for crime prevention” is very topical. The breakdown of law and order in many of our Indigenous communities has provided, and continues to provide, fertile ground for crime and related problems. I will argue that the term “communities” must encompass police and law enforcement agencies and all levels of government as well as community groups and organisations working together to address the significant challenges we face in Indigenous communities. But before discussing how Indigenous communities can take action for crime prevention I wish to:

- firstly, note that much of what I will say in this speech, and the facts and figures I will quote, are based on my personal experience ; and
- secondly, place in context the situation many Indigenous communities find themselves in.
- That is, in many remote communities law and order has either been absent or seriously lacking for some time. Community members are frequently trapped in dysfunction with entire communities paralysed by lawlessness, violence, substance abuse and chronic ill health. This perpetuates the cycle of disadvantage and hopelessness.

In his speech to the First Nations Economic Opportunities Conference on 19 July 2006, the Secretary of the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet and Chair of the Secretaries Group on Indigenous Affairs, Dr Peter Shergold, set out what he described as five stark assertions regarding Indigenous conditions and disadvantage. These assertions were drawn from comments I and other Indigenous leaders have made recently. I will share them with you because I believe that they provide the correct context, albeit a rather confronting one, in which to view the environment in Indigenous communities.

- First, many Indigenous communities are imploding, their social structures are collapsing, respect for law and order has plummeted and key social norms such as responsibility and authority are in tragic disrepair.
- Second, too many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have become trapped in a cycle of dependency, relying on welfare for their income and government payments for their livelihoods, unmotivated to take advantage of even the limited opportunities that are available.
- Third, virtually all Indigenous Australians see, in their own extended families, instances of substance abuse and its appalling consequences in terms of poor parenting, neglect of children, violence and sexual oppression of the powerless.
- Fourth, too many Indigenous communities are, in effect, seen as being preserved as museum pieces, locked in poverty, in socially dysfunctional communities, out of sight of mainstream Australia.

- Fifth, significant numbers of small, remote communities – settled, in great hope, as homelands and outstations – have no sustainable future and do not (and cannot) provide adequate health care, education or opportunity for economic development.

Taking into account these factors we need to remain mindful of the reality on the ground in many Indigenous communities where crime prevention strategies are being developed and implemented. I will talk later about what is being done by police, by government and by communities themselves to address the particular challenges for crime prevention in Indigenous communities.

But first I want to focus on the fact that Indigenous communities offer many of the conditions that are conducive to crime and indeed could be described as “crime magnets”. Recent reports about the trafficking of illicit drugs in Indigenous communities highlight this fact. For communities to be able to combat, and in time, prevent crime, the underlying conditions that enable criminal activity to flourish unchecked must be addressed.

Illicit Drugs in Indigenous communities

A report released last month by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund (NDLERF) (monograph series no.15 -footnote)* offers an alarming but highly relevant perspective on the particular challenges faced by Indigenous communities in combating drug-related crime. It describes how from little more than a trickle a decade ago, the flow of cannabis to outlying settlements is gathering momentum. Most starkly the report notes that the remoteness of most communities, far from protecting them from drugs, is increasingly a means for their exploitation as profiteers can push drugs at exorbitant prices in these environments. Clearly then, poverty and isolation rather than impeding the drug trade, are factors that enable it to flourish within Indigenous communities.

The report offers examples of “the extreme profits” to be made in remote areas, where a \$4000 purchase of cannabis can be expected to return \$16,000 to \$21,000 in profits – often within a couple of hours of arriving in the community. A single ounce bag that might sell for a few hundred dollars in Darwin can net a profit of more than \$2,000 on Groote Eylandt, even after the cost of a charter flight. Apparently drugs in remote communities can fetch up to 50 times the going rate. In fact my fellow NIC member, Professor Mary Ann Bin-Sallik gave a speech to the Australian Institute of Criminology Conference on “Family Violence, Drug and Alcohol Use in Rural and Remote Communities” in August 2006¹. She noted:

For a segment of rural and remote Indigenous communities the Grog Runners are their “local ice-cream vendor”. The Grog Runners provide an enticing but preventable door-to-door service. But the “local ice-cream vendor” never had it so good. How much would non-Indigenous members of the audience expect to pay for 600 millilitres of petrol? 600ML is only a little more than half a litre. I shall give you a hint. In April 2006, a litre of petrol in Tennant Creek cost approximately \$1.42. At that price, 600ML should cost about 85¢. Now how much do you think that a petrol sniffer would pay for 600ML of sniffable petrol? In October 2005, according to a report in *The Age*, “A 600ML drink bottle filled with ordinary petrol [sold] for \$50 on the black market in remote Aboriginal communities”

¹ Bin-Sallik, Professor Mary Ann Speech to the Australian Institute of Criminology Conference “Family Violence, Drug and Alcohol Use in Rural and Remote Communities” 18 August 2006, Crown Plaza Hotel, Darwin, NT

Mr Dennis Colson, Chairman, Turkey Bore Community, quotes the price at “\$50 to \$70 for 1.25 litres.” On the basis of these two prices a 600ML bottle would cost from \$25 to \$50.

The National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund report goes on to note that the opportunity for extreme profits has led to novel methods for drug traffickers on traditional Aboriginal lands and there is evidence that drug-linked criminal activity is becoming more organised e.g. chartering flights for deliveries. Even very remote locations now have regular deliveries and apparently often high levels of usage.

Research undertaken for the report included a survey of 792 police in the Northern Territory, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia in which 81% reported cannabis was “easily available” in their area, including 80% of police in regional centres, rural towns and remote areas. 87% of police thought cannabis was “very commonly used” among local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and 36% said its use had “increased” or “greatly increased” in the past three years.

According to the report, cannabis use affects isolated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander settlements in particular ways. Research undertaken for the NDLERF report supports earlier work which shows that two out of three males and one in five females in remote areas regularly use the drug. Additionally:

- some of the poorest and youngest users spend two thirds of their regular weekly incomes (including welfare payments) on cannabis;
- “bucket” bongs are widely used and the age of first time use is falling with children as young as 10 or 11 years old smoking the drug; and the new wave of cannabis is *in addition to*, not instead of, alcohol and other substances – the report found no evidence of drug substitution.
- Heavy combinations of cannabis and alcohol are common even in communities with liquor controls.
- 80% of non-urban police respondents in the survey assessed alcohol as a serious problem among local Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, compared with cannabis (44%), inhalants (33%), petrol (18%) and amphetamines (11%).

The underlying dysfunction affecting many disadvantaged communities is clearly a factor that predisposes residents of those communities to higher rates of alcohol and other drug use.

Child Abuse

Substance use and misuse is recognised as a contributing factor to incidences of child abuse and family violence in Indigenous communities. The absence of police and law enforcement agencies combined with general lawlessness and dysfunction are additional factors which contribute to a high incidence of child abuse in many Indigenous communities.

Child abuse, whether it be physical, emotional or sexual, remains a severe and continuing blight on our communities and a matter of dire concern. I personally see the effects of this violence every day in the Children’s Court in Western Australia, both in

our criminal jurisdiction and our civil jurisdiction of Protection and Care. My view is that child abuse is not part of our culture and is not acceptable in any form. I continually challenge people to think about this, as changing this misconception is vital to our future and the future of our children. Aboriginal people across Australia are saying “child abuse is not part of my culture”.

Aboriginal people, during research on child abuse in the Northern Territory, told the researchers that Aboriginal women are subject to three types of law (1) Aboriginal law (2) white law (3) bullshit law from Aboriginal men trying to use customary law as an excuse.

I will paint for you now a brief picture on the prevalence of this devastating issue in our communities.

While it is generally difficult to obtain accurate figures on the extent of child abuse Australia wide, and even more so with relevance to Indigenous communities, it is clear that Indigenous children are significantly over represented in the statutory child protection system.

According to the Productivity Commission’s *2006 Report on Government Services to Indigenous People*, in 2004-05, **4,887** Indigenous children under the age of 17 had some form of abuse substantiated – that is proven by the statutory protection authority.

This rate of substantiation is on average **3.6 times higher** for the Indigenous population than for non-Indigenous Australians.

Indigenous children are also **six times more likely** to be on care and protection orders than other Australian children.

While Indigenous children comprise less than 3% of children in Australia, they constitute a **massive 24%** of those placed in out-of-home care.

Due to guideline variations in each state, rates of substantiation are not comparable; however, they are higher for Indigenous children than their non-Indigenous counterparts in all States except Tasmania ranging from **2 times** to up to **12 times higher** in other regions of Australia.

Perhaps the most alarming statistic is that since 1998 – 1999, the rate of substantiated child abuse and neglect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children has **increased** in all states except Western Australia (AIHW, 2006).

Western Australia is currently the only State or Territory that does not have mandatory reporting of child abuse, with the Premier of Western Australia, Mr Alan Carpenter, indicating that there are no plans to initiate it.

In *The Inquiry into Response by Government Agencies to Complaints of Family Violence and Child Abuse in Aboriginal Communities*” (known as the Gordon Inquiry) that I chaired, and handed to the West Australian Government in July 2002, we recommended that the reporting requirements in the state of Western Australia be reviewed.

As I mentioned earlier, accurate data on the extent of child abuse is difficult to come by, and as these figures are based upon **reported** instances of child abuse and neglect, they are likely to be an underestimate of actual levels of maltreatment. It is estimated that less than 30% of sexual assaults on children are actually reported, and that this rate is a lot lower in Indigenous communities (Stanley et al 2003).

This situation has changed little since identified at the First Aboriginal Child Survival Seminar in 1979.

Indigenous Family Violence -Some Hard Facts

Similar factors to those that allow substance abuse and child abuse to flourish contribute to high levels of family violence in Indigenous communities. Let me share with you what I refer to as the “hard facts” about Indigenous Family Violence. From the Australian Bureau of Statistics 2005 statistics it is clear that the Indigenous experience of violence differs significantly from that of non-Indigenous Australians as I mentioned earlier.

And, as you'd be aware, these facts paint a very bleak picture:

- **One quarter** of Indigenous people reported that they had been a victim of physical or threatened violence in the past twelve months, almost double the victimisation rate of non-Indigenous Australians (19.5% compared with 8.9%);
- Police records indicate that Indigenous females were **six times** as likely to be a victim of domestic violence related assault than all the females in New South Wales in 2002;
- In Western Australia Indigenous women are **13 times** more likely to be a victim of assault than non Indigenous females;
- Indigenous females are **30 times** as likely to be hospitalised for assault than non-Indigenous females;
- **Over half or 54%** of Indigenous homicides occurred between family members, whereas only 38.1% of non-Indigenous homicides occurred between family members; and
- **Up to 88%** of all rapes in Indigenous communities go unreported

(Richardson 2005). This grim picture is an all too common experience, with far reaching consequences for too many Indigenous women and their children, many of whom are growing up in communities where violence is a norm. An intrinsic factor to combating child and family violence is acknowledging that Indigenous concepts of violence are much broader than the usual mainstream definitions of domestic violence – as the statistics so starkly illustrate.

It is for these reasons that for Indigenous peoples, the term family violence rather than domestic violence better reflects the often interconnecting and trans-generational experiences of violence within Indigenous families and communities.

Indigenous family violence must also be seen within the broader context of violence committed at a systemic level. Definitions of violence incorporate not only physical dimensions, but also emotional, social, economic, spiritual and institutional dimensions.

A broader concept of family violence allows for a more appropriate response to the difference in experiences of violence faced by Indigenous women and children. For example, the need for Indigenous specific services and the understanding that an Indigenous woman may be unable or unwilling to report violence or fragment her identity by leaving the community, family or partners as a solution to the violence.

The Gordon Inquiry

I briefly mentioned the Gordon Inquiry above. There have been many reports conducted into the prevalence of family violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities. I will focus on my report, the **Gordon Inquiry**.

The inquiry reported to Government on 31 July 2002 and we made 197 recommendations. These recommendations can be grouped around 4 main themes:

1. Strengthening the responses to child abuse and family violence;
2. Strengthening responses to vulnerable children and adults at risk;
3. Strengthening the safety of communities;
4. Strengthening the governance, confidence, economic capacity and sustainability of communities. More generally we found that:
 - family violence and child abuse occur in Aboriginal communities at a rate that is much higher than that of non-Aboriginal communities;
 - better responses are needed when family violence and child abuse occur;
 - the Government needs to provide a coordinated 'joined-up' approach to service delivery that responds to each community's need for integrated service provision; and, in relation to policing, the Western Australian Government committed funds to building 9 multi-function remote police facilities in which both police and Child Protection workers were based. Those up and running are now gaining the trust of their communities and the permanent presence means that people will feel free to raise both family violence and child abuse issues; and
 - there was a need to increase the capacity of workers to be responsive to abuse and violence in Aboriginal communities and the needs of Aboriginal people.

I note that a key finding of another Aboriginal woman in the Robertson² report into violence in Queensland communities was that: a whole of government approach to tackling violence is required along with Indigenous people taking responsibility to repair the broken lives as a result of violence.

Social disadvantage

I've touched on the serious problems of substance abuse, child abuse and family violence to give you an idea of the key environmental factors within Indigenous communities. We should not lose sight of the fact that these problems are occurring within a broader context of social disadvantage. I note there is also the work of Aboriginal women in this area, including Professor Judy Atkinson.

A key indicator of dysfunction in many Indigenous communities is the breakdown of local service delivery. Many communities have inadequate and poorly maintained infrastructure associated with water.

² Robertson, B, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence Report, Queensland Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Policy, Brisbane 1999

sewerage, housing etc. For example, according to 2001 Australian Bureau of Statistics data, one third of community owned or managed permanent houses in discrete Indigenous communities needed major repairs or demolition. As Janet Stanley asked in her paper presented at the Child Sexual Abuse: Justice Response or Alternative Resolution Conference in 2003 "How can you lock an offender out when there may be no locks on the doors or even no doors?"

The first step re-establishing law and order

So where to start? In my view, law and order needs to be re-established before other issues, including crime prevention, can be progressed successfully in Indigenous communities. My position on this issue is very much aligned with the Government's current approach and I will speak more about that in a moment.

Indigenous people need to feel safe in their homes and within their communities. And before they can commit themselves to crime prevention they need access to the same level of policing as those considered standard in non-Indigenous communities. Further, it is not just a matter of achieving parity in terms of number of police per head of population. The strategies developed by police working in Indigenous communities will need to be appropriate to the particular circumstances in the community and issues being addressed.

The National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund report that I referred to earlier points out that conventional drug policing strategies are rarely suited to rural and remote areas. In my experience the same applies to strategies developed to address other crime-related issues in communities.

A further report by the NDLERF entitled "*Policing, volatile substance misuse, and Indigenous Australians*" found that community members want police involvement in volatile substance misuse. It further found that "in remote communities, the presence and support of police officers can have an effect beyond their specific roles. A police presence can encourage community members to take actions. However, its absence can weaken the resolve of community members to take action against users".

And regrettably, in many Indigenous communities, including a number with significant populations and problems police are either absent or insufficient.

Audit of National Policing

At our last joint meeting with the Ministerial Taskforce on Indigenous Affairs (MTF) in June this year, the NIC identified the particular need for a comprehensive audit of safety and the level of policing in remote Indigenous communities. We saw an audit as the only way to get a true picture of the actual needs and resources required in each community given that needs differ from community to community. We pointed out the importance of understanding the adequacy of current arrangements so that improvements can be targeted. We believe that a national audit may also shed light on the number of police stationed in a community at any one time. Police numbers may be higher on paper than the number actually stationed in communities – it is important to understand the true situation. I am pleased to report that the Australian Government has taken on board this recommendation and has committed to immediate action. Minister Brough recently called for nominations of either a retired or serving police commissioner to conduct a national audit of policing and crime in Aboriginal communities. He also told a meeting of the Northern Territory Police Association that he will work with them to identify areas in need of a greater police presence on a community-by-community basis.

Intergovernmental Summit on Violence and Child Abuse in Indigenous Communities (the Summit)

The national audit of policing was among a series of measures developed as a result of an Intergovernmental Summit on Violence and Child Abuse in Indigenous Communities, held on 26 June 2006. The Summit, which involved Ministers from the Australian Government and all States and Territories, agreed that the levels of

violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities warranted a comprehensive national response.

Ministers reconfirmed the principles agreed by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) in June 2004 under a National Framework for Preventing Child Abuse and Family Violence in Indigenous Communities particularly that:

- . • everyone has a right to be safe from family violence and abuse;
- . • preventing family violence and child abuse in Indigenous families is best achieved by families, communities, community organisations and different levels of government working together as partners;
- . • successful strategies to prevent family violence and abuse in Indigenous families enable Indigenous people to take control of their lives, regain responsibility for their families and communities and to enhance individual and family well-being; and
- . • the need to address underlying causes and to build strong and resilient families. A key outcome of the Summit was agreement that a comprehensive response to the issue of violence and child abuse requires an integrated package covering:
 - . • a legislative and regulatory framework that protects those at risk of, and those who have suffered, violence and abuse;
 - . • adequate policing and child protection resources to deal with issues arising in remote communities;
 - . • a criminal justice system that recognises and adequately addresses the particular issues faced by those living in remote localities;
 - . • appropriate control of alcohol and other substances, and rehabilitation support for those addicted;
 - . • complementary measures, including: compulsory school attendance; support for local Indigenous leaders; sound community and corporate governance.

COAG Meeting on 14 July – key outcomes

The agreements reached at the most recent COAG meeting on 14 July 2006 follow on from and support elements of the \$130 million Summit package. The Australian Government commitment supports work previously undertaken solely within State jurisdictions. The NIC has been urging a comprehensive national response to address the levels of violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities and so I regard this as a very positive development.

Likewise I welcome the proposal to establish a National Indigenous Violence and Child Abuse Intelligence Taskforce led by the Australian Crime Commission (ACC). The Taskforce will be resourced by over thirty experienced personnel from the ACC, the Australian Federal Police, every State and Territory police force and the Australian Institute of Criminology. It will provide a whole of government response to address violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities and monitor organised criminal activity relating to drugs, alcohol, pornography and fraud. This week I met with two of its officers.

Whole of Government Approach/NIC Contribution

A whole of government approach is needed to support and empower Indigenous communities to combat and prevent crime including by tackling family violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities.

An example of this is the multi-lateral strategy to address petrol sniffing in Central Australian desert Indigenous communities announced by the Australian Government last year.

I sat on the reference group related to this strategy. This strategy builds on effective methods of supply reduction, prevention and rehabilitation measures. The Government is also working to reduce the effects of substance misuse in Indigenous Communities through mainstream programs. It includes a zero tolerance approach to petrol trafficking in the central desert region. Police from South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory have set up a Substance Abuse Intelligence Desk (SAID or drug desk) in Alice Springs to collect intelligence on trafficking in petrol, alcohol and illicit substances and then target police operations at known traffickers. The Australian Government has contributed \$500,000 to the drug desk, which commenced operation on 19 January 2006. I consider that the NIC has positively influenced the deliberations of both of the Summit and COAG processes and I trust that the outcomes generated will help improve the law and order situation in communities and ultimately contribute to reducing family violence as well.

The NIC has also been actively engaging with the Government over the last eighteen months through the Ministerial Taskforce (MTF) on Indigenous Affairs. The MTF, headed by the Minister for Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, the Hon Mal Brough, MP, includes Ministerial representation from all the relevant portfolios including Health and Ageing, Employment and Workplace Relations, Education, Science and Training, Justice and Attorney-Generals, Environment and Heritage, Transport and Regional Services, and Communications, Technology and the Arts.

The NIC has also been successful in getting government support for:

- . • fast tracking cases involving sexual abuse so that perpetrators are not back in the communities;
- . • greater use of protected bail conditions; and
- . • supporting boarding schools to remove children from dangerous circumstances.

I have described current initiatives being undertaken by the Australian Government, many of which relate to improving law and order. I will now focus on some of the other key issues influencing community capacity to combat crime.

Other key issues influencing community capacity to combat crime

Once the law and order situation in Indigenous communities has been addressed other key issues such as housing, infrastructure and services can be addressed.

Education The NIC has consistently argued the primacy of education for improving outcomes for our people. Literacy, in particular, is crucial for selfdetermination and community development. It is critical for effective decision making, for debate and informed discussion and for the protection of individuals, especially the most vulnerable, from exploitation and manipulation. We remain concerned about the impact community dysfunction has on school attendance rates. For this reason we have been encouraging parents to remove their children from toxic environments and consider sending them to boarding schools if this is the only way children will be educated. In our society poor educational outcomes determine socio-economic status. Where groups fail to keep up and fail to be able to compete effectively in the labour market, increasing inter-generational disadvantage, poverty and marginalisation are the inevitable outcome.

The work being done between mining companies and Aboriginal groups across Australia has opened new employment opportunities, but without sufficient education some of our people will not be able to access these opportunities.

I was pleased to hear about the establishment of a National Truancy Unit to monitor, analyse and report on school attendance data. This is an important first step towards improving school attendance. However, I would emphasise that all States and Territories have statutory responsibilities under their own legislation which requires children to attend school up to a compulsory age, and Aboriginal children form part of that responsibility.

Governance Education is also a pre-requisite for good governance and effective governance is essential for cohesive and productive communities. People need to be able to run effective meetings, keep records to deal with and understand governments. Where governance is weak, government resources intended for investment in a community's wellbeing can actually be used to cause more dysfunction, for example, a government funded computer was being used to access illegal pornography; which the MTF is addressing. Housing Increased investment in housing can be expected to improve outcomes in health, education and employment. Housing is a key element of the work being undertaken in a number of Indigenous communities identified by the Government as priority communities. The Government is adopting a multi-faceted approach in these communities.

- . • For example, in Galiwin'ku the focus is on land tenure, housing reform, economic development; and the improvement of service delivery particularly in relation to police, health, education, youth, housing maintenance and municipal services.
- . • In Alice Springs the focus is on normalising the town camps and supporting the Northern Territory Government in the implementation of tighter alcohol restrictions and dealing with alcohol rehabilitation and visitor accommodation.

Capacity Building Indigenous leaders and organisations also play a vital role in addressing the problem of violence and abuse. Sound corporate governance is important for the stability and effective functioning of communities and non-government organisations. Support through the COAG process for networks of Indigenous women and men in local communities so that they can better help people who report incidents of violence and abuse is a step in the right direction. I also regard as a positive development the Government's decision to limit funding of non-government organisations to those able to demonstrate that they are led and managed by fit and proper persons.

Local Service Delivery A key indicator of dysfunction in local communities is the breakdown of local service delivery. For example, fuel money not being banked thus resulting in power outages when there is no more fuel for the generators, placing women and children and other vulnerable members of a community at greater risk. This example was sent to me by a newly elected Chairperson of a remote community in WA.

Health Poor child health and educational attainment can also contribute to an intergenerational cycle of social dysfunction. COAG has agreed to an early intervention measure, which will improve the health and wellbeing of Indigenous children living in remote areas, by trialling an accelerated roll-out of the Indigenous child health check in high-need regions with locations to be agreed on a bilateral basis.

Closing Remarks

I've outlined for you what I see as some of the main areas that need to be focused on to enable communities to contribute to crime prevention. However it is important to look at these issues holistically as they are all inter-related.

While I have argued that law and order is the first priority this doesn't mean that addressing law and order should be focused on to the exclusion of these other key drivers. The challenge for government, and all of us, is to sustain action on all these fronts.

I don't want to finish without noting that there are good news stories that show that communities and governments are tackling the problems of crime in Indigenous communities. I expect that in time we will start to see the benefits following the establishment of the National Indigenous Violence and Child Abuse Intelligence Taskforce led by the Australian Crime Commission. As I've outlined, this is one of a series of initiatives recently agreed by the Council of Australian Governments to address the problems of violence and child abuse in Indigenous communities. I am hopeful that improved conditions will be achieved in some of our most dysfunctional Indigenous communities as a result of intensive and multi-faceted whole of government interventions being undertaken.

To complement the initiatives being undertaken by the Australian Government we need to encourage community level initiatives that focus on keeping people safe within their communities and providing environments in they can access decent services, including education and health services.

Finally, while we are talking about crime prevention it is not all doom and gloom for Aboriginal people. There are some major advances happening for our people including the fact that we now have the first Aboriginal surgeon in Australia, Dr Kelvin Kong from New South Wales, and there are many other young Aboriginal people following his example.

I wish you well in your deliberations today.

Director General's Address

Valerie Sagant, ICPC, Canada

Honourable Minister,
Very Honourable Madame President,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The importance of community action for crime prevention has been recognized for a long time, yet the term “*communities*” continues to provoke debate. Depending on the country where it is used, the term may express either positive or negative connotations: a community may be a place for sharing the common things of life, a place of solidarity, or of common interests; on the other hand it may refer to an enclosed and intolerant space, which prides itself on its distinction. It is quite clear that the first definition is the one that interests us today.

Intervention at the local level, in partnership with various practitioners from different environments has been identified as a priority for prevention, whether it be in England with their *police and community partnerships* or in France where the *Communal Councils for Crime Prevention* have been created. These long established and widely recognized principles have however undergone major evolution. There are four such evolutionary modifications that I wish to address today, in support of which, I will refer to the text drafted by Margaret SHAW for the ICPC.

The crime prevention “community” is increasingly open to the private sector

Once considered as the main responsibility of government, whether at the municipal level or at some other governmental level, the daily guarantee of personal and public safety is drawing increasingly on private stakeholders, companies, insurance providers, employers, property managers, social leaseholders, landlords, etc.

In part such an evolution is the result of the impasse confronting traditional public authorities: increasing crime rates despite the increases in policing resources, increased vandalism against private property and violence in private spaces which are regularly visited by the public. Thus there is an increased demand for public safety. In some instances, private public partnerships for the purposes of crime prevention is simply a response to government offloading of some of its duties: security guards for private spaces open to the public, such as parking lots, housing complexes, as well as hotel facilities and food distribution services in penitentiaries. Many such services are often contracted out by the police departments, the Minister of Justice and local authorities.

The last annual ICPC Colloquium, held in Santiago, Chile, was attended by numerous participants from across Latin America. South America is certainly a continent that has seen the full range of the privatization of public security and the event concluded by a serious examination of the issue of a *two tiered security system* which is so sadly reflected in the example of gated communities, closed in upon themselves. However, **true partnerships**, based on a sharing of the diagnostics of the reasons behind diminished public safety and the needs for prevention over a given territory, are beginning to emerge. This is the case of social housing complexes or of commercial malls located in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Examples are hiring policies based on hiring local residents, support for community initiatives, funding for social and recreational activities, and cooperation and consultation over the development of common living spaces and so on. All of these activities involve private partners. In a more general fashion, **corporate social responsibility** is emerging and is inducing many societies to look more closely at crime prevention.

Increasingly active communities engaged in the process of security and prevention

Depending on the political and administrative structures existing within a country, public safety and crime prevention fall under different authorities. The types of prevention to which we refer involve various sectors: schools, police departments, justice, urban centres, social action, transportation, etc. The multiplicity of practitioners presents the first challenge and their coordination is another objective which has to date not been fully accomplished.

Over and above the practitioners, the residents and the professionals who live within a given territory can be drawn together by affinity of interests and will thus constitute "*communities*": merchants, youth, women of ethnic origin, members of sports teams, etc.

The consultation, involvement and participation of all these stakeholders in the development of any prevention policy are more and more perceived as an **indispensable condition for the success of all intervention activities**. The modes of integrating these various communities into the decision making process may be variable: consultation may be by poll, monograph report, ethnic studies, local referendum, establishment of advisory committees, allocation of budgets for participatory activities...In practice, mere "passive" consultation is far more prevalent, yet there are a few new social involvement projects that have shown positive results. In this respect, it is worth noting how policies that have been implemented for Aboriginal populations in Canada and in Australia have allowed us to gain valuable information which is applicable to other communities, whose cultural identity is not as strong.

Such forms of evolution have roots in very old **alternative modes of conflict resolution** that have been "rediscovered" since the early 1970s. Designed in part to deal with the increasing volume of litigious issues and disputes that were overwhelming the courts, they were also meant to provide a better response to the increased demand for justice on a daily basis, involving the entire community. Such alternative modes also found fertile ground for development in developing countries and were aimed at combining respect for ancestral traditions with the enforcement of new standards of law, notably in South Africa.

The movement towards the greater participation of civil society in the development of public policy is certainly based on the realization of the inadequacy between the problems that had to be solved and the proposed solutions. But it also corresponds to the deep desire for dialogue between citizens and their institutions.

Many jurisdictions have decided to treat the improvement of the relationships between citizens and public institutions as the priority axis of intervention to prevent urban crime. The creation of ghettos for specific cultural minorities or socially disadvantaged populations, their relegation and confinement to specific neighbourhoods and the limited public services offered have led to the emergence of entrenched

misunderstandings and feelings of injustice that many governments have sought to allay by programs of “democratic revival.”

The Quasi Universal Predominance of Ethno- Cultural Tension

It is true that intergenerational tension is a problem that communities continue to face. It is easy to identify “youth” as the source of the problem or as the perpetrators of crime rather than identifying them as the “targets” of crime. The latter approach however was used by the metropolitan region of Brussels in order to increase their attention and monitoring of school drop out rates. Australia has also extended its programs to fight rackets and to establish mediation services in school environments.

Globally, youth delinquency and crime is a major issue around the world: street gangs in North America, *maras* and *pandillas* in Central and South America, violent youth and child soldiers in Africa, “problem youth” in European communities and in Australia, street delinquents left to their own resources in North Africa and Asia. Such a list is not an exhaustive reflection of reality, but it does express the depth of the problem and the extent of the concerns it creates in our societies.

While such challenges continue, they are at the same time aggravated and heightened by ethno-cultural tensions. The international context is more and more being characterized by greater geographic mobility, which is in many ways positive, but which is unfortunately accompanied by the reappearance of the traffic in human beings for prostitution and labour whether forced or voluntary.

The November 2005 riots in France, the December confrontations in Australia, the emotional outbursts and misinterpretations that were raised as the result of acts of violence in Canada and in Belgium, not to mention the numerous incidents of intercultural tensions which provoked and continue to provoke armed conflicts on all continents – excepting your own continent- all have a direct effect on the conditions under which safety must be ensured on a day to day basis.

The issues that are related to the cultural context are perhaps easier to grasp, but our knowledge in this area is still far from sufficient; practitioner qualifications are not always adequate; the prevention mechanisms are poorly implemented. The behaviour of a police officer, the attitude of a social worker, and the reaction of an addictions counsellor are not always perceived in the same way, depending on the cultural references of different persons. Extensive experiments in immigrant welcome and settlement were conducted with positive results in Sweden and Norway to promote mutual understanding. In France, frequent use is made of “relay-women” to facilitate communication between the cultural communities and public authorities.

The fourth major evolution: prevention has been progressively seen as an important component in the quality of daily life and community development

The link between prevention and the City is widely recognized, but the consequences to be drawn from this link are often the subject of debate. All practitioners agree that good coordination is essential between the various stakeholders: urban planners, transportation providers, social aid providers, police services and schools. However the silo effect and administrative complexity common to public institutions as well as the cultural resistance to change are some of the obstacles that obstruct such evolution.

Progress has been made at both the national and at the local levels. The Netherlands, by way of example, began to implement a large city strategy in 1995, which is based on three pillars: the physical, the economic and the social. Finally in South Africa, a project based in Durban has led to the creation of a collective dynamic, involving the cooperation of all stakeholders in the city for the improvement of security. In France, the city strategy, which has been extended throughout the national territory, was developed largely on the basis of local concern with criminality. North and South American municipalities such as Boston, Vancouver, Bogotá and Rosario (Argentina) have all implemented security policies to be integrated into the urban context, even though the means available and the objectives targeted do vary.

Given the complexity of the factors that contribute to prevention, it is becoming more and more clear that there is a pressing need of good analytical tools. Such tools might be implemented through crime prevention and safety observatories. With the support of the ICPC, Quebec has begun to think along these lines and El Salvador would like to create observatories that would be dedicated to young offenders and youth at risk; another one is being created in Bogotá; the Australian statistics are very thorough and complete; France has just created a national observatory...and the list goes on. At the International level, the European Commission would like to ensure that member countries dispose of similar information and has thus launched a program to harmonize statistics and data collection. This trend comes in the wake of expanded studies on victimization, the purpose of which is to extend and diversify the usual sources of information available on crime and on crime prevention. Canada and the United Kingdom have for many years conducted extensive studies into victimization and at the international levels new tools are being implemented under the United Nations, such as the global study on victimization regarding violence committed against women.

Information technologies have also enhanced progress and geo-coding projects abound for the gathering of prevention related data. Canada has developed a detailed map of crime phenomenon neighbourhood by neighbourhood. The possibility of adding demographic data as well as data on institutional and community resources will make it possible to conduct cross-statistical analyses to uncover new correlations.

The link between criminality and the city has made it possible to shed light on the **role of safety as factor in the quality of daily life**. Objective security and the perception of security are both important factors in the well-being of the community. In this respect, it is also worth noting the development of the notion of “**nuisance**” or “**absence of civility**” (verbal aggression, noise, litter) which translates into a high requirement for tranquility, peace and respect within the communities. Various approaches – which may often be combined- have been developed to address these issues: there is a coercive approach in Great Britain (*Respect Agenda and Anti Social Behaviour Orders*) and a mediation approach in Belgium (recourse to justice of the peace). In France, a strong link has been established in certain areas between “urban or local neighbourhood management” and increased attention to public expectations with regard to public spaces.

Urban policies as applied to security no longer focus on the attempt to modify the physical appearance of cities, but rather to implement adequate functioning conditions and to reduce the risks for the sake of persons who frequent public spaces.

At the local level, it is almost important to note, the **move by international institutions responsible for the economic development of countries towards a greater concern and attention on day to day safety**. The reinforcement of the rule of law and the fight against criminality, which are maintained in part, through a variety of prevention policies, have henceforth been recognized as fundamental conditions for

social and economic development. Consequently, there is **a high demand for technical assistance** in all these areas. This demands of us a better understanding of the conditions which enable prevention practices and policies to be transposed from city to city and even from continent to continent.

Conclusion

Safety has, to varying degrees in different countries, become a major political issue over the last twenty years. Our own experience and the results of research reinforce the idea of local intervention at the community level. From our vantage point, we realize that it is essential to ensure that **actions we undertake are sustainable and enduring.**

The purpose of crime prevention is to improve the quality of life for the citizens of the community. Such objectives cannot be attained on a short term basis or in a context of administrative or funding uncertainty. There must be an extended long term commitment in favour of well-coordinated policies both at the regional and the national level. These will be the conditions for the success of community work.

Throughout this conference, we will seek to give greater exposure to the successful experiences and to share local analytical work on a global basis. New networks are being created and structured around specific community identities. Thus the *Forum on Indigenous Peoples* that has been created under the auspices of the United Nations, as well as smaller associations, such as *Women and Cities International*, the *Forum for Urban Security or public security*, - which associations have appeared on all continents, bringing together local elected officials and artists, express increased community commitment to prevention. Our work must help them achieve these goals.

Keynote Address, W.G. Carson

Calamity or Catalyst: Futures for community in 21st century crime prevention

University of Melbourne

I have not chosen the title for this address simply out of fondness for the literary conceit of alliteration. Rather, I have adopted it in order to highlight what I see as an extraordinary paradox that I discern in communally and locally based approaches to crime prevention and to social policy in general at the beginning of the 21st century. On the one hand, we have the well-rehearsed, dystopian dangers of unreflexive communalism, a subject to which I shall shortly return and indeed argue that these risks are particularly ominous at this time; on the other, we have what many criminologists see as the potentially positive and progressive potential of an approach to crime prevention that focuses on the communal and the local. It is in charting our way carefully between these two counterposed positions that, I believe, we can develop an approach to crime prevention appropriate to our times. The map for such a journey, I shall argue, is to be found in a cartography that reconnects crime prevention with notions of obligations and rights.

To accomplish this I shall attempt three things:

- a. First I will briefly revisit what I see as the most disturbing dangers of unreflexive communalism
- b. Second, I shall give a very sketchy overview of some of the attempts made thus far to rescue communalism and collectivism more generally for crime prevention purposes.
- c. Third, I will propose that by imposing a template or overlay of thinking about obligations and rights on the downwards movement of responsibility for social policies like crime prevention, we might see a clearer way forward towards truly progressive developments in this field.

The Ubiquity of the Communal and its Problems

In his soon to be published book, *The Politics of Crime and Community*, Gordon Hughes has commented on the current ubiquity of the communal and the local in contemporary crime prevention discourse. In the Anglophone world this ubiquitousness is evidenced in the frequent use of terms such as ‘community governance’, ‘social capital’, ‘collective efficacy’, ‘social/community cohesion’, ‘neighbourhood regeneration’, ‘civil renewal’ and ‘safe and strong communities’ (2006, p.2). From our own neck of the same Anglophone world, we might add ‘community capacity building’ and indeed, even the title of today’s symposium, ‘Communities in Action for Crime Prevention’.

Meanwhile, in the non-Anglophone world, terms like ‘proximity’, ‘neighbourhood’ and ‘the local’ may not carry quite the same communal overtones, but they do still speak to an emphasis on the local that betokens a shift in patterns of governance – away from the state-centric (ibid. p.6). This trend, as the same author and Adam Edwards note in a recent special issue of *Theoretical Criminology*, reflects a change in patterns of governance more generally, one that, *inter alia* emphasises new *loci* of governance at the level of locality and the communal (2005, p.346). As Hughes, himself, sums up the situation, “(i)t is difficult to dispute claims that “communitarian” ideas are now

increasingly embedded, at least rhetorically, in most late modern governing strategies for dealing with the range of social ills affecting localities and groups....(ibid. p.3).

The various master narratives advanced to account for this state of affairs vis a vis governmentality and governance need not detain us here. What should detain us briefly, however, is the fact that the involvement of the communal in the above formulations is in certain respects not without its critics. In consequence, I would wish to enter a plea for caution about our enthusiasm in embracing what Adams and Hess (2001) have termed 'policy fads' such as community and, I would add, social capital or cohesion as social policy panaceas. Borrowing the words of Raymond Williams, I think we need to hesitate before what seems like all the richness of developed theory and all the opportunities for accessible entry into immediate practice in this regard, and entertain a moment or two of radical doubt (1977, p.11). For this coterie of concepts has of course been subjected to considerable criticism and qualification, reservations that all too easily become lost amid the understandable sense of urgency and enthusiasm to formulate new policy mantras.

That this should be so is, I think, as much the fault of academics as of policy makers and practitioners. While we in academe talk to each other about such things endlessly, maybe to the extent that the potential problems of communalism could by now be said to be academically well known, we have signally failed, I believe, to communicate our reservations and caveats effectively to many of our policy-makers. It is not perhaps just some contemporary intelligence services that allow people to hear what it is they want to hear! Yet, unless as public as well as academic criminologists we make our misgivings known in this sphere it is all too easy for policies in areas like crime prevention to follow paths that are not just misguided but potentially also very dangerous.

There are many criticisms that can be levelled at the use of the term 'community' in connection with crime prevention. This is particularly the case when it is used unreflexively to denote images of localism and neighbourhood where territorially bounded communities are assumed to share, actually or potentially, dense, consensual cultural and social bonds (Hogg and Brown, 1998, p.6). Elsewhere, I have addressed a number of these criticisms at some length (Carson 2004a).

More than anything else, however, the place of 'traditional' or consensual community on our crime prevention agenda at the present time is queried because of what many see as its possibly inescapable negative connotations. To the extent that community does exist or can be resurrected, it is argued, the concept carries a very strong element of differentiation and even exclusion within it. To identify with, or to find one's identity through a community necessarily entails a sense of differentiation from other groups and, more importantly, of others outside the community being different and "other". From there it is a small conceptual and practical step to community becoming very exclusionary. Paraphrasing Zygmunt Bauman, we can only ever achieve even the semblance of "community" by constantly engaging in the process of defending it from outsiders and external threat. Paradoxically, he says, it is purchased at the price of the insecurity that requires "twenty-four hour a day vigilance and a daily sharpening of swords"(2001, p.17).

Community therefore potentially contains a fundamental contradiction at its heart. Coveted for its secure sense of belonging and inclusiveness, even its most fragile and ephemeral realisation may hinge upon vigorous exclusion and differentiation. To the extent that we can experience it, we do so by expressing the insecurity of our own difference from others and their collective exclusion from our ranks. This contradiction was spotted clearly by the UK Report of the Commission on Social Justice and

Institute for Public Policy Research in 1994 when it pointed out that '(c)ommunity may bring about the best of local loyalties; or it may be racist, discriminatory or exclusionary' (as quoted in Cass, 2002, p.250). More than a decade later, Hughes again comments on the way in which this balance of contradictory potential has tilted strongly towards the regressive:

'...sitting alongside these potentially inclusionary appeals, the resort to an often explicitly exclusionary politics and culture of community safety and security by affluent nation-states has rarely been more pronounced' (2006, p.195).

It is this exclusionary potential of the communal project in crime prevention that I see as particularly dangerous at this time. As Stenson has pointed out, post 9/11 macro-level governmental issues such as terrorism, people, arms and drug smuggling, in addition to issues about public or community safety have become recoded under the headings of the management of crime, risk and fear (2005, 265). Speaking specifically of the UK, he goes on, constructing solidarity or community cohesion among the majority may reinforce social exclusion, a process whereby 'as elsewhere in the EU, debates about exclusion, crime, fear, risk and perceived threats from populations cast in the role of the 'other' are yoked with those about immigration and (the) demographic make-up drawing these biopolitical issues from the racist fringes into the liberal center ground' (ibid. p.274). No one who has lived in Australia throughout the last decade could surely entertain any doubt about the potential danger of such developments in this country.

What I most fear from traditional community crime prevention then is that, despite all the best intentions of programs like urban or civil renewal in countries like the UK and Australia, it could become complicit in a much broader and more vicious exclusionary social spiral. This is a calamitous scenario in which the socially marginalized and the under-privileged, as well as the criminal and the putatively anti-social, are caught up even further in a process of 'othering' fuelled by xenophobic fears stemming from migration, by the overarching concern for security in the face of terrorist threat and by what Hughes has termed 'the master status of the asylum seeker as the vilified "Other"' (2006, 197). Renee van Swaaningen has graphically described what can happen in such circumstances, albeit this time in a non-Anglophone society. The Netherlands, he asserts, has moved from being an inclusive to being an exclusive society, one in which 'banishment modern style' is the most contemporary trend in crime control³² and where '(i)t has actually become an exception if there is no reference to ethnicity in debates on nuisance, youth gangs, terrorism, misuse of social benefits etc.' (2005, p.292). Nor is the notion of the communal unimplicated:

'Now (that) the word 'community' is actually used in safety discourse it has got a rather narrow-minded, provincial connotation. The implicit message is: our communities were safe in the pre-globalized world of the 1950s, in which 'ordinary people' could still understand the world around them, so we should get back to that situation..... As a country of commerce 'we' embrace the neo-liberal politics of globalization but we do not expect 'the bad world out there' to disrupt 'our' peaceful country (ibid. 294).

³² Anyone who doubts the possibility of such strategies being adopted in Australia should consider the following comment from the Federal Minister for Indigenous Affairs on one 'successful' communal experiment in crime prevention in one Aboriginal community:

People are playing sport. People are being reconnected. And it's not just the police; it is locals taking control of their own community, and those elements that are causing the problem literally being driven out of town and no longer being accepted (Brough, 2006)

Rescue Attempts for the Communal in Crime Prevention

Thus far in this address I have concentrated on the potentially dangerous downside of communitarianism in crime prevention, and for this I make no apology. For if, as one authority claims, the idea has indeed been captured by 'the conservative intellectual movement of moral authoritarian communitarianism' (Hughes, 2006, p.12), then there is indeed great cause for concern. Nor is such concern allayed when one reads that in a country like the UK, for example, the views of the leading critics of communalism are 'politely ignored' by New Labour intellectuals who deem them too pessimistic to fit 'the optimistic delusions of Labour.....' (Guardian, June 2006, p.15). In Australia, I suspect, such dissenting voices would themselves be consigned to the increasingly marginalized ranks of the 'chattering classes'!

This said, it would be quite misleading to ignore the fact that, quite apart from those who have turned to the relatively new 'crime sciences' reflected in situational and developmental crime prevention (see Hope and Karstedt, 2003 for a critical discussion of these approaches), there have been others who, within a broadly communal framework, have attempted to rescue crime prevention from the pessimistic and dystopian fate that I have outlined.

One such group comprises those who have attempted to take the ideas of social capital and extend them beyond the notions of close bonding and tight networks. Preeminent here is the work of Robert Sampson and his former colleagues at the University of Chicago who have attempted to go 'beyond social capital' to a concept of 'collective efficacy' that, while predicated on minimal levels of trust or cohesion, categorically does not depend on close personal ties (Sampson, 2002, p.220; Carson 2004b, pp.197-200). Similarly, Hope and Karstedt have built upon the ideas of social capital to produce a new vision of crime prevention involving "weak ties" and have attempted to construct a Tocquevillian model of crime prevention that connects more robustly with ideas of inequality, social justice and political economy (Hope & Karstedt, 2003).

Pride of place in holding out against communalism in its more authoritarian form must, however, be accorded to those who, like Adrian Little (2002) see possibilities of resuscitating an alternative, *radical* form of communitarianism. Apart from providing a trenchant critique of the conservative model of communalism outlined earlier, Little mounts a spirited case for a radical communitarianism, one that asserts a revitalised vision of community purporting ultimately to take account of, if not to transcend, issues like differentiation, exclusion, power and inequality. 'Agonistic pluralism' replaces the authoritarian consensualism of traditional communitarianism (ibid. p. 87).

As far as crime prevention is concerned, such a vision indeed closes off some of communalism's more exclusionary tendencies while opening up other possibilities such as the "development of radical re-imaginings of community and justice" through local governance, the reconstitution of civil society, basic income, the common good, and retributive justice (Hughes, 1996). Active and engaged citizens, enabled and empowered within the context of participative local democracy, can promote a communitarian and democratic crime prevention agenda based on their voice in the governance of diversity. Decentralised power structures mediate between interests in a politics of pluralism, inclusion and the management of complexity, in a fashion somewhat redolent of Braithwaite's formulation of a republican model of crime control (1997, p. 10).

Radical communitarianism's emphasis on the local has been taken further in recent years by those who, following authors like Rhodes (1997), highlight the general

changes already referred to as taking place in the processes of governance in contemporary developed societies. Reflected to a degree in the 'responsibilisation' thesis advanced in criminology to account for the swing towards community and other entities in crime prevention and criminal justice ((O'Malley, 1997; Crawford 1998; Garland, 2001), these accounts of change betoken a shift in patterns of governance away from the state-centric. Instead, they countenance a situation in which 'the exercise of political authority beyond the nation state' is possible and one that, while able to countenance modes of governance that cross national boundaries (eg the European Union) particularly emphasises new *loci* of governance at the level of locality (Edwards and Hughes, 2005, p.346). Commenting on the more specific and recent developments in France, Roché concludes that the state is losing its monopoly in the field of crime prevention and that a new form of 'security governance using a contract-based territorial model has now become the norm' (2005, p. 407). Similarly, Daniel Sansfaçon, in an intriguing set of reflections, notes that 'another relationship to normativeness has been created, one that is no longer under the exclusive jurisdiction of the state but, rather, is decentralized and fragmented, allowing greater involvement from civil society in the development of social links' (2005, p.463). Tim Hope (2005) has outlined the uneven success thus far of attempts to develop a 'new local governance' of community safety in England and Wales.

It is important to remember that the state by no means disappears in any of these formulations. Instead, it finds itself in a situation of power-dependence where it must govern through other and often local agencies or partnerships. This creates an interdependence that 'enables political competition, for example over the definition of security and the appropriate means of its accomplishment' (Edwards and Hughes, 2005, p.350). No less important from the point of view of crime prevention and social policy more generally, this means that there is space created not only for contingent diversity and uniqueness³³, possibly indeed regressive, but also and in more optimistic vein, for innovate and progressive crime prevention developments at the level of locality. Thus, within this approach there is more theoretical room for catalytic crime prevention debate and activity through the less exclusively Anglophone (and communal) discourse of, and governance through, entities such as proximity, region, municipality and place.

With the possible exception of elaborations upon the crime prevention propensities of social capital, about which I must confess to a lingering ambivalence, I have a great deal of sympathy with these efforts to revitalise either a communally or a locally based approach. Short of effecting an epochal transformation towards radical communitarianism or burrowing away piecemeal to generate and disseminate locally contingent and progressive crime prevention initiatives, however, how can we establish and promote an appropriate overall agenda, one that would in practice challenge the firm, if danger laden, adherence to unreflexive ideas of consensual community on the one hand, while also critically encompassing practices, both good and bad, arising from local contingency and uniqueness in governance on the other?

Here, I think one possibility would be to ask what these approaches, whether we take the possibly over-generalised master narrative of 'responsibilised' communities, the aspirational formulations of radical communitarianism, or the more fragmented collective uniquenesses of locality, have in common. And as already noted, one answer is that they all share the depiction of a situation in which governance in matters

³³ As a former historian I cannot here forebear to wonder just how new such developments in modes of governance actually always are. When I studied the growth of nineteenth century policing in Scotland more than two decades ago, such contingent uniqueness and diversity was a salient feature of the enormous local unevenness of that institution's development (Carson, 1984).

such as crime prevention, albeit to different degrees and for different reasons, is at least in part shifted downwards. While such an observation is by no means novel, it does however raise a further and intriguing question, namely what are the implications for obligations and rights in the course of this downwards flow or defluxion of governance arrangements? And what consequences might these have for a progressive communal approach in relation to crime prevention? While I do not have any definitive answers to offer in this respect, I believe that by posing the question, by placing it on the agenda, we might begin to discover other ways forward from communal crime prevention's currently very mixed and possibly precarious predicament.

Obligations, Rights and Crime Prevention

In her sometimes confusing, often disturbing, but always provocative *The Need for Roots*, Simone Weil begins with the categorical statement that '(t)he notion of obligations comes before that of rights', which is subordinate and relative to it (1952, p. 3). By this declaration she clearly did not intend to emblemise the view so beloved of the contemporary right that an individual's possession of rights always carries with it a concomitant commitment to responsibilities, though in varying degrees it of course can be argued as so doing. Rather, her argument was that the very existence of a right implies an obligation on the part of others to respect it. Indeed, she argued, 'a right is not effectual by itself, but only in relation to the obligation to which it corresponds, the effective exercise of a right springing not from the individual who possesses it, but from other men (sic) who consider themselves as being under a certain obligation towards him (sic)' (ibid.).

Well over half a century later, Jim Ife and his colleagues from West Australia have returned to this theme emphasising the same constitutive relationship between obligations and rights, asserting the collective nature of such rights and obligations, and insisting that it is the distribution of obligations rather than rights that is problematic (Ife and Fisk, 2004; Ife 2005 [a]; Ife, 2005[b]).³⁴ This is what he terms the 'hard edge' of human rights work (2005[a], p. 15), and yet it is the 'imperative to act' stemming from this very distribution of responsibilities that gives human rights their power as a framework for community-based action. In their view, the obligations or responsibilities constitutive of rights, traditionally seen as a contractual matter between the individual and the state, are now more usefully understood additionally at multiple levels of community, both supra- and sub-national (2004, p.3). For too long, it is argued, the emphasis on rights/obligations and the nation state, stemming from international conventions etc., has devalued or, we might say, relieved of obligation, other actors and institutions such as the community, with reference to rights related obligations:

'...yet at a time of globalisation, where the autonomy and power of the nation state is increasingly threatened and undermined, it becomes necessary to call these other actors to account if human rights are to be guaranteed' (2004, p.2.).

With the work of Weil and Ife I think we have a general framework within which we could and should begin to debate the allocation of rights obligations in the context of the changed arrangements of modern governance. For, whatever felicitous or infelicitous term is used to describe the downward movements comprising one major feature of these changes, we have failed theoretically and practically, in the field of crime prevention, to deal with the concomitant shift or redistribution of obligations that

³⁴ See also *Rights, Responsibilities and Respect; Report of the Human Rights Consultation Committee*, Department of Justice, Victoria, 2006, which adopts a very similar argument.

should accompany it. Thus, by no means totally discarding the importance of transnational and nation state obligations in this regard, we can start to frame a crime prevention agenda around the notion of obligations towards rights dispersed downwards, while critically appraising the movements favouring communitarianism in its currently prevalent or ideally projected forms and the greater emphasis, for good or ill, on governance through locality, proximity, region or place. Approached in this way, I believe that communities or places of governance, through the idea of rights obligations, could indeed have a catalytic effect on current crime prevention theory and practice. Not least, by placing a template of rights obligations over communal and local crime prevention, we may be better able to estimate how its various forms measure up in terms of a sociology of rights as social claims on obligatory institutional protection (see Turner, 1993).

Let me again be quite clear. I am categorically not here advancing any ludicrous proposition that the local or communal should become the sole or even the primary locus for debate on obligations and rights. The state and the supra-national will obviously always play an important role in this context. Nor am I suggesting that central authority will not continue to be significantly involved in crime prevention through facilitating things like networks, partnerships and contracts with local agencies, through the provision of political leadership and vision, through the provision of resources and, not least, for good or ill, through the exercise of audit and evaluation functions (See Sutton, 2000, p.327). Moreover, I think we should be quite clear that this downwards movement, flow or defluxion of governance is a continuing *process* with varying and uneven results rather than a full and finally complete *fait accompli*. Governance outcomes, whether in crime prevention or anything else, depend on contingencies of power, negotiation, struggle and maybe even, on occasion, resistance. They are forged in the multi-layered processes of interaction that are involved in the formulation and ultimate delivery of social programs at the local level.

What I am suggesting, however, is that in light of the above, the processes giving rise to the diverse forms of governance surrounding crime prevention, should be permeated at all levels by a culture of commitment to diffused obligations towards rights. Thus, whether we are talking about central/local negotiation, the development of partnership arrangements at community level or, indeed, the actual delivery of crime prevention to designated groups, we should recognise that the obligation/rights nexus should be central to the interactions involved. For it is these processes, formulated or reformulated in this way, that provide the critical community interstices where catalytic chain reactions can be set off that might transform crime prevention in an innovative and progressive fashion. There are two ways in which I believe this to be particularly the case.

(a) The democratic right to participation.

Elsewhere (Carson, 2004 [b]), I have touched upon a series of what might be broadly termed democratic rights to which acknowledged obligation might have such a catalytic effect. Thus, for example, obligations towards the right to participation could have a galvanising impact in leading us to question our practices with regard to community consultation in crime prevention and, indeed, to the adequacy of current democratic processes for giving voice to the world of 'sub-politics', a world comprising those who fall outside our formal consultative structures (Beck, 1994, pp. 18-21). Do the processes involved in formulating and putting into practice crime prevention policies need 'new mediating institutions' (Warren, 2001, p.28; Shearing, 2005, p.5) or, as authors like Sabel (2001) contend, movement towards more 'direct democracy' and 'democratic experimentalism'? Not least, obligation towards the right to participation

might have a transformative effect upon how we perceive the question of accountability in terms of the need for downwards as well as upwards accountability.

Recognition of a full democratic right to participation at community level would also extend to issues like evaluation and thereby to even more fundamentally challenging questions about how crime prevention knowledge, itself, is constructed. And here, once again, the implications of the governance debate are potentially very far-reaching. For, if we pursue the line of argument advanced by some in this respect, the accumulation of knowledge in the crime prevention area would have to enter a new era in which fundamental epistemological uncertainty is acknowledged, crime prevention expertise is demonopolised and the overweening arrogance of positivist methodology is opened up to challenge.

Central to more democratised methods of such knowledge creation would be the idea that relevant knowledge is more generally constructed through “iterative” and participative processes such as those already described here and commended for use by experts like Clifford Shearing and his colleagues (ibid., p 5; Shearing, 2001; Cartwright and Jenneker, 2005, p.1)). Moreover, experts, researchers and administrators would have to be prepared to abandon the secure ground of “knowing best” (even if acknowledging the need for consultation and suasion) for much more personally and professionally treacherous terrain. They would have to recognize that, as authors like Wynne (1996), Shearing et.al. (2005) and O’Malley (2006) have pointed out, an iterative and complementary as opposed to a dichotomized and uncompromisingly antagonistic relationship between *local* or *lay* knowledge and *expert* or *scientific* knowledge is absolutely essential to the formulation of *public* knowledge in fields like crime prevention.

The point here is not restricted to the fractious relationship between local knowledge and “high science”. Nor is it just that in organising and managing crime prevention we should learn to listen better. That, assuredly, would be no bad thing. But left at that it is little more than a trivial observation, an enjoinder that might be added to all the others offered to practitioners and policy makers within a perfectly conventional consultative framework. Rather, the implication is that, as a consequence of our obligation towards participatory rights across the whole range of policy knowledge requisite to crime prevention, we have to be prepared to embrace fundamentally different epistemological assumptions about how such knowledge can and should be put together. In Sanjay Reddy’s words, this will involve rejection of scientific pretensions to sole authority and the “insertion at the very centre of the scientific enterprise of a more accessible and democratic discourse” (1996, p. 248).

The elevation of local (e.g., practitioner) knowledge to a more significant, though not, I insist, to a dominant position in knowledge construction processes would be a development of enormous import in crime prevention. For one thing, it places a powerfully cautionary framework around what has become an almost global industry in crime prevention, emanating largely from the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK), whereby an international commodity market in “what works” has grown up at the hands of academic and policy entrepreneurs. Melbourne and Sydney are not Sheffield or Chicago and neglect of the local knowledge of their unique exigencies can only be to the detriment of the development of sound and locally relevant prevention policies and programs.

No less important, however, recognition of the need for dialogue with local knowledge might temper our own tendency towards centralised “expertocracy” in crime prevention. By extension, moreover, knowledge of relevance to this area of public policy, as to any other, would also cease to be the exclusive domain of public agencies

and become something that is developed during policy and management processes to which public administrators are just one party (Hess & Adams, 2002). Thus the process of formulating crime prevention policy would go beyond condign communal consultation to literally constructive dialogue.³⁵

All of this would of course entail profound changes on the part of those who manage these areas of policy. Hess and Adams have signalled, for example, that such a transformation in the acquisition of policy knowledge would require different skills in our public administrators. These would be skills encompassing not so much given bodies of knowledge to be applied, as expertise in the participative processes by which that knowledge may be generated (2002). Even more difficult, perhaps, it would necessitate a willingness to share some elements of power and control with other parties in a genuinely *dialogical* process. Moreover, dearly held methodologies, well-suited to upwards accountability and straightforward positivistic notions of science, would have to be reassessed in the light of more constructivist methods of acquiring knowledge and the inherently less measurable nature of many of the social phenomena involved. More generally, and in keeping with the overall burden of this address, it would require those involved in crime prevention – managers, researchers and practitioners alike — to become more reflexive about their own practices within the context of late modern society, its changing modes of governance and a culture of commitment to obligations and rights.

Acceptance of an obligation towards democratic rights of participation as outlined here might have a considerable impact on crime prevention in helping to shield it from the kind of potentially calamitous future that I sketched out earlier in this paper. After all, full participation of the kind envisaged and at all levels of the production or co-production of crime prevention would surely blunt the force of the exclusionary politics and culture of community safety as reportedly often practiced. Analysis of other obligations and rights in the social and economic areas would also, I believe, yield similarly progressive and exciting possibilities in community crime prevention. Rather than pursue such an analysis here, however, I wish to conclude by examining another claim, if not indeed a right, that goes even more directly to the heart of how community crime prevention can be the site, not only of exciting possibilities but also of protection against the more dangerous propensities of unreflexive communalism. And that is the issue of respect.

(b) Respect.

Respect, as Richard Sennett's (2003) exquisite analysis of the concept makes abundantly clear is extremely complex and difficult to define. In this regard it is not so different from the concept of community, itself, our reckless promiscuity in deploying the latter as the lynchpin of social policies like crime prevention notwithstanding. Despite the difficulties, however, I have chosen to dwell on respect briefly here because, like authors such as Little (2002), I think it best captures what it means to recognise and, within limits (see below), to accept difference and diversity across the broadest possible social spectrum. Whether we are talking about our attitudes to the asylum seeker, the new migrant or the egregiously potential offender at one end of the scale, or about our attitudes to ethnic and religious minorities, to marginalised groups like the homeless, the wayward young or mentally ill, or more generally to that whole 'other' category of the underprivileged, recognition of the obligation to accord respect could be of enormous benefit to the theory and practice of a more progressive crime prevention. In so doing it would directly address some of the fundamental sources of

³⁵ Sutton and Cherney (forthcoming) have identified such dialogue, combined with central political vision, as one of the keys to a successful future for crime prevention in Australia.

the potentially calamitous outcome that I envisaged as one possible future for community based crime prevention in the first part of this paper.

Elevating respect to a right towards which there might be a constitutive obligation is, I readily concede, a contentious issue. In canvassing such a possibility, therefore, I do so with some trepidation. But I am comforted by the fact that, like myself, others are drawn intuitively to such a possibility, even if restricting respect to the more cautious status of being 'an axial principle when we go about conceiving rights and responsibilities'³⁶ or as forming part of 'the moral infrastructure which underpins our human rights'.³⁷ To understand how respect might be crucial in the context of the layered processes involved in the defluxion of governance eventuating in community based crime prevention, I think three features or dimensions of its realisation have to be kept in mind.

First, and following Sennett's brilliant analogy with the way in which mutual respect is achieved in musical performance, we have to constantly bear in mind that respect is performative. More than that, it goes beyond what has been dubbed the grudging tolerance of liberalism, thereby requiring actors at all levels in the downwardly shifting performance of governance regarding crime prevention to be pro-active. This means that in designing and delivering crime prevention programs respect should therefore be seen as much more than a kind of 'tick box' or 'sign off' confirming that it has not been violated. Thus, for example, when we create programs to connect or re-connect alienated minorities or drop-out youth with their communities, we should not just be watchful that that the requisite sequences of interaction do not adversely impinge on the self-respect of the groups involved; we should be asking how those interactional sequences positively promote mutual respect. Similarly, policies and programs designed to encourage community capacity building, community empowerment, civil renewal and so on should not simply be subjected to some sort of 'respect impact statement', but should be rigorously interrogated to determine the extent to which, at all levels, respect is being mutually performed and achieved. To reiterate Iffe's point, this is the cutting edge of human rights work in this field.

Secondly, since the community, the place, the neighbourhood or the locality are the site at which so much crime prevention work takes place, they can be seen as the crucible within which much of the catalytic effect of respect on crime prevention theory and practice can be generated. And in no context is this more true than in that of the counteracting and indeed the turning around of the exclusionary tendencies of communalism to which I have already alluded at several points. It is here that the exclusionary thrust of many contemporary national policies can be blunted; it is here that in the dialogic performance of crime prevention involving officials, agencies, partnerships and those groups so easily made to assume the role of 'other', that the respect that is 'so fundamental to our experience of social relations and self' (Sennett, op.cit. p.49) can be created.

Here, however, we encounter a difficulty. For all too easily, promoting the idea of obligation to respect or recognition, be it a human right, an entitlement or a claim, can come to be viewed from the right of politics and political commentary as abject surrender to relativism and a preparedness to countenance the accord of cultural respect, however unacceptable some of the practices and values in question may

³⁶ Adrian Little, personal communication, July, 2006.

³⁷ David Middleton, personal communication, July, 2006. See Middleton, D. (2004) Why we should worry about respect. *Contemporary Politics*, 10, 227-241.

be.³⁸ This 'difficulty' leads to a second aspect of respect that I wish to emphasise, namely, that mutual respect or recognition is not only performative but negotiated (Sennett, op.cit. p.260). Or as Zygmunt Bauman explains, 'recognition of the "human right", the right to bid for recognition, is not tantamount to signing a blank cheque and does not mean an *a priori* acceptance of the form of life for which recognition has been or is to be claimed' (2001, p.80). Instead, he insists it is an invitation to a dialogue in which the merits and demerits of the difference in question can be discussed and hopefully, though not it should be stressed, necessarily agreed (ibid).

A somewhat similar way of thinking in this respect has been advanced by George Pavlich (2002) who advocates recourse to a discourse revolving around what he and I have agreed to call *hospitium*. In using this term he envisages possibilities of persons, places and processes where hosts welcome strangers *without* surrendering control or identity, where the invitation to cross a threshold "simultaneously opens the limit of that threshold to otherness and accepts an undecided negotiation of the host relationship" (2002, p. 126). This language of *hospitium* thus attempts to conceptualise a process of coming together, even transiently, without the unitary, negative and exclusionary tendencies of unreflexive community on the one hand, nor the unqualified abjuration of principle on the other.

Discursive shifts of these kinds could have far-reaching and catalytic implications for crime prevention at the communal level. For one thing, they posit a different cultural context within which crime prevention might be formulated and publicly discussed. And as Susanne Karstedt, following Nils Christie, astutely observes, "criminal justice policy is cultural policy" (Karstedt, 2001, p. 286). Thus, within such a discourse we could conceive a very different set of relationships between the collectivity and the 'other', whether the latter be potential offenders, minorities, asylum seekers, the marginalized or the underprivileged. It would be one within which the right to *negotiate* respect would be acknowledged as a community obligation, one wherein the likelihood of crime prevention becoming swept up in some general exclusionary moral panic would be diminished, and one in which community crime prevention theory and practice could become pro-active around the theme of respect without becoming normatively abject. It might even lead, ultimately, to a theory of crime prevention and other social policy possibilities built around other associational forms that transcend community altogether.

Finally, and despite the indubitably catalytic effect of accepting the obligation to respect at this cultural level, it is important to remember what respect cannot on its own accomplish. In and of itself it cannot guarantee any obligation towards that other cluster of social and economic rights to things like health, education, work and housing, those rights which, taken together, might be seen as constituting the right to social justice and the very foundations of 'upstream' social crime prevention.. As Bauman once again observes, 'the replacement of the criteria of social justice by those of respect for cultural difference' is intimately related to the 'growth of inequality running wild' (2001, p. 88), a problem that Sennett in turn sees as 'how the strong can practice respect towards those destined to be weak' op.cit. p.263). To leave the matter of communal obligation to rights simply as a matter of respect (or indeed of participation) would therefore stop short of the full reconnection to ideals of social justice that crime prevention, in my view, so desperately requires. But then as Bauman once famously remarked, 'the preachers of community.....are reluctant to rally in defence of abandoned tasks' (ibid. p.149):

³⁸ See, for example, Minette Marin, The Times, February, 12, 2006, who concludes that ' the post-Christian majority, especially in the state sector, has been mired in an unthinking relativism, and has lost the conviction to stand up for essential western values'.

The two tasks which should be invoked by community to counter head-on the pathologies of the atomized society of today on a battleground that truly counts are equality of the resources necessary to recast the fate of individuals *de jure* into the capacities of individuals *de facto* , and collective insurance against individual incapacities and misfortunes (ibid.).

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Annual Crime Prevention Lecture, P. Homel

Who says that Crime Prevention hasn't worked?

Australian Institute of Criminology

One of the most common complaints about our modern approach to crime prevention is that it hasn't really worked - that the investments we have made over the past couple of decades have not provided the sort of dividends in terms of reduced or prevented crime to justify the cost and the effort that has been put into the crime prevention enterprise. However, these criticisms are made in the face of clear evidence of a continuing decline in almost every major crime category which has been occurring in a surprisingly consistent pattern across the developed world for the past five to ten years.

So, for example:

- in the USA the number of households experiencing some form of crime in the past decade has reduced by almost half
- England and Wales has seen a 44% reduction over a similar period
- and more recently Australia has experienced a reduction of around a third.

And yet it seems that many people still don't believe that our crime prevention efforts have been worthwhile. Some of this may be to do with the fact that while it is clear that crime victimization has come down as a whole, there are still some categories of crime that have not declined.

What is clear from a more detailed analysis of these general trends in crime is that there is an important exception to the overall pattern of decline. That is crimes involving specific forms of interpersonal violence. This is a very important issue I will return to to discuss in more detail later. However, for the moment we still need to address the question of why it is that in an environment in which there are continuing and significant drops in the rates of criminal victimization, the one specialized organizational strategy for achieving this result - i.e. crime prevention - does not appear to be getting due credit?

In thinking about why our efforts in crime prevention are frequently overlooked as part of the reason for these important declines in crime across the developed world, I have been able to identify five commonly suggested explanations.

The first is the criticism that crime prevention work has either been poorly evaluated, such that no effects can be directly attributable to the impacts of crime prevention initiatives, or in many cases, no reasonably scientific evaluation work has been undertaken at all. To some extent this is true, but the work of Farrington and Sherman and colleagues associated with the Campbell Collaboration over the past decade is proceeding to redress this deficit fairly quickly. In addition, new and innovative forms of evaluation are now being routinely applied to crime prevention work by people such as Nick Tilley and Gloria Laycock such that these gaps and equivocal findings are increasingly a thing of the past. Probably what is more telling in terms of the question I am trying to address is that the evaluation work that has been done has usually been assessed against a very high standard such that it is arguable that the effects actually are there but by virtue of the fact that we have sometimes set excessively high standards we haven't been able to claim the credit. However, it is also true that some forms of crime prevention, particularly the local community based stuff, do not have the runs on the board.

The second possible reason has to do with the nature and complexity of the modern crime prevention program. I will talk a bit more about this in a moment, as I will with the other three major explanations:

- Difficulties with implementation
- Issues to do with governance arrangements for crime prevention, and
- The appropriate application of theory to practice.

So what is crime prevention? There are many and various “definitions” of just what the organized effort for action that we call “crime prevention” actually is, but for today I have chosen a highly functional one developed by the Institute for the Prevention of Crime at the University of Ottawa.

As they describe it, crime prevention is any initiative or policy which reduces or eliminates victimization by crime or violence. It includes government and non-government initiatives to reduce harm suffered by victimization as well as efforts to reduce fear of crime. In other words: it is a bundle of strategically designed actions put together, managed and implemented to produce a set of outcomes that are measured in terms of reduced victimization and fear of crime. It is a process to produce an effect (usually a change in crime victimization) and as such it has identifiable components and mechanisms that are constructed in a specific way to produce a set of intended results.

Features and characteristics. The list I am presenting here is not comprehensive. Rather is it merely indicative and as such will not be true for all places at all times. But I think that it is a reasonable summary. Generally crime prevention is built on the idea of collaborative multi-agency action. This is because of an abiding acceptance that criminal justice system or human service agency based solutions alone are insufficient. This general approach has various names in different parts of the world. It is built on the use of systematic analysis of crime problems and the strategic application of appropriate responses. Crime prevention programs will frequently contain within them a number of different initiatives using varying mechanisms that are implemented simultaneously or at least contemporaneously. Modern crime prevention strives to use the principles and process of evidence based policy and programs – at least in principle or at the rhetorical level. Crime prevention also strives to be outcome (product) focused rather than simply output and process (or activity) focused. While the focus of crime prevention is generally on reducing local crime problems within local communities, the processes for promoting and implementing those goals are generally centrally driven. Related to the collaborative multi-agency approach is the characteristic of operating in partnership arrangements directed at achieving shared outcomes. This last feature is one that is slightly contentious. For the most part, community based crime prevention, built around the use of social developmental approaches, will be characterized by principles of inclusiveness and participation. However, it is arguable that some of the environmental crime prevention measures are in fact exclusionary, even though the need to operate through partnerships and collaborative arrangements necessarily means that these principles need to be embraced. Thinking about this leads us into the consideration of the three main issues I want to concentrate on here

Implementation problems seem to be endemic to modern crime prevention work. In a moment I am going to look at the implementation experience of the UK’s Crime Reduction Programme. But more recent work undertaken by the AIC looking at the implementation of local community crime prevention initiatives in NSW and WA has revealed an almost identical set of problems here in Australia. Some recent work in New Zealand and the USA also disclosed similar issues.

Their effect is to blunt the potential impact that crime prevention initiatives may have in practice and to discourage further attempts at crime prevention work. This leads to the other two major issues I want to highlight - issues to do with the models of Governance that are generally used with our crime prevention programs and the poor grasp of crime prevention. Theory that is present in most crime prevention practitioners and policy managers. I will start with the problem of Implementation.

Some years ago now I was invited to undertake a review of the implementation performance of the UK's Crime Reduction Programme, a four year £250 million effort to create a new knowledge base and practice agenda for crime prevention activity in England and Wales. As a modern crime prevention initiative, it encapsulated most if not all of the characteristics summarised a moment ago. What had motivated the Home Office to initiate this review of the CRP's performance was a clear and ongoing recognition that regardless of how well conceived the component parts of the CRP may be, they were not being implemented in a way that could allow for their effectiveness to be maximised.

The CRP was a complex program that involved 1500 individual projects operating from within 20 program streams in various locations across England and Wales. However, it was possible to identify a series of difficulties common to all parts of the program. These were: difficulties with attracting and retaining suitably qualified staff ; a lack of adequate guidance and support from the central agency (i.e. the Home Office); an absence of project management skill.

CRP's implementation problems:

- Lack of adequate guidance and support from the central agency
- Lack of a local skill base.
- Absence of strategic leadership from the centre.
- Ineffective program monitoring.
- A failure to learn from and to apply past lessons.
- Difficulties with local application of evidence bases
- No contingency planning or capacity to cope with external factors impacting on program implementation.

This leads into, and is closely related to issues to do with governance arrangements for the development, management and delivery of crime prevention action. The term "governance" deals with the processes and systems by which an organization or society operates. The word derives from Latin origins that suggest the notion of 'steering'. This sense of 'steering' a society can be contrasted with the traditional 'top-down' approach of governments 'driving' society or the distinction between 'power to' in contrast to governments 'power over'.

Crime prevention is right there in the heart of these new and developing forms of governance. The irony is that it is both extremely modern and anachronistic at the same time. For example:

It is a general fact that while the bulk of crime prevention work in most developed countries is focused on trying to have effects at the local community level, the business of crime prevention policy, program development and resource management tends to be very highly centralised within central, regional or local government agencies. So while these key levers and drivers are located at quite high levels, the expectation is that action can be achieved at intensely local levels.

Unfortunately experience has shown that this expectation is seldom matched with an appropriately reflexive governance model that recognises the need for the free flow of information and resources.

This relates to another key governance issue - the need for governance models which are both horizontally and vertically integrated, with the flexibility to focus on the delivery of outcomes rather than simply processes and outputs. Significant steps are being taken across the world to address this gap but it is not easy and is proving to be a challenge to many fields, including the human services sector. What is questionable is whether the criminal justice sector has even come to grips with this issue at this stage beyond the technical question of data sharing. Ironically, the crime prevention field probably has developed much further but this is not obvious to those with a vision confined by the traditional criminal justice system view.

Laid over the top of these two key governance issues is what is at best noise in the system and at worst significant structural blockages - the continual tendency of government to reorganise the management of its crime prevention effort and to regularly create new specialist agencies in response to new or highly political crime issues. Evidence of this process of continual reorganisation is very clear in the UK, other parts of Europe, Canada, New Zealand and here in Australia. What this does is to create a sense of confusion in partner agencies and local communities about who is providing the policy and resource leadership on crime prevention at any particular time. Where multiple specialist agencies are set up, such as has occurred in NSW over the past few years, there is an additional confusion over just who is in charge and significant effort is dissipated by trying to resolve this as well. It is hardly any surprise then that there is doubt about the effectiveness of crime prevention when it is so hard to find who is actually in charge of what has been done.

The final problem area that I want to discuss is the role of theory in understanding what we are doing as crime prevention practitioners. Usually mention of the T-word causes people's eyes to glaze over, but theory is vital for our ability adequately explain why what we do as crime prevention practitioners has the effects that we believe they it does. As Ray Pawson and Nick Tilley put it:

- Programs are theories
- Programs are embedded
- Programs are active and
- Programs are open systems.

What this all means is that getting our crime prevention theories right really matters. As John Eck puts it, learning if a particular approach has been properly operationalised can only be achieved if there is a understanding of its theoretical roots, that is a reference point that enables practitioners to make judgments (backed by data of course) as to whether an intervention was a sound replication of a particular theory of crime prevention.

As we know there are a number of theoretical approaches to crime prevention. There is the three level approach derived from the original public health approach of primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Then there is the four functional approaches classified as situational (including CPTED), developmental and early intervention; social or community based initiatives; and criminal justice system responses. These are complemented by a more recent public health model which focuses on the health of communities as a whole and is typically directed at violence reduction outcomes

(particularly gun violence). However, more recently we are seeing crime prevention interventions being described in terms of two core theoretical constructs:

- Those directed at trying to influence the underlying social and economic cause of crime; and
- Those interventions that seek to change the specific characteristics of the environment that causes criminal events.

These two types of interventions are described to as being either social and developmental crime prevention or environmental crime prevention.

Social and environmental crime prevention Social & developmental crime prevention

- Social and community development and regeneration measures
- Early and developmental intervention programs
- Involve high levels of community engagement and complex governance methods
- Frequently driven by human services sector and local government through partnership models
- Environmental crime prevention
- Tendency to be offender and victim rather than population focused
- Data driven and highly analytical
- Focus on crime reduction
- Often employ situational crime prevention measures
- Frequently driven by criminal justice agencies using various partnership models

These are some of the distinguishing characteristics of the two approaches. Obviously there are more characteristics and specific interventions will often contain mixtures of both main approaches. But these are the main points.

- Social and developmental
- Environmental

Now, underneath each of these approaches is a further layer of theoretical constructs and frameworks, the understanding of which is essential for properly describing the operation of crime prevention interventions and understanding what initiative has had what particular impact. For example, with the Environmental CP approach, one or a number of the following component theoretical processes may be occurring:

Environmental crime prevention - sub theories

- Crime pattern theory (Brantingham & Brantingham 1991)
- Routine activity (Felson 2002)
- The crime triangle (Cohen & Felson 1979)
- Suitable victim, motivated offender, absence of capable guardian
- Rational choice perspective (Cornish & Clarke 1986)
- Mechanisms and contexts (Pawson and Tilley 1997)

Each of these theoretical frameworks within the Environmental Crime Prevention approach have quite well developed evidence bases and a range of quite well documented evaluations to support their efficacy. Unfortunately, this is not so true for the social and developmental approaches, which are more sustained by accumulated practice knowledge bases than articulated theoretical frameworks. And although this is rapidly changing, it remains one of the explanations for why the crime prevention field lacks credibility in claiming a role in the crime reduction process. It simply cannot adequately explain what the relationship really is between many of the actions taken within the social and developmental framework and any results that may have been achieved. Better articulated theory will go a long way to resolving this difficulty, particularly as social/developmental and environmental crime prevention measures are

so frequently implemented in tandem. But in the face of all this, can we point to any examples of how we have managed to get this conjunction of processes correct - i.e. good evaluation processes; clarity around the crime prevention processes required; effective implementation; appropriate governance arrangements; and an effective application of appropriate theories.

There are numerous examples of course, but I want to briefly discuss one from some years ago that also highlights lessons that we could well learn for our current challenges, particularly in managing the problem of interpersonal violence. Bondi Beach, Australia's most iconic tourist beach in Sydney's Eastern suburbs. Over the years it had developed a reputation for being the venue for backpackers (i.e. young tourists) to spend Christmas and New Year's Eve.

By the Christmas of 1995, the unorganized beach party that characterised this event had grown to the point where there were 10,000 people on the beach. As the Sydney Morning Herald of the day described it, it was the UN of boozing with young people from all parts of the world spending Christmas Day and New Years Eve on the beach drinking. But the beach was also a popular venue for young men from the Western Suburbs of Sydney to come down to and parade their hotted up cars. As it happened, these young men were also mostly from Middle Eastern backgrounds.

On Christmas night these two groups came into conflict - a conflict that escalated into a riot on New Years Eve 1995/96.

This is what happened....

- The outcome of the 1995 riots
- 12 people arrested
- 20 charges - mostly affray and riotous behaviour
- Three people arrested after serious assaults
- 1 juvenile charged with malicious wounding
- 2 adults charged with assault with weapon (stabblings)
- All three convicted
- Trauma costs = \$23,000
- Damage related offences = \$30,000
- Additional clean-up costs = \$30,000
- Ambulance response = \$8,300
- Justice system costs (prosecutions etc.) = \$278,000

The Bondi Beach response:

- Problem solving partnership between local residents, business, local government and state government agencies established
- Rather than relying on a standard law and order response (i.e. policing and control alone) they adopted an innovative risk management built on a number of strong evidence informed strategies.

Strategies adopted:

- Undertook a detailed problem analysis using a combination of quantitative data and local knowledge
- i.e. made sure the nature of the problem was properly understood before deciding on an action plan
- Built on a strong community engagement model
- Judicious use of situational crime prevention techniques
- Utilised expertise and knowledge about the planning and execution of safe community festivals.

How these evidence bases were applied:

- Party became an organised a community festival
- Entertainment featured strongly
- Security was comprehensive but discreet
- Rules for participation were clear
- Some events were ticketed – others free
- Access to alcohol was controlled
- Residents worked as volunteers
- Cleaning up was constant
- Transport, traffic, access and exit were all managed
- Health and safety services obvious
- Fringe events broke up crowd concentration

The result...

- The 1996 events were effectively crime free
- The investment of \$150,000 by the NSW Government produced a \$220,000 direct saving to the community
- Other substantial benefits were less tangible
- The judicious and eclectic use of multiple relevant knowledge bases and strategies run in close coordination proved it could be done

The strategies and approaches from the Christmas events were adapted and repeated for New Years Eve 1996-97 and this was the result - a virtual elimination of the problems from the previous year. And more importantly, Bondi Beach has continued to operate its Christmas and New Years Eve events in a similar way for ten years with no repeat of the riots of 1995.

And so, how well have the lessons of a carefully constructed, thoughtfully implemented and systematically monitored theory based crime prevention intervention been learned and applied over the years?

Well, in December 2005, ten years after the Bondi Beach riots, Cronulla Beach, several kilometers to the south of Bondi, saw a recurrence of the 1995 events. Unsurprisingly the protagonists were not that dissimilar - i.e. young white males from the local area disputing beach territoriality with young Middle Eastern males from Western Sydney. This time, the racial dimension was much more explicit and fueled by fear and suspicion that seems to have to accompany our war on terror.

And the reaction of authorities also seemed to show no understanding or knowledge of any form of response beyond a law-and order response. So, it is clear that the science and success of our crime prevention enterprise is a fragile thing that needs to be continually nurtured and supported if it is to succeed. And so, in conclusion I would suggest that our current crime prevention task is probably summed up by the following...

Conclusion

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All the discussions provided an opportunity to reflect in particular on prevention policies and practices relating to **aboriginal communities across the world**. The Colloquium enabled people to become more familiar with these communities themselves, and the variety and richness of their background and cultures. Although the political and judicial context of these communities is unique, and not easily equated with those of other population groups, the proceedings nevertheless enabled some common conclusions on community crime prevention to emerge.

The large number of experiences presented reflected the vitality of community crime prevention action, and the diversity of local partnerships.

Crime develops in communities in the absence of social cohesion. This conclusion is not new. It was recalled in several ways: violence and law breaking come from a lack of attachment to the other (Scott RANKIN) and from an absence of a perspective on the future – both the future of the individual, and the collective future of the community. Violence is committed against others and well as oneself: Dr Sue GORDON reminded the audience of the high rates of suicide and alcohol consumption amongst young aboriginal populations.

Social cohesion has a wide array of objectives. Three central factors were underlined in terms of prevention:

- Every component of a community, every individual, needs to know about its personal and collective history. That knowledge, and its re-appropriation and diffusion helps to cement society. When it is ignored society becomes fragmented.
- Young people are the "target" of numerous tough public policies. They are widely represented as being the problem, yet they are also part of the solution. Their active participation and empowerment in the development and implementation of programs is a key to success.
- All prevention policies need to be based on a global conception of living environments, especially in cities. Urban renewal and urban design needs to integrate prevention as an objective.

However, seeking social cohesion within a community also carries the risks of creating exclusive enclaves which isolate and exclude others, leading to the eventual breakdown of communities.

Professor CARSON strongly reminded the audience of the original notion of "communitarianism" and stressed the dangers that could arise from its blind application. Respecting a person's rights doesn't imply a "relativistic" position but should open the way to dialogue. This dialogue can be facilitated by continual participative processes that allow a real co-production of social cohesion to emerge.

These reflections helped the participants to formulate three recommendations:

- The quality of governance is an important condition for the success of prevention policies and practices. Coordination, leadership and a cross-cutting approach (multidisciplinary and partnership) should be prioritised.
- The active and effective participation of community members must be a priority, not simply their consultation.
- Dialogue and the search for social cohesion should not facilitate the withdrawal of communities at the local level, but be conducted on different levels - local,

regional, national and international (including the impact at the local level of international trends in population migration or trafficking).

Community action requires continuity.

At many different times the participants raised the difficulties related to political changes, which may lead to the reduction, reorientation or terminating of prevention programmes, as well as the use of safety as a political issue and the way in which the media portrays crime. These uncertainties are dependent on the elective and democratic nature of our societies and on public expectations.

Rather than challenging or ignoring these problems, our efforts must be to convince. Those who promote prevention could use some of the media's techniques, such as those used by *Radio-Adelaide* (Australia), who send out prevention messages to the public which make fun of stereotypical media conceptions of crime.

The work of convincing public authorities depends largely on knowledge. Research on the causes of crime and the evaluation of responses to it are essential, provided this includes the various dimensions of prevention: the difficulties of understanding all the factors surrounding events, the multiplicity of risk factors, the huge range of possible responses and outcomes etc... The knowledge of practitioners themselves, and the knowledge stemming from practice should equally be taken into account, and not continually questioned. The research-action, or the evaluation of prevention practices implies "targeting" even those practices which are replicated and multiplied. Nevertheless, innovation and imagination often come from practice on the ground, and it is important to identify, supported and disseminate this knowledge.

The notion of respect dominated many discussions. Professor CARSON recalled Simone WEIL's contention that the very existence of a right implies that others have an obligation to respect it. The exercise of rights does not depend only on the person who possesses them, but on the respect which others give to them. The foundation of a community lies in respect for the rights of others, which helps create ties between people and mobilizes the community to support those most in need.