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Speech presented by Adam Graycar, Director,  
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*Crime and Community Safety*

**Neighbourhood – Making a Safer Community**

**National Neighbourhood Watch Conference  
26-28 September  
Canberra**

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## **“Local Government’s Effective Community Responses”**

### **ABSTRACT**

Responsibility for putting into place the necessary means to prevent crime is usually beyond the scope of any one agency or sector, and least of all, the criminal justice system. Successful crime prevention requires a fundamental change in the way government do things. Crime is an issue that involves the whole community. Crime is the result of complex changes in economic, social and cultural factors such as unemployment, child abuse, poor education, community breakdown, economic inequality and substance abuse. The broader community must be encouraged to accept ownership of, and show leadership in, community safety and crime prevention.

Local government has a role in preventing crime. Crime and disorder problems need to be understood in their local contexts and strategies need to be locally tailored. Local government can be a catalyst for change and a vehicle for the establishment of partnerships with other key agencies. Through its role in local planning, environmental management, economic development, urban design, and service provision, local government is in a position to know the needs of the community as well as being an influence on determining how people within that community live.

This paper outlines issues associated with community crime prevention and the role that local government has in delivering crime prevention strategies particularly in relation to integrated agency partnerships.

## **Introduction**

Responsibility for putting into place the necessary means to prevent crime is usually beyond the scope of any one agency or sector, and least of all, the criminal justice system. Successful crime prevention requires a fundamental change in the way governments do things. The broader community must be encouraged to accept ownership of, and show leadership in, community safety and crime prevention.

Crime is an issue that involves the whole community. Crime is the result of complex changes in economic, social and cultural factors such as unemployment, child abuse, poor education, community breakdown, economic inequality and substance abuse.

Australian social structure and economic life is undergoing change, the like of which we have not seen before. Old industries that used to offer lifetime secure employment are collapsing. Occupations are becoming obsolete, and the new replacement industries and occupations are more technological and less labour intensive. Economic change affects local communities.

The challenge is to find the right set of interventions to prevent criminal behaviour becoming a lifelong activity. The two main strategies are, on the one hand, to reduce and supply of motivated offenders and, on the other, to make crime more difficult to commit. This can be achieved by closing off opportunities and not making the activity worthwhile.

In exploring these strategies we confront policy and practice agendas of considerable complexity. We also find ourselves confronted by boundaries, which on the surface, can be easily mapped, but which in reality sometimes appear convoluted and unconquerable.

- To deal with the first objective, reducing the supply of motivated offenders, I could outline a catalogue of policies relating to intervening in the lives of individuals, families, schools and communities, and in particular at the important transition points. At the other end of the spectrum, but dealing with the same issue of reducing the supply of motivated offenders, the institutions of diversion and incarceration also play a role.
- To deal with the second objective, we can unpack the conjunction of criminal opportunities, and test policies about designing for safety, community policing, protective behaviours and so on, within a context of situation crime prevention and a legal framework.

## **Crime**

Crime is the result of complex changes in economic, social and cultural factors such as unemployment, dysfunctional families, child abuse, poor education, community breakdown economic inequality and substance abuse. When we raise the topic of crime and justice, people think of a wide range of things – murder and murderers, guns and knives, drug traffickers and addicts, juvenile delinquents, violence in videos and on the screen, deaths in custody, alcohol and crime, while collar crime, tax evasion, money-laundering, organised crime, domestic violence, environmental crime, child abuse – the list goes on.

The two categories of crime, however, which affect most people are violent crime and property crime. When we look at violent crime, assault, rape, robbery have increased in the past few years, while sexual assault has remained constant. Homicide is at its lowest level for a decade, and the rate has remained unchanged for a century.

We must recognise that most – not all, but most – violence occurs among people who are known to each other, and often it is a matter of profound regret if an emotional situation gets out of hand. Alcohol is often involved.

The prevention of violence is a complex issue and includes interactive components, which involve (in varying forms) the individual, the family and social factors as well as both government and non-government agencies.

When we look at property crime we know that most of this is highly concentrated in a relatively small number of places. Some shops have no robberies, while a few have lots. A few entertainment venues have a lot of problems, most have none. Even in high burglary neighbourhoods most residents have no burglaries, while a few suffer from repeat burglaries – again and again. Understanding clustering and repeat victimisation and crime ‘hot spots’ is very important in developing preventive measures. Blocking criminal opportunities takes place by understanding place –its design and layout – and strategies that are appropriate for houses, flats, shops, warehouses, factories, public transport, parks, pubs etc.

We know that many crimes are not reported to the police. We know that many instances of disorder are never considered serious enough to get into the statistics – yet a lot of disorder, graffiti and vandalism upset, irritate and offend a lot of people.

Compared to many countries, Australia is a reasonably safe place. Most Australians can go about their daily lives with little chance of their becoming the target of a criminal attack. But it does happen – and the prospect that it **might** happen worries a lot of people. And, although, most of Australia is comparatively safe, the incidence of crime now is much greater than it was

twenty years ago. Criminal activity hurts and outrages people, and costs the community billions of dollars.

This is the pattern of crime as reported to the police, **Australia-wide**, in 2000.

<b>Crimes in Order</b>	<b>Number 2000</b>	<b>Trend 1995-2000</b>
General theft	674,813	Sharp rise (+38%)
Unlawful Entry/ Burglary	436,865	Slight rise (+13%)
Assault	141,124	Sharp rise (+39%)
Motor Vehicle Theft	139,094	Up & down (+9%)
Robbery	23,314	Sharp rise (+60%)
Sexual Assault	15,630	Up & down (+19%)
Homicide	346	Up & down (-3%)

Source: Derived from ABS Recorded Crime 2001

### **Community Crime Prevention**

The key aims in developing a strategy against crime and disorder in any community focus on:

- reducing the community's vulnerability to crime and violence;
- diverting potential offenders into more constructive activities; and
- supporting and empowering those who have become victims of crime.

The two key features are:

- the involvement of community members and workers in projects, strategies, networks, and committees to prevent violence and crime; and
- the creation and expansion of opportunities for all people to live, work, socialise, and play without feeling threatened or harassed.

Any community, whether it be a municipality, a neighbourhood, an entertainment area or a school can devise their own community safety strategy and work with the other players, police, health workers, private businesses, community groups etc to create a safe community. To do so involves a very realistic understanding of the community, its dynamics and its changes as well as the mechanism for undertaking safety audits and strategic responses to the results of any such audits.

It follows then that if crime prevention is going to succeed it should focus on broad social outcomes, for example reducing social exclusion. Compelling evidence suggests that those who feel excluded from participation in community life are more likely to offend against that community. Addressing this sense of exclusion can reduce the risk of offending.

Crime prevention is guided by strategic intentions and approaches but is ultimately defined by results. The hard strategic framework involves policies to prevent crime, improve safety and reduce disorder while recognising that there is no one single, definable cause of crime. While the financial costs involved with crime are staggering, significant human costs are also involved, for example, the effects on young people with reduced life options and the impact on the next generation.

There is a task for us all in strengthening social cohesion, and in so doing identifying protective factors in building a strong social base. Community strengthening will give us outcomes such as:

- Improved feelings of confidence, pride and safety within communities.
- Enhanced access to employment and training opportunities.
- An increase in average levels of education.
- Accessible and relevant local services.

If we can find the domains to deliver these then we are on the way to a safety culture, built on a basis of strong social inclusion.

As Ron Clarke has pointed out, there are three processes that shape crime prevention (Clarke 2001):

- Instill respect for the law.
- Regulate the conduct of people.
- Afford protection to persons and property by routine precautions and security measurement.

Just to digress a little here, I will give an illustration of crime prevention measures which incorporates these points.

In an account of the promotion of civil life in different communities, Robert Putnam looked at Italy several centuries ago where some regions had strong links with their communities. In these places, there was a great deal of trust and people engaged in public issues – social and political networks were organized horizontally, not hierarchically. In other regions of Italy, there was a

limited engagement in community affairs and the social structure was hierarchical. In these places, people did not obey the laws there and there was a great deal of fear and little trust. He tells how Italy around 1000 AD was a very unpleasant place to live - social life was anarchic. People only grew enough grain to feed themselves because the risk that it might be stolen was too great. They did not go to market for fear of being robbed on the way.

Two different solutions were found. In the South of Italy, a feudal system was established in which the knights protected the peasants, the Barons kept the knights in line, and the Barons were controlled by the King. Zero tolerance was the name of the game. The rule was authoritarian, but it was better than no rule at all.

In the North, small groups of neighbours formed mutual self-protection pacts. Each member agreed that if any of them was attacked, the others would come to their defence. Contracts were drawn up, outlining their mutual obligations. These groups formed alliances and soon towns began to grow. Town governments were formed out of these horizontally –organised associations. The pattern was copied elsewhere. In economic life, guilds were formed. Religion also adopted the same pattern. These communal republics soon created remarkably advanced systems of government.

By comparison with the rest of early mediaeval Europe, southern Italy seemed advanced, but the communal republics of the North soon gained dominance economically and also in the development of art and high culture.

The simple message is that all societies must maintain some degree of social order or they face extinction, however a society which relies on coercive means to maintain social order is a society lacking in trust and deficient in liberty - and it is tough if that is the only option available. Social order is better maintained through the use of incentives than penalties for causing disruption in a society.

There are three means to developing and maintaining a social order:

- coercive means – use of police and prisons;
- utilitarian means – economic incentives, public expenditure, infrastructure building; and
- normative means – appeals to values and moral education.

For a social order to instil values of civility and abide by them means that most members share a commitment to a set of core values, and most people, most of the time will abide by them rather than being forced to comply with them.

We cannot understand crime without understanding the community we live in, and the dynamics and changes which lubricate and confront it. Understanding population dynamics and the ways in which governments structure them helps us to understand the dynamics of crime in neighbourhoods. We cannot

underestimate the changes in the economy, in technology, in family relations, and in particular the changes experienced by young people trying to sort out where they fit into a society in which the goal posts keep changing all the time.

Crime prevention strategies have been found to be most successful and sustainable in the context of an improved social and economic environment that involves a range of social institutions.

However, we have to realise that it all starts very early. Crime prevention entails developmental prevention and community prevention as a means of reducing criminality. Both developmental prevention and community prevention are comprehensive and move across many domains. Another strategic approach is through situational crime prevention. The general strategy behind situational crime prevention is to set out to make the crime too difficult to commit, mostly by closing off opportunities, and also not making the activity worthwhile. This involves great skill in design and in planning. It involves the very fabric of our urban design, and the creation of harmonious patterns of human interaction. At another level it involves such things as: better locks; screens; security cameras etc.

The three principal tenets of situational crime prevention involve:

- Increasing the effort
- Increasing the risks
- Reducing the rewards

To achieve these objectives entails great skill in design and planning. It involves the very fabric of our urban design, and the creation of harmonious patterns of human interaction. At another level it involves things such as: better locks; screens; security cameras etc.

**Increasing the effort** involves hardening targets. This can be done at various levels. One way is to use our design skills to make both access and exits much more difficult. If there are 10 ways to leave a housing development or a cul-de-sac, that's a lot less effort than if there are only two! Designing location can increase the effort for crime to be committed. Deflecting the offenders by locating a business near like businesses, or by being near public transport may increase the effort. There are planning decisions about the design of space, the configuration of public places, and where buildings are situated.

For example, kerb-crawling was a significant nuisance in Finsbury Park, North London. A road closure scheme, diverting traffic from the area, did the trick. Effort for the prostitutes to find their "tricks" and punters to find prostitutes increased. Expected displacement did not occur.

**Increasing the risks** can be part of a planner's work. It involves planning for surveillance through good design. This can include everything from lighting design to shrub management, and screening and surveillance - as well as things like having alarms, police and security patrols, having more staff like caretakers on the site, car park attendants - anything that makes it more risky for a villain to go about his (or her) business.

For example, purse-snatching was a big problem in Birmingham markets. Aisles were then widened making it easier for shoppers to notice thefts. Risks to offenders was thus increased, and a very substantial fall in the rates of theft followed.

**Reducing the rewards** involves making it less worthwhile, reducing the amount of cash around (time delay safes), transacting more business using EFPTOS or plastic, marking property, PIN numbers for radios etc.

For example, cleaning graffiti off undergrounds trains in New York deprived the "artists" of the reward of seeing their works on show. They stopped doing it.

There is always the displacement effect to consider. It has been argued that by reducing an offender's opportunity to commit crime in a certain place or certain time simply causes the criminal to go elsewhere to offend. This is not always the case.

However we look at it, decisions about where to put a street light, a stop sign, a speed hump, a highway or a back alley, a new housing development, or even decisions about whether to open a school or close a school all have implications for crime prevention.

For our crime prevention activities to work however, they must be evidence-based and built on knowledge derived from research. Our crime prevention activities, wherever they take place, should be accountable, and their impacts subject to careful assessment. I can't stress too much the importance of investing in research so that we really know, rather than just have gut feelings, about what works, what doesn't and what's promising.

## **Local Government**

Local Government is in an ideal position to coordinate crime prevention strategies. Local government performs many functions in our society, and we could debate long and hard what it is that is Local Government's core business. It has moved on a lot from the three Rs, roads, rates, rubbish, and crime prevention sits somewhere in the list of activities - sometimes up there in lights and at other times as by-product from the social and physical capital formation process.

In seeking to reduce crime the following points must be remembered:

- The police alone cannot control crime and disorder.
- No single agency can control crime and disorder.
- Agencies with a contribution to reducing crime and disorder need to work in partnership.
- Evidence-based problem-solving approaches promise the most effective approach to reducing crime and disorder.
- Problems of crime and disorder are complex, and there are therefore no panaceas.
- Crime and disorder problems need to be understood in their local contexts and strategies need thus to be locally tailored.

Today I want to outline a four-step process for Local Government for designing out crime. It is based on a UK Home Office Report (Crime Detection and Prevention Series – paper 91, 1998) and involves:

1. A local audit of crime and disorder.
2. Local consultation based on the audit.
3. Formulation of local strategic priorities and target setting.
4. Monitoring and evaluation.

### ***Audit of Crime and Disorder***

The purpose of a local audit is to help set strategic priorities. A local audit should capture realistically the patterns of crime and disorder experienced within the local community. It should also analyse them in ways which will inform an effective set of strategies – remember, facts never speak for themselves – they need interpretation.

At the Australian Institute of Criminology, we have been working on Local Government Area (LGA) Crime Mapping. We have planned maps of LGAs using both crime rates and what we have called a Crime Concentration Index (CCI). We can compare CCIs in towns with CCIs for adjoining districts, and CCIs statewide.

The Crime Concentration Indexes (CCIs) look at the share of a specific type of crime in the total crime within an area, irrespective of whether the region has a small or high number of crime occurrences. CCIs tell us how concentrated is the incidence of a type of crime in an area, and are calculated relative to a reference region (eg State, statistical division, statistical sub-division, police district). In this way CCIs from different regions are directly comparable, and tell us about where crime problems tend to concentrate.

Some offences occur more in some LGAs than in others. Higher CCIs mean that a particular offence represents a higher share of the total crime in the LGA, therefore local authorities need to focus more on preventing incidents associated with that particular offence.

This is not static and whether an offence dominates the crime picture of a Local Government area depends not only on what happens there but also on what occurs in neighbouring LGAs. If the CCI for non-residential break and enter is more of a problem in one LGA and there is also a higher concentration of drug offences in that LGA, it might suggest an open drug market.

There is quite a difference when studying metropolitan and rural LGAs. There is the perception that rural communities are different from urban ones in terms of crime. There is also a perception that crime is increasing in rural area. Official statistics based on crime recorded by police show that rural areas tend to have a higher prevalence of violent offences than urban areas, whilst recording lower prevalence of property offences. Our Crime Concentration Index shows that this is not always the case.

In developing data, we would have to move beyond official reports of crime and include calls for police assistance in dealing with sub-criminal and non-criminal incidents. Other data from Local Government sources, such as on vandalism and environmental health are important.

A rich data source might, for example include the following categories:

- Incidents, victims and offender.
- Incidents, prevalence and concentration.
- Time, place and movement.
- Households, persons and area.
- Signs, sights and measurements.
- Criminals, targets and crime methods.

I can provide more information on each of these categories. We should always remember that official statistics can be complemented by local sample surveys and focus groups. The bad news is that these are not cheap, but local educational institutions can often be used.

The most valuable tool is the use of the Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to help paint a graphic picture of crime and disorder. Provided that police keep detailed local information this can be grid referenced and displayed in map format. A great deal of information on crime levels, trends and hotspots can be conveyed very efficiently.

**Consultation**

Consultation is about information sharing and the generation of ideas. It is about keeping faith with the community, and bringing stakeholders together. It is about identifying the interests within the community and constructing a web of inclusion.

You don't need me to tell you that in consulting, it should be made clear that there are not unlimited resources, and that there is a limit to what can be seen as realistic. Trade-offs between alternatives will have to be made, and it will not be possible to respond to everybody's priorities, and not all pet projects will get a hearing. Consultation can be done through one to one or group networking, through public meetings, focus groups or other research methods.

**Formulation of Local Strategic Priorities and Target Setting**

A lot of Australian Local Governments have developed crime and safety strategies. For instance, the Community Safety Action Plan of the City of Greater Dandenong has as its vision

*To create a safe, healthy and enjoyable environment for the City of Greater Dandenong, through a partnership involving Police, Council, agencies and the community.*

It follows this with 8 key objectives.

1. To develop and monitor Council policies, strategies, business plans and service provision to reflect community safety issues
2. To promote a safe physical environment that encourages community participation and use of public spaces
3. To facilitate community safety awareness in Council and the Greater Dandenong community
4. To undertake research and data collection on community safety
5. To commit resources to community safety
6. To foster partnerships locally and at the State and Federal Government level
7. To facilitate community information sharing
8. To evaluate the City of Greater Dandenong Community Safety Policy and Community Safety Action Plan in December 1997.

The City of Gosnells in Western Australia has a Safe Cities Initiative, and its Strategic Plan aims:

*To secure a better, safe city in which to live and work, and to facilitate a sustainable future for all; and*

*To create a proud, positive and harmonious community which provides opportunities for all.*

The objectives of the Community Safety Plan are;

1. To develop strategies at the individual, community and social planning levels to improve safety and security in the City.
2. To establish a community-based approach to address the issue of crime in our community.
3. To foster strategic alliances at local, State and Commonwealth government levels to develop, resource and implement integrated community safety strategies.
4. To facilitate an awareness of community safety and security in the community.
5. To ensure that community safety issues are considered in all planning, environmental management, economic development and community service provision decisions.

The real substance lies less in the formulation of general statements than in the primary objectives which are identified as priorities.

There are various ways of expressing crime reduction priorities

- In terms of **geographic area**: ⇒ “to reduce crime in specific locations”;
- By **crime type**: ⇒ “to reduce residential burglary”;
- By **victim characteristics**: ⇒ “to reduce crimes against small businesses”;  
and
- By **offender characteristics**: ⇒ “to reduce drug-related crime”.

Priority setting is an intensely political process - the priorities of parents of school children may be different from those of shopkeepers. Those of older people are different from those of national supermarkets or fast food outlets.

If we have a **burglary** strategy, for example, it could be shaped as a strategic priority for one or more of the following reasons

- It represents a significant proportion of the totality of crime;
- It represents a larger proportion of crime than in comparable areas;
- Burglary rates are higher than in comparable areas;
- Burglary is increasing faster than other crimes, or faster than in comparable areas;
- It imposes high costs on victims, who may belong to especially vulnerable groups;
- It is a source of public anxiety; and

- There is something we can do about it.

Many of these activities firmly involve Local Government, and give that domain a significant role in part of the criminality reduction process. Local government can be a catalyst for change and a vehicle for the establishment of partnerships with other key agencies. Through its role in local planning, environmental management, economic development, urban design, and community service provision, local government is close to the community and influences many of the things that matter to determining how people live.

### ***Monitoring and evaluation***

It is poor social policy to plan and execute programs without provision for their evaluation, and regular monitoring for feedback purposes. We need to have a process for checking to see if the organisation or partnership is doing what it plans to do. We need to measure inputs, processes and outcomes against preset targets.

Here is an example that can be monitored and evaluated. The focus here is burglary against businesses in a shopping block:

#### **Aim**

To reduce property crime against businesses in a designated block.

#### **Crime reduction objective**

To reduce burglary by 50 per cent.

#### **Examples of target outputs and outcomes**

##### ***Output***

- Locks to be replaced on 100 per cent of shops
- Security alarms to be fitted

##### ***Outcome***

- Achieve a 50 per cent reduction in burglary

#### **Performance indicators**

- Burglary rates recorded by police
- Crime survey of burglary incidents
- Burglary attempts recorded
- Claims to insurance companies
- Expenditure on crime prevention measures.

Similar targets can be set and monitored in areas as diverse as

- Reduced fear of crime in city streets at night
- Reduced fear of crime in open spaces
- Encouraging women to report domestic violence
- Reducing drug-related harm among teen-agers

- Reducing vandalism and graffiti etc etc

For our crime prevention activities to work however, they must be evidence-based and built on knowledge derived from research. Our crime prevention activities, wherever they take place, should be accountable, and their impacts subject to assessment. I can't stress too much the importance of investing in research so that we really know, rather than just have gut feelings, about what works, what doesn't and what's promising.

## Partnerships

Responsibility for putting into place the necessary means to prevent crime is usually beyond the scope of any one agency or sector, and least of all, the criminal justice system. Successful crime prevention therefore requires a fundamental change in the way governments do things. The broader community must be encouraged to accept ownership of, and show leadership in community safety and crime prevention.

This in turn requires a whole of government and whole of community approach, which is about breaking down barriers and cooperating to achieve negotiated, shared outcomes of mutual benefit. These agreed outcomes must be built into the business plans of all relevant agencies in both the government and private sectors. It is not about altering or diverting the core business of these agencies but creating a recognition that community safety outcomes have a value in their own right in improving core business results.

A key development in urban crime prevention is the promotion of partnerships among stakeholders. The traditional way of thinking about crime prevention – with the police as the only preventers of crime and the courts as the first stop rather than the last resort – just doesn't work well enough. This, as you would realise is not to diminish the outstanding work of the police and the courts. It is simply a recognition of the increasing complexity of life as we begin the twenty-first century and the need to find all-rounded responses to complicated problems.

Well-developed partnerships can boast of very good track records in addressing crime. I could cite examples till the cows come home. Partnerships are worth pursuing and our efforts at crime prevention could include a **partnership blueprint** in the early planning stages. For instance, if we look at priorities for tackling property crime, the issues include residential burglary, vandalism, car theft and commercial robbery. The partnership required to prevent these crimes include local government, the police, the community and the private sector. If we look at crimes against persons, one of the issues involved is domestic violence. The partnership required to tackle domestic violence issues includes government agencies, (both State and local), the police and the community.

Whether the crime locality is metropolitan or regional, several fundamentals need to be acknowledged. These are:

- Community safety is a whole of government activity
- Community safety involves empowerment and accountability
- Community safety is more than a bunch of projects

**First**, community safety must not be seen as a concept separate from other mainstream government and community activities such as education; family and youth support services; alcohol and drug programs; law enforcement; employment programs; urban planning and design; health and welfare services; and so on. Community safety is rather a key input to, and output of productive economic and social activity, be this in the workplace, at home, in retail and entertainment precincts, on public transport and in other public places. As these underlying issue areas obviously overlap the responsibilities of many government agencies, a whole of government approach is necessary.

**Second**, all agencies and individuals must be both empowered and made more accountable for their own security and well-being. This will only occur if community safety is perceived as having value in its own right, be this economic, social or personal. For example, proprietors of licensed premises now have to be made more aware of the risk of litigation if they knowingly allow persons to become drunk and injure others; businesses and schools must similarly protect against bullying; retail and entertainment precincts must present and maintain a safe and welcoming image to attract local patronage and tourists; individuals who do not adequately protect their homes and property risk loss, injury and higher insurance premiums; and so on.

**Third**, local community safety initiatives should not be seen solely and simply as being project based. Community Safety will only have lasting impact if its principles are incorporated into mainstream practice. For example, this could include developing shared information systems; development of procedural manuals around processes such as urban planning, youth services, family support; multi-agency professional development strategies; multi agency team based approaches to community safety issues; changes in laws, regulation and policy (eg local laws on public drinking); joint newsletters, media releases and other marketing strategies; and so on.

## **Conclusion**

To achieve community safety, and blend it with community ownership and responsibility, the greatest challenge is to develop inclusive frameworks or community safety plans which describe the priority issues of most concern to the community and the shared outcomes which need to be achieved.

Community safety plans should document the community safety needs and priorities of the local community; develop policies and strategies based on local partnerships; develop financial and marketing strategies to effectively implement the plan; and incorporate an evaluation framework to measure the outcomes.

Organisations like the Australian Institute of Criminology can play a significant role in assisting to build the knowledge base and assess the strategies that are relevant in local areas.

In conclusion, the key to the success for an inclusive safety strategy will be achieving broad community agreement to the need to move cooperatively down a new path. It must make the community aware that it is very costly to maintain large criminal justice systems, including police, courts and prisons. Economically and socially, new strategies are required which are innovative and outcome-oriented, and which provide a more coordinated government and community approach. New approaches must build on local and international experience, be backed by research evidence, and involve the wider community and the private sector.

We all have a role to play in building the partnerships to meet the emerging challenges for community safety. The safest communities are not those with the most police and prisons but those with the strongest community structures, including socialising institutions, families and economic opportunities.

Those opportunities exist and can be moulded. Human beings, who are almost unique in having the ability to learn from the experience of others, are also remarkable for their apparent disinclination to do so, but I am sure that does not apply to those of us here today.