PREVENTING VIOLENCE

A review of the literature on violence and violence prevention

A Report Prepared for the Crime Prevention Division
of the NSW Attorney General’s Department

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Foreword

The NSW Government is committed to the right of every person in the State to live free from the threat or the actuality of violence, whoever they are and wherever they may be. A large number of NSW Government agencies conduct programs and activities that aim to reduce or prevent violence in the streets, in homes, in licensed premises, in schools, in prisons and other institutions.

In response to community concern around violence the previous Premier’s Council on Crime Prevention and the Crime Prevention Division of the NSW Attorney General’s Department commissioned a major study of the available literature on its incidence in particular settings and its effects on particular parts of the community. Certain areas of violence, such as sexual violence and violence in the work place were specifically excluded, due to other important work being undertaken in relation to them.

The Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance at Griffith University was engaged to undertake the study. This two-volume report represents the results.

The report examines violence in a range of settings, such as licensed premises, rural and Aboriginal communities, as well as prisons, public transport and schools. It also looks at particular groups, such as victims of domestic violence, of hate crimes, as well as violence against people with an intellectual disability.

The report provides us with a wealth of information about which programs are working or could work to prevent or reduce violence. It will therefore be of considerable value to Government policy makers and program managers. As the report indicates, community groups and non-Government organisations have frequently been key innovators in developing community-level violence prevention programs, and the report will be a valuable resource for these groups as well. The report also confirms the value of partnerships in crime and violence prevention, a cornerstone of the Government’s crime prevention policies.

I acknowledge the initiative of the former members of the NSW Premier’s Council on Crime Prevention in commissioning this important work, and the enormous and thorough work of Professor Homel and his team at Griffith University in compiling it.

Laurie Glanfield
Director General
Executive summary

_Preventing Violence: A Review of the Literature on Violence and Violence Prevention_ provides an extensive review of violence prevention literature published both here in Australia and elsewhere.

The report, requested by the non-ministerial members of the Premier’s Council on Crime Prevention and commissioned by the Crime Prevention Division of the NSW Attorney General’s Department, builds upon the Government’s commitment to creating safer communities.

The release of this report will provide an additional resource to those working in, or interested in the crime prevention area. The report defines what is violence by breaking it down into different types of violence; discusses the contributing factors leading to violence; and reviews specific programs and strategies designed to prevent or reduce violence.

Clearly a report such as this is unable to examine all areas of violence, notable omissions being sexual violence and violence in the workplace. These areas will be the subject of further, separate work.

The specific areas of violence examined in the report and the key findings are:-

**Violence in licensed venues**

It was found that violence could be reduced or prevented through the following strategies:
- the responsible service of alcohol and changing the physical design of venues could reduce violence, as could the management of venues and hours of operation
- targeted policing, such as random checks on licensed premises
- community involvement through consultation and involvement in solutions for alcohol related violence

**Violence on public transport**

The fear of becoming a victim of violence while travelling on our trains, buses and ferries is greater than the actual risk of being assaulted. However fear of crime and the view that our public transport system is not safe is a significant issue which needs to be addressed. The report found:
- reducing the opportunities for crime to occur through the design of stations (eg installation of CCTV, additional lighting etc)
- that increasing the use of transport can reduce violence and increase feelings of safety
- that addressing the fear of crime could be a means of increasing patronage of the public transport system, which in turn could act as a deterrent to violence.
Rural communities

The report found:
• the lack of facilities for people experiencing violent situations in rural areas, (including provision of counselling services) contributed to the rise in violent incidents
• the greater access to firearms in rural areas may also be a contributing factor.

School violence

• the most common form of violence at schools takes the form of bullying
• programs to prevent bullying should not just focus on the individual and their behaviour, but address the school environment more generally, particularly the way classes, disruptions, and behaviour are managed
• connections with the surrounding community are also important, such as with families and by providing recreational facilities, etc.

Prison violence

• coercive and oppressive prison management can contribute to violence in institutions such as prison
• broad based programs which deal with the prison environment as a whole, such as, the way in which prisons are designed and managed through to programs which address the psychological needs of inmates, can all help to reduce violence.

Aboriginal communities

The report found:
• there are significant differences in the issues facing urban, rural and remote communities and these need to be explored through further research
• repeat offending needs to be addressed through post release support services
• the most successful programs are those planned and operated by Aboriginal people
• governments and service providers need to support what Aboriginal communities decide to do to address their problems, rather than prescribing the remedies.

Domestic violence

The report found:
• criminal sanctions alone were not enough to prevent domestic violence re-occurring
• programs for perpetrators of domestic violence are a promising development, but need to be evaluated to determine effectiveness
• a need for more research on the prevention of domestic violence involving specific groups such as gay men and lesbians, women from a non English speaking background and women with disabilities
• a need for programs for children who have been a witness to domestic violence.
Violence against gays and lesbians

- this is a crime in which there is significant under reporting but its incidence is generally considered to be higher than that experienced by the general population
- there are differences in the nature of the assault depending on the gender of the victim, however it is generally accepted that the perpetrators are male, and frequently young males
- prevention strategies should therefore be aimed at this group of young males, and those even younger
- the incidence of hate related violence needs further examination in order to obtain reliable statistics, perhaps through a violence survey.

Violence against people with a disability

The report found:

- people with disabilities face a higher overall risk of abuse and violence
- that people with a disability were more vulnerable than the rest of the population
- there are three types of abuse against people in institutional settings - overt abuse by a carer, program abuse (for example the use of seclusion or restraint) as well as system abuse
- programs to prevent violence should target: carers in institutions to promote organisational change; aim to change community perceptions of people with disabilities; and target people with a disability directly to promote self protection.

Many government agencies are already undertaking significant work in the area of violence prevention; on our railway system, in and around our licensed venues and in our diverse communities. Importantly, the work undertaken by government agencies has been consistent with the report’s findings. However, there is more that can and should be done.
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Introduction

This report is, first and foremost, a review of the literature on what works and what doesn’t work in the prevention of violence. To this end, it also contains an analysis of the factors that contribute to violence in several domains, or which might, plausibly, be expected to increase the risk of violence occurring. In addition, there is a critique, where appropriate, of the efficacy of existing criminal justice responses.

The report was prepared specifically for the Crime Prevention Division of the NSW Attorney General’s Department, and was based on specifications and terms of reference provided by the non-ministerial, community members of the NSW Council on Crime Prevention, as well as by the Crime Prevention Division. The Council representatives developed a list of ‘Species of Violence’ which forms the basis for the present nine chapters. They also compiled a list of ‘contributing factors to each species of violence’ which formed a useful starting point for our search of the literature.

Our approach was to search electronic databases such as Criminal Justice Abstracts, National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS), PsycLIT, CINAHL, Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, Sociofile, Current Contents – Social and Behavioural Sciences, and a series of databases available on AUSTROM (such as AGIS, FAMILY, and CINCH - the Australian criminological database maintained by the Australian Institute of Criminology). In addition, we made heavy use of the resources of Griffith University Library, including books, reports, and journals, and also contacted researchers in universities and in the public service who we knew were conducting relevant research or reviews. During the two year life of the project the internet became an increasingly important source for references, abstracts and full reports.

Once relevant documents had been located, we wrote a summary (or used the existing abstract), often with accompanying comments, and entered these into a ProCite database. The abstracts and comments then formed the basis for each chapter. To allow readers to check the accuracy of our analyses, and to facilitate access to our data sources, we have reproduced the abstracts and comments at the end of each chapter. To distinguish material derived from the source documents from our own summaries and comments, we have reproduced the latter material in italics. It should be emphasised that italicised comments and reflections, as distinct from summaries we prepared when abstracts were not available, should be treated mostly as ‘work in progress’ rather than as a definitive assessment of the source document. The discerning reader will note that in many chapters, conclusions reached in the text on the basis of all documents reviewed often extend or modify the ‘raw material’ for specific documents in the annotated bibliography.

The discerning reader will also observe that some chapters are more up to date than others. The project, because of its scope and complexity, extended from the six months
envisaged originally (the second half of 1997) to two years (mid-1997 to mid-1999). For this reason the chapters on domestic violence, licensed venues, and people with disabilities are fairly current, while others (such as those on public transport and schools) need to be updated to some extent. However, in our view the violence prevention field, while constantly developing, is not growing so rapidly that any major updates to the present material are currently required.

We adhered as closely as possible to the typology of violence proposed by the Council representatives. However, one species of violence that we were asked to examine was ‘violence in institutional settings (including prisons)’. When we came to examine this topic, we found that although there was a specific and useful literature on prison violence, there is no literature, as such, on ‘violence in institutional settings.’ The topic is too diffuse, and the field too poorly developed, to permit a useful review. We opted therefore to focus, in addition to prison violence, on violence in institutions for people with disabilities. Despite the deinstitutionalisation movement, this is an important and specific social problem around which there is a growing literature, and it is also an area that requires significant policy development. We felt that by reviewing this literature we could contribute to the larger literature on violence in institutional settings while also addressing an immediate problem.

Any literature review is only as good as the available information. A striking feature of the literature on many of the forms of violence we reviewed is the paucity of scientifically defensible research on what programs work to prevent violence. Outcome evaluations, as distinct from legislative reforms or detailed descriptions of risk factors, are surprisingly rare. We have done our best to locate all evaluated prevention programs, whether or not they revealed that the intervention was successful. Where evaluations are not available we have indicated, from the analysis of risk and protective factors, what approaches might succeed if implemented.

We have also not been prescriptive about standards of evidence. If randomised clinical trials have not been conducted (as they almost never are) we searched for less definitive but nevertheless scientifically persuasive evidence, based where possible on quantitative data collected over time involving comparisons of ‘treatment’ and ‘control’ groups. Since even this latter type of information is frequently lacking, we fell back on less rigorous but ‘promising’ evidence, such as before and after measures, or detailed qualitative evaluations. The reader should judge in each chapter how persuasive and useful the available evidence actually is.

The variations in the amount of information available for different forms of violence mean that chapters vary greatly in length. Not much is known, for example, about violence in rural areas, while there is a great deal of information about domestic violence. There is also a huge literature on violence in indigenous communities – although unfortunately very
few evaluated prevention programs – and so to keep that chapter to a reasonable length we have placed the annotated bibliography in a separate chapter.

Our definitions of violence were eclectic, driven more by what the relevant literature covered than by prior theoretical considerations. We have included, for example, verbal aggression, arguments and threats as forms of violence in licensed venues, because data on these are available in the literature. Similarly, the literature on domestic violence includes analyses of intimidation, threats and arguments in addition to physical or sexual assault, and as far as possible our critique reflects this breadth of definition.

We have drawn on theories of violence to illuminate our analyses wherever possible, particularly in discussion of factors that give rise to violent incidents. Again, our approach has been quite eclectic and multidisciplinary, giving as much weight, for example, to recent psychological research on the causes and prevention of family violence (such as Hollin’s person-environment model) as to the older sociological explanations (such as social stress or social construction theories). Interestingly, some recent theories are explicitly multidisciplinary. Thus Browne and Herbert’s integrated multifactorial model is based on the premise that aggression is a social behaviour within everyone’s repertoire, and specifies mechanisms that connect environmental, cognitive and behavioural factors. These types of integrated theories have great potential for application to many of the forms of violence discussed in this report (not just domestic violence), but such theoretical development is beyond the scope of the present volume.

Indeed, theoretical explanations have not been developed at length in the report, partly to avoid an overly academic document and partly to keep within the terms of reference, which required primarily a practical and policy emphasis. For these reasons we have also ‘taken as read’ the four major approaches to prevention – developmental, community, situational, and criminal justice - assuming that readers are generally familiar with what each approach entails and that they will accept that any approach, or (usually) a mix of approaches, should be utilised to prevent violence. Where appropriate we have indicated the theoretical approaches to prevention that underlie programs we have reviewed, and have on occasions assessed their appropriateness.

Because the terms of reference for the project required that we pay particular attention to criminal justice approaches, we have usually included at least a short section in each chapter critiquing such programs. Often, of course, criminal justice initiatives are intertwined with community-based and situational approaches, and indeed are most often effective when there is co-operation across agencies and no one prevention technique is used to the exclusion of others.

The preventive approach that figures least prominently in this report is developmental prevention or early intervention. This lack of emphasis arises partly from the topics that we were directed to review, which focus primarily on situations, communities or environments
(such as licensed venues, institutions, schools, public transport, and indigenous communities) rather than on developmental pathways and their social contexts. However, it also reflects a deliberate decision not to stray too far into territory that we were investigating for the federal government at the same time the present review was being conducted. Readers interested in the developmental approach to violence prevention should consult Pathways to Prevention: Developmental and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime in Australia (National Crime Prevention, Canberra, 1999).

No large project such as the present review could be completed without the involvement of many committed people. Michelle Huntsman and Desmond Crowley from the Crime Prevention Division provided valuable feedback on drafts of chapters, and kept the project moving to a conclusion. In addition to the unfailingly courteous and efficient library staff at Griffith University, I should particularly like to thank the individuals who contributed to the text and bibliographies, and who wrote initial drafts of sections of many chapters: Tamara Burrows (schools, public transport), Juliette Gross (domestic violence, prisons, schools, lesbians and gay men, people with disabilities), Bruce Herd (indigenous communities, rural violence, domestic violence), Danielle Ramsden (people with disabilities) and Rosie Teague (licensed venues, and general editing). Without the very hard and often tedious work carried out by these postgraduate students and research assistants, the report could not have been completed.

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Chapter 1. Licensed Venues

In the popular imagination there is a close link between alcohol consumption and violence. Police invariably comment on the relationship, citing their everyday experiences as evidence. Early research by Wolfgang (1958) of 588 homicide incidents in Philadelphia revealed that in 64% of cases, the victim, offender or both had been drinking at the time of death. A stream of criminological research since the time of Wolfgang has confirmed the presence of a strong statistical connection between drinking and all forms of violence (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Graham and West, in press).

One feature of assault victimisation found in all crime victim surveys, including those analysed by Homel and Mirrlees-Black (1997) in Queensland, is the extremely high rates of victimisation of teenagers and young adults. Nearly 18% of boys and 8% of girls aged 15 to 19 years reported in the 1991 Queensland Crime Victims Survey being physically assaulted in the previous year, with rates for the 20-24 age group being the next highest (13% and 7% respectively).

The survey data also highlight the importance of environmental or situational factors as risk factors for young people. In general, those who go out for entertainment at night, particularly to hotels and nightclubs, have a higher than average risk of assault. The same pattern applies to teenagers: about half of male and female teenage victims are assaulted in places they go to regularly (away from a home environment) which provide leisure or entertainment. Many of these places, especially for those aged 18 years or over, are licensed venues. It follows that one important strategy for reducing violence is to increase the safety of leisure and entertainment venues, including hotels and nightclubs, especially for young patrons. This conclusion is reinforced by research that indicates that licensed venues are generally high risk environments for both violence and drinking and driving (Stockwell, Lang and Rydon, 1993). A number of studies (eg Stockwell, Somerford and Lang, 1991, Casswell, Zhang and Wyllie, 1993) have argued that licensed venues should be divided into two groups. They distinguish between clubs and restaurants, and nightclubs, taverns and hotels on the basis that the latter group are more likely to be sites of alcohol related harm.

The focus of this chapter is on violence occurring in and around licensed venues, particularly nightclubs and other venues that provide entertainment for young people. There is an extensive theoretical and empirical literature on the links between alcohol and violence, some of which is relevant to situational factors, including the drinking setting. This literature is reviewed briefly in the next section, as a prelude to a discussion of the major risk factors for aggression and violence in licensed settings. The examination of risk factors is followed by a review of the small literature on the prevention of violence in the licensed environment. This leads, in a concluding section, to consideration of the role of regulatory systems in the prevention of venue violence.
The role of alcohol and of drinking settings is discussed briefly in other chapters in Volume 2, including Chapter 6 (Aboriginal Communities) and Chapter 7 (Domestic Violence). In these chapters, and in the present chapter, we stress that whatever the impact of alcohol, there is little evidence for a simple or direct causal impact on behaviour. For example, in Chapter 6 we discuss alcohol in the context of the sense of empowerment that consumption gives to marginalised and politically powerless indigenous men (see also Parker and Rehbun, 1995). In Chapter 7, the contradictory and fragmented nature of the empirical evidence on the role of alcohol in domestic violence is emphasised. Whatever the effects of alcohol, its role is mediated by cultural, personal and contextual factors that are still the subject of active research.

To quote Homel, Tomsen and Thommeny (1992: 681), who conducted observational studies of aggression and violence in licensed venues:

A key assumption was that there is a complex (but nevertheless real) relation between violence and public drinking (not the mere ingestion of ethanol) which is embedded in Australian history and culture and reproduced in institutional arrangements and regulatory and police practices regarding drinking. In our research we aimed to transcend the narrow debate about the effects of ethanol the substance by focusing on the total environment of drinking and its regulation (or lack of regulation) by management, police, and other public officials. Thus we considered features of the external regulation of licensed premises as well as more directly observable characteristics such as physical layout, patron mix, and social atmosphere.

**Alcohol and Violence**

Evidence on the links between alcohol and violence comes mainly from three major kinds of inquiries: studies of populations (trend studies in populations and natural experiments); studies of individuals (individual coincidence estimates and experimental studies); and studies of drinking contexts (conducted indirectly from surveys of drinkers or pub managers and directly by observation of drinking in natural settings).

In trend studies, analysis is based on a correlation (over time) between aggregate levels of per capita alcohol consumption and crime rates in a jurisdiction. Much of the limited work in this area seems to have been conducted by Scandinavians, and it all points to a positive association between consumption and crime (e.g. Lenke, 1989; Norström, 1998; Skog, 1986). A study conducted by New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1996) identified strong and significant relationships between alcohol sales volume (litres) and three crime types: malicious damage to property, assault and offensive behaviour. When the alcohol data were analysed by sales volumes from different outlet types the study found a significant positive correlation between hotel alcohol sales volume and assault.
In natural experiments, sudden changes in alcohol availability or in the enforcement of laws related to alcohol consumption are studied for their impact on crime. Collins (1989) cites a number of studies which examined the effects of temporary reductions in alcohol supplies due to strikes, government experiments (in Sweden), school bans, or other factors, most of which found a reduction in the level of violence when the supply of alcohol was interrupted.

Chikritzhs, Stockwell and Masters (1997) examined the effects of later trading hours on alcohol related harm. They examined the effects of 75 hotels, taverns and nightclubs in Perth being granted the opportunity to trade for longer hours between 1989 and 1996. They found that premises with later trading hours had significant increases in violent assaults and also significantly greater alcohol purchases. Average alcohol purchases for the premises with longer trading hours were more than 85% greater than those premises without the longer trading hours. When the occurrence of violent assault was adjusted by taking into account the change in alcohol purchases by each premise, the significant increase in assaults was no longer evident. This strongly suggests a link between increased levels of alcohol sales and increased levels of violence.

Studies examining ‘individual coincidence estimates’ use crime events as the units of analysis, and look at the use of alcohol by the offender, the victim, or both, preceding the crime. There are three main ways in which this has been done:

(a) Studies of individuals and groups who have been under some form of surveillance, treatment, incarceration, or punishment from state agencies. Most of these studies have found a positive association between high alcohol use or ‘alcohol problems’ and a personal history of involvement in arguments, fights, and criminal assaults (Collins, 1989). For example, in Western Australia, Indermaur and Upton (1988) found that alcohol abuse amongst prisoners, particularly those with a history of violence, is a major problem.

(b) Studies of violent incidents recorded by state agencies, including police records of criminal assaults. These studies look at reported incidents of violent crime, and consistently suggest that alcohol is involved in between 40% and 70% of cases, being present in the assailant and frequently the victim as well (e.g. Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1998; Wolfgang, 1958). The variability of estimates is due partly to differences in what is considered a violent crime, and partly to the frequent subjectivity involved in judging the presence of alcohol. An unusually thorough Australian police study (Ireland and Thommeny, 1993) concluded that 77% of ‘public order’ offenders (assault, offensive behaviour and offensive language) had been drinking shortly before the offence, and that 60% of these occurred in or around licensed premises.

(c) Studies of injured persons treated at casualty or outpatients departments of hospitals. In a surveillance project conducted by the Health Department of Western Australia (1997), nursing staff from the Emergency Department of Broome District Hospital found that of 608 injured people, 26% had consumed alcohol prior to their injury. In a
review of the literature comparing injured and non-injured patients, Cherpitel (1993) notes that the majority of studies find significantly higher levels of alcohol consumption and patterns of alcohol dependence among those with injuries. A recent study at the Gold Coast Hospital is consistent with these findings, and also draws attention to the surprising extent of violence ‘that occurred within the venues themselves, perpetrated by either other patrons or security staff’ (Campbell and Green, 1997, p. 98).

Despite the evidence of individual coincidence studies, interpretation is complicated. The problem of ‘deviance disavowal’ - the denial of responsibility for one’s actions by citing alcohol as a determining cause or facilitating factor - remains as a confounding variable (Collins, 1989). Studies of officially recorded crime incidents are possibly unreliable, for a variety of reasons. Not only do police records of violent crimes represent only a small proportion of all such crimes which occur in the community (National Committee on Violence, 1990), it is possible that alcohol-related incidents are less likely to be recorded by police than non alcohol-related incidents. In addition, leaving aside these sampling problems, it is quite plausible that since violent crimes arise frequently from interactive disputes, the increased number of such incidents in pubs and clubs at weekends and around closing time could simply reflect intensified social interaction as people attempt to socialise and enjoy themselves.

These kinds of difficulties have led to a considerable amount of laboratory research into the effects of alcohol on aggression. Experiments on both humans and animals provide convincing evidence that alcohol enhances aggression, with Bushman and Cooper (1990) concluding on the basis of a meta-analysis of 30 human studies that the magnitude of the effect is similar to other variables such as gender. However, the relationship is not simple (White and Humeniuk, 1993).

Aggression increases with alcohol dose up to a point, but high alcohol doses appear to suppress aggression. Moskowitz (1989) argues that for many alcohol-related problems the causal role of alcohol is conditional and alcohol is a necessary, but not sufficient element. The relationship depends on testosterone levels and (in humans) on the presence of frustration and threat (Gustafson, 1986). Graham and West (in press) summarise evidence that not only do men drink more than women, but that alcohol has a much greater effect on aggression in males. High rates of alcohol-related aggression have also been noted among marginalised sub-populations such as indigenous peoples, lending support to theories that emphasise that alcohol provides one outlet to help such people feel empowered (Parker and Rehbun, 1995; Pernanen, 1991).

MacAndrew and Edgerton (1970) conducted a cross-cultural study investigating the effects of alcohol. They found that the type of behaviour induced by alcohol consumption was largely mediated by the society’s expectation of the effects of the drug. In Australian society, alcohol is expected to release violent tendencies, while in other societies a more passive response is expected and consequently experienced. It would appear that if alcohol
and other drugs are linked to violence at all, their effects are mediated through local
cultural and situational contexts.

There is a developing theoretical literature on the contexts of alcohol and violence
(Parker, 1993; Pernanen, 1991), as well as a growth in the use of surveys to probe the
antecedents of violence. MCM research (1990) interviewed managers of 300 licensed
premises in England, and carried out some supplementary observational work on
management styles and patterns of staff-customer interaction. This research is full of
practical suggestions to reduce violence, although there is a clear sampling bias toward
incidents involving or known to management. Perhaps the most useful aspect of their work
was the development of a theoretical model (derived from Pernanen’s research) which links
alcohol use with violence via its influence on intellectual functioning and perceptual
abilities. However, as Stockwell (1993a) observes, none of the recommendations of this
alcohol industry sponsored research (see also Marsh and Kibby, 1992) relate to ways in
which drunkenness per se might be discouraged.

The work of Stockwell, Lang and Rydon (1993) illustrates both the potential of
population surveys to shed light on the contexts of alcohol and violence and the importance
of intoxication as a predictor of alcohol-related harm. They found that in a survey of 1160
Western Australian adults, 7.9% of 873 drinkers had experienced some form of acute
alcohol-related harm in the previous three months, that the most common problem was a
violent argument or fight, and that 72% of problems followed drinking on licensed
premises. Bar-staff continuing to serve ‘obviously intoxicated’ customers was the most
powerful predictor of harm after controlling for demographic variables, with crowding and
price discounting having indirect effects on harm via their correlations with this variable.

surveys identified key demographic risk factors for alcohol-related violence and found that
similar risk factors existed for both victims and perpetrators. These risk factors include
being male, being young, being single, having an income and high alcohol consumption.
She notes however that many of these factors mask the true underlying causes. For example,
marrriage itself probably does not reduce the chances of being involved in a violent incident,
but it brings with it greater economic and social stability and a lower probability of being
out and about, which is likely to curb violence. Similarly, having money is probably not a
cause of violence on its own but those with financial resources are more likely to be in
situations like clubs and bars where the opportunity for violent interactions is higher.

Despite the ability of surveys to shed some light on contexts, it is clear that direct
observation, supplemented by surveys of staff or patrons, is the best way of studying
violence in the natural setting of licensed premises. There are surprisingly few studies of
this kind in the literature. In Australia, the 1989 qualitative Sydney study (Homel and
Tomsen, 1991; Homel et al., 1992; Tomsen et al., 1991) and the follow-up quantitative study
in 1991 (Homel and Clark, 1994) are the prime examples. In addition, Homel and his
colleagues have collected extensive quantitative observational data as part of the evaluation
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of safety action projects in Queensland (Homel et al., 1997; Hauritz, Homel, McIlwain, Burrows and Townsley, 1998; Hauritz, Homel, Townsley, Burrows and McIlwain, 1998). Overseas, there are some detailed descriptions in Pernanen’s (1991) community study of interactional sequences in bars that alternate between positive and aggressive acts, and a very useful New Zealand study by Graves et al. (1981). However, the most important and largest observational study of aggression in licensed premises is by Graham and her colleagues (1980) in Vancouver.

In the Vancouver study, four observers (working in male-female pairs) noted 160 incidents of aggression (47 involving physical violence) in 633 hours of observation in 185 drinking establishments. Many variables were positively correlated with aggression, including the percentage of drunk patrons, the percentage of American Indians, poor ventilation, the amount of sexual body contact, lack of cleanliness, and a hostile atmosphere. The authors stressed however that the bar-room environment is best viewed as ‘an ecological system’, and implied that the overall influence of this ecology on aggression may be greater than the sum of the effects of individual variables.

Although Graham et al. (1980) used quantitative methods and Homel et al. (1992) used a qualitative approach, the findings of the two studies are in many respects consistent. Their research confirmed that a great deal of violence occurs in and around licensed premises, and that intoxication, especially mass intoxication encouraged by irresponsible drinks promotions, is one factor leading to violence. However, they emphasised that violent incidents in public drinking locations do not occur simply because of the presence of young or rough patrons or because of rock bands, or any other single variable. Violent occasions are characterised by subtle interactions of several variables. Chief among these are groups of male strangers, low comfort, high boredom, high drunkenness, as well as aggressive and unreasonable bouncers and floor-staff. These and other factors are explored in more detail in the next section.

Risk Factors for Violence in Licensed Venues: Guidelines for Safer Environments

Hotels, bars, nightclubs and their immediate environs are, strictly speaking, ‘public places,’ and so the question of safety in these environments is related to the issue of violence and good order in public places generally. However, our concern in this chapter is more specific: we are interested in good order as it relates to the intersection of the use of alcohol and the use of public space.

One relevant and growing literature examines methods for reducing alcohol-related crime and disorder at large public events and in public places. These measures have included non-admittance of high-risk groups to events and controlling the intake of alcohol in public places (Bjor, Knutsson and Kuhlhorn, 1992). Ramsay (1989; 1990; 1991) describes the introduction of a bylaw in Coventry, England, which restricted the consumption of...
alcohol in public places. While the bylaw failed to have any impact on the level of recorded crime, attitudinal measures indicated a lessening fear of crime within the community. More recently, a publication jointly produced by the Department of Tourism, Sport and Racing and the Queensland Police (1999) has suggested that alcohol-related harm at public events may most effectively be limited by providing a range of affordable and accessible food for event-goers and avoiding the discounting of drink prices.

Specialists are also emerging in the staging of major events such as New Year’s Eve, so that they are promoted as positive celebrations rather than as dysfunctional events characterised by high levels of disorder and violence (Alcoholic Liquor Advisory Council, 1996; The Magnificent Events Company, 1996). Significantly, the methods developed by these specialists rely explicitly on situational crime prevention concepts as well as on theories of ritual and community (Dunstan and McDonald, 1996).

While methods of preventing alcohol related crime at large ‘one-off’ or irregular public events have some relevance to the present discussion, the primary focus of this chapter is on the slightly different issue of the prevention of violence that may occur routinely in and around licensed venues. Consequently, the discussion in this section is based on the review chapter on ‘safer bars’ by Graham and Homel (1997), the recent review on alcohol and crime by Graham and West (in press), and the earlier series of studies by Homel and his colleagues (Homel, Tomsen and Thommeny, 1992; Homel and Clark, 1994; Tomsen, Homel, and Thommeny, 1991). Following Graham and Homel, a distinction is made between the physical and social environments. In addition, ‘risk factors’ are generally discussed in terms of their positive aspects; in other words, in terms of what needs to be manipulated in order to create safer venues.

The Physical Environment

While probably less powerful factors in the occurrence of aggression than social atmosphere and patron characteristics, the physical characteristics of the licensed environment offer great potential for making safer bars because these are the aspects that are under the control of the manager or licensee as well as society generally (in the form of policies and enforcement).

Using the environment to create expectations about behaviour. Attractive, nicely furnished, well-maintained premises give a message to the patron that the managers do not anticipate physical violence and associated damage to furnishings. Graham et al. (1980) found in their study of bars in Vancouver that aggression was significantly correlated with poorly maintained, unclean, unattractive bar environments. In Sydney, Homel and Clark (1994) found a relationship between bar cleanliness and aggression. However, expectations are governed by various factors, and there appear to be situations where run-down bars do not necessarily convey high tolerance of aggressive behaviour. MCM Research (1993)
concluded, on the basis of their study of best practices in the UK, that aggression was most likely in 'moderately uncomfortable' bars rather than in the most uncomfortable bars (p.24).

Avoiding physical environment features that irritate or frustrate people. Aggression in bars has been found to be associated with poor ventilation and smoky air (Graham et al., 1980; Homel et al., 1994), inconvenient bar access and inadequate seating (Homel et al., 1994), high noise level (Graham et al., 1980), and crowding (Graham, 1985; Homel et al., 1994). A plausible link between these aspects of the environment and aggressive behaviour is the role of these factors in irritating, frustrating or otherwise provoking bar patrons, particularly highly intoxicated bar patrons.

Poor air quality would constitute a direct irritant for the person as would noise levels that hurt the ears. High noise level and crowding might also be expected to have a physiological impact on the person that would make aggression more likely. However, Homel et al. (1992) concluded from their qualitative research that it was not the high noise level of bands, per se, that stimulated aggression, but rather bad bands -- good bands held patrons' interest and seemed to prevent aggressive diversions. Green (1990) concluded that a number of environmental stressors were related to aggression, including excessive heat, noise, and air pollution, especially smoke. Crowding was also related to aggression but the relationship is complex because the effects of crowding vary according to social context.

Macintyre and Homel (1997) used observational methods to study the effects of crowding in six Surfers Paradise nightclubs. They distinguished between patron density, defined as the total number of patrons per square metre in the venue, and crowding, defined for operational purposes as the number of unintended low-level physical contacts between patrons observed in a 10 square metre high traffic area in a half-hour observation period. The nightclubs were divided into two groups of three: high- and low-risk for violence. It was found that for any given level of patron density some venues exhibited higher levels of crowding than others. The more crowded venues tended to be the more violent, and in these high-risk establishments crowding increased more rapidly with patron density than in low-risk venues. Crowding appeared to arise partly from inappropriate pedestrian flow patterns caused by poor location of entry and exit doors, dance floors, bars, and toilets. Crowding in turn was statistically related to observed aggressive incidents, even when controls were introduced for patron drinking practices, levels of male drunkenness, and staff interactions with patrons.

The authors argued that architectural guidelines for licensed premises should be produced, so that in new or renovated venues the risks of unintended contacts leading to aggressive incidents can be minimised. In addition, design and its possible effects on crowding should be incorporated into the model used by officials to set patron limits for individual venues, and regular inspections should be carried out to ensure that these limits are not exceeded.
Minimising provocation related to games and entertainment. Graham et al. (1980) found that aggression was more likely in bars where there was dancing and pool playing (no relationship with aggression was found for other games such as darts and shuffleboard). This relationship may simply have been an artefact of the kinds of bars that tend to have dancing and pool tables (e.g., more likely to be frequented by young males). However, Gibbs (1986) in his review article used the example of pool playing to demonstrate how formal and informal rules can be used to structure bar environments in order to reduce both frequency and severity of aggression. His suggestions included limits on betting, establishing protocols regarding appropriate behaviour around pool games, and keeping observers of the game out of any disputes that arise.

Safer glassware and other harm reduction strategies. Shepherd (1994) observed that some of the more severe injuries resulting from bar fights were caused by using broken glasses or bottles as weapons, and suggested the substitution of tempered glass. Many Australian venues already use plastic glasses on a routine basis.

Encouraging eating with drinking. The availability of food (especially full meals) has been associated with reduced risk of aggression in bars (Graham, 1985; Homel et al., 1994). There are several probable explanations for this relationship, including the explanation that the types of bars that serve food are less likely to have aggressive patrons. However, some explanations include a larger contributing role of food. For example, eating while drinking is known to slow absorption of alcohol and thereby reduce the blood alcohol level the drinker reaches (Wedel et al., 1991). In addition, venues where meals are consumed even by only a few people may take on a different atmosphere from those where the focus is solely on drinking.

The Social Environment and Social Control

Creating a social atmosphere with clear limits. A number of variables reflecting the permissiveness of the environment have been shown to be associated with aggressive behaviour (Graham et al. 1980; Homel et al., 1994), including: overall decorum expectations (rated from restrictive to ‘anything goes’), swearing (especially abusive swearing), sexual activity among patrons, sexual competition, prostitution, drug use and dealing, male rowdiness, and male roughness and bumping.

In addition, direct measures of the permissiveness of management and staff have been shown to be related to aggression, including greater aggression where bar staff were very permissive and did not engage in responsible serving practices (e.g., serving underage patrons) (Homel et al., 1994), and where staff appeared to exercise little control over patrons’ behaviour (Graham et al., 1980). Aggression has also been found to be more likely in bars where drunkenness is frequent (Graham et al., 1980; Homel et al., 1994) and where there are discount drinks and other drink promotions (Homel et al., 1992).
Discouraging drinking to intoxication. The proportion of intoxicated patrons is a good predictor of levels of aggression, which suggests that strategies to reduce the levels of consumption by individual drinkers in these premises would, if effective, impact on the level of alcohol-related problems. (Casswell, Zhang and Wylie, 1993). The relationship of intoxication with aggression needs to be considered not only because high levels of intoxication signal a generally permissive environment, but also because of the consistent relationship observed between drunkenness and aggression in a number of studies (Graham and West, in press), as well as the relationship of drunkenness with severity of aggression (Graves, Graves, Semu, and Sam, 1981).

Fostering a positive social atmosphere. As described by Pernanen (1991:200-201), social interactions in drinking settings are far more likely to be positive than negative or aggressive. And, in general, observational studies have found that positive atmospheres (an atmosphere that is friendly rather than tense and hostile, that includes quiet laughter and small talk rather than hostile talk, and where patron boredom is low) are associated with a lower risk of aggression (Graham et al., 1980; Homel et al., 1994).

Employing trained peace-loving staff. Aggression has been found to occur in response to venue staff exercising social control such as refusing service and otherwise intervening with intoxicated patrons (Felson, Baccaglini and Gmelch, 1986; Graves et al., 1981; Homel et al., 1994). Bouncers, in particular, who have largely a social control role, have been identified across studies as sometimes increasing the harm associated with bar-room aggression (Homel et al., 1992; Marsh and Kibby, 1992). Clearly, hiring and training practices are controllable elements of the bar environment that are relevant to bar safety.

Keeping out aggressive people. Unlike some other environmental factors, venue managers have little control over the personality of their patrons. Nevertheless, one fairly convincing explanation of some of the variability of aggressiveness of bars is that certain bars are aggressive because they are frequented by aggressive people (Tomsen et al., 1991). This possible explanation is worth noting in developing safer bars. It is quite clear from many years of research that aggression is not randomly distributed in the general population; nor is it randomly distributed among drinkers (Graham and West, in press). Therefore, a necessary feature of safer bars is the capability to recognise and ban, if necessary, major trouble-makers. Obviously, it is not feasible to exclude large groups of people because they might become aggressive; however, it is possible to isolate the rare individual who causes an unusual amount of trouble.

Dealing with high risk groups also deserves special consideration. Surprisingly, most observable patron characteristics (e.g., age and gender) do not appear to predict aggression on an individual basis. The characteristics that have been observed to be linked with a greater likelihood or greater severity of aggression include: marginalised populations especially skid row and Aboriginal patrons (Graham et al., 1980; Graves et al., 1981; Homel
et al., 1994; Pernanen, 1991), the presence of underage females (Homel et al., 1994), and the presence of groups of males who are strangers to each other (Homel et al., 1992).

Since the safety of disadvantaged groups in bars is as important as the safety of more advantaged public drinkers, the risks for marginalised subgroups deserve particular attention. While certain risks may be a function of cultural norms of particular groups, operators do not offer the same safety considerations for some groups as for others. For example, Graham et al. (1980) observed that many skid row bar workers were quite abusive and exploitative of patrons. Similarly, venues with other high risk patronage (e.g., groups of males) may need specially targeted prevention efforts. Other patron behaviours associated with aggression, such as a high rate of interactions among strangers, table-hopping and milling about (Graham et al., 1980) may require special vigilance on the part of staff to spot potentially problematic situations and prevent such situations from escalating.

**Prevention Programs**

Any intervention designed to reduce aggression, crime and disorder in and around licensed venues should clearly aim to manipulate simultaneously as many as possible of the kinds of situational and environmental factors discussed in the previous section. The rather indirect role of intoxication in violence revealed in their earlier research led Homel at al. (1992) to emphasise that although controls on consumption have an important place, especially in preventing mass intoxication caused by irresponsible discounting and drinks promotions, the top priority should be better management of the whole range of risk factors leading to violence - badly trained and aggressive bouncers, lack of comfort, crowding, inadequate food and seating, and so on. On the basis of their multivariate analyses, Homel and Clark (1994) modified this conclusion to argue that relatively more emphasis should be placed on effective strategies for dealing with intoxication. However, as Homel et al. (1997) note, the real question is how to carry out these manipulations in a community setting where people are intent on drinking and making merry and where licensees want to make as much money as possible.

**Responsible Server Programs**

One of the most common ways of attempting to minimise alcohol-related harm in licensed premises is through responsible beverage service programs. These programs, which have as objectives both the prevention of intoxication and refusal of service to already intoxicated patrons, have proliferated in North America in recent years, partly because of licensing requirements in some jurisdictions, but more importantly because of licensees’ desire to reduce their exposure to multi-million dollar law suits arising from vicarious liability over the actions of patrons served to intoxication on their premises (Stockwell, Norberry and Solomon, 1994).

These programs employ a variety of techniques to prevent intoxication, including observing patrons and being able to recognise intoxication; promoting non-alcoholic and
low alcohol drinks; serving well-priced, attractive, and well-marketed food low in salt content; and training staff in techniques for monitoring patrons and adjusting service as necessary. Training is also provided in refusal of service to patrons who are intoxicated or who show signs of becoming intoxicated. Bar staff are trained in offering positive alternatives, such as soft drinks or food at discounted prices, and both management and staff are trained in negotiation techniques with patrons who are becoming difficult or aggressive. The importance of a well publicised ‘house policy’ to provide a positive context for responsible serving practices and for negotiation with patrons is emphasised (Simpson et al., 1987).

The small number of rigorous evaluations of responsible serving programs which have been published suggest that positive effects on levels of intoxication and on alcohol-related problems can be achieved.

Saltz (1987), in an evaluation of an experimental 18 hour training program in a United States Navy base, reported that the likelihood of a customer being intoxicated was cut in half, although for the establishment as a whole absolute consumption and the rate of consumption were not affected.

Wagenaar and Holder (1991) used multiple time-series analysis to establish that a sudden change in exposure to legal liability of servers of alcoholic beverages in Texas resulted in significant declines in injurious traffic crashes. They speculated that this result was achieved because managers suddenly had an incentive to implement server training programs.

Putnam, Rockett and Campbell (1993) report the results of a very comprehensive community intervention on Rhode Island which resulted in a 21% reduction in Emergency Room assault injury rates in the intervention site compared with a 4% increase for the comparison communities. Motor vehicle crash injuries were also reduced. The community intervention involved server training as well as publicity campaigns, local task force activities, and community forums, and was supported by training of police and increased levels of enforcement with respect to alcohol-related accidents and crimes.

However, recent Australian research on server training had more discouraging results. Lang, Stockwell, Rydon and Beel (1998) studied a responsible serving training program of 1-2 hours duration in 7 sites. They found that there was no significant reduction in patrons with blood alcohol levels greater than 0.15% (i.e. those who were ‘very drunk’), or in the number of drink driving offences from the intervention sites. Researchers who pretended to be drunk were rarely refused service, and identification was rarely checked. Lang et al attribute the disappointing results to poor implementation of the training and a lack of support among managers. They argue that server training should be mandatory, and that licensing laws must be routinely enforced if the goals of responsible service are to be met.

It is noteworthy that in most of the programs in the United States, responsible serving programs were supported by legal sanctions or were embedded in broader community
interventions. The crucial role of enforcement is highlighted by two evaluations of the effects of police activity on licensed premises. Jeffs and Saunders (1983) report a study in an English seaside resort which examined the impact of uniformed police dropping in at random intervals two or three times a week and very conspicuously checking (in an amiable way) for under-age drinkers or intoxicated patrons. Compared with a control area, there was a decline during the intervention period of approximately 20% in all arrests, with the most marked effects being on public order offences known to have the highest association with alcohol.

McKnight and Streff (1994) show that intensive undercover police operations, preceded by education of licensees about the enforcement activities, after-visit reports to licensees not cited, and media publicity, resulted (in comparison with a control county) in greatly increased refusals of service to ‘pseudopatrons’ simulating intoxication and a marked decline in drunk drivers who had been served at the target establishments.

The huge problem in ‘wet’ countries such as Australia (where alcohol consumption is not only high but integrated into everyday life) is that there are few legislative or economic reasons for the alcohol industry to embrace responsible beverage service practices. As Stockwell, Norberry and Solomon (1994: 161) remark, ‘Civil law suits are about as likely in Australia at present as being struck three times by lightning on the same day.’ Every state and territory in Australia has a Liquor Act which, in one form or another, prohibits the sale of alcohol to intoxicated persons, but ‘...there is a tacit agreement by all involved in the management, regulation and policing of licensed premises to quietly ignore the law regarding service to intoxication - providing the intoxicated person is not causing a nuisance to other customers’ (Stockwell, Norberry and Solomon, 1994: 156).

This is not a new situation, of course, and reflects the historic fact that the regulatory system is undergirded by notions of the deserved misfortune of victims of pub violence as well as the belief that liquor licensing legislation is not capable of achieving social objectives such as the prevention of violence (Homel and Tomsen, 1991).

There is a clear need in Australia for stronger regulatory structures, and the need for further improvements in responsible host practices. Single (1997) argues that improved enforcement of licensing laws will require the provision of sufficient enforcement staff, the targeting of inspections temporally (evenings and weekends), the targeting of inspections to high-risk groups and high-risk establishments (e.g. those with little experience or with a record of violations), and the coordination of licensing authorities with police and roadside breathalyser programs to identify and target problem establishments or events.

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1 In the late 1990s a number of States have amended licensing and liquor laws to strengthen governments’ capacity to enforce legislation and encourage responsible service and consumption of alcohol. For example, the NSW Government has passed a number of amendments to relevant legislation to promote harm minimisation approaches in the liquor and hospitality industries, including stricter enforcement and increased penalties for service to minors or intoxicated persons, and promoting responsible service training for all employees in licensed premises.
There is moreover an emerging literature that suggests that community regulation of alcohol-related disorder and violence must utilise additional strategies, including safety audits of the immediate area (where teams of observers walk around, especially at night, identifying and recording unsafe features of the physical environment) and the introduction of procedures that empower residents to resolve problems with licensed establishments and to take effective action at the local level (Alcohol Advisory Council of Western Australia, 1989; Braun and Graham, 1997; Eastern Sydney Area Health Service, 1995; Gilling, 1993; Lakeland and Durham, 1991; Lang, Keenan and Brooke, 1998; Marsdon and James, 1992; Parkdale Focus Community, 1995; Robinson and Tether, 1989, 1990; Shane and Cherry, 1987; Tether and Robinson, 1986; The St Kilda Project, 1992; Victorian Community Council Against Violence, 1990).

**Community Action Projects**

There is a theoretical literature on community action, mainly from the United States and Canada, that emphasises its complexity and difficulty (eg, Giesbrecht et al., 1990; Giesbrecht and Ferris, 1993; Giesbrecht, Krempulec and West, 1993; Holder, 1992). Giesbrecht, Krempulec and West argue that the complexity arises from the ‘unstable mix’ of processes such as research, community action, evaluation, and the type and level of intervention. The authors argue that by tackling the four main sources of problems faced by community projects this ‘unstable mix’ may be overcome. The four problems are: the ideologies and agendas of main parties; the difficulties faced by evaluators when the dynamics of implementation are beyond their control; the failure to train community members in ‘how to do’ community-based interventions; and meeting goals because of funding problems, ill-defined timelines, political interference, poor methodology, and conflict among project participants (Lang, Keenan and Brooke, 1998).

Giesbrecht at al. (1993) argue that problems might be overcome by locating the research agenda within a health promotion framework, which is seen as relevant to a wide range of agencies, programs and services at a community level. The bottom line, according to the authors, is the ability of such projects to facilitate manageable partnerships; to ensure scientific rigour in a dynamic context; and to impart skills and resources to community members so that they can realise worthy and realistic goals.

Perhaps as a response to the vacuum created by an inadequate regime of legal regulation, community action projects targeting licensed premises have proliferated in recent years in Australia. Examples include the Eastside Sydney Project (Lander, 1995), The St Kilda Project (1997), the Tennant Creek Project (a community collaboration against striptease shows, Boffa et al; 1994), the Kings Cross Licensing Accord (New South Wales Health Department; 1997), the Armidale Community Alcohol Strategy Committee (Cope, 1995), the Halls Creek initiative (Douglas, 1995), and several projects in South Australia (Fisher, 1993; Walsh, 1993). Limited evaluation data are available for these projects, although most show at least qualitative signs of impact, and some (like the Halls Creek project).
suggest falls in alcohol consumption and reductions in crime and alcohol-related presentations at hospital.

One of the earliest and most important community-based projects, the Melbourne West End Forum (Melbourne City Council West End Forum Project, 1991), arose from a recommendation of a government funded group, the Victorian Community Council Against Violence (1990), and was funded through the Ministry for Police. A high level of community involvement was achieved through public meetings, safety audits, and five task groups focused on town planning and urban design; traffic and by laws; venue management and cultural attitudes; policing; and transport. The main aim of the project was to reduce violence in and around the West End, an area with a concentration of nightclubs and other licensed venues. No quantitative evaluation was carried out, so it is not possible to determine the impact of the project, although qualitative evidence suggests a substantial short-term effect. Despite the lack of formal evidence of long-term effectiveness, the West End Forum is important for the vigour with which it was implemented and for the level of inter-agency cooperation and community involvement achieved.

Stockwell (1997), Boots et al. (1995), and Felson et al. (1997) report three recent initiatives: the ‘Freo Respects You’ project in Fremantle, Western Australia, the COMPARI (Community Mobilisation for the Prevention of Alcohol-Related Injury) project in Geraldton, Western Australia, and the ‘Geelong Accord’ in Victoria.

‘Freo Respects You’ was a collaborative project involving the hospitality industry, police, and liquor licensing and health authorities. The project was designed to increase levels of responsible service of alcohol in participating premises by providing incentives for drinkers to avoid excessive intake (e.g. offering competitively priced, reduced alcohol-drinks and good food); avoiding incentives for intoxication (e.g. very cheap, high strength drinks); instituting policies to minimise the harm of being intoxicated (e.g. transport schemes) and establishing policies to minimise intoxication by refusing service to intoxicated customers. The other major component of the intervention was a series of training programs for licensees, managers and bar staff covering liquor licensing laws, strategies for dealing with drunk customers and the development of responsible house policies.

An evaluation of the project revealed that there was a significant increase in the awareness of bar staff’s obligations under the Liquor Act and an increase in the rate at which bar staff at participating premises requested age ID. There were small improvements in the responsible house policies of some of the participating premises including the provision of free non-alcoholic drinks for drivers and lower-priced reduced-alcohol beers. However, discounting of full-strength drinks continued and bar staff reported that they were serving obviously drunk customers. Stockwell (1997) suggests that the Fremantle Project was hindered by the fact that there was insufficient ‘ownership’ of the project by licensed operators and that only medium- to high-risk premises participated. Homel and Clark
(1994) argued that all licensed premises need to be included in interventions to deter irresponsible serving.

The COMPARI project in Geraldton commenced in 1991. A local community taskforce was established in 1992, involving police, local government, health and education officers and the local public. The taskforce was encouraged to develop a sense of ownership through actively seeking alternative funding from local government and the regional health authority. To assist in this process the taskforce became an incorporated body which allowed it to obtain and administer funds, as well as to employ a project officer to help sustain the project. The taskforce’s success in raising additional funds allowed the employment of two part-time project officers who had the brief to continue to build up funding and other resources to ensure that the COMPARI project became successfully embedded into the community (Lang et al., 1998).

The evaluation found that with regard to measures of alcohol-related harm there was no evidence of a positive impact from the COMPARI project. Key informant interviews indicated that community awareness of alcohol issues had increased, along with improved knowledge about associated harm. There was, however, only minimal impact among young people. In line with experience with similar projects undertaken elsewhere, community participation was found to be highest during the early part of the project following which numbers gradually reduced. Community leadership and organisation, however, were judged to have improved as the project developed. The survey of community attitudes found a statistically significant increase in support for local council having a role in alcohol issues. There was an increased level of awareness of the project and the various activities, especially the ‘skipper’ campaign, alcohol free concerts and the campaign around the establishment of a new tavern.

The ‘Geelong Local Industry Accord,’ was a cooperative effort beginning in 1991, involving police, the Liquor Licensing Commission, hotel and nightclub licensees, and local government, although in practice police appear to have taken on the main leadership role (Felson et al., 1997; Kelly, 1993; Rumbold et al., 1998). Essentially the Accord is a Code of Practice that facilitates self-regulation by licensees throughout the region. ‘Best Practice’ provisions included specified types of photo identification, minimum $5 cover charges after 11.00 p.m., no passouts from venues with an entry charge, no underage patrons, and responsible service of alcohol (including elimination of gimmicks that promote rapid and excessive consumption of alcohol). A key strategy of the Accord was to stop ‘pub hopping’ by means of entry and exit controls.

The most thorough evaluation of the Geelong Accord has been conducted by Rumbold et al. (1998). Like most evaluations of community interventions, the study was hampered by limited resources and by a less than optimum research design. In particular, no before-after measures of alcohol and drug related harm were available. However, police records suggest that reported assault and property damage rates reduced after the Accord was implemented. Moreover, in comparison with two other regional centres, practices in
Geelong venues were significantly better in terms of responsible drinking promotions, amenities, and responsible serving practices, although no differences were found with respect to crowding or overall levels of intoxication.

The authors emphasise that in comparison with other community-based initiatives, the Geelong Accord seems to have maintained a positive impact over a period of several years. They attribute this ‘longevity’ to several factors, particularly the fact that the Accord was developed and resourced entirely within the local community, and the levels of stability in the local liquor industry and amongst police, local government and liquor licensing personnel. (Although in a private communication, one of the authors notes that this stability, and the positive impact of the intervention, may be ‘in the process of falling apart’ [Lang, 1998]. As in other projects of this type, ongoing monitoring and evaluation is essential.)

It seems that the Fremantle, Geraldton and Geelong initiatives were mostly ‘top down’ rather than community-initiated interventions, despite the levels of cooperation achieved at the local level. In fact most ‘community’ projects seem to require at least some external resources or initiative to get them going, even if the level of community involvement and empowerment eventually achieved is quite high. As Midford et al. (1994) conclude, the ‘top down’ and ‘bottom up’ approaches both have strengths and weaknesses, and in practice should be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

It seems that relatively few community action projects in the United States have made it into the literature, although an early example is the Castro Valley Prevention Project (Shane and Cherry, 1987). However, undoubtedly the most wide-ranging and well-resourced attempt to date to reduce alcohol-related accidental injuries and deaths through community-based methods has been the work of Harold Holder and his colleagues in the United States (Holder, 1997).

This five-year project carried out in three experimental communities consisted of five mutually reinforcing components: community mobilisation; promotion of responsible beverage service for bar staff and managers/licensees of on-premise alcohol outlets; deterrence of drinking and driving through local enforcement; reduction in retail availability of alcohol to minors; and reductions in the number and density of alcohol outlets to limit general access to alcohol. The project did not target particular groups, but was based on the assumption that changes in the social and structural contexts of alcohol use can alter individual behaviour.

The community mobilisation process involved working as much as possible with existing community coalitions, tailoring program materials for each site, generating as far as possible resources from within the communities, and channelling existing community resources, skills and interests rather than only introducing them from the outside. As Treno and Holder (1997, p. S 176) observe, ‘... the Community Trials Project was composed of
three independent replications of a generic prevention design ... in which implementation approaches were designed within each community ...

The Project brought about a 10% reduction in alcohol-involved traffic crashes, a significant reduction in underage sales of alcohol, and increased adoption of local ordinances and regulations to reduce concentrations of alcohol outlets. The specific aspect of the project of most relevance to the present paper was the responsible beverage service (RBS) component.

The general operating principle of this component was to create a combination of incentives and disincentives that would strongly encourage on-premise licensees to provide server training in responsible beverage serving practices and to strengthen their policies related to preventing intoxication and keeping intoxicated patrons from driving. (Holder et al., 1997, p. S162).

Saltz and Stanghetta (1997) conclude that this component achieved modest success as measured by the number of businesses trained, by the introduction of limited law enforcement around service to intoxicated patrons where none had existed previously, and by increases in levels of community debate about RBS policies. However, these program elements did not produce significant changes in serving practices. Saltz and Stanghetta argue that to achieve any impact, it is essential to involve the hospitality industry; to avoid voluntary RBS training; and to reinforce mandatory training with enforcement of the law around service to intoxicated patrons.

The Queensland Safety Action Projects

The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project, the initial phase of which was implemented in 1993, was a community-based initiative designed to reduce violence in and around licensed venues in the central business district of the main tourist area on Queensland’s Gold Coast. (Homel et al. 1997).

Key features of the implementation included channelling funding through local government; creating a representative steering committee and community forum; forming task groups to address safety of public spaces, management of venues, and security and policing; encouraging nightclub managers to introduce a Code of Practice regulating serving and security staff, advertising, alcohol use, and entertainment; and regulating managers through ‘risk assessments’ and through a community-based monitoring committee. More subtle but equally important aspects of the implementation included: rehabilitating the image of nightclub managers and integrating them into the local business community; using managers committed to the reform process from another city to encourage and bring pressure to bear on local licensees; employing a Project Officer who was female and who had considerable interpersonal skills; and balancing the conflicting political agendas of participating agencies.
The evaluation showed a marked initial impact of the project. The Risk Assessment Policy Checklist, based on interviews with eight licensees conducted on-site before and after the introduction of the Code of Practice in August 1993, showed marked reductions in practices that promote the irresponsible use of alcohol (such as binge drinking incentives) and improvements in security practices, entertainment, handling of patrons, and transport policies. Activities in 18 nightclubs were observed by teams of students using a structured observation schedule in the summers of 1993 (before the project) and 1994 (after the major features of the project had been implemented). Verbal abuse declined by 81.6%, from 12.5 to 2.3 incidents per 100 hours of observation; arguments by 67.6%, from 7.1 to 2.3; and physical assaults by 52.0%, from 9.8 to 4.7. Male and female drinking rates and drunkenness declined markedly, but there was no change in prices for drinks or admission. There were dramatic improvements in publicity to patrons about house policies, and associated improvements in server practices, the physical environment (e.g., clean toilets and accessible bars), and security practices (e.g., ID checks at door).

Street incidents observed by security personnel in the area showed a general decline from 1993 to 1994, but the trend was most marked in the August - December period (post-Code of Practice) with a decline of 64.5%, compared with a decline of 46.5% in the initial stages of the project (April - July) and 18.3% before the project (January - March). Police data for Surfers Paradise for 1993 and 1994 showed pre-project increases in assaults, indecent acts, stealing, and drunk and disorderly incidents, stabilisation in the initial stages of the project, and sharp declines in the period post-Code of Practice (including a 34% decline in assaults).

In the absence of a control community, the increase in violence, coinciding with increases in drunkenness and declines in responsible hospitality practices, together with the internal consistency of the data, strengthen confidence that the initial decline in violence was caused by the project and not by exogenous factors. However, there are indications that nightclubs became more ‘up market,’ suggesting that displacement of problem patrons may have been at least partly responsible for the impact of the project. In addition, observational data collected over summer 1996 indicated that violence and drunkenness levels had returned to pre-project levels, and that compliance with the Code of Practice had almost ceased. This suggests an important performance indicator for safety action projects: ensuring that at the end of the implementation phase key players are dependent on a robust process rather than on a charismatic project officer, and that an effective regulatory model is constructed that can be maintained on a routine basis.

The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project has since been replicated in Cairns, Townsville and Mackay in North Queensland (Hauritz, Homel, McIlwain, Burrows and Townsley, 1998; Hauritz, Homel, Townsley, Burrows and McIlwain, 1998). The main features of these projects are summarised in Table 1.1 which uses the major features of the Surfers project as a ‘template.’ The table facilitates an overview of the common and distinctive features of the interventions in each location. It can be seen that many of the features of the Surfers Paradise project were incorporated in the replication interventions, but not all
features were present at all sites, while others that seemed important in Surfers (like a community monitoring committee) were introduced quite late in some of the projects.

**Table 1.1 Overview of Projects in Cairns, Townsville and Mackay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Cairns</th>
<th>Townsville</th>
<th>Mackay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Steering Committee</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Forum</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Officer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety of Public Spaces Task Group</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security and Policing Task Group</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venue Management Task Group</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young People in Public Spaces Task Group</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Monitoring Committee</td>
<td>Initially done by project officer; then the Community Consultative Committee</td>
<td>Role performed initially by Steering Committee; gradually dropped.</td>
<td>Role performed by steering committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety Audit</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk Assessments</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code of Practice</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of managers, bar and security staff</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of police in enforcement of licensing laws</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venue Managers Association formed</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responses of Police</td>
<td>Taskforce/beat policing; strong support</td>
<td>Limited involvement, mainly through Steering and other committees. Military police involvement</td>
<td>Strong support and community policing; focus on licensees’ compliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extension of Safety Action Project by Council</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Using structured observation methods in 1994 and 1996, there were changes in each city on overall physical and non-physical aggression, and on all observed incidents of aggression and violence. The reduction in physical violence was most marked in Cairns (88.3%), although there were consistent declines on all indicators in all cities (except verbal aggression in Cairns).

Combining the three intervention sites, there were marked improvements on most indicators of host responsibility practices. Publicity to patrons improved, with an increase in the use of underage drinking warnings, Patron Care signs, and other forms of publicity. Surprisingly, the display of House Policy notices declined. Promotion of consumption also declined: topping up or filling empty glasses was not observed at all in 1996, compared with 7.2% of visits in 1994; happy hours nearly halved in frequency; promotion of specific drinks declined by 50%; and the use of gimmicks halved.

Presumably as a result of these initiatives, some drinking measures showed marked changes. Male and female drinking rates were not judged to have changed significantly, and nor did the estimated levels of female drunkenness, but male drunkenness appeared to decline sharply. Using a four-point rating scale, the percentage of visits with high levels of male drunkenness declined from 40.2% to 13.8%, while the percentage with low or no male drunkenness increased from 26.8% to 42.2%. These results imply that staff intervened in a firm way when serving men in order to prevent intoxication. This inference is strongly supported by the observational data. Methods for dealing with intoxicated persons improved, with intervention by staff in at least some cases rising from 30.4% to 53.3%. Techniques that showed statistically significant changes included delaying service, offering alternatives, denying service, and calling management.

It is important to note that in contrast to the northern cities, in Surfers Paradise between 1994 and 1996 many (although not all) of the measures of host responsibility and drinking levels moved in the wrong direction, consistent with the observed increases in aggression and violence. Further analysis of these data, combined with a more comprehensive analysis of the data from the north, should help to identify factors that are critical in achieving and maintaining low levels of aggression and violence.

**Guidelines for Social Policy and Best Practice**

In this section we concentrate on drawing from the research literature some general principles for policy and action. The reader interested specifically in implementation issues is referred to the community manuals on resident empowerment listed earlier (eg, Marsden and James, 1992; Tether and Robinson, 1986; The St Kilda Project, 1997).

From the Queensland safety action research, features that characterise successful community interventions include: strong directive leadership during the establishment period; the mobilisation of community groups concerned about violence and disorder; the
implementation of a multi-agency approach involving licensees, local government, police, health and other groups; the use of safety audits to engage the local community and identify risks; a focus on the way licensed venues are managed (particularly those that cater to large numbers of young people); the ‘re-education’ of patrons concerning their role as consumers of ‘quality hospitality;’ and attention to situational factors, including serving practices, that promote intoxication and violent confrontations.

In a review of the experience of many communities with action on alcohol and drug issues, Lang, Keenan and Brooke (1998) emphasise the importance of ownership and control of programs by the communities themselves, in contrast to control by outside ‘experts’. They propose guidelines for community action based on a philosophy of:

- Harm reduction; using schemes such as needle exchange;
- Using community diversity as an asset, providing a wealth of social resources to address issues of concern;
- Encouraging broad community and organisational collaboration allowing the sharing of resources to achieve common goals; and
- Accommodating the dynamic nature of community action, emphasising ongoing reassessment.

The themes of ‘grass roots’ action and interagency collaboration also emerged from the UK Home Office working group on violence associated with licensed premises (Standing Conference on Crime Prevention, 1986), together with a number of other practical management strategies. The working group recommended the development of local inter-agency liaison groups, such as pub watch; an investigation of the relationship between licensing hours and violence; that premises should be encouraged to become more family orientated to help reduce age segregation; that ‘difficult’ pubs should be run as community ventures with a local community management structure; and that attempts be made to involve liquor industry in identifying and disseminating good practices among members.

The authors identify a number of good practices which came to their attention during the course of the research. One example was communication and cooperation between police, industry, local government, tenant associations and local resident action groups, evolving into local Licensing Forums or Committees. This process has resulted in some pubs becoming seen as part of the community and to a great extent self-policing. The report notes that problem premises are well known to industry, police, local authorities and local residents, so a cooperative approach at the grass roots level to monitor and deal with such premises is required.

A comprehensive summary of possible prevention strategies that builds on recent literature is provided by Braun and Graham (1997). They also provide examples of specific measures and a summary of the evidence for their impacts. Their table is reproduced as Appendix 1.1 at the end of this chapter. The strategies are divided into those to do with local planning, enforcement, community action, training and education, and self-regulation.
As can be seen, Australian research, particularly the Surfers Paradise Safety Action project, has been influential in the assembling of the table.

Not surprisingly, the proposals place a strong emphasis upon mobilising and empowering the community. They focus upon creating coalitions linking community groups with representatives from key commercial and government agencies including the police, liquor licensing authority, taxi/bus services and retail associations. The role of these coalitions includes auditing licensed venues and the surrounding neighbourhood to identify problems and develop measures to reduce risks to personal safety. The approach emphasises that community mobilisation needs to be supported by legal, regulatory and enforcement methods.

Many of the principles encourage licensees to lift their horizons and accept responsibility for behaviour within community settings beyond their own establishments. Therefore with support from external organisation such as the police, they should assume responsibility for monitoring their customers and enforcing responsible serving programs. The principles recommend that they should be training bar staff in responsible server intervention programs and training and registering door staff. The recommendations emphasise that strict enforcement of the liquor laws is necessary to increase perceptions that there will be adverse consequences from serving underage or intoxicated customers.

Braun and Graham’s table includes several valuable and seldom used techniques for effective harm reduction, although all have been mentioned in the literature. One key proposal concerns the formation of a town planning committee aiming to limit harm through effective environmental design. The committee’s role would be to consider appropriate locations for services such as fast food outlets and transportation in relation to licensed venues. Other proposals involve mobilising licensees to monitor and report violent offences by their customers. One such measure is Pub Watch, which is a communication system for licensees to warn each other about any disorderly incidents in their area via a ‘ring-around arrangement’. Pub Watch is closely linked to Pub Ban schemes which involve banning known offenders. Pub Ban can be supported by the creation of an incidence register of bar fights, which would fully document the occurrence of fights in or near licensed establishments.

**Conclusion: Toward a Regulatory Model for Creating and Maintaining Safe Venues.**

The most important lessons from both the Australian and overseas literatures concern systems of regulation. The importance of consistent and vigorous regulation from police and liquor licensing authorities is clear, from the examples of both success and failure in achieving and maintaining reductions in violence. However, there are lessons as well for other forms of regulation: those deriving from persuasion at the local community level, and those relating to the practices that are best implemented by licensees and managers.
themselves. Getting the balance right between these forms or levels of regulation is one of the primary challenges for those interested in the prevention of violence and associated problems in and around licensed venues.

On the basis of their experience with safety action projects, Hauritz, Homel et al. (1998) have developed a model of the community change process that roughly parallels behaviour change techniques at the individual level. This model is not a detailed recipe for intervention at the local level, which would be impossible to provide since every community is unique and evolves its own style and priorities regardless of what external ‘experts’ might consider desirable. Rather, the model incorporates general elements that seem essential in the community change process (Table 1.2.)

The model is influenced by three separate streams of research: the literature on safety action projects; the theory and practice of situational crime prevention; and regulatory theory. The columns of Table 1.2 were constructed from the safety action literature, while the three sections of the table reflect both Australian political structures and regulatory theory, and represent interacting domains of action.

It is assumed that certain antecedent conditions, such as a political environment emphasising deregulation of liquor licensing, lead to problem behaviours, such as cut-throat competition between venues and irresponsible drinks promotions. These conditions and problems create a climate conducive to community mobilisation and to the development, in collaboration with the community, of a range of intervention strategies at each of the three levels of regulation. These interventions produce certain positive outcomes, such as reduced violence, which can be reinforced if key players and organisations are rewarded through career enhancement or positive publicity. The reinforcers of positive change are more likely to have a continuing effect if key reforms are institutionalised through legislation or community-based monitoring systems. This process of institutionalisation is referred to as mechanisms to safeguard change.

Although a temporal sequence is implied in Table 1.2, in practice the change process is far more ‘chaotic’ and iterative than linear. For example, some outcomes depicted in the table, such as the need for recognition by the community of licensees/managers as a legitimate business group, only emerged during implementation of the Surfers project and led to the modification in ‘mid-stream’ of the intervention strategies and even the conceptualisation of what constituted problem behaviours. In general there are complex interactions between the ‘stages’ of community change, with problem behaviours, interventions, and outcomes in particular being related in a dialectical fashion. This dialectic also produces plenty of negative outcomes, such as conflicts between stakeholders, which have the potential to undermine the positive changes.
### Table 1.2 Improving Safety in and Around Licensed Venues Through Responsive Regulation: A Community Action Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Regulation</th>
<th>Antecedent Conditions</th>
<th>Problem Behaviours</th>
<th>Intervention Strategies</th>
<th>Outcomes of Intervention</th>
<th>Reinforcers of Positive Change</th>
<th>Mechanisms to Safeguard Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>STATE</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Formal Regulation</td>
<td>• Political environment rejecting ‘paternalistic’ regulation and promoting ‘free enterprise’</td>
<td>• Liquor licensing regulation that largely ignores harm minimisation</td>
<td>• Persuade police and liquor licensing to enforce liquor law in venues (especially serving intoxicated persons)</td>
<td>• Legislative reform to promote the minimisation of alcohol-related harm</td>
<td>• Police and liquor licensing receive media praise for preventive strategies</td>
<td>• Liquor licensing authorities accept responsibility for harm minimisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Law Enforcement</td>
<td>• Liquor legislation focused on standards of service, licensing fees, fire and safety, opening hours etc.</td>
<td>• Failure by licensing process to deal with ‘cowboy operators’</td>
<td>• Promote inter-agency cooperation as best strategy for police and liquor licensing (NOT police domination)</td>
<td>• Preventive, problem-oriented policing and liquor licensing regulation</td>
<td>• Police trained in liquor act</td>
<td>• Liquor laws give due weight to harm minimisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reactive enforcement based on the assumption that victims of violence deserve their fate</td>
<td>• Police focus on drunk and disorderly persons in the street, not irresponsible venue managers</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Career enhancement for key officers</td>
<td>• Local police receive awards</td>
<td>• Administrative and appeals mechanisms support decisions to minimise harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Politicians look good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Police and liquor licensing authorities accept responsibility for harm minimisation</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Liquor laws give due weight to harm minimisation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Administrative and appeals mechanisms support decisions to minimise harm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL COMMUNITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Community sense of control and acceptance of responsibility for public safety</td>
<td>• Trained steering committee advocates for law reform and preventive enforcement, and manages transitions between project stages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Controls and</td>
<td>• Negative media portrayal of the area</td>
<td>• Community reliance on law enforcement and security patrols</td>
<td>• Mobilise community through public forum, steering committee, problem-oriented task groups</td>
<td>• Community monitoring committee over-sees self-regulation by licensees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>• Community and local government concern about safety</td>
<td>• Conflict with licensees, particularly over 5 am closing</td>
<td>• Appoint project officer accountable to community</td>
<td>• Venue managers association lobbies for consistent regulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No coherent community safety plan</td>
<td>• Fragmented response by government and community agencies</td>
<td>• Promote inter-agency cooperation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Concern about business profitability and tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Safety audits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VENUES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Profitable venues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Regulation by</td>
<td>• Socially marginalised licensees</td>
<td>• Price discounting</td>
<td>• Risk assessments</td>
<td>• Increased respect for licensees: greater self-esteem</td>
<td>• Community monitoring committee over-sees self-regulation by licensees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licensees</td>
<td>• Commercial pressures dominant over host responsibility</td>
<td>• Irresponsible drinks promotions</td>
<td>• Code of Practice</td>
<td>• Managers perceive consistent regulation by authorities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No faith by licensees in liquor licensing regulation</td>
<td>• Prurient entertainment</td>
<td>• Resolve conflicts and form a licensed venues association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Aggressive bouncers</td>
<td>• Train managers, bar and security staff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Unclear rules/limits</td>
<td>• More sophisticated patron expectations</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**PREVENTING VIOLENCE A Review**

29
The entries in each cell of the table are illustrative rather than definitive. They are based on experience in a number of communities, but it is an open question - one which the authors sought to address in the replication projects in north Queensland - as to which elements are essential for positive change. A crucial guiding philosophy, however, was the need to be situationally specific in the analysis of problems and the development of interventions, particularly at the level of venues. The theoretical basis is 'situational crime prevention,' which in the words of Clarke (1997, p. 4) ‘...comprises opportunity-reducing measures that (1) are directed at highly specific forms of crime, (2) involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in as systematic and permanent way as possible, (3) make crime more difficult and risky, or less rewarding and excusable as judged by a wide range of offenders.’ Situational prevention involves a shift from thinking in terms of offenders and their motivations to offences and their settings, which in the case of licensed premises implies a focus on management practices that give rise to unsafe environments.

As noted previously, it is critically important to recognise that alcohol serving practices are only one aspect of unsafe environments (Homel, Tomsen and Thommeny, 1992); other aspects include such things as physical design (Macintyre and Homel, 1997), selection and training of security staff, the ‘permissiveness’ of the social climate in venues (Homel et al., 1997), and the hidden ‘deals’ between managers and regulators (Homel and Tomsen, 1991; Homel, 1996). The relevance of situational theory to these kinds of issues can be illustrated not only by the traditional typology that was focused on the physical environment (Clarke, 1997), but by Clarke and Homel’s (1997) recent extension of situational methods to include techniques for removing excuses, or inducing guilt or shame. These include rule setting (e.g., through Codes of Practice), stimulating conscience (e.g., by encouraging managers to regard themselves as responsible businessmen), controlling disinhibitors (e.g., by controlling alcohol through server intervention), and facilitating compliance (e.g., by creating a regulatory environment in which it is financially worthwhile for licensees to adhere to the Code of Practice).

A focus on venue management leads not only ‘inward’ to specific contexts and person-to-person interaction, but ‘outward’ to the local community and to the larger arena in which laws and regulations are created and enforced (or not). A fundamental influence on the model in this respect has been the work on systems of regulation by John Braithwaite and his colleagues, particularly the concept of ‘responsive regulation’ (Ayres and Braithwaite, 1992). It is noteworthy that this model was central to Hill and Stewart’s (1998) recent recommendations to the New Zealand government concerning the modification of its liquor licensing regulations.

Ayres and Braithwaite propose regulatory approaches that are responsive to industry context and structure, regulatory culture, and history, and which incorporate, as key ideas, ‘tit-for-tat’ strategies that combine punishment and persuasion in an optimum mix; ‘tripartism’ (empowering citizen associations) as a way of solving the dilemma of regulatory capture and corruption; and ‘enforced self-regulation,’ in which private sets of rules written
by business (such as Codes of Practice) are publicly ratified and, when there is a failure of private regulation, are publicly enforced.

Central to their model is an ‘enforcement pyramid’ of penalties, from the frequently used techniques of persuasion and warning letters through to the infrequently used techniques of license suspension and revocation (‘capital punishment’ of alcohol outlets). The ideological basis of their ideas is ‘... a replacement of the liberal conception of the atomised free individual with a republican conception of community empowerment’ (p. 17). Tripartism fosters the participation of community associations by giving them full access to all the information available to the regulator; by giving them a seat at the negotiating table; and by giving them the same standing to sue or prosecute as the regulator. Thus they propose a model in which no one element, whether it be self-regulation, formal enforcement or citizen involvement, can operate effectively without the others.

Indeed, one fruitful way of thinking about community interventions is as part of the ‘praxis’ of responsive regulation, with an emphasis on tripartism and enforced self-regulation. For this reason the three levels of regulation, and their ongoing interactions, are fundamental to the model of community change.
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Appendix 1.1  Examples of Prevention Strategies Aimed at Harm Reduction in Licensed Establishments (Reproduced with Permission of Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto, Canada)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF STRATEGY</th>
<th>BASIC PRINCIPLES</th>
<th>OVERVIEW OF SPECIFIC MEASURES/METHODS</th>
<th>EVALUATION RESULTS</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>TOWN/CITY CENTRE PLANNING COMMITTEE</td>
<td>This strategy involves building developers, town planners and other environmental designers and it is aimed at improving city or town centres and reducing public disorder via planning.¹</td>
<td>Composition of the committee: City developers/planners and environmental designers. Purpose: The following types of issues are addressed by this type of committee: transportation, location of fast food outlets, density of licensed establishments, etc. ¹</td>
<td>Considerable anecdotal evidence shows that the high density of licensed establishments results in competitive practices that generally lower the standards of serving alcohol responsibly.²</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLANNING</td>
<td>POLICING TASK FORCE</td>
<td>The aim here is to use a policing task force as a vehicle for developing coordinated measures to ensure safe transportation and safety around bars. The police, the commercial sector and members of the city council or public transit should be represented on this type of task force.¹</td>
<td>Based on observational studies conducted in Surfers Paradise, the rate of aggressive incidents was significantly reduced following the implementation of several community-based programs.²</td>
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<td>Composition of the committee: In Surfers Paradise, the following groups were represented on the policing task force -- police, liquor licensing authority, taxi/bus services, retail associations and the Chamber of Commerce. Purpose and method: As a first step, this group developed a community-based system for monitoring disorder or violent behaviour at or near licensed establishments.¹ This committee also examined measures to enhance the public transportation system to ensure that it provided safe and reliable service.¹ This task force developed several specific programs in Surfers Paradise including a Neighbourhood Watch Program in the commercial district, a pilot registration and training program for door staff, and a trial shuttle bus service to provide safe transportation within Surfers Paradise.²</td>
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<td>ENFORCEMENT CAMPAIGNS (by police or liquor inspectors)</td>
<td>Many documented community action projects for minimizing alcohol-related problems (including aggressive behaviour) have at least included one component concerned with the enforcement of liquor laws. Some projects have focused exclusively on persuading the licensing authorities to use their powers.(^1)</td>
<td>Examples of enforcement campaigns: Monitor the names of the public drinking places where DWI offenders or persons arrested for assault had their last drink; these data could then be used to identify and target problem bars in the area. Mount an active campaign of enforcing the liquor licensing laws so bar staff perceive that there are likely to be adverse consequences associated with routinely serving underage or intoxicated patrons.(^2) Warn licensees, via the media, of an imminent campaign to enforce the existing liquor licensing laws.(^2) Mount a systematic surveillance program of serving practices in local bars and provide regular feedback to licensees -- this may be accompanied with an infringement notice, if appropriate.(^2)</td>
<td>Stockwell (1993) evaluated two types of police enforcement strategies (e.g., the last two mentioned under ‘specific measures’) and each campaign resulted in a threefold increase in the rates of service refusal to intoxicated pseudo patrons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CODE OF PRACTICE MONITORING COMMITTEE</td>
<td>This type of committee provides a mechanism for enforcing a voluntary ‘Code of Practice’ (e.g., a written set of house rules adopted by a group of licensed establishments). It also addresses any concerns or complaints about the serving or management practices of participating establishments. [Used in Surfers Paradise Project, Australia.]</td>
<td>Composition of the committee: In Surfers Paradise, no representative from the police or liquor licensing authority sat on the committee; instead members were drawn from the tourism bureau, hospitality associations, Chamber of Commerce and city council. Purpose: This committee monitors, interprets and arbitrates on the serving and management practices of licensed establishments; it may also evaluate new and current practices. This type of committee typically allows for bars to remedy identified problems during a trial period before any information is shared with the police or the liquor licensing authority. An expanded role: The role of this committee may be expanded to include the ‘professional direction and development of all licensees and (it may also) represent community interest to new licensees’.</td>
<td>In Surfers Paradise, this committee was driven by the community’s need for involvement and their perception that there was a lack of formal regulation by the licensing authority. ‘The presence of prominent civic and business leaders (on the monitoring committee) was a powerful instrument of coercion within the community’.</td>
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<td>COMPLIANCE COMMITTEE</td>
<td>This type of committee brings together representatives from key municipal departments and enforcement agencies in an attempt to better coordinate liquor licensing within the community. [Implemented in Windsor, Ontario.]</td>
<td>Composition of the committee: In Windsor, this committee included representatives from the police force, various city departments, area liquor inspectors, the hospitality industry and the Addiction Research Foundation. This committee was chaired by the city’s Mayor. Purpose: This committee provides a mechanism for sharing information about new liquor licence applicants, renewals and transfers. It promotes better coordination of enforcement efforts by clarifying the roles and responsibilities between the police and the liquor licensing agency. In Windsor, this committee also identified a short-list of trouble spots in the city and enhanced communications between the police force and the Liquor Licensing Board of Ontario (LLBO) via the Internet.</td>
<td>No published results of the effectiveness of this type of intervention are currently available; however, informal observation suggests that the measures have had positive effects.</td>
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<td>COMMUNITY - BASED</td>
<td>NEIGHBOURHOOD SAFETY AUDIT</td>
<td>The aim of a neighbourhood safety audit is to provide a means for the local community to identify problems and develop measures that will reduce risks to personal safety; it also reduces the fear of crime by providing accurate information about local conditions. [Used in Surfers Paradise Project in Australia.]</td>
<td>Community involvement: Audits should draw members from the community (e.g., via an advertisement) and include representation from the local government. Purpose: Safety audits are tools for collecting information about elements of the local environment that make people feel at risk of violence. The audits consist of walking inspections of neighbourhoods, including the areas around public drinking places, to document conditions and levels of safety at different times of the day. This strategy involves community members in identifying problems related to safety and in problem resolution through the lobbying of relevant authorities (e.g., city planners). Methods for managing the results of an audit: The results from the audit need to be collated; priorities are then established and recommendations formulated. Community members may also choose to meet with local licensees about the situational and environmental conditions identified near their establishments.</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERNAL AUDIT OF PUBLIC DRINKING PLACES</td>
<td>Internal audits follow the same principles as a neighbourhood safety audit (see above); however, these audits involve community members in the inspection of local drinking establishments. [Used in some parts of Australia.]¹</td>
<td>See ‘Neighbourhood Safety Audit’ above for details about community involvement and objectives of an internal audit. Audits may also involve the bar owners or staff in addition to, or sometimes instead of, a community-based committee. It may not be practical for a community group to carry out a safety audit of local drinking establishments especially if licensees are uncooperative or unwilling to participate in any community action.¹</td>
<td>These types of audits have not received any controlled evaluation.</td>
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<td>RISK ASSESSMENT</td>
<td>This assessment tool was originally designed by the National Centre for Research into the Prevention of Drug Abuse in Australia to evaluate the level of responsible serving and management practices in hotels, bars and other licensed establishments.1 [Used in the Surfers Paradise Project.] 1</td>
<td>Purpose: A ‘Risk Assessment Policy Checklist’ is a tool devised to assess ‘how well management deals with the provision of liquor and pricing, what responsible practices are being used, and how venues promote entertainment and liquor.’ 1 Risk assessments often focus on community reviews, responsible hospitality practices, incidence registers, management policies, and the number of past arrests in and around a bar1; in short, it profiles the current operations of a public venue. The information collected using the risk assessment can also be used to focus efforts related to staff training (e.g., crowd control for door staff, responsible serving practices, etc.) Any risks identified using this tool should be addressed within the house policy of the licensed establishment (see ‘House Policy’ below). 1</td>
<td>According to Homel (1994), the risk assessment is an evaluation tool that should be repeated yearly within licensed premises; its ‘value lies in its ability to pinpoint problem areas within management practices and principles in addition to recommending solutions in the form of house policies.’</td>
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<td>AUDIT OF LICENSED ESTABLISHMENTS</td>
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<td>TRAINING AND REGISTRATION OF DOOR STAFF</td>
<td>These schemes are designed to control and improve practices among door staff to ensure that they have the knowledge and skills required to prevent and manage effectively conflict or violent situations. [Mentioned as part of Surfers Paradise and discussed in general terms as part of a guide for the prevention of alcohol-related violence in England.]</td>
<td>Training: This type of training would cover such issues as interaction skills, first aid, fire and safety precautions, race relations and relevant aspects of the law. This type of training also overviews effective techniques for preventing and managing interpersonal conflict and violence. Regulation of door staff: Door staff often lack training and their conduct also lacks any official regulation. Ideally, any regulatory schemes involving door staff should be supervised by a local committee. This committee would arbitrate any complaints about door staff and suspend their registration in the event any complaints were upheld. While on duty, door staff should wear identification showing their name, photograph and ID number. Those with previous convictions involving violence should not be employed as door staff. Provisions must be made in case of an emergency when insufficient registered staff are available.</td>
<td>There are no published reports of evaluations of door staff training but researchers in England have shown that the management of licensed establishments generally has an impact on the levels and nature of disorder both in the establishment and in the surrounding area.</td>
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<td>SERVER INTERVENTION PROGRAM (SIP)</td>
<td>This is one of the most widely implemented prevention strategies aimed at reducing harm in licensed establishments. It is aimed at teaching servers a set of skills to prevent over serving and serving underage patrons. [Implemented throughout Canada and the U.S. and training is mandatory in some jurisdictions.]¹,²</td>
<td>Purpose: The primary objective of SIPs is to reduce the levels of intoxication of patrons and the potential for injury by teaching bar tenders and servers how to monitor and control the customer’s drinking. The impetus for SIPs came about as way of dealing with drinking and driving and serving underage patrons. The types of issues covered by SIPs usually include alcohol and the law, facts about alcohol, signs of intoxication, preventing intoxication, and managing the intoxicated person.¹ Some SIPs have been expanded so that they now often include a review of management policies and serving practices.²</td>
<td>Server education has received considerable controlled evaluation and has generally shown at least some success.² Evaluation studies in Ontario have shown that server training resulted in more frequent and direct interventions with intoxicated pseudo patrons.³</td>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Strategy</th>
<th>Basic Principles</th>
<th>Overview of Specific Measures/Methods</th>
<th>Evaluation Results</th>
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<td>Incidence Register of Bar Fights</td>
<td>Bar management creates a register that fully documents the occurrence of any fights in or near their establishments. This log or register will be helpful in the event police or the LLBO plan to investigate the incident. This incidence log also provides a basis for taking corrective action in high risk areas of a bar.[1]</td>
<td>The types of information that should be documented include the names of those involved (if available), the time and exact location of the event, circumstances leading up to the event and the intoxication levels of those involved.[2]</td>
<td>There are no published evaluations of the effectiveness of this strategy.</td>
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<td>HOUSE POLICY</td>
<td>This provides written statements about the bar’s serving and management practices that are instructive to staff and customers, especially when faced with difficult situations. [Carried out as part of the Surfers Paradise Project in Australia].¹</td>
<td>The Ontario Liquor Licence Board provides a guide for drafting a house policy.² This document includes a checklist of the more important issues to be addressed by a house policy: this includes the monitoring of exit and entry points, promotion of alternative beverages, marketing of food, staff training and adopting a safe transportation plan.² Three factors are central to having a successful house policy; namely, ‘house polices must be written, communicated to staff and supported by management’.²</td>
<td>There are no results on the effectiveness of house policies.</td>
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<td>Self-regulation</td>
<td>These schemes usually involve local bar owners who prohibit individuals from entering their bars if they were involved in past violent offences committed in or near their establishments.¹ [Used in some parts of England.]¹</td>
<td>Pub-ban schemes are most effective in areas/towns where the clientele is regular and known to licensees.¹</td>
<td>Pub-ban schemes have not received any controlled evaluation.</td>
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<td>Pub-ban schemes</td>
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<td>SELF-REGULATION</td>
<td>LOCALIZED CODES OF BEST PRACTICE</td>
<td>This involves the joint development of a voluntary code of practice that serves as a guide for the operation of all participating bars. The aim here is to have bar owners shift their focus beyond their own establishments and have them accept responsibility for their behaviour within the larger community. [Used in Surfers Paradise Project and other places in Australia, New Zealand and in Windsor, Ontario].¹</td>
<td>Key players: The code of practice should be drafted by local bar owners; 100% compliance among venue operators is not necessarily required.¹ Purpose: Bar owners in a specific locale, establish guidelines for responsible alcohol service and training of staff to ensure best hospitality practices within the community. The types of issues addressed in a code of practice include the use of designated driver programs, server training, practices of door staff, alcohol serving practices, noise levels and maintenance/cleanliness of exterior, etc. The code of practice should be displayed and staff should be encouraged to promote it. Expansion: Maintenance of the code and dealing with a breach of its terms could be overseen by a ‘Code of Practice Monitoring Committee’ which consists of bar owners and community members (see above).</td>
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<td>PUB-WATCH SCHEMES</td>
<td>Pub-watch is a communication system for licensees to warn each other about any disorderly incidents in their area via a ‘ring-around arrangement between the licensees in the group and the local police’.¹ The principle here is that these schemes help licensees to ‘deter potential trouble makers, prevent escalation of trouble, and reduce risk of property damage and assaults’.¹ [Used in some parts of England.]¹</td>
<td>To be effective, this scheme must have the participation and commitment of all licensees in the area.¹ Close cooperation with police is essential for the success of any pub-watch scheme.¹ The optimum number of bars for such a scheme is 12-15 bars.¹ These schemes are best administered by a committee that meets regularly and includes police.¹</td>
<td>There are no published results of the effectiveness of pub-watch schemes. References ¹ MCM Research, (1993). Keeping the peace; a guide to the prevention of alcohol-related disorder. Oxford: Portman Group.</td>
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Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.
This report is one of the many products to come out of New Zealand’s National Host Responsibility Campaign. ‘Good Times’ provides clear and easy-to-follow guidelines of what to do before, during and after a public event. The planning section prior to an event covers legal aspects; organising publicity; security; and how to handle alcohol issues, including the role of host responsibility. During the event guidelines include: staffing; entry requirements; type of entertainment, security, and first aid. Finally, the aftermath addresses the importance of exiting the venue, patron and community safety and debriefing (evaluation). While specifically targeted at New Zealand community groups there are sufficient parallels with Australia for these guidelines to be able to be adapted here.

Ayres and Braithwaite propose regulatory approaches that are responsive to industry context and structure, regulatory culture, and history, and which incorporate, as key ideas, ‘tit-for-tat’ strategies that combine punishment and persuasion in an optimum mix; ‘tripartism’ (empowering citizen associations) as a way of solving the dilemma of regulatory capture and corruption; and ‘enforced self-regulation,’ in which private sets of rules written by business (such as Codes of Practice) are publicly ratified and, when there is a failure of private regulation, are publicly enforced.

Central to their model is an ‘enforcement pyramid’ of penalties, from the frequently used techniques of persuasion and warning letters through to the infrequently used techniques of license suspension and revocation (‘capital punishment’ of alcohol outlets). The ideological basis of their ideas is ‘... a replacement of the liberal conception of the atomised free individual with a republican conception of community empowerment’ (p. 17). Tripartism fosters the participation of community associations by giving them full access to all the information available to the regulator; by giving them a seat at the negotiating table; and by giving them the same standing to sue or prosecute as the regulator. Thus they propose a model in which no one element, whether it be self-regulation, formal enforcement or citizen involvement, can operate effectively without the others.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper examines the effectiveness of case control studies as an evaluative tool for community programs. The author argues that while randomised controlled trials maybe the benchmark for ‘good’ research, these are rarely suitable for community studies. Case control studies have also been previously recommended as an evaluation tool for community based programs provided good baseline measures are collected and the problems surrounding the selection of controls, such as matched or unmatched, are overcome. However the author argues this will be difficult to achieve because it is generally agreed that every community should have an equal opportunity of experiencing the intervention. In fact, as the author notes, much more is written about the selection of controls than choice of intervention, which begs the question: Do community-based alcohol and drug prevention activities lend themselves to case control methodology? The author argues they don’t and suggests that the best method might be a simple pre- post-test design or cohort studies.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper evaluates efforts to control collective disturbances in connection with the celebration of Midsummer Eve in Sweden. In some places, large crowds gather and disturb public order by drunken and disorderly behaviour. The police have mobilised considerable resources in order to control the situation. Midsummer Eve disturbances were studied in 1987 in Borgholm, a small city on an island in the Baltic Sea, and also in 1988 after the introduction of preventive measures. The measures consisted of refusing to accept those likely to be involved in disturbances on camping sites in the surrounding areas during the celebration, the closing of parking lots near the center of the city, and controlling the intake of alcohol in public places. Even though many people were arrested for drunkenness, the situation was radically changed for the better in 1988.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.
This paper examines a community collaborative action against striptease shows in public bars in Tennant Creek, Northern Territory, which took place between September 1988 and February 1989. The authors argue that the use of sex to sell alcohol is a legitimate public health concern and that community action for healthier public policy is an important strategy in creating supporting environments for health. The action was instigated by the Anyinginyi Congress - an Aboriginal primary health care organisation - who responded to growing community awareness and concern of links between the striptease shows, alcohol consumption and violence, by organising a public meeting. The meeting was attended by over 200 people and led to the formation of an intersectoral anti-striptease committee which lobbied politicians, generating considerable media attention and support. This action resulted in changes to the guidelines of the Northern Territory Liquor Act to regulate striptease shows in public bars and began other processes of addressing alcohol related problems in the community, including the establishment of a women’s refuge, resourcing of Aboriginal organisations to develop alcohol interventions and rehabilitation programs and the promotion of sports and recreation activities.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.
other resources to ensure that the COMPARI project became successfully embedded into the community. The authors believe this was the most challenging of COMPARI’s goals, especially in light of evidence from other projects which shows that once funding and other resources are removed community projects very quickly decline. COMPARI is continuing as a result of a successful transfer to community control.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This is the final evaluation report of the Community Mobilisation for the Prevention of Alcohol-Related Injury (COMPARI) project, a major intervention undertaken by the National Centre for Research into the Prevention of Drug Abuse (NCRPDA) in Geraldton, WA. Five strategies were employed to evaluate the project: (i) the collection and analysis of data on alcohol-related harm; (ii) pre- and post-intervention interviews with key informants; (iii) level of community participation; (iv) pre- and post-intervention survey on community attitudes to alcohol issues; (v) evaluation of 22 activities undertaken during the project, including an evaluation of their cost effectiveness. The evaluation found that with regard to measures of alcohol-related harm there was no evidence of a positive impact from the COMPARI project. The authors claim this was not unexpected, arguing that changes in most indices of alcohol-related harm take many years to show in serial measures. Key informant interviews indicated that community awareness of alcohol issues had increased, along with improved knowledge about associated harm. There was, however, only minimal impact among young people. In line with experience with similar projects undertaken elsewhere, community participation was found to be highest during the early part of the project following which numbers gradually reduced. Community leadership and organisation, however, were judged to have improved as the project developed. The survey of community attitudes found a statistically significant increase in support for local council having a role in alcohol issues. There was an increased level of awareness of the project and the various activities, especially the ‘skipper’ campaign, alcohol free concerts and the campaign around the establishment of a new tavern.

Four major conclusions were drawn from the COMPARI project. Firstly, the ‘top down’ approach to community participation is extremely time consuming, therefore costly, and embedding the project aims into community structures is
difficult with this approach. Secondly, community mobilisation is more likely where community development strategies are supplemented by visible health promotion. Thirdly, this type of project can achieve significant increases in attitudes and knowledge but achieving any significant change in behaviours will require a project of longer duration than three years. Finally, the use of a quasi-experimental evaluation design was found to be of limited value. The authors recommend that a naturalistic design methodology, such as action research, might be more useful. It was also recommended that component activities be evaluated separately to better measure their cost effectiveness. Overall, the COMPARI project was successful in achieving change in the way alcohol-related harm is understood and acted on. A major outcome was the community take over of management and funding of the project, ensuring that the gains are likely to be sustained. A substantial amount of knowledge was obtained about the process of conducting community interventions utilising a ‘top down’ approach. The lessons learned, and the methodological processes employed might well inform similar projects elsewhere.


Braun and Graham provide a comprehensive summary of possible strategies for preventing violent crime in licensed establishments, together with examples of specific measures and a summary of the evidence for their impacts. The strategies are divided into those to do with local planning, enforcement; community action, training and education, and self-regulation. Australian research has been very influential in the assembling of the table, particularly the Surfers Paradise Safety Action project.

The proposals place a strong emphasis upon mobilising and empowering the community. They focus upon creating coalitions linking community groups with representatives from key commercial and government agencies including the police, liquor licensing authority, taxi/bus services and retail associations. These coalitions would audit licensed venues and the surrounding neighbourhood as a means of identifying problems and developing measures to reduce risks to personal safety. The approach emphasises the need for community mobilisation to be supported by legal regulatory and enforcement methods.

Many of the principles focus upon encouraging licensees to accept responsibility for behaviour within the larger community rather than just their own establishments. Therefore with support from external organisations such as the police, they should assume responsibility for monitoring their customers and enforcing responsible serving programs. Braun and Graham advocate training staff in responsible server intervention programs and training and registering door staff. The recommendations emphasise that strict enforcement of the liquor laws are necessary to
increase perceptions that there will be adverse consequences from serving underage or intoxicated customers.

Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1988-1992

This review used quantitative and qualitative techniques to integrate the alcohol and aggression literature. The primary purpose of the review was to determine if a causal relation exists between alcohol and aggression. The main meta-analysis included 30 experimental studies that used between-subjects designs, male confederates, and male subjects who were social drinkers. Studies using the other designs or subject populations were integrated with meta-analytic procedures when possible and summarised descriptively when not. The results of the review indicate that alcohol does indeed cause aggression. However, alcohol effects were moderated by certain methodological parameters.

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

Assault is a major cause of preventable morbidity in our community. This survey of 154 victims of assault attending the Gold Coast Hospital examines the circumstances of assault injuries in the local community, and demonstrates that emergency departments have a role in gathering useful data for public health initiatives.

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

People’s self-report of a variety of alcohol-related problems was collected as part of a national survey carried out in New Zealand in 1988. These problems included self-perception of adverse effects of drinking on a number of life areas such as health, friendships and financial position; items covering tangible consequences of alcohol use and items suggestive of alcohol dependence. The experience of these problems was predicted from a number of socio-demographic variables and respondent’s reports of their typical drinking behaviour. Of the socio-demographic variables only age was found to relate strongly to experience of problems. The overall frequency of drinking relatively large amounts and the typical quantity drunk in certain licensed premises (hotels, taverns and clubs) and the typical quantity drunk in others’ homes predicted the experience of problems. These findings are similar to research from other countries using different methodologies and support the likely effectiveness of prevention.
strategies which reduce the access of young people to alcohol and which aim to influence the amounts consumed in drinking sessions on licensed premises.

Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1993-1995

Cherpitel reviews emergency room (ER) studies from countries that have focused on the association of alcohol and casualties. The studies reviewed here are concerned with estimated prevalence of positive blood alcohol at the time of the ER visit, self-reported alcohol consumption prior to the event resulting in a need for ER treatment, patients’ descriptions of their usual drinking patterns and alcohol-related problems, and predictions of casualties and alcohol-related casualties. Comparisons of findings from several countries are presented.

Source: Abstract obtained from article.

A total of 75 hotels, taverns and nightclubs in Perth were granted the opportunity to trade for longer hours between 1989 and 1996. Data provided by the WA Office of Racing, Gaming and Liquor and by the WA Police Service regarding sales and problems associated with individual premises made possible an evaluation of the impact of late trading on alcohol related harm.

Significant changes in problem levels were found: premises with later trading had significant increases in assaults and premises trading normally had a significant reduction in the number of times they were cited as the last place of drinking by a convicted drink driver with a blood alcohol level above 0.08ml/mg.

The times at which assaults, road crashes and drink driving offences associated with late trading venues occurred were shifted further into the early hours of the morning.

It is recommended either that extended trading is discontinued or that greater precautions are taken to protect public health and safety as well as to recoup the extra costs of providing emergency and police services at a time when they are more costly.


*This book examines twenty-three case studies, which encompass a broad range of settings, and offences including ‘everyday’ crimes committed by ordinary people.* Sixteen
opportunity-reducing techniques are examined which concentrate upon increasing the effort or risks of crime and reducing its rewards.

Clarke suggest that two useful new concepts that have expanded both the reach and appeal of situational crime prevention are ‘diffusion of benefits’ and repeat victimisation. The concept of ‘diffusion of benefits’ has served as a useful counterpoint to hypothesised displacement effects, which, in several recent reviews, have been found not to be as extensive or pervasive as some critics had argued. The other important new concept is that of repeat victimisation, which Clarke argues is as valuable as that of ‘hot spots’ in helping to focus crime prevention effort. Both concepts are also helping to focus experiments in problem-oriented policing, which shares many common features with situational prevention, and which has been embraced in recent years by many of the United States’ more progressive police forces.

Clarke suggests that as evidence accumulates that situational prevention is effective in a wide variety of contexts, evaluations might increasingly probe the limits of the approach and make comparisons between different ways of reducing opportunities. This will require a broader methodological approach, including detailed analyses of the implementation process.

As situational prevention becomes better known, Clarke suggests that scholars from a wider range of disciplines may be drawn into discussions of the theoretical, political and ethical implications of an approach to crime prevention, which is focussed upon modifying the settings in which crimes occur rather than changing offenders. The implications of this approach, he argues, are indeed profound.


In his 1992 book, Ronald Clarke suggested situational prevention as an alternative orientation to understanding crime prevention. Under the situational approach, instead of attempting to make sweeping changes in an entire community or neighbourhood, prevention efforts are targeted at specific problems, places, and times in an attempt to alter the opportunities for crime.

Clarke proposed 12 techniques of situational prevention that reflected three general pay-offs – increased effort to commit crime, increased risks of being observed and apprehended, and reduced rewards of crime. Besides offering a list of prevention ideas, Clarke based his suggestions on a variety of theoretical perspectives. Foremost among those perspectives were rational choice, routine activities, and defensible space.

In the present paper, Clarke and Homel revise and expand the original list of 12 situational techniques to reflect what has been learned in recent years about the adequacy of the original
classification and about new techniques. Beyond simply expanding the list of situational categories, the discussion incorporates a wider array of theoretical orientations in explaining how or why an intervention will prevent crime or criminal behaviour. The revised categorisation incorporates the ideas of guilt, shame and embarrassment into the discussion of situational prevention. The merging of new ideas, knowledge and experiences is basic to any discussion of ‘situational’ prevention. The cornerstone of their discussion, however, remains the rational choice perspective.

Clarke and Homel present this revision as one step forward in a dynamic, evolving process. Indeed, they suggest that their classification may already need revision, and they recognise the need to constantly ‘re-classify techniques to reflect recent experience.’


James J. Collins critically examines the evidence in support of the finding of a relationship between alcohol use and interpersonal violence. Collins argues that although there exists substantial and longstanding research evidence that alcohol and interpersonal violence are associated, this research fails to establish conclusively the direct, unmediated impact of alcohol on that violence. That so much drinking of alcoholic beverages occurs daily in the United States and in other countries that does not result in violence underscores the more complex mechanisms – mediated by personality, social context, and culture – by which alcohol influences violent exchanges.

To illuminate the possible direct and indirect causal links between alcohol and violence, Collins reviews some major themes of theoretical formulations in this area, ranging from the morally infused ‘disinhibition’ framework to the more contemporary, catholic perspective which takes into account multiple causal factors and channels. This discussion is followed by a summary of major research on the connection between alcohol and violent crime, domestic violence, and victimisation, and the relationship between drinking and levels of community violence. Research findings indicate an impressive overall association in each of these areas. However, despite these results, there is a growing consensus that the net explanatory powers of alcohol – by itself - is not substantial and that the causal pathways are so complex that progress in their disentanglement will be slow, as it has been in the past. Collins concludes by presenting recommendations about the directions that future research might take to open up the current analytical logjam.

This paper reports on a committee based approach to dealing with alcohol issues at a local level. The Armidale Community Alcohol Strategy Committee (ACASC) was established in 1991 and comprised a group of local people. The ACASC was maintained until 1997 - a feat seen as atypical based on experience elsewhere. This success, in terms of project duration, was attributed to understanding community needs, community ownership of process, endorsement by local government, a high profile leader and, finally, simplicity - by which it is meant that no more than one project a year was attempted. Achievements include hosting a community alcohol forum in 1993; in 1994 a district licensees forum was held to discuss responsible serving programs; and in 1995 ACASC produced a booklet on alcohol-related harm in Armidale. The original strategy document called for a comprehensive evaluation to be carried out, however, it is not clear whether this was undertaken. Following a lengthy period of declining interest and the withdrawal from ACASC by the chairperson, the committee was dissolved in March 1997. However, through the former chairperson, the community maintains a link with the University of New England Alcohol Strategy Committee.


This paper reports on a community initiated response to alcohol-related problems in the Aboriginal community in Halls Creek, Western Australia. Using the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody as a springboard for action and following several months of increasing concern, the community formed an Alcohol Action Advisory Committee (AAAC) toward the end of 1991, consisting of Police, local government, health and community development personnel, Aboriginal organisations, and the Church. Initially, the AAAC was concerned with the development of a sobering up facility but a meeting of local residents resulted in the adoption of a broader approach. These included reduced availability, liquor law enforcement, education and employment programs, and a treatment program. Following the meeting the AAAC sought, but failed, to gain the cooperation of local licensees to address the issue of alcohol availability. Consequently the community lobbied the director of Liquor Licensing in WA who acted on the community request and imposed restrictions of the sale of packaged liquor, cask wine in particular. This action has resulted in a reduction in per capita consumption of alcohol despite increased consumption.
of beer. Wine consumption decreased from 7.8 to 4.8 litres per head. While the overall decrease is not of itself very much, there had been substantial declines in criminal charges, alcohol-related presentations at the hospital, a decline in emergency evacuations by RFDS and some indication of a decrease in the severity of domestic violence. An evaluation of the Halls Creek initiative is currently in press (Douglas, 1997).


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper provides a valuable insight into some of the problems that can be faced when evaluating community development health promotion programs. The paper is based on the results of a program developed to reduce alcohol-related problems in a small New Zealand town. The program involved community groups and organisations, education, media publicity and enforcement of liquor laws. The discussion around the problems faced should be noted by all those working in the area of community development and health promotion programs to tackle alcohol issues. (Refer also Duignan and Casswell, 1992).


The Eastside Sydney Project was established as a collaborative project co-ordinated by St. Vincent’s Hospital’s Alcohol and Drug Service, Eastern Sydney Area Health Service Health Promotion Unit, South Sydney City Council and the NSW Police Service. The Project sought active support and advice from the local community by forming a Community Advisory Committee. One of the aims of the project was eventually to have the community own the project and take more responsibility for their environment.

This publication was designed as an information source for communities planning to run their own intervention program and mapped out the strategies that had been adopted by the Eastside Sydney Project and the Community Advisory Committee.

These included:
• A Safety Audit of the Kings Cross and Darlinghurst areas.
• Initiation of a training program in the Responsible Serving of Alcohol.
• Visible identification for crowd controllers, doormen or ‘bouncers’.
• A print campaign to heighten community awareness and encourage patrons of local establishments to drink in moderation.
Source: Abstract obtained from chapter.

The central business district of a service city often provides entertainment for the whole region, which may result in high rates of drunkenness, assault, vandalism and burglary. Such was the case for Geelong, the second largest city in the state of Victoria, Australia. Groups of youths would ‘pub hop’ among numerous establishments serving liquor within the central business district. This led to fights, intimidation and a variety of crime and incivility. In 1989-90, together with the Liquor Commission and hotel licensees (publicans), the police led a cooperative effort – the Accord – to stop pub hopping. The Accord required cover charges to enter after 11:00 p.m., and removed exemptions for young women who were used to lure crowds of young men. The Accord prohibited unlimited re-entry when a cover was paid, thus discouraging movement among establishments. It banned special promotional prices for alcoholic drinks, including ‘happy hours’. Police patrolled and enforced provisions against underage drinkers and drinking in the streets, not to increase arrests but rather in the spirit of ‘problem-oriented’ policing. The Accord made serving policies universal in order to discourage those who were under age or already drunk from moving about in search of a weak link. The initiative was apparently followed by a major decline in pub hopping, along with a relative reduction in serious assault rates.


The Partnership for Personal Safety project is an exemplary project under the Attorney General’s Crime Prevention Strategy. The aim of the project was to develop means of reducing violent and other crimes, and to improve the safety of hotels and clubs, through identifying and piloting strategies for use by licensees and managers in their own premises. Part of the strategic approach is about encouraging a broader responsibility for crime prevention than reliance on the criminal justice system.

The issues to be addressed by the project were:

Means of assessing environmental features of premises and surrounds, including car parks (e.g. safety audit, informal surveillance) which can reduce or prevent crime and contribute to safety;

Management practices, including crowd control, private security, and server responsibility and awareness, which can contribute to crime prevention and safety.
The impact of introducing concepts of crime prevention and safety rather than policing law and penalties changed thinking and impacted on behaviour. Other structures will need to reinforce the validity of these concepts if their impact is to continue, but the short-term impact on thinking is real.


This is the fourth in a series of prevention monographs and is based on papers presented at the ‘Symposium on Experiences with Community Action Projects for the Prevention of Alcohol and Other Drug Problems’, held in Toronto in 1989. The monograph contains 32 separate papers from eleven countries covering case studies and workshop reports, all of which focus on community action projects. The papers describe the various problems encountered when developing and implementing action research programs in various settings such as schools, workplaces, licensed premises, large cities and remote desert communities. The papers also reflect the frustrations encountered when researchers are confronted by disinterest and scepticism about the utility of prevention initiatives. Overall, this volume presents a full and balanced analysis and interpretation of these unique community experiences, and provides suggestions and advice for other researchers considering undertaking community action projects.


This article is primarily based around a discussion of the many difficulties confronting community-based projects, with a specific focus on ways in which lessons might be learned to enhance policy formulation on alcohol and drug issues. The model favoured by the authors in community-based interventions is social action research despite acknowledging the many difficulties inherent in this approach. These include: the tensions between action and research; the differences between the community and research agendas on the questions of management, implementation, goals and methods; and the vexed issue of evaluation. The authors argue this ‘unstable mix’ is a characteristic of community projects, which accounts for there being few reports in the literature of successful programs in comparison to the growing literature on problems and failures. The authors do not fall into the trap of recommending specific scenarios...
for overcoming the differences between research and community agendas. Rather, they suggest that a project ought to reflect the dual and inseparable agendas, and be mediated through negotiation.


In this paper the authors reiterate a familiar theme in the literature on community-based prevention projects - that of difficulty and complexity. They argue that while community programs have eight things in common - 3 general phases and 5 tasks - they are nevertheless complex due to the ‘unstable mix’ of research, community action, social planning, interaction, evaluation, and the type and level of intervention. The authors argue that by tackling the four main sources of problems faced by community projects this ‘unstable mix’ may be overcome. The four problems are:

- The ideologies and agendas of main parties.
- The difficulties faced by evaluators where the dynamics of implementation are beyond their control.
- The failure to train community members in ‘how to do’ community-based interventions.
- Meeting goals because of funding problems, ill-defined timelines, political interference, poor methodology, and conflict among project participants.

The authors argue that problems might be overcome by locating the research agenda within a health promotion framework. A health promotion framework and associated activities are seen as relevant to a wide range of agencies, programs and services at a community level. The bottom line, according to the authors, is the ability of such projects to facilitate manageable partnerships; to ensure scientific rigour in a dynamic context; and to impart skills and resources to community members so that they can realise worthy and realistic goals. The authors acknowledge this might sound fine in theory, but the reality is the ‘unstable mix’ of researchers, evaluators, community members and policy makers, will usually negate attempts at a common agenda so that many of the proven effective measures are modified or eliminated in the negotiation process.


This paper describes the model policy being adopted by Ontario, Canada communities and reports progress to date (1995) in developing Municipal
Alcohol Policies (MAP). The paper indicates that local government bodies in Ontario are increasingly adopting a local option that permits them administrative control of the sale and consumption of alcohol at events held in council facilities - both indoor and outdoor. In the past such events were unsupervised, lacked any control and were run by inexperienced and untrained volunteers. Intoxication was commonplace resulting in violence, vandalism and drink driving. Data are presented showing that alcohol problems in municipalities where a MAP is in place have been reduced.


This paper reviews the existing research on contextual determinants of drinking behaviour. The review is restricted to naturalistic (i.e. non-laboratory) studies, focusing on how the bar environment relates to amount consumed, intoxicated behaviour and barroom aggression. Graham completes this paper with data from a barroom study in Vancouver, (Graham, LaRoque, Yetman, Ross and Guistra, 1980) examining those bar environment variables that both predict drinking problems in the bar (i.e. intoxication and aggression) and also have the potential to be controlled to some extent by social policy measures.

The data from the Vancouver study showed that:

- ‘Drinking behaviour is at least partly determined by the patron environment; that is, such factors as drinking in groups will influence amount consumed and probably other bar behaviour.
- Some aspects of the physical environment appear to determine drinking behaviour. The Vancouver data indicated that intoxication and aggression were related to larger seating capacity, rows of tables, no theme, and lower standards of furnishings and upkeep.
- The general atmosphere of the bar contributes to drinking behaviour. The kinds of activities going on (or whether any are going on), the kind of entertainment, availability of food, ventilation, noise and crowding have been identified as significant determinants.
- Bar workers affect drinking behaviour through their own behaviour and through the behavioural expectations that they help to establish’.

Graham concludes, ‘there are positive indications that the public drinking environment is strongly related to intoxication and aggression’.
Several studies have shown that in some cultures, greater violence is associated with drinking in bars than in other drinking settings. This chapter focuses on the ways that aggressive behaviour in bars can be prevented, managed and made less harmful by changing the bar environment. Graham and Homel describe the implications of existing research for creating physical and social bar environments that minimise aggression as well as the harmfulness of aggression when it occurs. They focus on the political and policy side of making bars safer. They argue that reducing violence associated with public drinking has been accomplished successfully by focusing on bar policies and procedures as well as on training bar staff. Finally they present an example of a successful project to increase bar safety.


This study made use of a naturalistic correlational approach. Systematic observation of a wide variety of Vancouver bar-rooms showed that aggression was highly predictable on the basis of situational variables and identified a drinking environment highly associated with aggression. Two-person teams of observers spent a total of 633 hours in systemic and unobtrusive observation of barroom aggression in 185 lounges, beer parlours, pubs, and legions in the Vancouver area. Details of the 160 incidents of aggression witnessed by observers were recorded. Also, characteristics of the physical environment, the social environment, and the clientele were recorded for each of the 303 observational periods (2 – 2 _ hours each). Situational variables which correlated significantly with aggression included: state of intoxication and race of patrons, length of time patrons stayed in the drinking establishment, ventilation, décor, noise level, activities going on, location of establishment, decorum, theme, cleanliness of the establishment, expensiveness and maintenance of the furnishings, pleasantness of physical surroundings, seating layout, atmosphere, kind of laughter, kind of talk, rate of drinking, amount of movement in the establishment, the presence of people talking to themselves, and the kind of entertainment. Stepwise regression indicated that the variables recorded in the study were able to account for over half of the variance in predicting overall frequency of aggression. Through factor analysis, a factor was produced which identified a particularly aggressive drinking milieu. This milieu was characterised by the following: very permissive decorum expectations, unpleasant, unclean and inexpensive physical surroundings, a higher proportion of native Indian patrons and a lowered
proportion of Caucasian patrons than in most bars, a hostile atmosphere, the presence of a noticeable number of people talking to themselves; and to a lesser extent, poor ventilation, downtown location, shabby décor, tables in rows (beer parlour style), no theme to the décor, unfriendly barworkers, and a higher proportion of patrons over 50 years old than in other bars. Over half of the incidents of aggression occurred during the 41 observational periods which scored high on this factor.


The available evidence suggests there are multiple contributing factors to the relationship between alcohol and crime, including the effects of alcohol, the characteristics of the person, the drinking situation and the cultural framing of both drinking and aggressive behaviour. The way that society views alcohol-related crime, both informally through attitudes and expectations and formally through laws and policies is likely to affect this relationship. Drinking settings also exercise considerable control over behaviour through expectations, the physical and social characteristics of the settings and the intoxication level and characteristics of others in the setting. Drinkers vary considerably in predispositions, attitudes and concerns that may determine whether they will engage in aggressive or criminal behaviour while drinking. Alcohol-related crime tends to be most frequent among young unmarried males and has been associated with deviance, power concerns and attitudes and expectations of aggression and other crimes as more acceptable if alcohol is involved. Finally, although alcohol has general effects (e.g., reducing anxiety, impairing cognitive functioning, increasing emotional lability, making the person more focused on the present and increasing power concerns) that make aggression and possibly other crimes more likely … these effects depend not only on how much alcohol is consumed but by whom and under what circumstances.


This discussion reports some of the results from 2 studies of drinking and violence in the Auckland Metropolitan area conducted by an ‘insider-outsider’ team of 2 Samoan and 2 American investigators. The first investigation was a systemic observational study of public drinking behaviour conducted within 12 of Auckland’s public bars (see Graves et al, 1982). The second study examined factors associated with the
frequency and seriousness of pub violence. Nineteen security officers working in twelve pubs kept a systematic running record of all incidents of violence over a three-week period, noting time and place where it occurred, age, sex and ethnicity of the initiators, whether or not they were regular patrons, an estimate of their drunkenness, size of drinking group, number involved in the incident, seriousness of incident, circumstances giving rise to the incident, and strategies employed by the officer or others to stop the incident. A major conclusion from this research on drinking and violence is that the significantly higher levels of alcohol consumption and pub violence that was recorded among Polynesian patrons, and that have become a source of much concern within the dominant society, are not the result of moral virtue on the part of Europeans, or of moral turpitude on the part of the Maoris and Pacific Islanders. Rather these ethnic differences in consumption and violence largely can be accounted for by differences in the size of their typical drinking groups. Europeans tend to feel less drawn to and less comfortable within groups of any kind than do Polynesians, and thus may avoid group drinking situations. And when they do participate, they prefer smaller groups and leave earlier than do Polynesians. Consequently, they drink less and are less likely to be drawn into serious barroom incidents. By contrast, most Polynesians enjoy all kinds of group activities; group drinking is only one of them. Group activities also serve as an expression of ethnic identity and solidarity for a minority group within a predominantly individualistic society.


Source: Abstract obtained from report.

The aims of this report are to sketch the theoretical basis of a series of safety action projects in three diverse North Queensland cities (Cairns, Townsville and Mackay), and to report some results. These projects, which aimed to improve the safety of licensed environments in the central city entertainment areas, are replications of the safety action model developed in Surfers Paradise.

Key features of the approach include creating a steering committee and community forum; forming task groups to address safety of public spaces, management of venues, and security and policing; encouraging venue managers to introduce a Code of Practice; and regulating managers through informal community processes as well as formal enforcement. The model is based on: prior experience with community interventions; the theory of situational crime prevention; and regulatory theory.
The results are based on police data and on unobtrusive direct observations by patron-observers of aggression, drinking, and serving practices in licensed venues in the three cities in September 1994 and October 1996. The interventions took place in each city during 1995 and early 1996. From the observational data, there was a decline of 56.5% in all aggressive and violent incidents, and a decline of at least 75% in physical assaults, although conclusions concerning direct causality cannot be drawn. These declines, which did not differ significantly between cities, coincided with reductions in the levels of perceived ‘permissiveness’ in venues, increases in sociability, cheerfulness and friendliness, and a range of significant improvements in host responsibility practices and a marked decline in levels of male drunkenness. Patronage (and crowding) increased and prices stayed the same, suggesting no decline in levels of profitability.

Police data for Cairns and Townsville, but not Mackay, showed reductions in many types of street offences corresponding to the periods when the project officer was active or the Code of Practice was implemented, but there are difficulties in interpreting the police data (especially in Townsville). There are also good reasons for not expecting a close correlation between police data on street offences and observations of behaviours within venues, since many incidents within venues are not reported or recorded. Overall, the police data for Cairns and Townsville, but not Mackay, are consistent with the reductions in aggression observed within venues.

Assuming some causal impact of the interventions, identification of ‘critical’ components is problematic, one conclusion being that there are many paths to the same destination. However, whatever intervention techniques are employed, a reduction in male drunkenness seems important to reduce physical violence.


Community-based safety action projects, replications of the model developed in Surfers Paradise designed to reduce violence and disorder in licensed environments in city entertainment areas, were implemented in three diverse North Queensland cities (Cairns, Townsville and Mackay). The change model is based on: prior experience with community interventions; the theory of situational crime prevention; and the theory of responsive regulation. The interventions took place in each city during 1995 and early 1996. The results are based on unobtrusive direct observations by patron-observers of aggression, drinking, and management practices in licensed venues in September 1994 and October 1996. There was a decline of 56% in all aggressive and violent incidents, and a decline of at least 75% in physical assaults, although conclusions concerning direct causality cannot be drawn. These declines, which did not differ significantly
between cities, coincided with marked improvements in host responsibility practices, and a decline in male drunkenness.


This report was compiled to contribute to a forthcoming review and amendment of New Zealand’s Sale of Liquor Act. According to the authors, the existing policy and legislation had aimed to encourage moderate drinking in safe and pleasant environments, cost effective monitoring of the law, and a licensing system which worked well to the satisfaction of all.

Hill and Stewart argue that legislative control over the sale and supply of alcohol, and the way legislation is implemented, has important consequences for the health of individuals and for the community as a whole. The regulatory framework helps create the social climate and physical environments in which New Zealanders drink, and can influence the extent of alcohol related harm.

The report begins with a review and critique of regulatory theories, in particular the ‘responsive regulation’ theories of Ian Ayres and John Braithwaite (1992). Relevant insights were used to review legislation, case law and available research on liquor licensing in New Zealand. This was in turn used to develop suggested amendments to the Act. The recommended amendments are minor changes that can increase the ‘responsiveness’ of the licensing system to both licensees’ proposals and concerns raised by local statutory officers and neighbouring communities.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This chapter provides a useful overview of the theoretical models underpinning two of the most common approaches used in community interventions, the ‘catchment’ and the ‘systems’ approach, before providing a set of guidelines for selecting communities and for developing and undertaking community interventions. A number of prevention strategies are presented in summary form.

While the efficacy of a catchment approach has been clearly demonstrated, for example in the instance of heart disease and cancer prevention, the author argues that the complexity of alcohol and drug problems requires a broader approach. The application of systems theory is advocated by the author for two major
reasons: firstly, alcohol and drug problems are not predicated on individual characteristics alone, rather they are time stochastic events; secondly, the community is a dynamic system therefore no single intervention, no matter how good, can be expected to sustain its impact if system-level structural change is ignored. A series of seven steps or phases for developing and implementing community-based interventions are included in the paper.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper explores the application of a community level public health approach to prevent alcohol-related accidents. A number of suggestions are made for designing a conceptual model of alcohol-involved trauma, the design of alternative interventions, outcome measures and staged community-based interventions to prevent problems. A public health model is proposed within a framework drawn from systems theory as opposed to addressing problems on an individual case-by-case basis. The author argues that there are no examples of controlled community research projects that demonstrate a reduction in alcohol-related accidents, therefore it is important that future interventions are carefully controlled with the outcomes evaluated. An example of a trial being developed in California is suggested as a possible model.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

In this paper the authors pose the question ‘why is it that behaviour which is highly social, and has strong cultural restraints and inducements, is usually confronted through prevention programs that focus on the individual?’ The answer, according to the authors, is due to the alcohol and drug field being dominated by people from a biomedical background. Consequently, what is brought to complex community systems is a simple linear intervention protocol, involving a few components primarily oriented to modifying the behaviour of the heaviest consumers through educational, persuasive, regulatory, or punishment techniques. The authors argue that such approaches continue despite there being little evidence as to their efficacy. They do acknowledge, however, that while valuable in themselves, such approaches are nonetheless incomplete because they do little to bring about change in the social environment in
which alcohol and drug use occurs. For interventions to be effective, the authors argue that they must target the social context and the environment in which alcohol and drug use occurs, as well as individuals and groups. The authors go on to argue that official action to alcohol and drug is often based on idiosyncratic preferences which are usually popular and acceptable to the public and governments but not necessarily effective. One example is quick fix solutions that may have immediate and short term impact which makes them politically attractive both to local power brokers and interest groups. The authors suggest a community program should involve at least a year in discussions and in setting the ground for community action, then further time planning and implementing the intervention, followed by evaluation, with a minimum time frame of three years for a worthwhile intervention. The authors note that the challenge is to maintain community interest with a long term project which fails to show outcomes before three or four years.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper presents the findings and lessons from a community prevention trial involving three experimental communities in the United States to reduce alcohol-involved trauma. The paper provides recommendations for other community prevention efforts. Effectiveness was demonstrated by: (a) 78 fewer alcohol-involved traffic crashes as a result of the Drinking and Driving Component alone (approximately a 10% reduction); (b) a significant reduction in underage sales of alcohol, i.e. off-premise outlets sold to minors about one-half as often as in comparison communities; (c) increased implementation of responsible beverage policies by bars and restaurants; and (d) increased adoption of local ordinances and regulations to reduce concentrations of alcohol outlets.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

The 5-year ‘Preventing Alcohol Trauma: A Community Trial’ project in the United States was designed to reduce alcohol-involved injuries and death in three experimental communities. The project consisted of five mutually reinforcing components: (1) Community Mobilisation Component to develop community organisation and support, (2) Responsible Beverage Service Component to establish standards for severs and owner/managers of on-premise alcohol outlets to reduce their risk of having intoxicated and/or underage customers in bars and restaurants, (3) Drinking and Driving Component to increase local DWI enforcement efficiency and to
increase the actual and perceived risk that drinking drivers would be detected, (4) Underage Drinking Component to reduce retail availability of alcohol to minors, and (5) Alcohol Access Component to use local zoning powers and other municipal controls of outlet number and density to reduce the availability of alcohol. This paper gives an overview of the rationale and causal model, the research design and outline of each intervention component for the entire prevention model.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

The author discusses the problems involved in trying to apply public health policies to prevent alcohol problems in the community as the basis for this paper. The concept of server intervention is the vehicle used to address this issue. The author argues that the experience with overseas server intervention programs demonstrates the problems encountered when attempting to reconcile competing interests and agendas among diverse groups. The author’s main argument is that overcoming these difficulties is impossible without the threat of external sanction, such as liquor law enforcement and/or civil liability (server liability in the USA and Canada). Education is also required in order for diverse groups to understand the complexity of the issues around liquor laws.


In this review of the Stockwell publication, Homel examines the Australian context of liquor licensing regulations and identifies that controls on alcohol consumption and availability have long been the cause of bitter political conflict in Australia. Homel argues that one dimension of contemporary political conflicts relates to models of business regulation. He cites Braithwaite’s (1993) model of regulation which describes a three-cornered contest between regulatory legalists (mostly lawyers), who advocate the just enforcement of laws and emphasise prosecutions and sanctions; deregulatory rationalists (mostly economists), who advocate the removal of barriers to free and fair trade and emphasise economic efficiency; and knee-jerk opponents of self-regulation (mostly ordinary citizens), who distrust business and regard industry self-regulation as a joke.

Homel suggests that against this backdrop of a three-way tug-of-war there is a systematic corruption of politicians and police charged with the responsibility of enforcing the licensing laws. He proposes that there is a need for more research both in Australia and in other countries on how licensees and managers are actually regulated by police and licensing inspectors. Homel
emphasises that part of this research should be focused on what the authors refer to as ‘the organisational culture of liquor licensing commissions’ – small, but powerful agencies that have great influence on government policy but generally operate behind walls of bureaucratic secrecy.

Homel suggests that the history of policing in Australia has shown the police tendency toward regulatory capture and corruption so the regulatory responsibility should not lie with them. He concludes that at the very best, Australian police have reflected general community attitudes that victims of pub violence deserve their misfortune, and have therefore concentrated far more on strategies such as arresting drunken patrons than on dealing with the staff who serve them. (Homel and Tomsen, 1991)

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

Although there is much research that suggests that alcohol is a causal factor in criminal violence, relatively little is known about the situational factors and management practices which increase the risk of violence in and around licensed premises. The limited observational research which has been conducted suggests that the effects of intoxication on violence may be mostly indirect, and that mass intoxication encouraged by irresponsible drinks promotions, particularly in interaction with other factors such as low comfort and aggressive bouncers, may be the aspect of public drinking of greatest concern. The aim of the present study was to use quantitative methods to clarify the situational and management factors most predictive of violence, and in particular to examine the role of intoxication. 147 visits each of two hours duration were made to 45 sites within 36 premises in Sydney, Australia, in the winter of 1991. In the 300 hours of observation a total of 102 incidents of aggression were observed, 29 (28.4%) involving physical violence. These incidents were concentrated in a small number of premises. A major predictor of physical violence was staff intervention with intoxicated patrons, particularly refusal of service. Male drunkenness and round shouting predicted non-physical aggression more strongly than physical violence, controlling for staff intervention. Prevention strategies should include serious enforcement of legislation prohibiting the sale of alcohol to intoxicated persons, and the implementation of responsible serving practices in all licensed premises, not just high risk establishments. Experience from a community intervention program in south-east Queensland highlights the value of a local Code of Practice for licensed premises, supported by a monitoring committee to encourage responsible serving and pricing practices, better quality entertainment, and the training of bouncers, bar staff and management in non-violent crowd control techniques.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This is a preliminary report which summarises the impact of the Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project, utilising several data sources. The aim of the project was to reduce alcohol-related violence and disorder in the main nightclub area of Surfers Paradise. The project was based on community development principles and was informed by a similar project in Melbourne - the West End Forum. The evaluation reported here is based on: a risk assessment policy checklist developed at the National Centre for Research into the Prevention of Drug Abuse in Perth; observations in night clubs; data from security staff on street incidents; and police crime data. The risk assessment found statistically significant improvements in nightclub management policies and practices. Observation studies confirmed the results of the risk assessment and found that there had been a marked decrease in aggression and violent incidents within clubs. Security and police data also showed a decline in the number of assaults that occurred outside of clubs. The authors note that although the evidence points to the project having had a positive impact, it cannot be conclusively stated that the Surfers initiative caused these changes. A more thorough report of the Surfers Project can be found in Homel, Hauritz, Wortley, McIlwain, and Carvolth, 1997.


The Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project, the initial phase of which was implemented in 1993, was a community-based initiative designed to reduce violence in and around licensed venues in the central business district of an international tourist area on Queensland’s Gold Coast. This project was one of a number of similar community action programs directed at alcohol-related violence that have developed more or less independently in different parts of Australia since the late 1980s. Common features of these ‘safety action’ projects include: the mobilisation of community groups concerned about violence and disorder; the implementation of a multi-agency approach involving licensees, local government, police, health and other groups; a focus on the way licensed venues are managed (particularly those that cater to large numbers of young people); and attention to situational factors that promote intoxication and violent confrontations. Safety action projects may be understood as attempts by local communities to compensate for the perceived inadequacies of regulation by police and liquor licensing authorities.

This paper describes specific aspects of the implementation of the Surfers project, and presents the results of the evaluation. Key features of the implementation included channeling funding through local government; creating a representative steering
committee and community forum; forming Task Groups to address safety of public spaces, management of venues, and security and policing; encouraging nightclub managers to introduce a Code of Practice regulating serving and security staff, advertising, alcohol use, and entertainment; and the regulation of managers through ‘risk assessments’ and through a community-based Monitoring Committee. More subtle but equally important aspects of the implementation included rehabilitating the image of nightclub managers and integrating them into the local business community; using managers committed to the reform process from another city to encourage and bring pressure to bear on local licensees; employing a Project Officer who was female and who had considerable interpersonal skills; and balancing the conflicting political agendas of participating agencies.

The evaluation showed a marked initial impact of the project. The Risk Assessment Policy Checklist, based on interviews with eight licensees conducted on-site before and after the introduction of the Code of Practice in August 1993, showed marked reductions in practices that promote the irresponsible use of alcohol (such as binge drinking incentives) and improvements in security practices, entertainment, handling of patrons, and transport policies. Activities in 18 nightclubs were observed by teams of students using a structured observation schedule in the summers of 1993 (before the project) and 1994 (after the major features of the project had been implemented). Verbal abuse declined by 81.6%, from 12.5 to 2.3 incidents per 100 hours of observation; arguments by 67.6%, from 7.1 to 2.3; and physical assaults by 52.0%, from 9.8 to 4.7. Male and female drinking rates and drunkenness declined markedly, but there was no change in prices for drinks or admission. There were dramatic improvements in publicity to patrons about house policies, and associated improvements in server practices, the physical environment (e.g., clean toilets and accessible bars), and security practices (e.g., ID checks at door). Street incidents observed by security personnel in the area showed a general decline from 1993 to 1994, but the trend was most marked in the August - December period (post-Code of Practice) with a decline of 64.5%, compared with a decline of 46.5% in the initial stages of the project (April - July) and 18.3% before the project (January - March). Police data for Surfers Paradise for 1993 and 1994 showed pre-project increases in assaults, indecent acts, stealing, and drunk and disorderly incidents, stabilization in the initial stages of the project, and sharp declines in the period post-Code of Practice (including a 34% decline in assaults).

However, there are indications that nightclubs became more ‘up market,’ suggesting that displacement of problem patrons may have been at least partly responsible for the impact of the project. This highlights the need for region- or state-wide rather than purely local projects. In addition, observational data collected over summer 1996 indicate that violence has returned to pre-project levels, and that compliance with the Code of Practice has almost ceased. This underlines the importance of ensuring that at the end of the implementation phase key players are dependent on a robust process rather than on a charismatic project officer, and that an effective regulatory model is constructed that can be maintained on a routine basis. In the absence of a control community, the increase in violence, coinciding with increases in drunkenness and
declines in responsible hospitality practices, together with the internal consistency of the data, strengthen confidence that the initial decline in violence was caused by the project and not by exogenous factors. It is hypothesized that only a system of regulation that integrates self-regulation, community monitoring, and formal enforcement can ensure that the achievements of community interventions are maintained on an indefinite basis.


When information about the victims of assault is closely analysed, it is clear that some groups are at greater risk than others, namely young people, males, single people, the unemployed, and indigenous people. Young people, especially teenagers, are at the highest risk of the most serious forms of violent victimisation. Homel and Mirrlees-Black argue that these groups should therefore be given priority in any initiatives to reduce violence.

For young people, the risk of assault is greater at the hands of peers, while out at night in public places of entertainment. Older people are more likely to be victimised in or near a private home. Clearly, preventive measures that target young people need to be quite different from those aimed at adults or the elderly. These findings indicate, for instance, a need for better regulation of night-time entertainment venues frequented by young people (such as video game parlours, shopping malls and nightclubs).

The greater risk of violent victimisation experienced by indigenous Australians appears to be one aspect of a range of health and lifestyle problems they have. Strategies aimed at reducing violence need to be incorporated into broader initiatives aimed at improving the quality of life within these communities.

Source: Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM: CINCH (Criminology)

One legacy of the temperance movement has been a public policy neglect of the regulation of drinking environments to reduce the associated harm. The incidence of violence in and around licensed premises could be influenced by server intervention programs; bureaucratic reforms which place the prevention of violence at the centre of licensing decisions; preventive policing practices; and legislation mandating training for security and bar staff, and making the continuous operation of a violent venue an offence leading to the cancellation of a license.

300 hours of unstructured observation by pairs of observers in 23 licensed premises in Sydney allowed the identification through qualitative analysis of situational factors and management practices which increase the risk of physical violence. 4 high risk and 2 low risk premises were particularly contrasted, as were violent and non-violent occasions in the same venues. Violence was concentrated in specific places at specific times. It was related to complex interactions between aspects of patron mix, levels of comfort, boredom, and intoxication, and the behaviour of bouncers. Violence is perpetuated by poor management, lax police surveillance, and inappropriate bureaucratic controls and legislation. The authors conclude that regularly violent venues should have their licences cancelled, and police should enforce laws regulating bouncers. Promotions which cause mass intoxication should be banned, but responsible serving practices on their own may not greatly influence levels of violence.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This chapter describes the various constraints on scientific inquiry in the area of community-based interventions and identifies ways to deal with these. The authors present a series of guidelines which present criteria for selecting prudent prevention strategies in the face of the social realities that influence such selection. The proposed criteria stress the importance of research in providing ‘objective’ assessments of the success and failures of previous interventions.

The authors highlight AIDS as an example of restraints facing researchers - particularly in the use of ‘gold standard’ research designs, such as randomised control trials - and argue the case for researchers working at the community level to be more flexible in dealing with constraints. Researchers are urged to be more creative and to adopt new forms of research that still do justice to the prerequisites of science while allaying the concerns of the public.

The authors believe it is inevitable that reported outcomes of community-based interventions will always be open to question simply because the way in which an intervention is proceeded with is largely attributable to social dynamics which both affects the type of intervention and is affected by this. This, in the authors’ view, poses the question as to how scientific is such research when its integrity is compromised by social processes impacting on the intervention and its outcomes.

Between June and September 1987, 926 prisoners received into Perth metropolitan prisons were screened for alcohol and drug problems. A comprehensive interviewer-administered questionnaire and other measures such as content analysis of medical and criminal records provided the database. To enable a thorough analysis and a comparison across record types, an eight-point classification system was used. This system incorporated dimensions of 'consumption', 'dependency', 'association with crime' and 'self perception' for alcohol and drug use. The results suggest that a third of the sample consume 'hazardous' amounts of alcohol. Only 6% of the sample were classified as current drug dependents. The results support previous research, which indicates that alcohol abuse amongst offenders is a major problem. The groups that emerge as the main concerns are: Aboriginal alcohol abusers, alcohol abusers not concerned with their alcohol use, drunk drivers and women drug and alcohol abusers. The validity of the screening instruments is examined, a strategy for screening for drug and alcohol problems is suggested and the implications of the results for prevention and treatment interventions are discussed.


There is widespread acknowledgment of a connection between alcohol consumption and crime, but the extent of the connection and its implications continue to promote debate. Previous research has concentrated on assessment of alcohol involvement of offenders following arrest. Not all incidents coming to the notice of police result in an arrest. Arrest-centred alcohol involvement research is limited, as arrest is not the most common outcome of police attendance.


Two parallel investigations were conducted to assess the involvement of alcohol in police work. In the first, all persons arrested were asked whether they had taken alcohol in the four hours prior to the commission of their offence. The results confirm the belief that a considerable proportion of police work is alcohol related. In the second study, the effect of a new policy on the supervision of licensed premises was assessed. The results indicated that this new practice may have been responsible for a drop in the commission of illegal behaviours. The implications of both studies, in terms of police practice and education of police officers about alcohol are considered.
Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This article is presented as a review of the literature on community-based alcohol and drug initiatives. In fact it is more of a commentary and so presents much more information than one might expect to find in a conventional literature review. The review is presented under a number of headings which is useful for isolating the main component parts of community interventions. For example, under the heading ‘needs assessment’, some valuable material is presented to help guide such activities. The authors conclude that ‘there is little known with respect to systematic, standardised, and comparable empirical information about the large number of community prevention efforts that are currently under way’, and ‘...there is no significant evaluation record for learning about the effectiveness of community prevention in its many variations’. The review is, unfortunately, limited to USA materials, so it misses out on the wealth of material to be found elsewhere, in particular Canada, New Zealand and Australia.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This article discusses the importance of establishing coalitions when working on community-based alcohol and drug programs. The authors suggest that the value of coalitions is measured by the success of programs, services, and policy changes on alcohol and other drug problems in the community. They argue that community action research and collaborative evaluation are needed to support successful community-based efforts. To be successful, the authors state that coalitions should have shared leadership between professionals and local groups including government, police, church, prevention researchers, and health service providers. The authors acknowledge that it is difficult, however, to get a diverse range of people to agree to work together due to differing cultural, socio-economic, academic, and institutional backgrounds. The authors state that there are no magic bullets to achieving successful coalitions but suggest that if participants are flexible and prepared to improvise - such as through the use of multiple strategies which are perceived to be working - it is possible for diverse groups and individuals to work together in coalitions.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper reports on the use of community coalitions in the USA to deal with alcohol and drug prevention programs. The authors argue that while some studies have shown community coalitions to be an effective approach, little is known about what contributes to an effective coalition. The authors address this knowledge gap by providing a theoretical model which proposes that leadership is important in gaining member satisfaction and perceptions of efficiency that will ultimately translate into effective outcomes. Results of a small exploratory study used to test the model suggest that it is useful. However, a larger and more diverse study, employing sophisticated analyses, is required to better understand how to develop effective community coalitions based around team leadership.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This manual evolved from the Eastside Sydney Project centred in the Kings Cross and Darlinghurst areas. It covers the origins, implementation and evaluation of the Eastside Project as well as offering suggestions and advice on how to go about setting up similar projects elsewhere. The core of the manual is four chapters covering planning, implementation, suggested intervention strategies and how to utilise the media. Chapter two, on planning, is primarily concerned with organising, publicising and conducting public meetings and how to carry out a community survey. Chapter three covers the process involved in forming, developing and managing community groups. Chapter four presents a list of ‘action menus’ such as, responsible server programs, safety audits, alcohol and youth and alcohol education. Finally, chapter five gives some hints on how best to utilise the local media. The manual also contains a brief literature review prepared by Margaret Bonner.


*There is an increasing awareness of the potential for local community action to reduce harm from AOD use. As AOD use is located within a local social and cultural context, it follows that*
local communities are better placed to identify problems than, for example, outside ‘experts’. Furthermore, communities are much more likely to accept and support programs, which they helped develop and implement. Such support is critical for sustaining local initiatives over time. By focusing on changing the social and cultural factors in communities which foster and support high risk behaviours it should be possible to create environments in which the risk of harm is reduced.

These Guidelines are designed to provide an easy-to-follow, user-friendly approach for local government and local groups to respond to AOD problems in their community. Lang et al advocate a broad-based and flexible approach to community action which they argue will avoid the pitfalls inherent in a prescriptive model.

The guidelines are based on a philosophy of:

- Harm reduction; using schemes such as needle exchange;
- Using community diversity as an asset, providing a wealth of social resources to address issues of concern;
- Encouraging broad community and organisational collaboration allowing the sharing of resources to achieve common goals; and
- Accommodating the dynamic nature of community action, emphasising ongoing reassessment.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

The paper compares and contrasts three of the better known community based initiatives implemented in Australia in the 1990s - the West End Forum Project in Melbourne, the Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project in Queensland (see McIlwain and Hauritz, 1996), and the Geelong Local Industry Accord in Victoria. It is suggested that the first two, while initially successful, eventually failed because they relied principally on the ‘opportunity reduction’ model of crime prevention and because they failed to gain a strong consensus among licensees to develop, implement and maintain a code of conduct, or practice, concerning responsible policies in licensed venues. Furthermore, the authors argue that neither project succeeded in convincing the police of the necessity to provide the effective enforcement of existing liquor laws that is required to ensure local codes of practice are effective. The authors contrast these two projects with the Geelong Accord, which they argue is the most successful to date in Australia having achieved a dramatic reduction in alcohol-related violence through the development of a local agreement between licensees and police. The authors note that
the most noticeable point about the Geelong Accord is its simplicity. The Accord is a true grassroots initiative developed, implemented and maintained by local groups with no outside assistance. The Accord is unfunded, has no timeline and employs no project officer. Leadership is provided by a best practices committee of licensees and police; there are no ‘task groups’ employed as is common to most community based projects; and it has two levels of enforcement - a formal level provided by police in the event of any perceived breach of the Accord, and an informal level where the licensees themselves police one another to ensure agreed practices are maintained. The Accord itself is also a simple document requiring licensees to apply a cover charge after 11pm if they have live entertainment past 1am; no passouts are permitted; drink promotions and discount drinks are banned; happy hours are not permitted except in certain circumstances; and there is strict policing of ID cards to prevent under age drinking.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper is concerned with the question of democracy and the role of experts versus amateurs - that is, the general public - in developing community programs. The author suggests that one of the practical challenges in planning and implementing large scale programs lies in the extent to which central health authorities and community organisations can work co-operatively in pursuit of common goals. This challenge is discussed in terms of adopting a ‘top down’ or ‘bottom up’ approach. The author suggests that although democracy is supposed to be from the people, this is often not the case in community action, therefore the organisational structures of projects need to carefully examined to ensure that they are as democratic as possible.


Persons learn about drunkenness what their societies impart to them, and comporting themselves in consonance with these understandings, they become living confirmation of their societies’ teachings. Behaviour under the influence of alcohol is socially patterned and not merely a result of the pharmacological effects of alcohol. Our society lacks a clear and consistent position regarding the scope of drunkenness and is thus
neither clear nor consistent in its teachings. Consequently we lack unanimity of understanding, and it follows then that unanimity of practice is out of the question. Thus although we all know that in our society the state of drunkenness carries with it an increased freedom to be one’s other self, the limits are vague and only sporadically enforced, and hence, what the plea of drunkenness will excuse in any specific case is similarly indeterminant. In such a situation, what people actually do when they are drunk will vary enormously.

Source: Abstract obtained from chapter.

This study is concerned with the role of physical design features in promoting crowding in nightclubs, and with the relationship between crowding and aggression. A distinction is made between patron density, defined as the total number of patrons per square metre in the venue, and crowding, defined for operational purposes as the number of unintended low-level physical contacts between patrons observed in a 10 square metre high traffic area in a half-hour observation period. Data were obtained from six nightclubs in Surfers Paradise, Queensland. Using data provided by a private security firm the nightclubs were divided into two groups of three: high- and low-risk for violence. In 36 two-hour visits, patron densities, crowding, patron behaviours, and aggression levels were measured. It was found that for any given level of patron density some venues exhibited higher levels of crowding than others. The more crowded venues tended to be the more violent, and in these high-risk establishments crowding increased more rapidly with patron density than in low-risk venues. Crowding appeared to arise partly from inappropriate pedestrian flow patterns caused by poor location of entry and exit doors, dance floors, bars, and toilets. Crowding in turn was statistically related to observed aggressive incidents, even when controls were introduced for patron drinking practices, levels of male drunkenness, and staff interactions with patrons. It is argued that architectural guidelines for licensed premises should be produced, so that in new or renovated venues the risks of unintended contacts leading to aggressive incidents can be minimised. In addition, design and its possible effects on crowding should be incorporated into the model used by officials to set patron limits for individual venues, and regular inspections should be carried out to ensure that these limits are not exceeded.

Of all legal and illegal substances alcohol is the one that most Australians regularly consume and for the majority it is a normal part of our cultural and social activities. However, alcohol is also a major factor in homicides, domestic violence and police custodies. The material presented here suggests that the experience of alcohol-related disorder in our society is very common. Such disorder has implications for public policy, for not only does disorder contribute to a fear of crime; it contributes to the actual incidence of crime.

This Trends and Issues paper focuses on the victims of alcohol-related disorder, while a second paper focuses on the perpetrators of alcohol-related antisocial behaviour.


Trends and Issues number 76 showed that it was common for people to report that they were victims of alcohol-related disorder. In this second part we see that around 17 per cent of a national sample report that they have committed some form of alcohol-related disorder or crime in the past 12 months. These people tend to be young and male, and report either consuming alcohol at harmful levels or being binge drinkers. The data show a strong overlap between being a victim and a perpetrator, suggesting that prevention strategies need to recognise similarities and relationship between victims and perpetrators.

Within this strategy an important component will be the promotion of responsible drinking styles. However, more accurate and detailed data collections are required to better inform public policies.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

In December 1990 a group of Fremantle residents formed to identify the extent of alcohol-related problems in the area. This group’s efforts were formally recognised by the local City Council, who voted for the formation of a consultative committee to investigate the issue. The finding of the ‘Alcohol in the Community’ committee indicated that there were alcohol-related problems in the area. However the impact of the findings was diminished when some of the methodologies used in the community survey were questioned by the Liquor Industry.

While this committee was unable to verify the extent or degree of alcohol-related problems in Fremantle, they did succeed in getting the issue recognised by Council and in making a number of positive changes in the community’s response to alcohol-related problems.

This report summarises the history of the issue, the achievements and the problems experienced by a local committee of pro-active residents.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

Written by the project officer (McIlwain) this paper presents a report of the knowledge gained from the Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project which ran for nine months in 1993. In the early 1990s problems similar to those besetting Melbourne’s West End began to emerge on Queensland’s Gold Coast, in particular in and around a number of night clubs in Surfers Paradise where the level of violence in 1993 prompted Government moves to ‘clean up the streets’. The Surfers Project was a joint venture involving local government, police, local business, night club licensees, and researchers from Griffith University and the Queensland Department of Health. It was designed as a ‘top down’ research project with a built in evaluation component. The Surfers Paradise Action Project was able to attribute positive outcomes, albeit with caution and with some caveats, to the various activities implemented because appropriate performance indicators were developed at the outset. The evidence from the evaluation points to a significant outcome in a relatively short time although it was noted that economic factors may have had some bearing on the Project’s outcomes given the project was operating during a time of economic recession. It is to be hoped that the lessons learned from the Surfers Paradise Action Project have informed the current replication in three other Queensland locations, Cairns, Mackay and Townsville, but it will be some time before the results from these initiatives are available.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

Laws prohibiting the service of alcohol to already intoxicated patrons of bars and restaurants are seldom enforced. Following introduction of an enforcement effort in Washtenaw County, Michigan, observed refusals of service to ‘pseudopatrons’ simulating intoxication rose from 17.5% to 54.3%, declining eventually to 41.0%. At the same time, the percentage of those arrested drunk drivers coming from bars and restaurants declined from 31.7% to 23.3%. In a comparison county, refusals of service rose to a significantly smaller extent, from 11.5% to 32.7%, while the percentage of DWIs coming from bars and restaurants showed no significant changes. Service refusals were related to volume of business and numbers of intoxicated patrons in an establishment at the time of observation, while numbers of arrested DWIs was related
to the nature of the establishment’s clientele, policies, and practices. While enforcement of alcohol service laws offers a potentially cost beneficial means of reducing highway crashes, replication across additional jurisdictions is needed.


The data summarised in this report refer to levels and patterns of violence in pubs prior to the introduction of various initiatives aimed at reducing the problems. MCM has, over the past four years, made a number of recommendations regarding the actions which companies can take effectively to prevent or control disorder in their managed houses. Where these and other measures have been implemented, significant improvements have been observed and measurable reductions in acts of violence, assaults on licensees and rowdy conduct have been achieved.

The authors found that pubs with very similar customer profiles had substantial variations in violence which they attributed to the way in which the pubs were managed. They argue that standards of management need to be raised through the development of further selection and training methods that focus specifically on conflict avoidance and resolution strategies. In addition, they suggest that greater attention needs to be paid to the interpersonal skills of staff as they can significantly affect the behaviour and mood of customers. Finally they emphasise the need to avoid particular aspects of design, which are known to be linked with aggression, such as flow patterns that need to be carefully designed in order to minimise jostling and inter-customer friction.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This report provides an account of the work undertaken by the West End Forum throughout 1990/91. The Forum was established in 1990 following a recommendation of the Community Council Against Violence, to address issues of violence in and around licensed premises in the King Street area, Melbourne. Issues and problems initially targeted by the Forum were: town planning and urban design; traffic and by laws; venue management and cultural attitudes; policing; and transport. The report is broken down into five sections. Section One covers the formation of the Forum and its representation. Section Two examines the Forum’s early development, with Section Three reflecting on the process and outcomes of task groups. Section Four reports on evaluation findings and recommendations arising from the Forum’s activities. A number of appendices, including the West End Nightspots Code of Practice, are documented in Section Five.

This paper discusses the COMPARI project (Community Mobilisation for the Prevention of Alcohol-Related Injury), a demonstration project which showed that alcohol-related injury can be reduced through mobilising a local community to undertake prevention initiatives. The authors present details of the implementation and evaluation strategies, the mistakes made and lessons learned, and the four major conclusions drawn from the project. These were:

• Community participation can be achieved through a ‘top down’ approach but considerable time is required and embedding such a project into community structures might be difficult;
• Community mobilisation will be more successful if community development strategies supplement health promotion activities;
• Similar projects might achieve significant and measurable impact on attitudes, knowledge and behaviour, but the time required to achieve significant behavioural change will be longer than the three years the program operated;
• There is limited utility in a quasi-experimental evaluation design where a community development approach is employed.

Based on these lessons the authors recommended that an evaluation design employ a naturalistic methodology, such as action research, and that individual activities undertaken during a project be evaluated using methodology appropriate to the specific activity. (For a more comprehensive report of the COMPARI project see Boots, Cutmore, Midford, Harrison and Laughlin, 1995).


The paper compares two examples of community projects, the Community Mobilisation for the Prevention of Alcohol-Related Injury (COMPARI) project in Geraldton which employed a ‘top down’ approach and a ‘bottom up’ community initiated intervention at Halls Creek. The paper reviews some of the key literature on this topic and discusses the strengths and weaknesses of both approaches. The authors state that no matter which method is adopted it is unrealistic to expect positive outcomes without resources and support matched to the circumstances of the
intervention. The authors argue that it is unfair to expect a community-based initiative (bottom up) to get established or maintain change on an ongoing basis without external resources, and that it is also unrealistic to expect a top down approach to work without considerable input and support from within the community. The authors conclude that: an integrated approach is more important; the process of implementation is critical to the success of any community intervention; and the two approaches are complementary rather than mutually exclusive.


This paper advocates the use of an institutional approach for implementing community based initiatives. The authors argue that many goals of community programs (ie. to reduce the incidence of harmful alcohol consumption) are difficult to achieve due to the complexity of factors which contribute to alcohol problems. For example, the authors identify Federal and State government policies in area of taxes, law enforcement, consumer laws, licensing laws and trade policies impact on price and availability of both alcohol and other drugs as being beyond the scope of community based interventions. The authors argue that only through an institutional approach (akin to systems theory), involving grass roots socio-political movement, can coordinated prevention initiatives be successfully implemented.


This is a brief report of a 1995 survey of almost 550 municipalities in Ontario, Canada, to assess the status of Municipal Alcohol Policies (MAP). In 1995, 22% of Ontario municipalities had adopted a MAP and a further 11% were in the process of doing so. The principal reasons given for adopting a MAP were the threat of litigation, public safety and requests from staff. The survey results indicated that a concern often expressed by municipalities that a MAP will result in lost revenue due to groups taking their business elsewhere was unfounded. The majority of municipalities reported no reduction in revenue or rental of their facilities once local groups understood and adjusted to the new rules. Another positive finding from municipalities where a MAP was in place was that almost half reported reductions in problems. These included reduced underage drinking, fighting, vandalism, police intervention, public complaints, injuries, drunkenness and drink driving. The authors note that in a number of cases these reductions have
been maintained over a number of years. The report also provides a summary of the main elements of a MAP.

Source: Abstract obtained from Criminal Justice Abstracts. 1968-1998

The final report of Australia’s National Committee on Violence examines the state of violence in Australia, reviewing available research from both Australia and overseas. Data on the incidence and prevalence of violence in Australia are far from adequate. This makes the rational development of policies for prevention and control difficult, if not impossible, denies citizens the requisite knowledge to engage in crime prevention activities, and may cause Australians to overestimate their risk of victimisation. Nearly 140 recommendations are provided in the areas of: health and welfare; education; employment and training; housing; public transport; sport and recreation; Aboriginal affairs; criminal law, evidence and procedure; police; courts; miscellaneous regulatory authorities; information and research agencies; local governments; private enterprise; and the medical, legal and architectural/planning professions.

Source: Abstract obtained from Executive Summary.

In agreement with many previous studies, this research has identified strong and significant relationships between alcohol sales volume (litres) and crime, even when controlling for socio-economic and demographic variables.

Total alcohol sales volume was significantly and positively correlated with the rates of three crime types in NSW: malicious damage to property, assault and offensive behaviour.

The strong positive correlations between the sales volumes of the four alcohol types (beer, low alcohol beer, wine, spirits) broadly result in any alcohol type being an equally good predictor of crime rates.

One exception was the significant positive correlation between beer sales volume and assault. This relationship was unique to beer and was not shared with other alcohol types.

When the alcohol data were analysed by sales volumes from different outlet types the study observed a significant positive correlation between: hotel alcohol sales volume and assault; off-licenses, clubs and hotels alcohol sales volume and offensive
behaviour; sales volume of alcohol by off-licenses, hotels and restaurants and malicious damage to property.

The relationship between restaurants and malicious damage to property probably reflects the operation of other contextual variables, such as the close proximity of attractive targets for malicious damage.

For the interactions between outlet and alcohol type sales volumes there were few specific effects. The most notable was evidence of a significant positive correlation between hotel beer sales volume and assault. However, this latter result has to be regarded as indicative rather than as proven, as one of the underlying assumptions of the analysis had to be violated.

If the 50 postcodes with the highest alcohol sales in NSW had their sales reduced to the Statewide mean, this would result in at least a 22 per cent reduction in offensive behaviour, a nine per cent reduction in malicious damage to property and a six per cent reduction in assault in these postcodes.

In terms of incidents, this would mean at least 324 fewer events of offensive behaviour, 1,744 fewer events of malicious damage to property and 635 fewer assaults per annum. The true magnitude of the reduction in crime would undoubtedly be larger than this because a reduction in alcohol sales would also exert downward pressure on crime not normally reported to the police.


Source: *Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.*

This paper documents a project trialed to reduce alcohol-related violence through creating a safer urban environment and raising community awareness of safety issues. The project was based on a community action manual produced by the Eastside Sydney Project in 1995. The methodology used in the YASAP project was a survey of young people and a safety audit undertaken by local government, police, youth workers, hotel and club licensees, drug and alcohol workers, transport providers and community representatives. Recommendations following the safety audit were considered by key stakeholders who accepted responsibility for their implementation. An evaluation of the project found that all participants found the project worthwhile and that it should be continued and expanded into other areas.

Aggregate time-series data for Sweden, 1956-1994, are used to analyze the relationship between homicide and assault rates, on the one hand, and various indicators of alcohol consumption on the other. The latter include private and public drinking with a further disaggregation into beverage-specific drinking. Results indicate a statistically significant relationship between the assault rate and a combined measure of on-premise sales of beer and spirits. The estimated relationship corresponds to an attributable fraction of about 40%. The homicide rate is significantly associated with retail sales of spirits, with the attributable fraction estimated at about 50%. Wine sales are not related to any of the two violence indicators. Findings suggest that the assault rate is related to consumption of beer and spirits in bars and restaurants, while the homicide rate is linked to consumption of spirits in private contexts. The findings, notably specific to Sweden during a certain time period, can be interpreted as the outcome of the interplay of several factors, including opportunity structure, social control and context of drinking, drinking patterns associated with the different beverage types, and drinker characteristics.

Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1993-1995
Reviews research on the relationship between alcohol and violence in terms of social and cultural contexts, social-group contexts, and individual interaction contexts. Alcohol consumption leads to violence in certain contexts, and the coexistence of wet and dry drinking cultures (mixed-drinking cultures) is associated with increased violence. Increased divorce rates are associated with violence in mixed-drinking cultures. Alcohol consumption increases violence within the context of poverty, and violent behaviour may be perceived as a rational and acceptable choice in some contexts. Alcohol may also interfere with a person’s ability to correctly perceive the meaning of the behaviour of others.

Source: Abstract obtained from Criminal Justice Abstracts. 1968-1998

A study tests a selective disinhibition model of the impact of alcohol use on homicides in the U.S. Two research strategies are employed: a longitudinal analysis of the alcohol and homicide relationship in 256 U.S. cities observed in 1960, 1970, and 1980; and a state-by-time analysis of the impact of uniform adoption of a national drinking age on youth homicides. Alcohol use enhanced the effects of factors believed to cause homicide. Increases in the minimum age for purchasing alcohol were modestly and negatively related to youth homicide, particularly non-stranger homicide. There were also strong, consistent, and positive effects of beer consumption on primary and non-
primary youth homicide. A model that controlled for some major causes of homicide—including poverty, racial composition, the southern region and total population size—demonstrated the potential effectiveness of policies to control the availability of alcohol and its consumption in preventing homicide and violence.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper sets out to answer a series of questions around the concepts of community development and community action. The paper identifies three models: Locality Development (or community development); Social Planning; and Social Action. The authors argue that community support and involvement is critical in all three models. The authors state that the three important issues to consider when attempting community mobilisation are defining who is involved, what criteria should be used and where the intervention should be located; defining and managing stakeholder involvement; and deciding on a ‘top down’ versus ‘bottom up’ approach. The authors discuss the ‘aftermath’ of interventions: how to know when the project has ended; what to do with results; what is the long term impact; what will be outcome of closure of project; and how to ensure the project continues once outside experts depart on completion of research. Unanticipated developments, such as budget cuts, are also discussed.

Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1988-1992

The study reported in this book was undertaken in order to provide both more empirical depth and wider theoretical scope to questions regarding the relationships between drinking and aggression.

Another consideration that led to the present study is the conviction that situational factors relevant in establishing statistical links between alcohol use and aggressive behaviour can be studied using social-scientific methodology. At the same time, I feel that firmer empirical and theoretical connections to experimental psychology can be established through this type of study. For this purpose, episodes of relatively mild forms of natural aggression have been included, and their relationship to drinking has been established by means traditional to sociological inquiry.

Central conceptual themes that are necessary for an understanding of the processes linking alcohol and aggressive behaviour are discussed fairly
extensively. They are important for appreciating the cognitive frameworks that limit the perceptions of the scientist, the casual observer, and the average person alike. They in part determine general boundaries of the present state of knowledge in the field of violence, in the study of alcohol use, and in their intersection, which is the topic of this book.

The major focus in the chapters of this book that report findings from my empirical study is on the outcomes, the end products, of some of the pharmacological, psychological, social, symbolic, and interactional processes that increase the probability that an alcohol use occasion will involve aggressive behaviour. The focus is on outcomes because the sampling units for the study consist of episodes of violence.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

These guidelines are another product to come out of New Zealand’s National Host Responsibility Campaign and are based around the Sale of Liquor Act (1989). The Act gives statutory authority to three local level government organisations - District Licensing Agencies, Police and Public Health - for the administration of the Act. This devolution of power from a central liquor licensing authority has resulted in the emergence of a number of local community liquor liaison groups. These guidelines were written to assist others who might wish to establish similar groups. While specifically targeted at New Zealand community groups there are sufficient parallels with Australia for these guidelines to be able to be adapted here.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper reports on research commissioned by the (former) Upper Yarra Shire, Melbourne, to identify patterns of alcohol use, attitudes and behaviour, and associated issues for young people. The study employed a range of methods including surveys and focus groups of young people, parents and teachers. A number of recommendations are also listed in the report. These include that: hotels, sporting clubs and other licensed premises serve alcohol responsibly; licensees introduce a voluntary code of practice; and Upper Yarra Secondary College include an alcohol and other drug component in its Human Relations curricula. The report also recommends that a strategy be developed that
specifically targets young women and that young women are included in this process.


A key goal of this prevention program was to establish a demonstration project to conduct an in-depth epidemiological study of selected risk factors for injuries resulting from alcohol use. The authors targeted assault injuries and motor vehicle crash injuries as both were highly alcohol related and subject to community mobilisation of response.

They profiled high-problem groups and locales and conducted a quasi-experimental study to evaluate the impact of an intervention program to reduce or prevent alcohol-related health problems in one of the two communities. The project involved one intervention community and two comparison communities in Rhode Island. The community intervention involved server training as well as publicity campaigns, local task force activities, and community forums, and was supported by training of police and increased levels of enforcement with respect to alcohol-related accidents and crimes.

One of the key outcomes of the intervention program was that ER injury visit rates declined by 9 percent in the intervention site between 1986 and 1987, compared with virtually no change for comparison sites. This decline is especially dramatic for assault injury rates: the intervention site had a 21-percent drop compared with a 4-percent increase for comparison communities.


Alcohol and drinking, while both well established in British society, occasionally cause problems. For instance, the traditional pattern of weekend binges is often associated with outbreaks of trouble. Similarly, although drinking out-of-doors is commonplace, on family picnics, outside pubs, or in other settings, open-air drinkers in certain contexts may be intimidating to other people. A survey was carried out of over a thousand users of Coventry city centre examining perceptions of public drinking. The survey revealed that the fear of crime was widespread. Over half those interviewed reported that they regularly made a point of avoiding, drunks, winos and tramps. People of this opinion were particularly likely to worry about crime and disorder in general, although few respondents had actually been victims of crime over the previous year.

To examine whether restricting public drinking would reduce public fear of crime, the Home Office enacted a number of experimental bylaws to curtail drinking in the central parts of various towns and cities including Coventry. The survey revealed a very high level of support for
the bylaw prior to its introduction. The report concludes recommending further research to investigate the effects of the bylaw on the public’s attitudes and perceptions.


This report progresses from the Crime Prevention Unit Paper 19, *Downtown Drinkers: the Perceptions and Fears of the Public in a City Centre* and presents the findings of the post-experimental evaluation of the effects of the bylaw. The survey that had been carried out prior to the introduction of the bylaw had confirmed that the sight of public drinkers evidently exacerbated fear of crime. The implication of this first survey, as noted in the foreword to *Downtown Drinkers*, was that the bylaw ‘might foster some broader sense of reassurance’ on the part of the people of Coventry. The present report shows, that there was a modest but undeniable reduction in fear, as measured by various behavioural indicators. Likewise, there was a drop in incivilities – specifically, in insults by strangers. Enforcement of this new measure did not prove to be particularly taxing for the police in Coventry, nor, by and large, in the other six places with similar bylaws.

This report, which also draws attention to some of the problems and limitations of the bylaws aims to inform public discussion and debate over the future of this type of social control.

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper evaluates aspects of an English experiment in which public drinking was restricted in the streets and other public spaces in central Coventry (and also in six other places). The impact of this new measure was assessed in terms of both attitudinal and behavioural indicators, through substantial ‘before’ and ‘after’ surveys of the public. Judging by the behavioural items in particular, indications were of a lessening fear of crime. This finding points to the importance of incivilities in shaping the public’s fear of crime.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This report is a ‘slimmer’ (29 page) volume produced on behalf of the World Health Organisation, and based on the authors’ earlier work (refer Tether and Robinson, 1986). The report aims ‘to encourage the development of alcohol policies in which national and local elements reinforce each other’. The report is intended as a guide to assist people compile another guide for local action. In this
respect, the authors acknowledge that this is not an easy task, requiring skill and resourcefulness. The report provides a framework which might be adapted in producing a more ‘user friendly’ guide for use by communities concerned with alcohol and drug use.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This volume of case studies of local action dealing with alcohol-related problems was prompted by the interest shown in the previous work of Tether and Robinson (Refer Preventing alcohol problems: a guide to local action, 1986). The 26 British case studies in this volume cover the following ‘core’ areas: alcohol and information; licensed premises; the workplace; alcohol and the professionals; and alcohol, the offender, and safety. The publication documents why and how local action was developed and which initiatives were effective.


The aim of this project was to describe, document and evaluate the Geelong Industry Accord, a local community initiative launched in 1993. The Accord was directed towards the reduction of alcohol related problems in and around licensed premises. The research utilised a variety of methods including: interviews with key participants; surveys of licensees, bar staff, security staff, general clubs and patrons; an analysis of available indicators of alcohol use and related harms; and observations conducted within licensed premises in Geelong and the regional cities of Ballarat and Bendigo.

The specific objectives of the Accord included:

- Minimising or stopping practices that lead to rapid and excessive consumption;
- Stopping under age drinking;
- Minimising the movement of large and intoxicated crowds between venues;
- Maintaining a free and competitive market while eliminating as far as possible promotions and practices that encourage irresponsible service or consumption; and
- Enabling the Accord to become self-regulatory.

In the comparison between Geelong and two other regional centres, licensed premises were rated on a number of variables. Comparisons of total scores revealed a significant difference between Geelong and the two other regional centres, favouring Geelong premises as safer and more responsible. The variables upon which Geelong was significantly and positively different from the
comparative regional centres were in responsible drinking promotions, amenities and responsible serving practices.

Critical to the success of the Accord was the fact that it was developed and resourced within the community, which revealed a high level of support and strong feeling of ownership among the participants. The Accord stands as the most successful Accord in Australia in terms of its longevity. An important feature of the industry is its stability. Most of the licensees that are currently operating premises in Geelong were doing so at the time the Accord was established.

The Accord demonstrates that it is possible to develop, manage and resource such an initiative utilising the existing agencies and infrastructure within the local community.


Server intervention is a community-based approach to preventing alcohol-impaired driving. It refers to a set of strategies designed to alter the drinking environment so as to reduce the likelihood of a drinker becoming intoxicated or, failing that, to prevent him or her from driving while intoxicated. The research reported here evaluates the impact of a server intervention program on customers’ consumption of alcoholic beverages using a quasi-experimental non-equivalent control group design. The program entailed revision of establishment policies and job descriptions and an 18-hour training for management and staff. Interviews with randomly selected customers for two months prior to and following program implementation provided data on customer characteristics and consumption. Multivariate linear and logistic regression analyses reveal that although absolute consumption and rate of consumption were unaffected by the program, the likelihood of a customer’s being intoxicated was cut in half.


Evidence accumulating over the past 10 years or so suggests that commercial servers of alcoholic beverages will intervene to reduce levels of impairment among their patrons and will refuse service to intoxicated customers. While some Responsible Beverage Service (RBS) programs have had significant effects on server and patron behaviour, others have not. This leads us to consider issue of implementation and program effectiveness. In the current paper, a community-wide RBS program is described in some detail. The program was comprised by a larger comprehensive community intervention project in three sites across California and South Carolina. Process evaluation data, to track program implementation and proximal effects, provide early
findings. Expressed support for RBS principles was high for both the public and the hospitality industry in all sites. A telephone survey of managers also suggests that prevention policies at bars and restaurants are beginning to show up, but a direct measure of server intervention with heavy drinkers does not yet demonstrate a program effect.


The Castro Valley Prevention Project was a demonstration project designed to use an environmentally focused prevention approach to address the problems of youth and alcohol. The goal of the project was to develop prevention planning efforts within the community by a process of documentation, education, outreach, and community organising. Research was conducted to provide information on:

- The nature and extent of problems related to teenage drinking;
- The degree of community awareness or denial associated with the problems;
- The extent of commitment to finding solutions; and
- The social, economic and political resources available for prevention initiatives.

The Project concluded that the community is an appropriate place to undertake planning for prevention. It has also provided strong support for the idea that communities have the ability to make concepts such as environmental prevention come to life and take shape in ways uniquely appropriate and suitable for their locales. Community planning for prevention depends on forging partnerships that sharpen the community's response to alcohol problems. These partnerships involved using resources to the greatest advantage and drawing people into shared agreements. This necessitates developing working liaisons between professionals with expert knowledge and local groups with an interest in acting as change agents.


Argues that in an increasingly violent society, it is important that guidelines for the prevention of alcohol-related crime are based on the results of case-control studies and research that quantify risk of involvement in violence and injury in terms of consumption levels. Clinical research designed to establish these risks is lacking. In the few closely controlled studies that have been performed, increased risk of injury in assault has been linked with binge alcohol consumption of more than about 8 units, and above average weekly consumption only in those over 25 yrs. Raising the minimum purchasing age for alcohol to 21 yrs; learning to drink responsibly with parents, especially fathers; and the adoption of tempered glassware are all achievable
objectives that would reduce alcohol-related injury. Proactive community policing has been shown to reduce levels of alcohol-related violence.

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

Until recently, drinking in public venues has been a relatively neglected area of alcohol research despite the epidemiological significance of problems arising from drinking in licensed establishments and other public venues. In the WHO Project on Public Drinking, expert informants in 12 countries provided detailed information on alcohol consumption, drinking in public settings, the nature and magnitude of problems associated with public drinking, the regulation of public drinking, enforcement and prevention. The most commonly indicated problems associated with drinking in public venues were underage drinking, impaired driving, and alcohol-related violence. Many of the informants in the survey expressed concern that the enforcement of alcohol licensing laws receives very low priority on the political agenda. In general, few countries have developed prevention programs aimed specifically at preventing problems arising from drinking in public venues. Nonetheless the informants identified a wide variety of measures that can be taken to reduce these problems in public drinking environments. These include general alcohol preventive education, alcohol control measures (including restrictions on hours and days of operation), improved enforcement of licensing laws, impaired driving countermeasures, server training and the use of civil law to promote responsible beverage service, and the promotion of low-alcohol-content beverages.

Source: Abstract obtained from Sociological Abstracts 1986-1999

Official statistics on mortality rates and alcohol consumption in Norway since 1950 are used to test the hypothesis that a strong increase in consumption following WWII has significantly affected rates of violent deaths. Time series analysis of the filtered data and analysis of age- and sex-specific mortality rates reveal a strong increase in the rates of alcohol-related violent deaths for younger adult males (from 25% of all violent deaths in 1950 to 50% in 1980); the relationship among females was much weaker, and was not statistically significant for either females or the older adult population. The effect in females was only about 25% of that in males, a difference that corresponds to sex differences with respect to consumption levels, which have increased more rapidly in the adolescent and young adult populations. The decrease in non-alcohol related violent deaths implied by these results is corroborated by the fact that industrial
accidents (90%-95% non-alcoholic) have decreased dramatically during this period.


Source: *Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area*.

The authors of this paper identify a lack of systematic knowledge of problems due to non-reporting and a lack of understanding about alcohol misuse and problems in the United Kingdom. The working group recommended the development of local inter-agency liaison groups, such as pub watch; an investigation of the relationship between licensing hours and violence; that premises should be encouraged to become more family orientated to help reduce age segregation; that ‘difficult’ pubs should be run as community ventures with a local community management structure; and that attempts be made to involve liquor industry in identifying and disseminating good practices among members.

The authors identify a number of good practices which came to their attention during the course of research. For example, communication and cooperation between police, industry, local government, tenant associations and local residents action groups, which have resulted in local Licensing Forums or Committees. This has resulted in some pubs becoming seen as part of the community and to a great extent self-policing. The report notes that problem premises are well known to industry, police, local authorities and local residents. Therefore a cooperative approach at grass roots level to monitor and deal with such premises is recommended.


Source: *Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area*.

This article reports on an evaluation of public health input into the new liquor licensing system in New Zealand to discover if community input, via health promotion advisers (HPA) could encourage District Licensing Agencies (DLA) to undertake a public health perspective in implementing the new Act. The new Liquor Act in New Zealand devolved more responsibility to the local level, with local councils becoming DLAs. HPAs attempted to (a) raise the profile of alcohol and licensing issues with the DLA and the wider community; (b) encourage cooperation between agencies involved in licensing; (c) encourage a high standard of decision making, reporting, inspection and enforcement; and (d)
encourage public participation in liquor licensing. The evaluation found that HPAs had a significant influence on development of initiatives supporting a public health perspective, largely due to their being independent of any agency.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This paper reports on the shift towards localised control of liquor licensing in New Zealand. Despite numerous submissions for greater community control over licensing, recent changes to licensing legislation in New Zealand retained a central judicial licensing body, but accorded some powers to local government. The authors comment that the New Zealand Government perceived a possible lack of impartiality by local government who might be influenced by commercial interests. Central government also saw local government authorities as lacking in expertise and training, resulting in cost increases to ratepayers and industry and possible inconsistencies between local authorities on licensing issues. At the local level a District Licensing Agent now decides on uncontested license renewals and special licenses, assesses town planning requirements and forwards reports from police, fire and health agencies to the central authority. Medical Officers of Health (MOH) play an important role in monitoring alcohol-related problems at a local level with an aim to reduce overall consumption and road traffic accidents. A survey of licensees to determine what measures licensees propose to reduce problems on premises and encourage healthy and safe environments is seen as a strategy that provides useful information at license renewal time. Measures that identify drinking locations of drink drivers similar to those used in California in 1979-80 have been adopted.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

The paper reports on a Liquor Licensing Project which had its genesis in an earlier demonstration project - the Community Action Project (CAP) (see Casswell and Gilmore 1989), and the experience of the authors over a five year involvement in the review of the Sale of Liquor Act. The CAP employed community organisers whose role involved being a catalyst for community action
and development on alcohol policy, especially around advertising and availability. The success of this project prompted a similar approach during the first two years of the implementation of the new Act. Community organisers, or Health Promotion Advisers (HPA) as they came to be known, were employed in 17 different geographical regions within New Zealand. The role of the HPAs was to maintain the visibility of health-related concerns around liquor licensing within the community. The bulk of the paper deals with a lengthy discussion and justification of the formative evaluation methodology used in the Liquor Licensing Project. As an action methodology was utilised, there is much discussion about the process involved in implementing the community action approach, how assessments were undertaken and how the project evolved as changes took place. A highlight of the project was the lack of tension between the HPAs and researchers; the focus instead was the provision of resources and in assisting people to develop skills so that groups and individuals could act on licensing issues at a local level. While some might frown on researchers and evaluators becoming too involved with program implementation and evaluation, the evaluation results reported here indicate that an appropriate balance had been reached.

Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1993-1995

In 1990, a small research project conducted in a shopping center directly influenced the development of a national policy within 4 months of its completion. The policy was a recommendation by Australia’s Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy that all alcoholic beverage containers should carry labels indicating the number of ‘standard drinks’ they contain. This paper describes the events leading up to so unusual an event and analyses the nature of the interactions between the research team and the policy makers. It is argued that the critical factors included a favourable policy climate created by the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse; the support of influential public servants and, in turn, politicians; the consultative process that lead to the study’s design; and the manner in which the findings were disseminated.

Source: Abstract obtained from the chapter.

Beyond reactive policing of problems as they occur, the traditional response to reduce alcohol-related crime has been to educate individuals to moderate their drinking, and to try and rehabilitate offenders. An overview is provided of a research program that
identified the prior drinking locations of offenders and the characteristics of high-risk drinking settings. Licensed premises were found to be at high risk for both drink-driving and violent offences, in particular those permitting or encouraging high levels of intoxication among their customers. An intervention program designed to reduce levels of intoxication on medium- and high-risk premises indicated that substantial reductions in risk and harm can occur when there is full cooperation from a licensed venue. Realising the enormous potential for the prevention of crime and bodily harm will require an adjustment of existing priorities and resources for policing and liquor licensing administration.


Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

A household survey of 1160 Western Australian adults was used as a basis for exploring drinkers’ reports about the settings in which they drank alcohol and their experiences of alcohol related harm. Of the 873 drinkers identified, 7.9% had experienced some form of acute alcohol related harm over the previous 3 months. Violent incidents were the most common of these and drink-driving offences the least. Such harm was significantly more likely among drinkers who variously drank ‘heavily’, were male, single, under 25 years of age and/or who drank on licensed premises. Regression analyses revealed that even when demographic characteristics of the drinkers were controlled for, licensed premises were significantly more likely to be the setting used prior to harm occurring. Bar staff continuing to serve ‘obviously intoxicated’ customers was the most powerful predictor of harm. Premises which offered discounted drinks or permitted crowding also tended to be those where intoxication was permitted but these variables were not directly associated with an increased risk of harm. These findings lend further weight to the view that prevention efforts should focus on licensed drinking environments and, in particular, the practice of continuing to serve obviously intoxicated customers.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This is a report of a pilot project involving the implementation of a Responsible Server Training program based on the National Guidelines for the Responsible Service of Alcohol. The guidelines were developed jointly by the liquor industry and the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse in 1990. The ‘Freo’ project was a
rare collaboration between the liquor industry in Western Australia, liquor licensing police, the WA Health Department, and researchers at the National Centre for Research into the Prevention of Drug Abuse. The project involved training barstaff in seven consenting premises in Fremantle judged by the researchers to be of medium- to high-risk for alcohol-related problems. A number of low-risk premises in Fremantle were included but only for the purposes of piloting the various evaluation measures. The seven intervention premises were matched with seven control premises in the Northbridge area of Perth. The aim of the research was to determine if training barstaff in responsible serving practices resulted in a measurable reduction of alcohol-related problems, specifically: drink driving, alcohol-related traffic accidents and assaults. A pre- and post-test design was employed with a follow-up after three months. The evaluation also sought to find out if there were any changes to serving policies and management practices, reductions in blood alcohol levels of patrons, increased refusal of service to obviously drunk patrons, and whether there was any increase in checking for under age drinkers.

The only significant findings of the evaluation were an increase in knowledge among bar staff at post-test which was not sustained at the three month follow-up. There were no significant changes in drink driving offences, traffic accidents, refusal of service or in ID checking. There was a reduction in the number of patrons with blood alcohol limits over 0.08 and 1.5, but this was not significant and, furthermore, this was largely due to one venue where the management had instituted additional policies as a result of recommendations made as part of the project. This was also the only venue to record any noticeable change in serving practices and policies during the project, and which were sustained at follow-up. The authors state that the negative results were not totally attributed to any fault with the concept of server training, but more to do with the haphazard and inadequate way in which training was delivered by the Hotels’ Association. The authors also note a number of extraneous factors, such as a depressed economy and seasonal changes, that may have affected the outcome. The authors concluded that unless there is a higher level of support from licensees and managers for server training and for implementing improved practices, training barstaff alone will not reduce the number of alcohol-related problems associated with certain types of licensed premises.

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

Drink-driving offences, alcohol-related traffic accidents and number of assault charges were used as indicators of the degree of alcohol-related problems associated with
individual licensed premises in the Perth Traffic Police region of Western Australia. These indicators were used to rank five main categories of licensed premises according to the levels of harm experienced by their customers while controlling for the amounts of alcohol sold in each category. Nightclubs, taverns and hotels emerged as ‘high-risk’ in comparison with clubs and restaurants. The role of such factors as different customer characteristics, opening hours, types of entertainment, restrictions on clientele and provision of meals are discussed as possible explanations underlying this finding.


Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

Although dated this publication remains something of a classic in the field. Unfortunately it is of limited use for those seeking guidelines for developing community programs to deal with drug problems other than alcohol. The core of the book is the eight chapters (3-10) on specific topics (i.e., advertising, licensing, the workplace, education), which lay out details of how these might be addressed through local community action. In the case of advertising, for example, the guide provides details of the various codes and standards covering advertising and suggests ways in which local communities can monitor advertising, and why, how and where to complain. Similar approaches apply in the other chapters so users can pick and choose from a lengthy menu of options. While it is meant to be a relatively simple, user friendly guide, its very length (322 pages) is daunting, especially for a small community group with limited resources.

The St Kilda Project (1997). *Tool Kit. A resource guide for (local communities) (community groups) wishing to develop a Harm Reduction response to alcohol and other drug use.* St Kilda, Vic: St Kilda Project and City of Port Phillip.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

Developed in 1996 during the evaluation of the St Kilda Project, the tool kit is intended to inform community responses to alcohol and other drug issues. The kit contains a summary of the St Kilda Project and details the major approach - the use of ‘Project Task Groups’. This is followed by the two sections of the tool kit proper. One contains a series of ‘Fact Sheets’ that cover the steps involved in setting up a community project. The other section is a ‘Workbook’ to assist groups and individuals develop their own responses to alcohol and drug issues. The topics covered are: identifying your ‘community’; harm reduction; individual, project and community values; and, how to develop a local response. The Tool
Kit provides a series of examples and exercises to assist people in responding to alcohol and other drug problems.

Source: Abstract obtained from AUSTROM: CINCH (Criminology)

A significant proportion of the violence, which occurs in public, tends to take place in and around licensed premises. The authors report on an ongoing observational study of such establishments. By comparing the environmental characteristics of demonstrably violent drinking places with carefully matched controls, they are able to identify situational factors which increase the risk of violence. They discuss these in relation to social inequality and the regulation of drinking. (Paper presented at the National Conference on Violence, organised by the National Committee on Violence, and held in Canberra, October 1989)

Source: Abstract obtained from journal article.

‘Community mobilisation’ in the Community Trials Project refers to organising community members to support and implement policies to reduce alcohol-involved trauma. This paper defines the conceptual model of mobilisation used in the project. In evaluating the project, we were guided by the conceptual model and we used structured materials from interviews with local staff in all three experimental communities; we found that the overall goal of mobilisation (implementation of policies) was achieved. Additional observations based on naturalistic case studies of the communities include: (1) the importance of an established research base, (2) the varying role and problematic nature of coalitions, (3) the strategic advantage of early project support among the general population, (4) the role played by key leaders in mobilisation, (5) the advantages of a multi-component design, and (6) the key role played by media advocacy.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This document presents suggestions for an integrated approach aimed at achieving a measurable reduction in the incidence of assaults and assault-related injuries over three years. The key result areas are of relevance to groups and agencies involved in
community projects and include: urban planning and design; entertainment and retail
precincts; youth; alcohol and drugs; women and children; transport; and the ‘confident
living’ program. The document provides some useful ideas as to how individuals,
groups and other agencies might work together to develop safer communities.

Victorian Community Council against Violence (1990). Inquiry into Violence in and Around

The Victorian Community Council against Violence was established by the Victorian
Government on 24 July 1989 to determine the extent and nature of violence in the Melbourne
area and to produce recommendations to reduce the level of violence in and around licensed
premises. The council consulted with security organisations, nightclub owners, police,
government departments, members of the public and others.
The inquiry found that a proportion of reported assaults (around 20%) occur in and around
licensed premises and that this violence needs to be addressed. While they did not view alcohol as
a direct cause of violence they argue that it clearly facilitates aggression in some people.
Their recommendations for the reduction of violence include:
• That the Liquor Licensing Commission attaches a general condition to venue licences, to the
effect that the licensee should not engage in commercial activities which encourage the abuse
of alcohol.
• That the breach of such a condition should be subject to disciplinary action by the
Commission.
• That the Liquor Licensing Commission take into account in the granting and reviewing of
licences and permits whether or not security staff have appropriate training. Appropriate
training should include training in interpersonal skills, non-violent restraint and conflict
resolution and should be facilitated by the licensees.

Crash Injuries. Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) School Public Health,
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
Source: Abstract obtained from Sociological Abstracts 1986-1999

An examination of the effects of a sudden change in exposure to legal liability of
servers of alcoholic beverages on the frequency of injuries due to motor vehicle crashes
in Texas. The analysis utilises a multiple time-series quasi-experimental research
design, including auto-regressive integrated moving average and intervention-analysis
statistical models on injury data from 1978 through 1988, controlling for the effects of
several other policy changes expected to influence injury rates in Texas, and for
broader nationwide changes in injury rates in the 1980s. Results reveal 6.5% and 5.3%
declines in injurious traffic crashes following the filing of two major liability suits in
1983 and 1984. It is concluded that server liability is one of several important public
policy tools in efforts to achieve health objectives regarding reduced injury morbidity
and mortality.
Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1988-1992

In 2 experiments, a recently developed 3-compartment model for the absorption and elimination of ingested alcohol was applied to re-analyse a study (N. A. Pikaar et al, 1988) on the effects of various factors known to influence the blood-alcohol curve. The absorption and elimination of alcohol after drinking diluted alcohol were studied in 20 healthy students (aged 19-26 yrs) under standardised conditions. Clear effects were observed for sex, dose, and aspects of meal consumption on absorption and elimination of alcohol. Using alcohol during a meal accelerated gastric emptying and reduced absorption efficiency as well as rate of elimination. The alcohol elimination rate was most enhanced by high-sucrose and high-carbohydrate meals.

Source: Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre: An Annotated Bibliography of Literature on Local Community Action in the Alcohol and Other Drug Area.

This report describes a number of initiatives carried out by the St. Kilda Project, a community response to alcohol and other drug problems which commenced in Melbourne in 1993 and was completed in December 1996. The St. Kilda project set out to promote collaboration between the health and welfare sector agencies and organisations operating in the area, and between the public and private sector, and local and state government. To achieve this aim, the project established a number of task groups covering: information and education; non-English speaking background communities; harm reduction; inhalants; syringe disposal; boarding houses; general practitioners and pharmacists; and liquor licensing. Overall, the project supported 12 networks involving up to 35 agencies and over 100 people at any one time. Up to 20 private businesses and practitioners have also been involved. At the end of three years the only task groups dropped were non-English speaking background and liquor licensing. The remainder are continuing beyond the life of the project with some minor changes due to amalgamations and the formation of a police education network.

An evaluation has been completed (report not yet available); however a tool kit produced as part of the evaluation is included in this report in draft form. The kit provides a resource guide for community groups wishing to develop a harm reduction response to alcohol and drug use. The ‘kit’ is in four parts: (1) provides details about the St. Kilda Project as a model for use elsewhere; (2) the structure of
the St. Kilda Project task groups; (3) a series of eight ‘fact sheets’ which form the core of the kit. These present a step-by-step guide to establishing a harm reduction project; and (4) a workbook on understanding harm reduction and how this can be applied to a local community.


Source: Abstract obtained from PsycLIT 1887-1966

The volume’s 19 chapters and 2 appendices summarise the author’s research in his sociological analysis of criminal homicide in which he used Philadelphia as a community case study. ‘Analysis has been made of 588 criminal homicides listed by the police in this city between January 1, 1948, and December 31, 1952. A critical review of the important homicide literature in this country is provided, and whenever feasible, comparison is made of criminal homicides in Philadelphia with research elsewhere.’ Consideration is given to such problems as alcohol, motivation, temporal and spatial patterns. 4 chapters discuss the relationship between the victim and the offender. This sociological work is held to be of major interest for the criminologist and the police administrator.
Chapter 2. Public Transport

Statistics suggest that the problem of violence on public transport is relatively small when placed in context, despite negative public perceptions. For example, in Victoria in 1990, there were approximately 690 crimes against persons on the public transport system, compared with 32,000 similar incidents in the state as a whole and in the context of 300 million passenger journeys in the same period (Public Transport Corporation, 1990 in Carr and Spring, 1993). Community perceptions of safety on public transport, though, remain poor and fear of crime on public transport remains high.

This chapter will firstly overview factors influencing violence on public transport, distinguishing those variables which are directly and/or strongly related to violence on public transport from those variables which are more indirectly related to public transport violence. Secondly, a summary of current approaches to violence prevention relevant to this problem will be outlined, followed by descriptions and evaluations of specific programs and strategies to reduce violence on public transport.

Given the large array of programs that have targeted public transport violence, this chapter will focus on those approaches which have demonstrated effectiveness, although programs which are effective in reducing those variables that are indirectly related to violence on public transport will also be described. Other programs, including those programs whose effectiveness is unknown, and well-publicised programs which have not shown any perceptible effect on reducing the problem of violence on public transport will not be described, or will be described only briefly.

Factors Influencing Violence on Public Transport

Opportunity

As elsewhere, violence on public transport is strongly determined by the presence of opportunities for violence (Mayhew et al., 1976) and public transport vehicles and stations potentially provide many situational opportunities for violence. For example, those situations where there is a lack of surveillance present opportunities for offenders to commit crime. Surveillance-related opportunities for violence may occur when there is an absence of formal surveillance (such as guards, closed-circuit television surveillance) or informal surveillance (such as by other passengers). Other examples of situationally-related opportunities for violence on public transport are those situations that provide easy access to potential victims such as the absence of safety screens in taxis or for bus drivers.

Opportunity is perhaps the variable most proximally related to violence along the causal chain. As such, intervention aimed at this variable is theoretically well-placed to
result in effective outcomes. Indeed, crime prevention outcomes demonstrate that reducing opportunities is strongly related to reduction in violence on public transport.

**Fear**

A second influence on violence on public transport is what is termed in the literature the ‘cycle of fear’ (Carr and Spring, 1993). The cycle of fear refers to the observation that fear of being the victim of crime on public transport leads to drops in the use of public transport. Reduced use in turn reduces the effect of ‘safety in numbers’, which can lead to a reduction in real levels of safety. Although fear has a more indirect relationship to violence than opportunity, many programs include the reduction of community feelings of fear of violence on public transport as a primary goal. Thus, factors strongly related to fear of crime such as incivilities (including general lack of upkeep and uncleanliness), graffiti and vandalism are targeted directly in many public transport violence prevention programs.

**Community, media, and broad social variables**

Other factors, more distally related to violence on public transport, include community variables (such as lack of community cohesion, social disorder, delinquency, weak social structure), media role in creating fear through the exaggeration of problems of crime on public transport, and broader factors such as race, poverty, welfare, unemployment and family life.

**Approaches to Prevention**

Situational crime prevention techniques have been widely used in recent years to combat crime problems, including the problem of violence on public transport. These techniques comprise opportunity-reducing measures that involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment so as to increase the effort and risks of crime and reduce the rewards as perceived by a wide range of offenders (Clarke, 1992). A considerable body of evidence now exists supporting the effectiveness of a range of situational techniques in the reduction of crime including aggression on public transport, obscene phone-calls, burglaries in public housing, and a variety of other offences (Clarke, 1997). One advantage of this type of crime prevention approach in the prevention of violence on public transport is that it has been successful in reducing not just opportunities for violence but also in providing effective situational techniques to combat fear, incivility, graffiti and vandalism.

A variety of community crime prevention strategies, aimed at changing the social conditions that are believed to sustain crime in communities, have also been aimed at reducing violence on public transport including reducing community fear of crime, neighbourhood incivilities, graffiti, vandalism, social disorder, and delinquency. However, these programs tend to target communities as a whole (rather than specifically target public
transport), tend to de-emphasise the importance of reducing opportunities for violence, tend to lack evaluation, and when they do evaluate, tend to show only weak outcomes (Eck, 1997). However, amidst generally negative results from generally weak program evaluations, there are some promising findings, mainly with respect to the prevention of vandalism. Interestingly, a number of situational techniques described below were able to incorporate community involvement in their strategies.

**Prevention Programs**

**Integrated prevention programs**

A number of effective programs involve integrated and comprehensive approaches to the prevention of public transport violence. The New York City Port Authority program (Felson et al., 1996) and the Victorian ‘Travel Safe’ programs (Carr and Spring, 1993) are two excellent examples of effective integrated programs. (See Table 2.1 for a summary of these and other programs discussed.)

*New York City’s Port Authority Bus Terminal Program.* This program, initially implemented in 1991, strategically combined situational prevention measures with environmental measures to make a variety of changes to the design and management of NYC’s sprawling and busy bus terminal (Felson et al., 1996). The goals of this program were to reduce robbery, assault, rape, pickpocketing, luggage theft, and larceny. Also of concern were homeless people, drug sales, solicitation for prostitution, and telephone abuse; additional obstacles to be addressed were litter, fear, and the widespread negative image of the bus station.

Program tactics included 12 strategies to increase visibility (including the installation of lighting and painting ceilings white), 19 strategies to close nooks and improve natural surveillance (including avoiding interior doors, closing off areas under stairwells, centralising ticketing, walling up unneeded areas), three strategies to improve pedestrian flow, and 17 strategies to discourage loitering and hustling in other ways (strategies included putting pyramid-shaped spikes on window ledges, putting in flip seats, getting rid of benches, using programs to offer alternative social services to homeless people, and training police to deal with homeless people).

Three years after the program was implemented, outcome measures showed that robberies, assaults and rapes declined substantially, incivilities and disorder declined, cleanliness ratings increased, and the numbers of homeless and drunks were reduced (along with high levels of social service utilisation). Ratings by users indicated more positive perceptions of the complex, and less fear.
The Travel Safe Program. The Victoria Public Transport Corporation introduced ‘The Travel Safe’ program at the end of 1990 which incorporated a range of initiatives to increase passenger safety and security, particularly on the railway system (Carr and Spring, 1993). Increasing public perceptions of crime in the late eighties prompted developers of this program to target the ‘cycle of fear’ after public fear contributed to declining use of transport facilities, which in turn encouraged incivility and crime. New information-gathering and analysis systems for cleansing of graffiti, repair of vandalism, and collection of litter were introduced. Security and customer safety were enhanced by better lighting and CCTV surveillance and through the provision of more public telephones throughout the system. Patrolling of trains, stations and other facilities was greatly increased.

The key result was a reduction in crimes against the persons on the public transport system by 42% over two years. Moreover, large reductions in graffiti and vandalism occurred and results included greater train availability due to reduced vandalism. Reduced train window breakages saved about A$5 million per year in replacement costs.

Programs that ‘design in’ crime prevention strategies

Three approaches to preventing crime by ‘designing out crime’ include the Washington DC’s subway system (La Vigne, 1996), the design of the Paris metro (Myre and Rosso, 1996), and the Hong Kong mass transit railway (Gaylord and Galliher, 1991).

Washington DC’s subway system, designed in the seventies, has been generally recognised as one of the safest, relatively crime-free systems in the world (La Vigne, 1996). From its inception, the design incorporated many situational techniques to prevent crime, including violence, such as visibility, openness, CCTV cameras (optimising formal, employee and natural surveillance capabilities), well-lit and well-maintained facilities, rigorous maintenance policies regarding vandalism and graffiti, stringent rule and law enforcement, and attractive and comfortable facilities.

Although evaluating projects that ‘design out’ crime is difficult, La Vigne’s (1996) evaluation suggested that the station’s crime was less than what would be expected when compared with crime outside the station (although this did not hold for assaults). She also compared the Washington DC metro to three other urban rail transit systems and found that it had less crime than the other systems (Eck, 1997).

Another successful crime prevention strategy to reduce crime by ‘designing out’ crime includes the Hong Kong mass transit railway (Gaylord and Galliher, 1991). In addition, the new Metro railway line in Paris (Myre and Rosso, 1996) was designed with the most up-to-date situational crime prevention techniques built into its design. Although this project has not been implemented yet, it is anticipated that this design will be successful in preventing violence in Paris’ public transport system.
**Programs targeted at specific problems**

A number of programs utilising specific approaches aimed at specific problems have been effective in preventing violence on public transport. Again, these have tended to involve situational approaches to reducing opportunities to commit crimes. Recent, successful programs include the Netherlands train and metro program, exact fare programs, bus drivers protective screens programs, the NYC subway graffiti program, and CCTV programs.

*Netherlands Train and Metro Program.* In the Netherlands, a program was implemented specifically aimed at reducing fare-dodging, vandalism, and aggression on the tram and metro system and to improve the information and service available to passengers (Van Andel, 1992). A three-year project (from 1985) involved the recruitment of approximately 1200 unemployed people between 19 and 28 years of age. These played various roles throughout Dutch cities including random ticket checking, information provision, and fine imposition.

Results of this program demonstrated that the number of violent incidents on public transport fell. In 1985, 11 percent of passengers reported having seen someone attacked or harassed and 5 percent had themselves been a victim of such an attack. By 1986, the percentages had fallen to 3 percent and 2 percent respectively. However, passengers’ feelings of insecurity had only declined slightly. Fare-dodging was also reduced.

This experiment appears to have been replicated recently in Paris, with encouraging results (Herzberg, 1997). A small number of young mediators, called ‘elder brothers’, ‘messengers’ or ‘ambience agents’ have been employed to reduce violence and unruly behaviour amongst young people on buses, especially at the end of the school day. Recruited from deprived areas, these ‘young men with swarthy complexions and black bomber jackets’ use their intimate knowledge of youth culture and their street skills to defuse potentially violent situations through ‘dialogue, rather than repression.’

An evaluation by the National Scientific Research Centre concluded that the main goal of the program, the reduction of unruly behaviour, had definitely been achieved. However, drivers and the trade unions are hostile to the idea of ‘outsiders’ being recruited as mediators, and oppose the creation of any career structure for the mediators, whom they regard as ‘scum’. Thus the prevention program created greater security on buses, but only through the creation of a new category of staff who themselves have no job security.

*Exact fares and protective screens.* Transportation officials in US cities were prompted by the rise in robberies of bus drivers in the early 1970’s to remove accessible cash that was the target of the robbers (Eck, 1997). They required passengers to give exact fares and prohibited bus drivers from giving change. In New York City, a 90 percent reduction in bus driver robberies followed these changes (Chaiken, Lawless and Stevenson, 1974).
Stanford Research Institute (1970) reported similar results in its review of the effect of exact fare systems in 18 other cities (Clarke, 1992).

Other successful strategies aimed at preventing robberies of bus drivers include one program by a bus company in northern England who (a) simplified the fare system so it was less aggravating, and (b) installed protective screens around bus drivers (Poyner and Warne, 1986). Assaults on drivers declined 90 percent following the installation of screens.

**CCTV programs.** Webb and Laycock (1992) found that the installation of CCTV (closed-circuit television) in London Underground stations reduced robberies 11 to 28 percent, relative to control stations without CCTV. In a study of bus vandalism, Poyner (1988) described how the installation of closed-circuit television (CCTV) on a portion of a bus fleet was followed by reduced vandalism throughout the fleet. A public information campaign directed at school children (the most likely group responsible for the vandalism) was also conducted. It was believed likely that the diffusion of benefits from the targeted buses to the entire fleet was due to offenders’ confusion over which buses had CCTV, thus creating a general deterrent effect.

**New York subway graffiti program.** A very successful program undertaken on the New York subway system involved an intensive clean-up program. Once a carriage had been graffitied, it was removed from the system within 30 minutes and not allowed to enter service again until it had been completely cleansed of graffiti (Sloan-Howitt and Kelling, 1992). The principle was the notion that ‘getting up’ (seeing one’s handiwork on display) was the offender’s main motivation and that the rewards of this behaviour had to be removed. By targeting the physical appearance of the system, it was hoped to increase public perceptions of safety, and with it increase ridership. Graffiti was virtually eliminated, and despite increased police attention to graffiti, arrests for this offence also declined (Eck, 1997).

**Taxi programs.** Although taxi drivers are well-known as a highly victimised occupational group (James, 1993; Stenning, 1996), few studies have addressed victimisation in taxis, and there are very few reported evaluation studies of crime-prevention strategies concerning taxis.

Stenning (1997) in a Canadian study of victimisation, and James (1993) in a study of Queensland taxi drivers, both described types of safety devices used by drivers. These included two-way radios, in-cab control of trunk locks, driver control of locks, ‘panic buttons’, computerised dispatch and communications system terminals, access to customer or address ‘blacklists’, possession of weapons, carrying less than $100, and working in pairs. Other measures, including in-cab safety shields, screens or cages, training and education, emergency flashing rooflights, increased police co-operation, and screening passengers before accepting them, were reported by Stenning (1997) to be measures most commonly cited as being potentially helpful to drivers in protecting them against victimisation.
According to Stenning, what little research that has been published on the victimisation of taxi drivers does not provide strong support for training taxi drivers in matters of driver safety and risk.

**Citizen Patrol Programs**

In response to suggestions that crime problems cannot be solved without increased levels of citizen involvement, some communities and citizen action groups have explored methods of an increased citizen role in crime prevention (Kenney, 1986).

*The Guardian Angels Project.* This citizen group who patrol the New York City subways are perhaps the most prominent example of this type of community action. Kenney (1986) evaluated this program and found that the Guardian Angels were able to produce a limited and temporary reduction in the immediate fear of crime felt by some passengers but that they may influence fear in a more subtle way by contributing to an unsupported general expectation of danger on the subways. There was also no perceptible change in levels of violence observed in the subways, although this could have been due to low incidence of violence anyway. Webb and Laycock (1992, cited in University of Maryland, 1997) also found no evidence that the Guardian Angels reduced crime in the London Underground.

**Table 2.1 Prevention Programs Aimed At Reducing Violence On Public Transport.**

(a) Effective Programs Targeting Definite Risk Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NYC Port Authority Bus Terminal, New York City (Felson et al., 1996), 63 different tactics implemented about the same time</td>
<td>opportunity, fear, incivility, vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>reduction in robberies, rapes, assaults, reduction in incivilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Travel Safe’ Program, public transport system, Victoria, Australia (Carr and Spring, 1993), integrated program involving around eight separate tactics</td>
<td>opportunity, fear, incivility, vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>42% reduction in crimes against the person, significant reductions in vandalism and graffiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands (van Andel, 1989), 1200 young unemployed people recruited as public transit monitors</td>
<td>opportunity, surveillance, fear</td>
<td>60% decline in attack or harassment victimisation, vandalism declined, feelings of insecurity remained unchanged, decrease in fare dodging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exact fares, New York City (Chaiken, Lawless and Stevenson, 1974)</td>
<td>opportunity</td>
<td>90% reduction in robberies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, Great Britain Bus Study (Poyner and Warne, 1988), protective screens for bus drivers</td>
<td>opportunity</td>
<td>90% reduction in assaults on drivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCTV London Underground (Webb and Laycock, 1992)</td>
<td>opportunity, surveillance</td>
<td>robberies reduced by 11-28% compared with control stations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2.1 (Continued)

#### (b) Promising Programs Targeting Definite Risk Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington DC Metro Subway (La Vigne, 1997), subway system designed to ‘design out’ crime</td>
<td>opportunity, fear, incivility, vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>no hard evidence but authors claim that this system is safer than one would expect and that crime rates are ‘unusually’ low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong Mass Transit Railway (Gaylford and Galliher, 1991) ‘designed out’ crime</td>
<td>opportunity, fear, incivility, vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>crime rates are low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Metro (Myre and Rosso, 1996) ‘designed out’ crime using most up-to-date situational measures techniques</td>
<td>opportunity, fear, incivility, vandalism, graffiti</td>
<td>no outcomes yet but it is hoped this will be a crime prevention success</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (c) Programs With Low or Unknown Effectiveness that Target Definite Risk Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safety devices for taxis</td>
<td>a variety of opportunity-reducing measures</td>
<td>unknown effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian Angels, subways, NYC (Kenney, 1986), a citizen community action patrol program</td>
<td>opportunity, surveillance, fear</td>
<td>no detectable impact on crime</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (d) Effective Programs Targeting Indirect Risk Factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors</th>
<th>Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NYC Subway Graffiti Program (Sloan-Howitt and Kelling, 1990), carriages were not allowed to re-enter service until graffiti was removed</td>
<td>graffiti</td>
<td>Cars are now clean of graffiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poyner (1988), CCTV Surveillance Installation in buses</td>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>steady decline in vandalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography


Selected Bibliography with Abstracts and Commentary

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


A new program, Travel Safe, was introduced at the end of 1990 to deal with problems of passenger safety and vandalism on the train, tram and bus systems operated by the Public Transport Corporation of the State of Victoria, AUS. New information-gathering and analysis systems were created, and a forum was established for community consultation. Improved procedures for cleansing of graffiti, repair of vandalism and collection of litter were introduced. Security and customer safety were enhanced by better lighting and closed-circuit television surveillance and through the provision of more public telephones throughout the system. Patrolling of trains, stations and other facilities was greatly increased. As a result, there were large reductions in crimes against persons, vandalism and graffiti, and the number of trains removed from service. To ensure that these improvements are maintained, the Public Transport Corporation is working with other agencies such as local government to instill much greater respect for public property in the community.


This paper examines whether crime and deviance declined within New York City’s Port Authority Bus Terminal as a result of modifications made inside. This sprawling, busy facility underwent numerous small but strategic changes in design and management, mostly in 1991 and 1992. This effort combined situational prevention with Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, the latter approach involving the design of many environmental details within a comprehensive plan. Although the data are not perfect, they indicate that the Port Authority made this huge transit complex much less of a crime generator, crime attractor and fear generator. These changes also suggest a ‘stop-and-go’ theory of how human movement patterns relate to the decisions to commit criminal acts.

Situational crime prevention/ public transport/ New York City/ opportunity/ subway/ CPTED/ fear/ incivility/ vandalism/ graffiti/ fear.

Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts:

A study describes how Hong Kong's Mass Transit Railway (MTR) has kept crime to a minimum. Data sources included: (1) 5 months of fieldwork observation and interviews with MTR personnel, Hong Kong government officials, academics and passengers; (2) official crime statistics and police reports; (3) crime victimisation surveys; and (4) articles in Hong Kong's 2 English-language dailies. The system's low crime rate can be attributed to: (1) the nature of Hong Kong society, with its overall low crime rate; (2) the efforts of the MTR District Police to ensure a rapid response to calls for assistance; and, (3) most important, the well-conceived design of the MTR's stations and trains, which discourages criminal behaviour.

crime prevention/ public transport/ opportunity/ Hong Kong/ situational crime prevention/ subway/ CPTED/ design.


Abstract from Criminal Justice Abstracts.

Using the Guardian Angels as the most prominent example of these active organizations, this study is an effort to measure this potential for effectiveness. Essentially, the study is an experiment. After selecting sections of the New York City Subway system which were comparable in terms of crime and numbers of passengers, the research altered the patrols of the Guardian Angels so that their impact could be measured. The methods of measurement consisted of on-site interviews with over 2,700 subway passengers, an examination of incidents of crime in the project areas which were reported to the transit police, as well as the occurrence of non-criminal violations where citations were issued by police officers. Results- in specific areas the Guardian Angels are able to produce a limited and temporary reduction in the immediate fear of crime felt by some passengers. Arguably, however, they may influence fear in a more subtle way by contributing to an unsupported general expectation of danger on the subways. If so, the media image and frequent public statements made primarily by the organization's leaders may play a role in the overall elevation of apprehension felt by passengers. The third component of the study was concerned with the Guardian Angels’ ability to reduce crime. No definitive conclusions are reached, however, due to insufficient numbers of actual crimes occurring in the project areas.
Most successful crime prevention efforts take the approach of ‘designing out crime’ through the identification of highly specific crime problems and the development of preventive efforts to reduce them (Clarke, 1992). A study of the design, maintenance and management of ‘Metro,’ Washington, DC’s subway system, allows for the novel approach of evaluating an effort to design in security at the outset. This paper examines the crime prevention characteristics of Metro’s environment. It sets out a series of tests documenting Metro’s success in keeping crime rates on the system at an unusually low level, and demonstrating that these low crime rates are explained by Metro’s environment.

Design plans for Meteor, projected new Metro line in Paris, provide the opportunity to compare its security features with those of the existing Paris Metro and two subway successes in Washington, DC, and Hong Kong. Meteor includes a wider range of situational measures than the existing Metros in Paris, Washington, DC, or Hong Kong, and its security features are consistent with the most recent developments in crime prevention strategies. If the projected design plans are properly implemented, Meteor promises to be a crime-control success.

This case study, first published as a Security Journal article (1990), is perhaps the most remarkable of the collection. It documents the process by which the graffiti-ridden trains of the New York City subway were finally made clean, after years of failed initiatives and target hardening measures. The successful idea adopted by management was a simple one: once a car had been cleansed of graffiti it would never again be allowed to enter service with graffiti. Underlying this principle was the notion that ‘getting up’, seeing one's handiwork on public display, was the offender’s...
main motivation and that the rewards of this behaviour had to be removed. Implementing the policy involved formidable political and logistical problems (how the latter were solved will repay close study by other managers confronted by implementation difficulties), but the results are plain for anyone to see. The subway cars in New York are no longer the disgrace that they once were.

situational crime prevention/ New York City/ graffiti/ subway/ public transport.


An experiment has been carried out in the Dutch public transport system to tackle fare-dodging, vandalism, and aggression. On the tram and metro system the level of inspection has been increased by employing about 1,200 young people. On buses the boarding procedure has been changed. The results show that the percentage of fare-dodgers fell after the introduction of the measures. The number of incidents decreased during the project; feelings of insecurity did not decrease. Damage experts, passengers and staff agree that the measures put a halt to the increasing trend in vandalism. Given costs and benefits, the measures made an important contribution to cutting petty crime on public transport and thereby improved the quality of service. The number of violent incidents on public transport fell during the project but perceptions of safety were not significantly increased.

public transport/ situational crime prevention/ Netherlands/ buses/ opportunity/ surveillance/ fear.
Chapter 3. Violence in Rural Communities

In this chapter we review literature that relates to violence in rural communities. It was a very difficult chapter to write, since there is not what one would describe as an over-abundance of literature on the problem. This fact, in itself, is revealing, suggesting that the whole field is in need of thorough research. What literature there is points to the areas in which further research could be undertaken. This chapter, therefore, concentrates on these areas.

One thing that quickly emerges from the literature is that the term ‘rural’ has many connotations. We begin, therefore, by considering definitions, which provides the basis for an overview of the literature.

As with most problems analysed by social scientists, there is a theoretical literature relevant to rural areas. As we can see from the discussion in other chapters, paying attention to theory enables understanding of often confusing facts. For example, why would a person who obviously is being subjected to constant physical abuse, remain in such a situation? As outlined in Chapter 7 (Domestic Violence), dependency theory allows us to understand why and reveals how policies could be enacted to assist such victims. Consequently, theory pertaining to rural violence is not neglected. We argue later in the chapter that domestic violence is problematic in rural communities, which perhaps explains why it is the area most commonly concentrated on by analysts. We conclude that ‘patriarchal ideology’ determines much of the social structure of rural communities. Indeed, it is perhaps stronger in rural than in urban settings.

Because the literature suggests that guns and suicide are bigger problems in rural than urban communities, and because suicide is a form of violence (albeit self-inflicted), we discuss the suicide issue briefly, utilising Australian Bureau of Statistics data. Criminal justice responses are investigated in the following section, where it is argued that police in rural communities frequently fail to protect female victims of violence because of a mateship association with male perpetrators.

In the last section we examine a sample of possibly relevant programs that are reported in the tiny literature, concluding that apart from the obvious fact that existing services to rural communities are deficient, more use might be made (through suitable mobilisation, focusing, and resourcing) of existing non-government organisations that have a presence and an acceptance in rural areas.
‘Rural Community’: A Definition

When reading literature on rural areas, it becomes apparent that the authors report from sites that are widely scattered geographically and which differ considerably in social characteristics. For example, Dempsey (1990) studies the actions of a community from an unidentified Victorian town. He refers to women living on properties, noting the economic dependency on their husbands, and analyses both the occupants of the small town and those from the surrounding properties. O’Connor and Grey (1989) work from the New South Wales town of Walcha, population 1,674 in 1981. Poiner (1990) works from the New South Wales town of Marulan to gauge the social conditions of those from the surrounding district.

As Collingridge and Dunn (1993) point out, rural Australia is very diverse in social, cultural and economic terms, and different rural areas have different needs. The predominant industry (e.g., fishing, mining, agriculture) will greatly influence the characteristics and needs of the community, as will geographic and demographic factors (e.g., the size of community, whether it is inland or coastal, and the degree of isolation). Consequently, there is no ‘typical’ rural community that would justify any blanket approach by the state to the provision of services. Because centres outside of large cities have fewer support facilities than their big-city counterparts, a definition of ‘rural’ should be inclusive, encompassing the occupants of towns from which access to city-based services is difficult, as well as ‘traditional’ rural groups such as property-owners and those on extremely isolated stations in the outback.

Isolation does not mean, of course, that rural populations are immune from the economic forces that shape life in the cities. The contrary is the case: all rural groups are under the influence of some capitalist enterprise on which the town or region relies for its prosperity. Mining towns suffer if minerals’ prices fall on the world market (Danzi, 1991). Manufacturing areas suffer from the closure of major production facilities. Towns supporting different rural industries like sheep, sugar or wheat suffer if there is a downturn in the international terms of trade. The importance of this to the present analysis is that there is a strong suggestion that Australia’s declining rural-sector industries have led to alcohol abuse and violence because of the loss of income for both farmers-pastoralists and those in the supporting townships (Stark, 1991). A definition of ‘rural community’, therefore, must encompass all these groups, with the realisation that the more geographically isolated the community the fewer support facilities are available.

General Findings From the Literature

There is a paucity of literature that refers directly to violence in rural communities. Most references to violence in Australia relate to urban areas.
It seems that the myth of the Australian bush as representing the ideal kind of life in the consciousness of Australians has strongly influenced analysts of violence (O’Connor and Grey, 1989). This is perhaps not surprising, as an idealised mythology has evolved around the ‘Australian legend’, colouring many aspects of social organisation and culture (White, 1982). This pervasive bias should be kept in mind when investigating rural violence. An absence of references to rural violence does not necessarily mean that rural Australia is a model of peace and harmony; rather, it suggests caution when there is not an easily accessible, direct literature.

The paucity of information makes it difficult to carry out a strong analysis of rural violence. Nevertheless, our general impression is that violence levels in rural areas are similar to urban areas, and that rural violence is greatly under-reported (O’Connor and Grey, 1989). In addition, the literature suggests that the occurrence of violence is exacerbated by the severe, rural economic downturn and a lack of support facilities for rural people experiencing violent situations (Stark, 1991). Making the problem worse, there is a strong masculine or patriarchal culture in rural Australia that subordinates women and facilitates violent acts against women within families (Coorey, 1989; Poiner, 1990). A ‘mateship’ culture also disadvantages rural women.

**Theoretical Directions**

There is a theoretical literature that suggests possible directions for the investigation of violence in rural areas. For example, Elias (1978) argues that historically rural communities have always been violent. With the increased urbanisation of societies, however, people living in close proximity have had to learn to live in relative harmony. Consequently, argues Elias, urban areas have become less violent in comparison to rural ones.

Whether this is actually the case remains to be seen. One major difficulty in empirical investigation is, however, the unreliability of official data on violence. Hood and Sparks (1970) and many other authors point to the need for caution when reading statistics on violence. Because many women, for example, may be economically dependent, or may be needed by children, they frequently do not report violence within the home. Consequently, statistical data provide at best a rough indication of the levels of violence. Hogg et al (1995) argue that before acting on quantitative data suggesting high or low levels of violence, attention should be paid to how the data were defined and collected.

The difficulties of obtaining and interpreting data are illustrated by the work of O’Connor and Grey (1989), who set out to test the argument that rural communities are more ‘civil’ than urban communities. They concluded that there is probably little difference between violence levels in urban and rural areas, and that rural violence is greatly under-reported. Investigating a specific rural community, the authors found that there was a rural class structure that marginalised some residents (and excluded newcomers), which possibly contributed to hidden forms of violence.
Putnam (1993) also emphasised the importance of social structures, analysing how constructions of what is socially acceptable within communities determine how those living within these communities are treated. The author used the northern and southern divisions of contemporary Italy for comparative analysis. He drew his conclusions from data on the degree of egalitarianism, cooperation and extent of recourse to humanitarian tenets that exists in one area compared to another. One area, for example, has a hierarchical and authoritative structure in which individuals support other individuals or particular sections of the community. Each pursues his or her respective interests without considering those within the community who are outside the hierarchical order. It is the differing forms of social construction, Putnam concludes, that determine how those within the respective community treat others with whom they interact and the extent to which treatment of those within the community is regarded as fair. The degree to which violence is tolerated differs with the degree of support for others that is part of a community’s social structure. In addition, irrespective of how much state authority is imposed on a community, controls aimed at ensuring social order succeed in a more socially tolerant society than in one displaying a more individualistic, less tolerant structure.

Similar arguments can be found within the writings of Coorey (1990) and Women Healthsharing (Victoria) (1994). These authors suggest that a mateship culture and inter-family familiarity, among other factors, make it difficult for families experiencing violence to break the cycle. The mateship culture influences police impartiality, while inter-family familiarity, in contrast, prevents interference in the actions of others. In addition, it is difficult to disguise one’s whereabouts (should a woman choose to leave a violent situation) when there is close contact between families; ‘gossip moves quickly’.

These kinds of studies suggest therefore that students of rural violence should examine the links between diverse forms of violence (including hidden forms) and the social structure of rural communities, particularly kinship structures and patterns of voluntary association.

**Socio-Economic Decline, Domestic Violence, and Patriarchal Ideology**

Most of the literature on rural violence is about domestic violence. Authors such as Coorey (1989, 1990) and Poiner (1990) find that many rural women are subjected to unnecessary violence because they are in dependent situations. They are unable to escape their violent family situations because they have no means of independent existence; they must rely on their husbands for their livelihood and cannot support themselves should they leave. In addition, even if they can afford to leave, Coorey finds that many cannot escape because of a lack of transport and/or an absence of a safe residence to which they can move. Support facilities for battered wives, these authors argue, are an area of urgent need in rural communities.
Cappo (1995) and Cupitt (1997) note that there is also a need to assess the degree to which older people are abused in rural areas. They argue that support facilities for older people are lacking, leading to their being neglected and abused.

Several reports suggest that economic decline in rural areas has had an enormous social influence on rural people. For example, Stark (1991) suggests that men have suffered from a loss of self-esteem, confidence and dignity that leads to alcohol abuse and then violence, directed especially towards their families. Medland (1994) also underlines the importance of this socio-economic rural decline and argues that there is a need to supply counselling assistance for rural families. Such support is currently neglected by government agencies. Cappo (1994) from the National Council for the International Year of the Family, outlines the Council’s work in developing policies for the support of Australian families experiencing problems because of rural decline. There is, the author suggests, a need for considerable government support.

Jamrozik (1995) does not examine specifically family violence and socio-economic disadvantage. Rather, the author argues that government policies disadvantage further an already disadvantaged group, namely the unemployed, by holding them responsible for their inability to gain employment. It is this group, the author finds, that are over-represented in correctional institutions. Government regulations make it even more difficult for this disadvantaged group to gain employment within a depressed economic milieu that is not of their making, and this is especially relevant for rural areas because of their extremely depressed state.

Attention to the patriarchal construction of rural society is another theme in the literature. Poiner (1990), for example, finds this construction subordinates women both in their family situations, where economic dependence is a major factor, and in their social positions within the wider society. Voyce (1993) argues that the law discriminates against farming women by regarding their positions on farms in comparison to their husbands as solely one of support. This, Voyce argues, supports the dominant patriarchal ideology permeating rural life. O’Hehir (1995), a practising psychologist, has encountered a masculinist construction among Australian men generally that suggests a reason for violence that reaches beyond the family. Australian men, the author argues, suppress their emotions, thereby bottling within them feelings brought on by events within their lives. This results in many males resorting to alcohol abuse and giving vent to violent outbursts either within their families or elsewhere, such violence including suicidal tendencies. The isolated positions of rural communities exacerbate this situation.

Suicide and Firearm-Related Deaths in Rural Areas

There are a number of reports that consider the reasons for suicide. Findings generally (as outlined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics [1994]) are that rural male rates are higher than urban rates. (Lee [1996] finds that Australia has one of the highest suicide rates in the
world.) It is hypothesised that the greater use of guns in rural areas equates to a higher success rate for attempts. In addition, it is suggested that the greater social disadvantage within rural areas, manifested in high unemployment rates and in other ways, may be a causative factor (ABS, 1994).

The extent of firearms use in violence has been investigated recently by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. The Bureau documented a 16-year period from 1980 to 1995. The Bureau found that around one-quarter of Australian suicides and one-fifth of homicides are due to the use of firearms. Seventy-eight percent of firearm deaths during the survey period were suicides, with 15 percent being homicides. King (1994) also investigated rural suicide rates and concluded that they are rising for young males. Firearms deaths per 100,000 people fell during the period investigated by the ABS, from 4.8 to 2.6, a decrease of 46 percent. Although the trend generally has been a decrease, the percentage of firearm-related suicides has risen from 76 percent in 1980 to 81 percent in 1995. This trend is represented in Table 3.1 which shows three-year averages of firearm-related deaths.

Table 3.1 All Firearm-Related Deaths by Cause of Death

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Accidents %</th>
<th>Suicides %</th>
<th>Homicides %</th>
<th>Other %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980 – 82</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983 – 85</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986 – 88</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 – 91</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 – 94</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>81.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Modified ABS, 1997:4
Table 3.2 contains a comparison of rural and urban firearm-related deaths. This table confirms the high incidence of firearm-related deaths in rural areas. The rate of deaths is over twice that for capital cities and 50 percent more than in other urban areas. Firearms as a risk factor increase in importance the less urban a community. Suicides dominate this picture, but homicide rates are not insubstantial.

**Table 3.2 Firearm-Related Deaths by Geographic Area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Capital City Rate&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Capital City %&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Other Urban Rate&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Other Urban %&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Rural Rate&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Rural %&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986 – 88</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 – 91</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 – 94</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>39.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Average standardised rates per 100,000 of the mid-year population. 1995 rate is for single year.<br>
<sup>b</sup> Percentage of total number of firearms deaths

Source: ABS, 1997:8-9

In the light of these data, the national gun buyback scheme initiated in 1996 may prove to be a very effective intervention to prevent rural violence.

However, it would be a mistake to limit preventive action to gun-related violence. For example, Green (1996) argues that there is a need to investigate violence against homosexual youth in rural areas. It is suggested that there is a correlation between this violence and rural homosexual youth suicide rates. Analysts have neglected this connection, argues Green.
Criminal Justice Responses

Carrington (1993) considers how juvenile justice works in practice in regard to juvenile females, and especially rural Aboriginal girls. The author offers suggestions for changing the methodology so that youth are treated outside a system they regard as punitive but that is defined by authorities as preventative – as protective of youth. In reality, argues the author, by labelling juvenile females in a particular manner, they are incarcerated disproportionately when compared to juvenile males; thus the juvenile correctional system is in urgent need of change.

Coorey (1989, 1990) finds that women within rural areas encounter resistance (or lack of action) from local police because of a mateship culture exacerbated by patriarchal beliefs. The author argues that police frequently will not assist women who complain of violence from their husbands because the police share a close male relationship with the husbands with whom they socialise within a small, close community. In addition, police often regard domestic violence as none of their business, but, rather, the natural actions that occur between a man and his wife where the male is rightfully the master of the family situation.

Baxter (1992) investigates sexual assault services in rural areas and finds that they are lacking. She notes that it is difficult for victims to protect their privacy within a close-knit community where one's actions usually become common knowledge. This discourages many women from reporting assaults or admitting that they require assistance for fear of their need becoming widely known.

Programs in Operation

Information regarding programs in operation is in keeping with the information on rural violence generally; that is, it is extremely limited. Most authors note the lack of services, the problems faced by service providers operating in rural areas, and the problems faced by those requiring service. A further problem is that as far as we are aware the only rural programs that have the explicit aim of reducing violence are directed at suicide prevention, and none of these has been adequately evaluated.

Nevertheless, a few programs will be mentioned to illustrate some possibly relevant interventions. Apart from the programs directed at suicide, all are general crime prevention or social support programs that operate in rural areas. These could have obvious benefits in reducing violence, although there is currently no evidence of any such effects.

Hil, Zuchowski, and Bone (1994) investigate a Queensland community-based youth crime prevention program (YACCA: Youth and Community Combined Action) and conclude that the program unfairly targets individual ‘at risk’ youth. The authors argue that such an approach neglects the structural socio-economic position of the youths. Despite
attention from the authorities, the social causes of their violent actions remains intact, making the program ineffectual.

This view is, however, a fairly pessimistic (and preliminary) assessment of a scheme that was explicitly designed to avoid such stigmatising processes. Hauritz et al. (1996), in an official report evaluating the first two years of the YACCA program, concluded that the objectives of involving a wide range of youth in recreational and creative activities was achieved, including youth who would not normally be involved in youth organisations. Programs in most areas, including rural areas, did not target ‘at risk’ youth, but some of these young people were attracted by the nature of the programs. Police were conspicuous by their absence; community and youth workers with a good understanding of youth culture delivered the services ‘on the ground’. A particular feature of YACCA was the mobilisation of major youth organisations such as the Boy Scouts, who developed expertise in involving a section of the youth population that they would not normally see.

In general, the evaluation suggests that community-based programs directed at youth can succeed in involving at least some of the kinds of young people who are likely to be victims or perpetrators of violence, and that such programs can be implemented effectively (with government financial support) in rural as well as urban areas. The success of the major youth organisations, with their state-wide networks, volunteer support, and financial resources, in reaching out in effective ways to non-middle class youth, may be an important pointer to an under-utilised resource for youth violence prevention in regional towns and cities.

Another approach to dealing with youth problems such as substance abuse and involvement in crime is described by Danzi (1991). The approach is self-help; Danzi describes how Weipa Youth Done Good successfully helps youth solve their own problems in the remote mining town of Weipa. This illustrates another important goal of the YACCA program, which unfortunately was not always achieved: youth control of program activities.

Kilmartin (1995) discusses Regional Family Support Councils, which are bodies established in 1994 to provide support and to prevent problems, not to provide crisis intervention. It is unclear, however, whether these Councils are currently operating in rural areas, or what impact they have had. Nevertheless, structures such as these have obvious potential to help prevent domestic and other forms of violence in rural areas. In addition, established organisations such as Relationships Australia (1994), which provides a range of counselling, mediation and violence prevention programs in family relationships, could - if suitably resourced - have a significant impact on rural family violence. They have the advantage over new programs and structures that they have an established presence in rural Australia and are widely accepted by the community.
King (1994) reviews two youth suicide prevention programs in rural New South Wales. One was a pilot program in the Riverina, involving in-service training about suicide prevention for high school teachers of health, personal development and physical education. The other was a suicide awareness and prevention project on the NSW south coast, in which training was given to teachers, police, ambulance workers, health workers, clergy and doctors. No data are available on the success of these programs.

**Conclusion**

While the lack of literature on rural violence suggests that violence in rural communities is an area in great need of analysis, what literature there is suggests some directions that investigation can take.

Generally, suicides are increasing, with the higher rate of ownership of guns within rural communities being blamed for the higher success rate of suicides compared to urban areas. Domestic violence is a problem faced by many families. The socio-economic position of women appears to exacerbate their positions within a violent relationship. The state of the economy seems to be affecting violence levels because of the high failure rates on the land and the lack of employment that follows from this. Isolation affects the position of rural communities, as distance prevents women from escaping from violence within the family and support facilities within rural areas are inadequate; people must travel excessive distances to receive assistance.

Most literature on rural violence refers to families, leaving the degree to which rural violence occurs between those outside the family unit in need of further investigation. Generally, the literature suggests that violence within rural communities may be as widespread as in urban ones and that violence in rural areas must be treated as a serious problem.

There are no programs explicitly directed at rural violence of which we are aware, but there are promising signs that community-based youth crime prevention programs can be implemented successfully in rural areas and involve a wide range of youth. Similarly, suicide prevention programs based on education, consciousness-raising, and ‘friendly surveillance’ may work better in rural areas than in cities, simply because in small communities everyone’s actions are open to greater scrutiny, and early interventions may be more feasible.

The success of the Queensland YACCA program in mobilising the major youth organisations, as well as the potential of community groups such as Relationships Australia to reduce rural family violence, suggests that one approach to delivering violence prevention programs in rural communities may be to both resource and to ‘expand the horizons’ of existing non-government organisations that already have, as we have noted, a presence and an acceptance in rural areas. In situations where resources are extremely...
limited, and in an era when there is obvious reluctance by governments to extend the range of services they offer, the enhancement and expansion of the work of suitable NGOs working in rural areas may be a cost effective strategy. Obviously, however, NGOs should not be expected to take on the full range of government responsibilities, and their activities must be focused and adequately resourced.
Bibliography


Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


This paper discusses the health concerns of rural women in Queensland and links women's health status with their socio-economic status. The author contends that the traditional role of women in society has mitigated against their health status and the delivery of health services to women. Health issues facing women in rural Australia are outlined including access to information; isolation; access to services such as cancer screening and centres for treating the repercussions of domestic violence; counselling to aid stress management and help with relationships and mental health problems; support for women as carers. The paper refers to attempts in Queensland Women's Health Policy to provide services to remote and rural women and to the special needs of Aboriginal and Islander women.


In examining youth suicide, this chapter provides statistical tables and graphs on: suicide death rates; methods of suicide; hospital separations related to attempted suicide or self inflicted injury; and deaths in custody. Gender, age and rural/urban differences are noted, and international comparisons are included. Commentaries accompanying the graphs and tables highlight the major themes. The figures show that rural male rates are higher than urban ones and it is hypothesised that the greater use of guns in rural areas equates to a higher success rate for attempts. In addition, it is suggested that the greater social disadvantage within rural areas may be causative, e.g., high unemployment rates.


'This publication presents an overview of the levels and trends in firearms deaths in Australia during the sixteen-year period from 1980 to 1995'. The publication finds that around one-quarter of Australian suicides and one-fifth of homicides are due to the use of firearms. Seventy-eight percent of deaths during the survey period were suicides with fifteen percent being homicides. Firearms deaths per 100,000 people fell during the period from 4.8 to 2.6, representing a decrease of 46 percent. Although the trend generally has been a decrease, the percentage of firearm-related deaths that were suicides has risen from 76 percent in 1980 to 81 percent in 1995.
COMMENT:

Findings generally are (as outlined by the Australian Bureau of Statistics [1994]) that rural male rates are higher than urban ones. (Lee [1996] finds that Australia has one of the highest suicide rates in the world.) It is hypothesised that the greater use of guns in rural areas equates to a higher success rate for attempts.


Baxter discusses the issues relating to the development of sexual assault services in rural areas, using the New South Wales Department of Health model of sexual assault service provision as an example. Issues such as adequate resources, distance, and challenging community attitudes and resistance need to be considered. She also discusses three key areas of intervention in rural communities: police, doctors and hospitals, and the community. Baxter pays particular attention to the problems that need overcoming so that adequate assistance can be provided for rural women. She also pays particular attention to how victims’ privacy can be protected within a close-knit community where it is difficulty to act without one’s actions becoming common knowledge; this discourages many women from reporting assaults or admitting that they require assistance for fear of their need becoming widely known.


This article presents four case studies of elder abuse from the files of a multi-site training project designed to teach rural caregivers of persons with Alzheimer's disease and related disorders how to better manage behavioural problems associated with dementia. The cases are used to illustrate characteristics of victims, perpetrators, and family systems that are vulnerable to abuse. The examples presented reflect a personality characteristics in the caregiver, and anxiety and lack of knowledge. The role of health care professionals and researchers who uncover abuse or neglect situations is also discussed.


Analysis of suicide mortality in New South Wales, Australia is undertaken with reference to marital status and occupational status between 1986—1989/90 and with reference to the principal means of committing suicide. Not currently married male manual workers were particularly at risk although marital status variations were
significant with both genders and at different ages. Between 1985—1991 male suicide mortality rates were significantly higher in inland non-metropolitan regions, especially among younger men, and were higher in inner areas of metropolitan Sydney. While there were no significant variations by marital status in the means of committing suicide there were variations between genders, and there were regional and social class variations in the use of guns with males. The use of guns was a factor in the elevated suicide mortality levels among inland rural youth and men, and among farmers and transport workers while the use of poisons was also significant with these occupational groups. The use of poisons was greater among persons committing suicide in the areas of elevated mortality in inner Sydney and the use of guns much lower.

NOTES:

This report suggests a link between rural workers and the downturn in the rural economy similar to reports into domestic violence by Stark (1991, abstracted below). The report showed similarities between the high rural suicide rates and those of manufacturing workers whose ranks have been devastated due to the economic restructuring of the Australian labour force since 1983.


This paper details the work of the National Council for the International Year of the Family in developing policies for the support of Australian families. Creating good communities capable of supporting families involves employment, regional development, housing and social protection. Findings of the Council included the level of distress among families in rural and remote communities and among indigenous families, the need for services to families of non-English speaking background, the need for consistent and enforceable measures against family violence, and the need for resources to support older people. Among the Council’s recommendations is a proposal for the establishment of Regional Family Support Councils in urban and regional areas.


Carrington has compiled a report into the programmatic problems with the juvenile justice system, and specifically, with welfare services in New South Wales. She finds that those from lower socio-economic lifestyles, specifically Aboriginal people, are penalised over those from better socio-economic groups. It is predominantly the labelling of juveniles as delinquent or as neglected because of their Aboriginality or socio-economic status, that sees them appearing in the juvenile justice system, and institutionalised, above those from other groups. Girls,
Carrington finds, are too often labelled as promiscuous and institutionalised as a result. Carrington points to the inequity of homogeneous labelling. The most over-represented group of juveniles, the author finds, are those from rural Aboriginal communities. She suggests, among reasons mentioned previously, that over-policing is responsible for considerable over-representation as more attention is paid to these communities than to those labelled as suitable. The study considers how juvenile justice works in practice and offers suggestions for changing the methodology so that youth are treated outside a system they regard as punitive but is defined by authorities as preventative – as protective of youth.

NOTES:

This report offers possibilities for changing official procedures and implementing programs that could prevent the institutionalisation of juveniles. Carrington indicates that 25 percent of juveniles in NSW institutions are Aboriginal, a figure that is upheld by the latest statistics provided by the Institute of Criminology showing the over-representation of Aboriginal juveniles in corrective institutions (abstracted above).


This paper explores the statistics of suicide in Australia, discussing age, sex, economic conditions, unemployment, regional factors and marital status. The author contends that the statistics understate the rate of suicide because the stock rate rather than the projected rate is quoted and that the percentage of suicide victims unemployed at the time of death is also understated. Statistics from the UK suggest that the suicide rate of ‘married but living apart’ people is much higher than other groups. The author urges collection of this data in Australia.


This paper presents the problems associated with living in small remote towns in far north Queensland identified by residents of five towns. Information was collected during an exploratory study conducted to guide a more comprehensive and systematic investigation of remote-area residents’ supports. The larger study is now completed and a report is being compiled.

This information is presented here because it has some important implications for social workers and other human service personnel working in remote areas, and because Australian literature lacks this kind of material.
NOTES:

While this article does not specifically refer to violence, it describes the reasons that family tensions occur (of which authors e.g., Coorey [1989] write) within rural areas that then lead to conflict and alcohol abuse. This paper has implications for governments faced with developing policies to assist rural areas, not only for the problems experienced by social workers, towards which this paper is addressed.


This paper argues that rural areas are under provisioned with services. Cheers outlines the many areas that require both provisioning and researching to ascertain what is needed and how best to provide for any under-provisioned areas regarding social welfare and the services of social workers.

Collingridge, M.D.P. (1993). 'Rural Australia: people, policies and services.' in Inglis, J.R.L. Ed, Beyond Swings and Roundabouts . Leichhardt: Pluto Press,

Rural Australia outlines the rural economic decline since the 1980s that is the result, in combination, of falling world agricultural prices and drought. Consequently, large numbers have left the land through economic crisis while unemployment has become endemic. Exacerbating this decline has been the removal of many facilities provided by government and business (e.g. banks). The authors point to the inadequacy in rural areas of policies deemed suitable for disadvantaged groups in urban areas. In addition, the report indicates how rural Australia is diverse in its social, cultural and economic interests (e.g. size of community, inland, coastal, fishing, mining, agricultural) so that there is no ‘typical’ rural community which a blanket approach by the state can address for any service provision. The state of rural Australia, the authors conclude, is a result of their declining economic contribution to national income. Political parties, the authors argue, must begin to represent their constituents.

NOTES:

Although this report does not directly address either the presence of rural violence or issues relating to its presence, it provides indirect information on the causes of violence in rural communities, and the need for adequate support, consistent with Coorey, Stark and others.


Coorey presents an analysis of domestic violence in a rural community that concentrates on the power relations that exist between partners. The author finds that the disproportionate number of domestic homicides reported in rural communities compared to urban ones, that
indicates a higher degree of violence within these communities, occurs because of women’s more dependent situations within rural areas. Rural women, Coorey argues, are less well educated than urban women, have fewer employment opportunities and lack the child support facilities of their urban sisters. These factors prevent the women from escaping their violent situations which leads disproportionately to the homicide statistics in rural areas. The findings suggest that police are too ready to believe in the right of the male partner to a power position in the relationship, so responses are based on the assumption that domestic conflict is the business of the couple rather than of the police. Furthermore, police, Coorey found, were influenced by social contact with male offenders within a small community. Other problems facing police were the risks of dealing with violent men in an isolated community, the threat of firearms and their own often strained relationships with partners as they operated within a rural community that they did not like but could not leave. In addition, close-knit rural communities often stigmatised and victimised female victims of violent situations when they did move from the relationship; so the only option is to leave the community completely. This, however, is difficult because of lack of support for accommodation, child care and the remoteness, making transport to another area difficult. Women are predominantly the victims of dependency and patriarchal beliefs in male superiority; the author suggests ways of redressing rural women’s violent situations.


This article highlights the different problems that face rural women wanting to escape a violent situation: police familiarity (mateship with husbands), isolation (making it difficult for dependent women to travel), lack of public transport, and general familiarity that breeds a gossip network making it difficult to disguise ones whereabouts should escape be possible. Coorey finds that rural women are vulnerable because of the dependent situation in which they usually live that prevents them from leaving their abusive situations. Support systems that rural women can access easily, the author argues, are therefore necessary to address the level of rural violence to which they are exposed.


The prevalence of domestic violence in Australia has long been ignored, although there has been increased awareness of the problem since the issue was highlighted at a national level in 1989. The neglect and abuse of elderly people was largely overlooked in Australia until 1990, despite the subject receiving greater publicity elsewhere. A study, in rural north western New South Wales, is designed to provide information that can be used by local care providers to formulate strategies for services for elderly people. The study of 598 clients, of whom thirty-three were found to be abused, identifies health problems, abuse rates and interventions offered.

Danzi describes the problems caused by the isolation of a remote mining town, Weipa, for local youth, namely, drugs, alcohol abuse and related problems. She describes a self-help youth organisation, Weipa Youth Gone Good, and how it has successfully helped local youth to overcome these problems within the area.


This paper argues that existing reactive policing methods are not reducing crime in Australia. This is based on a British comparison. Police, the author argues, must react more to the public, rather than to incidents of crime. The police must, Dawson asserts, involve the public more in their operations. The author argues that country policing methods are more effective because country police get to know the people within their jurisdiction who then assist the police. Policing is then more preventive than reactive. The paper outlines a pilot program for selected Canberra suburbs where police will trial this type of approach.


The author of this book researches the social conditions in an unidentified Victorian town to find that the position of rural women is one of subordination to a dominant patriarchal ideology which promotes the superior position of the male. This results in the actual domination of all that these rural women do in their lives, both on the property and within the community. Furthermore, the women are in an economically dependent situation which further disadvantages them in relation to their husbands.


The Emergency Relief Program is a community-based program with the Commonwealth providing additional funding to established welfare agencies to carry out their normal role of community welfare. The purpose of the ER funding is to enable agencies to provide people in need with short-term, one-off financial assistance to help them overcome an immediate crisis situation. In this directory, two listings of agencies providing emergency relief in the Northern Territory are provided: 1) by target groups, with the following sections: Aboriginal / general; Low income; Youth; Non-English speaking background; Families / general; Women / women with children escaping domestic violence; Specific needs; 2) by geographical locations, covering
Darwin region, Palmerston region, Alice Springs region, Tennant Creek region, and Rural and remote areas.


Contemporary researchers (e.g., Johnson and Monkkonen, 1996) increasingly assert the manner in which violence in modern societies has decreased with the growth of urban centres; rural societies were mostly substantially more violent. This does not explain why violence should have decreased, however. Elias (1978) suggests that with the growth of urban societies whose populations live in close proximity and rely on each other for social and economic coherence, violence has decreased because urban people have learned greater tolerance for one another. Although coercion has increased as law enforcement has grown in sophistication and legitimacy, Elias asserts that it is the socialisation of people within a community according to what is acceptable that is more important in explaining how violence has decreased in urbanised societies; self-control becomes intuitive. Elias uses the degree to which violence is more likely to occur between intimates, for example within families, to support his argument that people exert considerable restraint in their everyday dealings with each other: restraint, he argues, decreases with intimacy and the perceived need for cooperation.


This work was compiled with the aim of providing more information on an area that is little researched in Australia, that is, the social positions of rural women. Consequently, a number of analysts who have experience in this area have contributed. The editors argue that the circumstances and issues affecting rural women are diverse. The papers in the book address the following areas: 'gender relations both directly and indirectly[;]...patriarchy[;]...women’s accommodation of [patriarchy;]...how women and men are responding to, and are affected by, the rural recession and the restructuring of work that has accompanied this rural crisis[;]...initiatives for the provision of rural health services; the educational needs of rural women; initiatives for women in mining towns; the impact of mining rosters on family life; the contemporary role played by older and newer rural women’s networks; and women and land care'. The authors argue that this compilation facilitates understanding the differences and similarities between rural and urban women’s issues.


Case studies of the suicides of young homosexual men living in rural communities are provided as illustration of the problem of youth suicide in Australia, focusing particularly on rural youth. Suicide trends are analysed and the lack of acknowledgment by researchers that homosexuality may be an issue in the special
circumstances of suicide among rural youth is examined. Statistics on urban/rural suicide trends among NSW youth are presented and discussed. The relationship between rural environment and causation of adolescent youth suicide is explored and the experience of violence by lesbians and gay men is described. Possible remedies which may bring about an improvement in societal attitudes and knowledge are highlighted, focusing on the importance of community education.


The papers included here cover a wide range of topics and are designed to present the case for a non-violent society which has full control over weapon usage...There is a growing concern in our community for those who are the victims of weapons and violence; thus we have included an article by Brian Slarke, Chairman VOCAL ACT. The tension between aborigines [sic] and whites in a small rural town is shown in Angela O’Brien’s article on two recent deaths in Brewarrina NSW. Peter La Franchi’s excellent article on ‘Rights’ has been reprinted from the Melbourne Herald. We are grateful to the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research for allowing us use of the section on ‘Guns’ from Alison Wallace’s book ’Homicide – The Social Reality’; and also to the National Committee on Violence for the use of the statement on the costs of violence and the Committee’s recommendations on Firearms Control.


The authors outline some key facts about fatal firearm injuries in Australia during 1994, and analyse the statistics according to the following indicators: age and sex distribution; death rate trends; State and Territory differences; urban rural differences; international differences; and hospitalisation. Graphs and tables are accompanied by brief interpretive summaries. (Supplement to Australian Injury Prevention Bulletin issue titled ‘Injury mortality Australia 1994’ by Stan Bordeaux and James Harrison. Also published electronically on NISU’ internet site: http://www.nisu.flinders.edu.au).


Report on a research project funded by the Criminology Research Council. Title of the original project: Social correlates of suicide in Australia. Appendix A of the report consists of a table: Suicide in Australia by country of birth and length of residence.


YACCA (Youth and Community Combined Action) was the first major government-sponsored non-criminal justice crime prevention program to be introduced in Queensland. Administered by the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, the goals were ‘to reduce the incidence of juvenile offending by enhancing the capacity of communities to engage marginalised young people in community life.’ Three main types of services were funded: community-based projects carried out by youth and community workers; schools-based projects (through the Education Department); and mainstream youth organisations such as the Boy Scouts. A great variety of activities was implemented in both urban and regional Queensland. Examples included a girls’ group that provided friendship and support through outings and meetings, a support group for young people living with substance abusers, a graffiti artists’ course, subsidised transport to and from an underage disco, after school study space and homework assistance, weekend camping trips, and local recreational activities.

This evaluation, undertaken at an early stage of development for all project types, shows that an intersectoral regionally based approach to prevent young people coming in contact with the juvenile justice system is attractive to those young people and is accepted within the community. It shows that a community development approach of shared community responsibility for the assisted passage of marginalised young people to adulthood as compared to a non-custodial corrections approach provided after offending behaviour has occurred, is seen by schools, mainstream youth organisations, other service providers and young people themselves as a way for marginalised young people to connect with their communities positively.

The YACCA Program has enabled mainstream youth organisations a role in the area of marginalised young people who are potential offenders where previously there was little or no involvement.


This is a guide to over 1800 organisations, courses and interest groups which cater specifically to the needs and concerns of women throughout Australia. A general table of contents is provided, as is a comprehensive index. Categorisation is in alphabetical order, and includes over fifty separate categories, examples of which are: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders; Adoption: Carers; Child care; Disability; Domestic violence; Drugs and alcohol; Emergency, crisis services and shelters; Family and child support; Government; Health; Housing and accommodation; Information and referral; Legal; Lesbian; Lobby and social justice; Mothers and mothering; Multicultural and NESB; Older women; Pregnancy; Religious; Reproductive; Rural and isolated; Sexual assault; Sole parents; TAFE courses; University courses; Work and trade Unions; Youth.

This document contains the Australian Institute of Criminology’s data base on action which has been taken or is being taken by Australian governments or by organisations funded by Australian governments, in many different fields, to deal with the wide variety of factors that may impinge ... on levels of violence in our society. The information in this volume consists of official reports from many areas of State, Territory and Commonwealth governments about what those agencies have done, or are doing, in response to the National Committee on Violence (NCV) recommendations. It contains many different opinions, styles and priorities, and covers many different programs and fields of interest.

The result of this massive exercise is a mosaic of social action policies and programs representing possibly one of the most broad-ranging contemporary collections of information about the social action activities of Australian Governments. In this the responses reflect the nature of violence as the National Committee on violence saw it -- a complex subject with many diverse characteristics and causes, involving all levels and all aspects of Australian society.

This report tells, in the words of the officers involved, not only what their organisations have done but how they see the issues. In addition to new initiatives, it describes many projects which, while not direct responses to the NCV recommendations, in one way or another add to the overall effort to reduce levels of violence in Australia. It also shows some marked differences between jurisdictions in circumstances and outlook, suggesting that a more area-specific approach to some problems may be required. Finally, it reveals the gaps and the new issues which have come to the fore since the NCV reported.


Some of the major assumptions underpinning Queensland’s new primary crime prevention program, the Youth and Community Combined Action (YACCA) program, are critically examined. Drawing on research undertaken in North Queensland, the authors demonstrate that the policy of targeting young people deemed 'at risk' in perceived high crime areas is based upon some tenuous assumptions about the nature and extent of juvenile crime in these localities. They claim YACCA’s aim of reintegrating youth illustrates its focus on individual rather than structural solutions. *Offending youth, the authors find, is regarded as problematic rather than the disadvantaged positions of communities that then produce youths seen as being criminal because of their responses to their socio-economic disadvantage.*

Jamrozik statistically shows the over-representation of unemployed persons (of whom Aboriginal people are over-represented in comparison to non-Aboriginal Australians) among those who come before the courts and who comprise the populations of correctional institutions. Furthermore, they are usually repeat offenders for whom non-institutionalisation appears transitory. The author suggests the added difficulty that economically depressed times make it extremely difficult for former inmates to find work of any kind. Not only does the author suggest a correlation between the numbers of unemployed engaging in criminal behaviour and the state of the economy, but he suggests that the enforcing of stricter unemployment regulations by the Social Security Department contributes to this trend. The unemployed are defined as comprising a large section of welfare cheats who could find work if they so desired. Rather than confront the reasons for unemployment, the author argues, stricter guidelines and penalties for welfare ‘cheats’ force more off benefits and coerce others into acts they might not otherwise commit. Jamrozik argues that there should be more attention paid to why the unemployed are over-represented criminally and to the state of an economy that cannot provide sufficient jobs, rather than to the unemployed person as being unwilling to work.

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This paper points to the need to address the macro-area of people’s economic positions in all walks of life as contributing to violence. This is relevant for Aboriginal people, rural populations and urban areas alike. It is, however, particularly relevant for rural and Aboriginal communities whose unemployment levels are reported as a major problem: the rural sector has been suffering economically because of both depressed agricultural prices and drought and Aboriginal communities are noted for the lack of industrial capitalist employment opportunities. The way unemployment programs are structured requires investigation since a group arguably depressed because of being unable to find work could well be depressed further by being subjected to oppressive bureaucratic regulations that define them as ‘bludgers’ within a depressed labour market that is not of their making.


In late 1994 the National Council for the International Year of the Family produced a report for the Federal Government called Creating the Links: Families and Social Responsibility. The report contains some twenty priority recommendations for further action. This article discusses the recommendation relating to the establishment of Regional Family Support Councils. The Council proposes that two Regional Family Support Councils be established in each State/Territory in an urban and rural area and that the focus of the Councils be on support and prevention, rather than on crisis intervention. The author raises five possible points of concern about the IYF proposal.
as it stands. These are: (1) the overlap of functions between the proposed Councils and the already established Family Resource Centres; (2) the limited number per State and hence the minimal coverage which would be achieved; (3) the pilot status of the proposals; (4) the duplication of regional planning and monitoring bodies; and (5) the need to address cross-departmental funding gaps and overlaps in existing regional services to families.


The author begins by discussing suicide rates in Australia and notes with concern that the suicide rate for young males living in rural areas and in small towns is increasing. Next, the author considers approaches to preventing suicide in rural Australia concluding that both long term and immediate approaches are needed to tackle suicidal behaviour. He then reviews two programs in operation. First, a pilot project of youth suicide prevention in the Riverina, NSW, involving in-service training about suicide prevention for high school teachers of health, personal development and physical education. The results of an evaluation of the project are discussed. Secondly, a community based suicide awareness and prevention project on the New South Wales South Coast in which training in suicide awareness and prevention was given to teachers and other educators, police, ambulance workers, health workers, nurses, clergy and general practitioners is discussed.


This article summarises the results of two field surveys which investigated the extent to which individuals take drugs. Using confidential interviews, the surveys have revealed a high incidence of drug taking, especially among school leavers and tertiary students. The surveys were conducted on young people in Melbourne and rural Victoria.


Youth suicide is a major and an increasing problem, with Australia having one of the highest suicide rates in the world. After traffic accidents, suicide is the leading cause of death in the age group between 15 and 24 years, with the incidence of suicide generally higher in rural communities compared to urban communities. This booklet discusses the facts and myths surrounding suicide and prevention of youth suicide.

'Changing attitudes: rural responses to women and domestic violence'. Murray Mallee Community Health Service.

This report is the result of a joint project by the Murray Mallee Women’s Health Team and the Women’s Health Service for the Adelaide Hills and Southern Fleurieu. A three month consultation process involved informants from Domestic Violence Action Groups in South Australia, country women’s health services and shelters, other service providers, groups and individuals in both South Australia and interstate. Telephone and face to face interviews/discussions, questionnaires, group meetings and sharing stories were all part of the process. The report identifies issues of concern and needs and gaps. It looks at several rural response models to women and domestic violence from a service and community, local and regional perspective. It also discusses the justice system’s response to domestic violence and examines its impact in rural and remote areas.


Many families in rural Australia in the 1990s live within a context of disadvantage and poverty relative to urban counterparts. This is caused by economic, climatic and social changes over the last two decades. This legacy of constrained opportunity causes stress within families when young people express needs which cannot be readily satisfied. Parents may feel burdened with the unremitting demands of daily survival but even in rural areas where counselling and preventative mental health is generally unavailable, families can learn skills of conflict resolution which can be of great benefit to adolescent and parent relationships.


The nature of the areas and the lifestyles of people living in them is closely related to exposure to risk factors for injury. Rural dwellers are, for example, more likely to be exposed to high speed, long distance motor vehicle travel and to unsealed roads than capital city dwellers. Rural workers are more likely to be exposed to agricultural machinery. Examination of differences in injury rates between the areas provides clues to the impact of these differences and forms a foundation for targeting appropriate prevention. This bulletin reports regional differences in unintentional injury, suicide among males in some age groups, and interpersonal violence.

This paper provides an historical and statistical analysis of the frequency of suicide, with graphical representations of time series data, sex and age differences, seasonal variation, mode of suicide and correlation with economic conditions and unemployment rates. Maps showing the rates of suicide by local government area in New South Wales are provided. The author draws conclusions from this information, chiefly that the male suicide rate is strongly linked to economic conditions. He urges policy measures to alleviate the social distress caused by economic rationalist policies as a major solution to the problem of male suicide.


This article provides a broad overview of a new social problem which has arisen in outback towns in Western NSW, Cunnamulla in Western Queensland, Port Augusta and Ceduna in South Australia, Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory and settlements in Western Australia. Focusing in particular on Bourke in Western NSW the problem of violent gangs of children who are often drunk and involved in petty crime and vandalism is examined. The reaction by the local population to this problem has threatened to exacerbate racial tensions in the town. Causes of the problem are analysed and include: welfare-dependent single parent families; lack of coordination among service providers; and historical government policy of removal of Aboriginal children from their parents with the consequent lack of parenting abilities.


Trials of part of the Children (Parental Responsibility) Act 1994 (NSW) giving police powers to remove young people from public places commenced in Orange and Gosford, in rural New South Wales in March 1995. The provisions cover young people under 16 not under adult supervision or control. Police may remove the young person being exposed to some risk. The National Children’s and Youth Law Centre is critical of the Act and argues that it should be repealed.


This report should be read by any government agency that has not done so as it recommends an approach towards addressing violence levels that can be implemented only by government agencies. The committee recommends, for example, mass education campaigns to change society’s attitudes using the popular media in a similar manner that Life Be In It and AIDS awareness did. Because the report addresses violence levels in so many sections of Australian society, it should not be excluded from consideration when planning violence prevention programs.
This report argues that before policies aimed at addressing the level of violence in Australia can be constructed, that level must be known; this data, the Committee argues, is extremely limited. In short, the committee finds that, although Australia is less violent than before Federation, it is more so than in the early 1970s. Those at highest risk, the committee finds, are infants under one year for homicide, young males from lower socio-economic backgrounds and Aboriginal people, with women and children at high risk of violence within the home; most victims of violence are known to their assailants. Gang violence is not problematic and political violence is rare. Juveniles are not major contributors to violence levels while alcohol is. Much violence is never officially reported. Despite firearms featuring heavily in homicides, they are seldom used in non-fatal acts but are the favoured weapon used in commercial robberies. While violence levels are not evenly distributed around the country, urban areas are more violent, the Committee found, than rural areas. Although violence levels are a reason for concern, the Committee argues, the risk of personal involvement is relatively low. The report is divided into three sections addressing (1) violence levels (2) reasons for violence and (3) ways of addressing violence levels. The Committee investigated an array of factors as possibly causing people to be violent, for example, culture, family socialisation, pathology. It concluded that there were often interacting causes and that there is no panacea for combating violence. The Committee set out a plan that government at all levels could follow.


In the course of its inquiry into suicide in rural New South Wales, the Committee received over 60 written submissions and heard testimony from over 80 witnesses in hearings conducted across the State. Chapter 1 of the report gives the background to the inquiry. Chapter 2 presents a profile on rural communities in changing economic times. Chapter 3 discusses the extent and nature of suicide, overseas, in Australia and in New South Wales; methods of suicide; suicide among Aborigines, and among people born outside Australia. Chapter 4 deals with factors associated with suicide, focusing on suicide as a mental health issue and as a social issue; personal factors; Aboriginal people and suicide; and possible causes for the increase in suicides in rural areas. Chapter 5 is on strategies for the prevention of suicide in rural New South Wales, covering primary, secondary and tertiary prevention, services, and strategies for Aboriginal people.


The authors situate their investigation into rural crime in the NSW town of Walcha, population, 1674 according to the 1981 Census. Their investigation is conducted because they argue that rural crime is a relatively neglected area of study. Despite ideology that positions the country as a safe place in which to live compared to the violent city, the authors conclude that there is little difference regarding crime levels between the two areas, the greatest difference being with property crimes; violence levels are similar and under-reported. The authors investigated Walcha’s social structure because of literature suggesting that more civil communities
experienced less crime. They found residents reluctant to denigrate their social structure but that there was the suggestion of class inequality and resistance to accepting willingly new residents into the social structure. The ‘safe bush’, they conclude, is an ideological, Australian myth.

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This report suggests that violence levels in rural areas should be taken seriously – that those wanting to investigate the substance of rural violence should not be dissuaded by beliefs from any quarter into the mythological safety of non-urban Australia. Accepting that ‘the bush’ does possess a level of violence then paves the way for investigating the nature of this violence and how a holistic approach to violence-prevention programs and/or policies may be constructed; concentrating on urban areas is not holistic. Because there is the suggestion of class inequality and social exclusion within the community, this area is suggested for investigation in keeping with Elias (1978).


The approach to community policing in England and in NSW is outlined. Observation studies of rural policing in Walcha, NSW and Northamptonshire are discussed and compared. The author believes that the NSW Police Force has not succeeded in meeting community needs. Police need to be seen as peace keepers and not as crime controllers, and this involves disarming police on patrol and creating community beat officers. The English police force has been more successful at community policing.


Through the author’s work as a psychologist, he has observed a consistent pattern of behaviour amongst males. This pattern of behaviour consists of denial, repression and withdrawal from self, often leading to aggressive outbursts and bouts of alcoholism and sometimes in suicide and domestic violence. For rural males these problems are exacerbated by internal and external isolation. The author reports on the results of a survey of men living in the South East of South Australia to obtain information about their perceived requirements in relation to health. The questionnaire included a psychological component as well as questions addressing physical health. It covered stress factors, fears and anxieties, blood pressure, alcohol consumption, skin cancer, back injuries, cancer checks, sexual problems as well as other health and lifestyle issues. The survey was part of the SA Rural Men’s Health Project which is developing a training resource manual aimed at assisting health care and community service professionals to present workshops on men’s health.

This book is a survey of the bibliographic and reference material available on families in Australia in 1994, the International Year of the Family. It focuses on the issues that challenge governments and institutions no less than individuals. Many of these issues relate to the way the family has evolved over recent years. Issues covered are: divorce; fertility, surrogacy and adoption; family violence; one parent families; rural families; families from non-English speaking backgrounds; homelessness; homosexuality; and employment. Chapter contents include bibliographies of recent books, newspaper and journal articles, and addresses of key organisations. Also included are biographical notes on prominent and influential figures, a chronology of events and a glossary of terms.


This article looks at the firearm laws in Australia in relation to their availability and the frequency of suicides. The author examines the relationship between the rural and urban availability of firearms and the proportional relationship with suicide rates. How current gun laws could be improved is discussed.


This article reports on a rural suicide research project carried out in the Great Southern Region of Western Australia. The study aimed (i) to develop a comprehensive picture of the attendance, clinical management and follow up arrangements available for people at risk of suicide; (ii) to serve as a community resource, providing information about suicide and its prevention; and (iii) to facilitate training.


The author of this book researches the social conditions in a New South Wales town, Marulan, to find that the position of rural women is one of subordination to a dominant patriarchal ideology. This results in the actual domination of all that these rural women do in their lives both on the property and within the community. Furthermore, the women are in an economically dependent situation which further disadvantages their position in relation to that of their husbands.
By noting Putnam's attention to an area's social construction, an alternative way of understanding violence is opened up. For example, rather than pursuing individuals as pathological (i.e., assuming that individual socialisation is the primary reason that the person is violent), investigation of aspects of an area's social structure may reveal that violence is tolerated or encouraged. This approach is similar to that of Coorey (1990) and Women Healthsharing (Victoria) (1994), who suggest that a mateship culture and inter-family familiarity, among other reasons, make it difficult for families experiencing violence to break the cycle.

On 4 July 1994 Marriage Guidance Victoria changed its name to Relationships Australia (Victoria) Inc. The aim of Relationships Australia (Victoria) formerly Marriage Guidance Victoria, is to promote well being and mutual satisfaction in couple and family relationships. It also offers a range of professional services. These include relationship counselling, relationship education, professional training, counselling services for rural families, genetic counselling services, divorce mediation, and family violence prevention.

This study of coroners’ records in a country region of New South Wales revealed major differences between rural and metropolitan suicide patterns. While the crude suicide rates were lower in the country than in the city, sex and age specific rates showed unexpected anomalies, the principal one being that women aged 50 to 64 years in the New England region were more than twice as likely to commit suicide as their counterparts throughout the State. This ratio is inverse of that predicted by findings in Victoria and Europe. The study suggests that ... major factors contributing to the unexpectedly high suicide rate for this section of the community were social isolation, unemployment, or a significant life event e.g., divorce, separation, disharmony at work or in the family unit. Drugs and alcohol were present in the bodies of most victims. Guns featured heavily as the means used by males. A major contributing factor suggested in the research was accumulated stress.

This article gives an overview of the impact of the rural crisis in the Mallee region of Victoria. The rural crisis in this area had its origins with the drought of 1982, this being
followed by high interest rates and falls in wheat and wool prices. The human cost to farmers and their families has been enormous, including loss of self-esteem, confidence and dignity. There has also been an increase in the incidence of domestic violence. The work of rural and family counsellors is discussed, as are schemes to relocate farmers to other forms of employment which, it is hoped, will address the reasons for the increase of violence in these communities.


Issues facing families in rural and remote areas including transport, communications, access to education and training and employment are discussed. The effects of economic recession and persistent drought are making the survival of the family farm more difficult and farm women often lack support in cases of marriage breakdown and domestic violence. Farm safety is an issue for farmers and their families. The author identifies issues which will face families over the next ten years and which require government attention.


Voyce finds that the law discriminates against farming women by considering their positions on farms in comparison to their husbands as one of only supporting, as inferior to the husbands. This, Voyce finds, supports the dominant patriarchal ideology permeating rural life. Farms, that is, are regarded as the inheritable property of the male sons and farm work as 'man's' work that takes precedence over anything that women may do. Belief in this ideology, argues Voyce, perpetuates a general rural belief in male superiority.


White outlines the construction of an Australian identity by tracing the discovery and settlement of Australia by Europeans. The author argues that there is no natural Australian identity. Rather, the Australian identity has been actively constructed from within a male-dominated society that has idealised a superior type of Anglo-Saxon male. This male type has gained supremacy from within myths of idealised bush characters that has taken specific images at specific times. For example, a bushman, promoted by city-dwelling bohemian artists during the nineteenth century, a superior military type during the First World War and an idealised life-saver type during the 1950s period have all shared and spread this superior masculine image.

This paper attempts to provide a scoping review of research, strategies, programs and services for youth suicide prevention, currently being conducted or planned by Victorian agencies and individuals as a preliminary to the development of a more systematic approach to the problem. Areas explored include court counselling, working with homeless youth, rural networking, training of youth workers and community relations in education. National Mental Health goals, targets and strategies are provided and an analysis of the current situation is presented. Implications for future youth suicide prevention strategies are examined.

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This paper has no references to any other sort of violence. It comes to no definitive conclusions regarding types of programs that might address incidents of youth suicide. Its treatment of different programs operating is very brief and would require considerable elaboration before any conclusions could be drawn.


This article highlights the different problems that face rural women wanting to escape a violent situation: police familiarity (mateship with husbands), isolation making it difficult for dependent women to travel, lack of public transport, general familiarity that breeds a gossip network making it difficult to disguise one’s whereabouts should escape be possible.
Chapter 4. School Violence

A range of prevention programs that address problem behaviours and violence in schools has been developed over the last several years, although many of these have not been rigorously evaluated to date. Of those that have been evaluated, there is clear evidence that programs that focus on building a school’s capacity to initiate and sustain innovation (Gottfredson, 1997) and that focus on environmental or systemic change within the school are most successful. Programs that develop a whole-of-school approach to the setting and clarifying of normative behaviour and rules in conjunction with their contingent enforcement are considered successful.

Several whole of school approaches for anti-bullying programs are outlined in this chapter, in particular the PEACE Pack (Rees, 1997) and the Norwegian anti-bullying intervention (Olweus, 1994). While these two programs have different emphases they have both been formally evaluated, including the use of longitudinal studies, and have been found to be effective. Research also suggests that anti-violence interventions are ‘more likely to be effective if they begin early - perhaps as early as preschool years - and are based on clear theoretical models of aggression’ (Reiss and Roth, 1993: 108).

In comparison with whole-of-school approaches, there is more qualified support in the literature for 'stand alone' anti-violence curriculum-based programs (Gottfredson, 1997; Van de Ven, 1995) although it should be noted that several of the newer programs implemented in Australian schools in recent years have not yet been properly evaluated. Programs based on a cognitive-behavioural approach and that aim to develop a range of social competency skills (e.g., self-control, decision-making, thinking skills, conflict resolution) in conjunction with attempts to change attitudes are likely to be more effective (Gottfredson, 1997; Reiss and Roth, 1993; Van de Ven 1995). The literature also suggests that anti-violence classroom programs are more likely to be effective when they are part of a broader whole of school management approach to addressing interpersonal violence and bullying.

In this chapter we provide a comprehensive summary, mainly in tabular form, of many school anti-violence programs. These are presented in four main groups: general programs that aim to reduce inter-personal violence, programs specifically directed at bullying, programs directed at the prevention of homophobic violence, and programs that address gender-based violence. Discussion of specific programs is preceded by a brief analysis of the factors influencing school violence and the main characteristics of prevention strategies.
Factors that Influence Interpersonal Violence in Schools

While research on school violence is still limited, both Australian and international studies suggest that although most students are not victimised, a significant minority report becoming victims at school (Lab and Clark, 1997, NIE Report, 1978, Report into Youth Violence in NSW, 1995; Olweus, 1994; Slee, 1996, 1997). The United States National Institute of Education Report (1978) suggests that school violence is related to importation factors (e.g., crime rates in the school district), the percentage of students who have a sense of attachment to educational values (e.g., valuing good grades, perceiving the curriculum as relevant) and to effective social control (e.g., discipline in classrooms, lax or arbitrary rule enforcement, weak principal).

Lab and Clark (1997:125) argue that according to a routine-activities perspective, schools are a prime site for crime, simply because mandatory attendance at school unintentionally brings together the three necessary conditions for predatory crime - suitable targets (students and their belongings), likely offenders (other students and/or gang members), and an absence of capable guardians (high student/teacher ratios). What is particularly problematic for schools is that typical student responses to school violence and victimisation (e.g., school avoidance, enhanced fear, carrying weapons) are not conducive to students’ educational attainment and may place students in further social, psychological and legal difficulties (Lab and Clark, 1997; Olweus, 1994; Slee, 1997).

Programs to Reduce Interpersonal Violence in Schools

This chapter is focused primarily on anti-violence and anti-bullying programs and draws heavily on studies that report formal evaluations. We pay particular attention to whole of school management approaches, as the literature consistently reports that these are the most effective in addressing the problem. Programs aimed at reducing interpersonal violence for specific groups of students are also included.

Gottfredson (1997) in her comprehensive review of school-based crime prevention makes a useful distinction between environmental change strategies and individual change strategies. Environmental change strategies target the whole school environment, administrative structures, classroom management, and communication with families and often a wider school community. Individual change strategies target students’ knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs and/or behaviours (see Table 4.1). These strategies are not usually employed discretely, and in fact many of the more successful interventions (e.g., Olweus, 1994) combine elements of both environmental and individual change strategies.

We will describe in some detail two of the more effective programs found in the literature for addressing interpersonal violence in schools. These and other successful programs are also summarised in Table 4.2. In addition, readers may wish to refer to the evaluation studies in Gottfredson’s (1997) literature review. While these are too numerous to
detail in this report, the conclusions drawn from this research about the efficacy of different environmental and individual change strategies for addressing the factors influencing violence in schools are discussed.

Table 4.1 Categories of Crime Prevention Strategies Used in Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Change Strategies</th>
<th>Individual Change Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· building school capacity</td>
<td>· instructing students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· setting norms for behaviour/rules</td>
<td>· teaching thinking strategies and behaviour modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· managing classes differently</td>
<td>· peer programs (counselling, mediation, peer leaders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· regrouping students and setting up ‘schools within schools’</td>
<td>· other counselling and mentoring recreational, enrichment and leisure activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Gottfredson (1997)

Many of the studies summarised in Table 4.2 are directly or indirectly targeted at bullying. Various definitions of bullying are found in the literature. Essentially bullying refers to negative actions or ‘repeated intimidation, over time, of a physical, verbal, or psychological nature of a less powerful person by a more powerful person or group of persons’ (Slee, 1997).

Other programs in Table 4.2 focus on more general aspects of violence and juvenile crime, such as violence directed at staff or at property, and substance abuse. These programs are generally less well evaluated than the anti-bullying programs, but suggest nevertheless that similar processes are effective: community building, rule clarification and other situational methods that reduce opportunities for violence (Clarke and Homel, 1997), and especially a whole-of-school approach that emphasises the responsibility of school management for the prevention of disruptive behaviour, intimidation, and violence.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEACE Pack (Preparation, Education, Action, Coping, Evaluation) (Slee, 1997); Australia; for primary and secondary schools. (see text)</td>
<td>A systemic school response to bullying. Evaluated in replicated longitudinal studies in several schools and found effective in reducing school bullying, increasing children’s feelings of safety, and their knowledge about how to stop bullying and about resources to use if being bullied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-bullying strategy intervention (Olweus, 1991;1992;1994); Norway; for Grades 1-9. (see Table 4.3 for more details)</td>
<td>Involves whole of school, classrooms and individuals. Involves setting norms for behaviour, explicit rules with contingent responses and parent and staff cooperation. Sound evaluation indicated 50% reduction in prevalence of victimisation and a significant reduction in the number of offenders. The program has since been replicated in Canada, England and the Netherlands, although no outcome data were found on these.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School bullying intervention (Smith and Sharp, 1994); England; for primary and secondary schools. Involves developing a policy on bullying and steps to be taken when bullying occurs; curriculum-based programs using discussion, problem solving formats, drama and literature; individual and small group social skills training; improvements to the playground environment and the training of playground supervisors.</td>
<td>Targets whole school, classrooms and individuals with anti-bullying policy development, curriculum work, social skills training and situational prevention in playgrounds. Evaluations across 23 Sheffield primary and secondary schools indicated reductions in bullying of between 15% to 50% in most schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Toronto Board of Education Anti-Bullying Intervention Program (Pepler et al., 1993); Toronto, Canada; primary and secondary schools. Whole-of-school, systems oriented program involves school policy changes, staff development, parent information and training, curriculum-based work on bullying, classroom strategies and individual tuition aimed at reducing bullying.</td>
<td>Targets whole school and systems change at school, staff, parents, classroom, and individual levels. Extensive research (including direct observation studies) into incidents and impact of bullying confirmed pervasiveness of problem amongst students, and low incidence of intervention (7%) by teachers or other students to help victims. Program soundly evaluated at 18 month follow-up and found successful across a range of measures in reducing bullying, including teacher intervention to stop bullying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POETICS anti-bullying approach (Shields and Green, 1996); USA; A systems approach to understanding and addressing bullying. POETICS stands for the various steps in the approach: clearly define problem, organise social network, explanation of problem by teacher, timing of bullying in conjunction with other events, interactions that surround the bullying, coalition or groupings within the classroom, positive systemic function served by the problem.</td>
<td>Targets wider school and family system for understanding and addressing bullying. No evaluation or outcome data on the use of POETICS in schools is provided by the authors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Kia Kaha’ anti-bullying kit (Sullivan, 1994); New Zealand; an 8 step program consisting of 14 min. video and booklet re: program and activities. Steps include: check school/staff program readiness; staff meetings and training on bullying; develop intervention plan; involve parents; plan teaching sessions; conduct program (video, activities, outside resources e.g., police); evaluate program; reinforce and repeat activities.</td>
<td>Targets students’, teachers’ and parents’ attitudes and seeks behaviour change on bullying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Hampstead Bushband Project  
South Australia primary school, 1994; A school and community project centred around establishing a bushband musical group, and included a one week fundraising tour for the National Drought Appeal. | Targets school capacity building and school/community links to reduce violence and vandalism. Disadvantaged children and families specifically targeted. Pre and one year post data indicate significant reductions in student violence, violence by others towards school staff/property, vandalism, graffiti and break-ins. |
| Program Development Evaluation (PDE), Project PATHE  
(Gottfredson, 1997); 7 USA secondary schools from 1981-1983; A structured organisational development method using specific steps to develop and implement programs. Involves staff and student participation and cooperative learning strategies. | Targets school capacity building, clarifying rules and rule enforcement to reduce delinquency. Comparison group evaluations conducted after one year in 4 high schools and after 2 years in 5 middle schools revealed significantly less delinquent behaviour and drug use, fewer suspensions and school punishments in the participating schools. |
| IMPACT program  
(Qld Dept of Education, 1993); Schools develop their own plan and approach in accordance with the Managing Behaviour in a Supportive School Environment policy of the Qld Education Dept. Information, guidelines and resources available. | Adopts whole-of-school approach, in line with supportive schools policy to reduce behaviour management problems. Reportedly successful in many schools. |
| Resources for Teaching Against Violence Kit  
(NSW Department of School Education, 1991). A kit to assist teachers implement programs in the areas of disruptive behaviour management, domestic violence and violence associated with homophobia. | Targets students’ knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. Kit won 1993 Violence Prevention Award. Evaluation of homophobia module indicates short term effectiveness only, particularly for boys. Program extension and incorporation with a broader approach suggested (see Table 4.4). Outcome data for other modules not found in literature. |
**Program Description**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston Violence Prevention Curriculum (developed by Prothrow-Stith, 1987; Reiss and Roth, 1993) USA; for 10th grade students. Program teaches undesirability of violence, non-violent responses and risk reduction strategies and mediation skills. Developed into a Violence Prevention Project involving community-based organisations and mass media campaigns.</td>
<td>Targets student knowledge, attitude and behaviour. Evaluations suggested some positive effects on knowledge and attitudes but little success with changing behaviour. Program has been extensively implemented in USA and expanded into community settings despite lack of strong evidence of effectiveness. Outcomes of community based programs still to be reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playground Program (NSW Dept of School Education) NSW schools. Involves strategies of lunchtime leisure activities, teaching playground games, accessible play equipment, special needs groups and behaviour modification and conflict resolution. Some programs involve student mediators assisted by teachers’ aides.</td>
<td>Relies on situational prevention in playground, particularly directed at disruptive students. Programs reportedly successful with decreased incidents of aggressive behaviour in playgrounds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PEACE Pack Program (Preparation, Education, Action, Coping, Evaluation)**

The South Australian developed PEACE Pack (Slee, 1997), is a package of resource materials (booklet, worksheets, overheads) that aims to assist schools to address in a systematic way interpersonal violence and bullying in schools. The Pack distinguishes between first order (e.g., individual behaviour change) and second order or systemic changes in the overall school environment. The whole school community (students, parents, staff and others) are invited to consider and address how structure and practices in the school, home and community may contribute to the bullying cycle. Essentially the PEACE Pack involves five components: preparation, education, action, coping and evaluation. Schools are able to adapt and develop these components to suit their own school and community environment and to fit with other policies and programs operating in the school.

**Preparation** provides information on the nature of the bullying experience based on Australian research studies. **Education** is about ways to educate others about the issue and collect information to inform an intervention program, e.g., review current school policies and procedures, direct observations, interviews, surveys. **Action** involves identifying the
various actions that will engage the sub-systems of the school environment, that is, students (including taking account of gender differences), parents and teachers. Guidelines for involving these different groups are provided. *Coping* outlines three useful intervention approaches including: developing an attitude or ethos within the school community to address bullying; behavioural strategies; and curriculum-based work (lessons and class meetings). *Evaluation* involves assessing the program (surveys, interviews, observations), providing feedback, and celebrating the gains made.

The Pack overviews research involving over 2500 students from more than 60 schools around Australia and reports that between one in five and one in seven students report being bullied ‘once a week or more often’. Australian and overseas research indicates that bullying is a physically harmful, psychologically damaging, and socially isolating aspect of a large number of students' lives. The Pack has been used extensively in South Australia and in several other schools interstate and in New Zealand as a resource for developing locally appropriate responses to the problem of bullying in schools.

PEACE Pack based interventions have been evaluated in replicated longitudinal studies in various schools and shown to be effective in reducing school bullying. Essentially, the findings indicate that using the program it is possible to: increase students’ knowledge about resources to utilise if they are being bullied; increase students' knowledge about how to stop bullying; increase students' feelings of safety from being bullied; and reduce the level of self-reported bullying in schools (Slee, 1997).

**Anti-bullying Intervention Program - Norway**

This anti-bullying program, introduced by the Norwegian Ministry of Education in 1983, arose out of concerns about the seriousness of victimisation in schools following the suicide of three young boys as an apparent consequence of their having been bullied at school. The program is based on considerable empirical research on bullying by Olweus (1994:124), who contends that bullying can be viewed as ‘self-initiated behaviour with the deliberate aim of inflicting pain and discomfort, or dominating and oppressing others, and of obtaining tangible and prestigious rewards through coercion.’ Olweus’ research suggests that in the main, bullying occurs not as a consequence of lack of skills or abilities, but rather as a function of motivations and habits as well as an 'opportunity structure' that enables bullying to occur without negative consequences for the bully.

Olweus considers that the success of this program is its universal orientation, as opposed to only targeting at risk or 'deviant' children. The program legitimises the experience of victims and conceptualises the social context of the problem as one of bully and victim. The direct focus of the program is on relevant behaviours and associated norms (i.e., ‘we don’t accept bullying in our school and will see to it that it comes to an end’ [Olweus, 1994:124]). The core components and activities of the program are described in Table 4.3. The involvement of all students and teachers in working together to address the
problem of bullying would also appear to counteract the problem of the 'passive onlooker' to incidents of victimisation and does much to dispel the culture that to 'rat' on fellow students is worse than to be a 'bully'. Several other reports on school violence have commented on these aspects of school culture, including the fact that teachers often take no action even when they are aware of problems occurring.

This program underwent a methodologically sound evaluation across 42 primary and secondary schools (2,500 students) in Bergen, Norway. Result were considered impressive with a 50% reduction in prevalence of victimisation and a significant reduction in the number of offenders. The observed effects of the program increased from year 1 to year 2, and the program was equally effective for boys and girls. A reduction in other undesirable behaviour (truancy, fighting and theft) was also noted (Olweus, 1994; Grabosky and James, 1995). The program has since been replicated in Canada, England and the Netherlands, but no outcome data on these intervention were found in the literature (Reiss and Roth, 1993).

However some analysts, while acknowledging the results of such anti-bullying programs, remain critical of their failure to take account of the structural violence inherent in the school culture (Slee, 1995). In particular, systems that still allow corporal punishment and authoritarian pedagogy, and where racist, sexist and homophobic attitudes and behaviours common to staff and students prevail, will still experience violence and bullying as forms of abuse of power.

**Table 4.3  Overview Of Core Components And Activities Of The Anti-Bullying Intervention Program At The School, Class And Individual Levels.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Elements</th>
<th>Description of Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Prerequisites</strong></td>
<td>Students complete a self-report questionnaire to provide baseline data on the program’s impact. Separate booklets on bullying for staff and all parents and a video is available. School conference to outline problem and program, followed by regular Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Improved playground supervision at recesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Awareness and involvement on the part of adults</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measures at the School Level</strong></td>
<td>Students complete a self-report questionnaire to provide baseline data on the program’s impact. Separate booklets on bullying for staff and all parents and a video is available. School conference to outline problem and program, followed by regular Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Improved playground supervision at recesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Questionnaire survey</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>School conference day</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Better supervision during recess</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Meetings of staff-parents (Parent-Teacher Associations)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Core Elements Description of Activities

| Measures at the Class Level | Classroom rules against bullying are devised and contingent responses for behaviour applied (prosocial behaviour encouraged and rewarded with praise, undesirable behaviour with non-hostile, non-physical sanctions). Co-operative learning projects and regrouping of students within the class to place bullies with strong secure students rather than with potential victims. Regular class meetings to discuss situations, clarify norms, role play etc and joint meetings with parents and children. |
| Measures at the Individual Level | Talks initiated with observed bullies and victims assured of protection. Parents of both victims and bullies involved and information, materials and ideas for parents to respectively increase children’s self esteem or discourage anti-social behaviour made available. Counselling by social workers or psychologists available in more severe cases. |

**Source:** Adapted from Olweus (1994:123) and Grabosky and James (1995:40)

### Approaches to the Prevention of Homophobic Violence in Schools

Australian and overseas literature report increasing evidence of anti-gay violence in schools directed at students and teachers, and the under reporting of this violence to school or other official authorities. Gay male students appear to experience higher rates of homophobic violence (verbal harassment, threats of violence and physical assault) than do lesbian students (Griffin, 1997; SchoolWatch Report, 1994). Interestingly, research indicates that gay men recognise their sexual orientation at an average age of 15.4 years and lesbians at 20.6 years (Gross et al., 1988; similar findings by Aurand et al., 1985; both cited in Berrill and Herek, 1990). The effects of violence on gay school students, especially occurring at a time of critical personal and sexual identity development, can cause psychological, emotional and educational damage. Documented effects include isolation, stress, depression, suicide, poor school performance, truancy and school drop-out (Griffin, 1997; Hunter, 1990; Massachusetts Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 1993; SchoolWatch Report, 1994).
In addition to anti-gay violence occurring in schools, other evidence indicates that young males are the major perpetrators of anti-gay violence in the community (see Chapter 8, *Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men*). Schools, particularly high schools, therefore provide an obvious intervention point for efforts to reduce both school and community homophobic violence. School-based programs aimed at reducing homophobic violence are only beginning to be reported in the literature. Evaluations of the anti-homophobia kit currently available for use in NSW schools, and of the Los Angeles Project 10, are described below. A brief overview of other programs is provided in Table 4.4., but most of these programs have not been rigorously evaluated to date, and therefore strong conclusions about their effectiveness cannot be drawn.

**Resources for teaching against violence against homosexual men and women: A module of six lessons for presentation of a unit of work on homophobia**

This program introduced into the NSW school system in 1995, developed out of workshops on homophobia conducted in some New South Wales schools by the Education Department, youth workers, police and gay men. These workshops were in response to serious concern by the community and education authorities about the high levels of homophobic violence involving high school students or recent graduates, including the murder of a homosexual man by Sydney high school students and the murder of a homosexual teacher. (Griffin, 1997; Van de Ven, 1997). The Department of Schools Education (DSE) module is part of the broader Resources for Teaching Against Violence Kit used in NSW schools. The aim of the module is:

- to provide a means by which a school can address homophobia;
- to provide a forum in which students can identify questions that they have about homosexuality and would like to ask of gay/lesbian people;
- to provide information on discrimination and the law;
- to provide a means by which a school can minimise discrimination against gay and lesbian people’ (Van de Ven, 1997).

The module consists of 6 sessions (approx 5 hours total instruction time) and covers myths/stereotypes, information about homosexuality and discrimination, links between prejudice and violence, issues of homophobia and violence, including consideration of the homosexual perspective and acceptable ways of relating to gay and lesbian people, harassment and violence as criminal offences, and illegal discrimination. ‘Contact’ with gay and lesbian people to challenge stereotypes is included in the program by means of a taped panel discussion or a panel of homosexual men and women. In the final session students reflect on what they have learned and plan any action to minimise discrimination against lesbians and gay men.

The program has been evaluated and found effective for mainstream high school students, but the effects were more lasting for girls, with boys relapsing within three months.
The absence of a longer term impact for boys is concerning and led Van de Ven (1995:168) to recommend a number of strategies to address the problem. These include: further kit development and evaluation, especially to take account of the ‘aetiology and maintenance factors involved in high school students’ homophobia’; extension modules for boys; strategies to address boys’ socialisation; involvement of lesbian and gay participants in program delivery; and embedding the program within a broader school approach to reduce discrimination and homophobia.

Van de Ven (1995) also conducted an evaluation of a modified version of the DSE module specifically targeted at juvenile offenders detained in Community Care Schools (the CCS module). These modifications (based on earlier research with juvenile offenders by the author) aimed to overcome the specific maintenance factors associated with young-offender homophobic attitudes. These included countering particular myths and stereotypes about paedophilia, AIDS and the visibility of gay men to reduce defensiveness; coaching socially acceptable strategies for dealing with ‘unwanted approaches’; encouraging ‘empathy’ or identification with gay men and emphasising the serious (legal) consequences of violence against gay men in order to control impulsiveness. This pretest-posttest comparison group evaluation revealed that the Community Care Schools module was superior in terms of producing less commitment to homophobic behaviour and more positive responses to homosexuals.

**Project 10 program**

The other most relevant initiative reported in the literature for preventing homophobic violence in schools is the Los Angeles Project 10 program (see Table 4.4). This program comprises a ‘whole school approach’ to the problem, as in addition to an educational curriculum component, it includes school safety initiatives to protect students from discrimination and victimisation, and also directly targets gay and lesbian students through counselling and support groups aimed at school retention for these students. The program has been evaluated and found successful in reducing school-based homophobic violence in several Los Angeles schools and also in the surrounding community.
### Table 4.4 Approaches To Preventing Homophobic Violence in Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violence Against Homosexual Men and Women: A Module of Six Lessons for Presentation of a Unit of Work on Homophobia (DSE module for NSW Dept. of School Education) (Van de Ven, 1995; 1995a; Griffen 1997) New South Wales schools introduced 1995; curriculum module of the Resources for Teaching Against Violence Kit, for students in Years 9 to 12. Consists of 6 sessions of information and discussion on homosexuality myths/stereotypes, discrimination, prejudice and violence, and a taped or live panel discussion of gay men/lesbians. Students are encouraged to plan actions to minimise discrimination against lesbians and gay men.</td>
<td>Targets student knowledge, attitudes and behavioural intentions regarding homophobia. Evaluated at 2 high schools (N=130) in a pre-test, post-test follow up design, with gender and school type as independent variables, but with no control group. Results indicate significantly less homophobic anger and behavioural intentions at post-test and follow up. Significantly reduced hostility toward homosexuals for girls and initially for boys; however, boys reverted to previous levels of homophobia at 3 months follow up. Findings suggest need for further kit development and evaluation, extension of the module for boys, strategies to address boys socialisation and embedding the program within a broader school approach to reducing homophobia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence Against Homosexual Men and Women: A Module of Six Lessons for Presentation of a Unit of Work on Homophobia (CCS module for Community Care Schools for juvenile offenders) (Van de Ven, 1995a); NSW; This module is adapted from the above DSE module and includes modifications to overcome the specific maintenance factors of young-offender homophobic attitudes, based on previous research by the author.</td>
<td>Targets student knowledge, attitudes and behavioural intentions regarding homophobia as well as specific maintenance factors of attitudes held by the group (myths, poor social problem solving and empathy, impulsivity). Evaluation of young offenders (N=37) using multigroup pretest-posttest design of cognitive, affective, and behavioural self-report variables, indicated that the Community Care Schools module was superior in terms of producing less commitment to homophobic behaviour and more positive responses to gay men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Project 10**  
Los Angeles; introduced in 1984.  
Comprises four strands: teacher and student education, school safety, dropout prevention strategies and support services for gay students. School based support groups for lesbian and gay students is fundamental to Project 10. | Targets teacher and student knowledge and attitudes, school safety policies and practices, and directly targets gay and lesbian students with aim of reducing school drop out. Outcome data indicates noticeable drop in violence against gay men and lesbians in the schools that implemented the program, and for Los Angeles. No data on school dropout found. |
| **Making Schools Safe for Gay and Lesbian Youth**  
(Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 1993). Recommendations include anti-discrimination school policies; violence prevention and crisis intervention training for teachers, counsellors, and school staff; school-based support groups for gay and lesbian students; school library information for gay and lesbian students and general curricula that include gay and lesbian issues. Programs are being implemented in Massachusetts schools, similar to the Project 10 model. | Based on ‘whole of school’ approach for safer environment for gay men and lesbians. No available implementation or outcome data |
| **A Model to Address Sexual Orientation Harassment in Athletics and Physical Education**  
(Sattel et al., 1997) USA. Model drawn from strategies employed in various US high schools and includes assessment of current situation, policy and procedure prohibiting discrimination, staff awareness for coaches, physical education curriculum changes and support for students. | Based on a ‘whole of school’ or school management approach to reduce harassment/violence of gay men in sport and to increase their participation. Suggests parents also need to be a target for information. Evidence of success of individual strategies at various high schools cited, although no overall evaluation of the model. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Diversity Workshops (Hulsebosch and Koerner, 1997) USA.</td>
<td>Targets teachers’ attitudes and classroom practices with the aim of reducing bias and enabling teachers to support children from gay and lesbian families. Anecdotal evidence of success, but no other outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-off staff development workshops for elementary teachers and teacher trainees, includes information about gay families and prejudice, discussions based on critical incidents, modelling of classroom practice and resource information.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homophobia role play activity (Walters, 1995). A role play activity designed to teach the cultural impact of homophobia. Group participants given a bi-sexual, heterosexual, or homosexual identity and then the opportunity to assume or reject their assigned identity in the role play.</td>
<td>Targets student attitudes and understanding of prejudice. College students report an increased understanding of individual and institutional forms of homophobia and the difficulties associated with ‘passing’ vs. forming a positive homosexual identity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Approaches to the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence in Schools

The problem of gender-based violence in schools has been increasingly recognised and addressed over recent years. School-based interventions aimed at reducing violence, sex-based harassment, and date-acquaintance rape have increasingly been developed and implemented in both primary and secondary schools. Most programs reported in the literature tend to be curriculum-based programs aimed at increasing knowledge and improving student and teacher attitudes regarding violence against women. Unfortunately, many of these have not been evaluated, or they simply comprise recommendations that have not yet been implemented in the school setting. Other, more comprehensive, programs intervene at multiple levels and emphasise the ‘whole-of-school’ approach.

One of the more comprehensive whole-of-school approaches in Australia has been that developed by Ollis and Tomaszewski in their Gender and Violence Project (1993). They emphasise that in order to respond effectively to the problem of violence within schools, all staff (including principals, administration, teachers, school support staff), as well as students, need to be included. Comprehensive approaches also emphasise the importance of maintaining a consistent response to violence and a consistent message that violence is unacceptable across all levels of the school. Ollis and Tomaszewski stress that in order to be effective the approach needs to be implemented at the level of school policy and practices and emphasise the importance of developmentally appropriate materials spanning year levels and subject areas. The Gender and Violence project is described below. A brief overview of other programs targeting gender-based violence against women in schools is provided in Table 4.5.

The Gender and Violence Project

Based on extensive consultation and research, Ollis and Tomaszewski (1993) developed a comprehensive whole-of-school approach to the problem of gender-based violence against girls in schools. They detail a list of strategies intervening at the level of the school and the individual teacher and student.

At the level of the whole school, they propose a variety of ways for schools to develop management practices and organisational structures to promote a culture where violence against women is unacceptable. They suggest ways for schools to identify, develop and implement policies and practices that are effective in dealing with violence. At the level of the individual teacher and student, they suggest educational strategies to enhance teachers’ and students’ knowledge and to change attitudes regarding violence against girls. In particular, they make recommendations regarding approaches to educating about the criminal nature of violence, types of violence, links between sex-based harassment and violence against girls and women, issues of responsibility, and the relationship between masculinities and femininities.
Ollis and Tomaszewski (1993) also provide a thorough review and critique of current Australian and New Zealand curriculum resources available to schools regarding violence against women. Finally, they provide a detailed list of recommendations and specific examples of components of a package, including suggestions for a legal implications booklet, professional development materials, classroom materials, video for primary students, and materials for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities.

**Table 4.5 Approaches To Preventing Gender-Based Violence In Schools**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender and Violence Project (Ollis and Tomaszewski, 1993); Australia; comprehensive whole-of-school approach (see above).</td>
<td>Targets school (as a whole), teacher and student knowledge and attitudes towards violence against women; no outcome studies yet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolving Violence (Jenkin, 1996); Australia; curriculum comprising book and student worksheets.</td>
<td>Aims to educate secondary boys and girls; aims to educate boys about legal implications of violent behaviours, responsibility, and insight/empathy; aims to educate girls in help-seeking empowerment and assertiveness strategies; no outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills for Violence Free Relationships (Krajewski, Rybarik, Dosch and Gilmore, 1996); Wisconsin; a curriculum intervention for seventh graders.</td>
<td>Aims to increase knowledge and change attitudes; results of intervention showed that, compared to control, experimental group improved significantly in knowledge and attitudes; these changes weren’t maintained at a later follow-up, suggesting that violence-free principles need to be integrated into the curricula in an ongoing way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Petze Project (Schmidt and Peter, 1996); Germany; involves gender-specific teacher training in proactive prevention work on the topic of sexual violence against boys and girls.</td>
<td>Aims were to ‘sensitise’ women and men teachers in prevention work; no outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Students in Danger: Gender-Based Violence in Our Schools</strong> (Ohio State Dept of Education, 1996); this paper suggests nine actions that schools/teachers can take to combat gender-based violence.</td>
<td>Aims to target school policy development; no outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender Stereotypes: Links to Violence</strong> (Boland, 1995); Washington; A booklet for school personnel.</td>
<td>Aims to educate school personnel, and suggests guidelines for policies and procedures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acquaintance/ date education and prevention strategies</strong> (Weiler and Walls, 1994); Florida; proposes a series of lessons which could be included as part of a health education curriculum; recommends content, reading material and resources, suggests learning activities and suggests student evaluation measures.</td>
<td>Aims to increase knowledge, change attitudes, strengthen communication, decision-making, and assertive-resistance skills; no outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Safe Dates Project</strong> (Foshee et al., 1996); Carolina; school-based primary and secondary prevention program aimed at preventing dating violence in a rural community; school activities included a theatre production, 10 session curriculum, poster contest; this program also involved community activities including special services for adolescents in violent relationships and community service provider training.</td>
<td>Aims to change dating violence norms, gender stereotyping, conflict management skills, help-seeking and cognitive factors associated with help-seeking; although an experimental design was used, it’s not clear from the abstract whether any changes occurred pre- and post-test.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dating Violence Didactic Support Group</strong> (Rosen and Bezold, 1996); Virginia; a high school and college support group for young women using didactic strategies aiming to empower young women to see themselves as ‘choice makers’ with the ability to make informed decisions in their best interests.</td>
<td>Aims to increase young women’s skills in negotiating relationships; no evaluation conducted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Five Session Dating Violence Prevention Curriculum (Averyleaf et al., 1997); New York; a pilot study with health classes in a Long Island school with 193 students (boys and girls).</td>
<td>Aims were to change attitudes justifying dating violence; health classes were randomly assigned to treatment or no treatment conditions; results suggested significant decreases in overall attitudes justifying the use of dating violence as a means of resolving conflict; changes in aggressive behaviour were not measured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence Prevention in Daily Life and in Relationships (Manitoba Dept. of Education and Training, 1993); Canada; a 13 lesson teaching support for inclusion in a health curriculum with grades 5-8.</td>
<td>Target factors included increasing knowledge and anger management/ conflict resolution skills; no outcome data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School Primary Prevention Program on Violence in Intimate Relationships (Jaffe et al., 1992); Canada; involved a brief intervention with 9th-13th graders (n=700) of large group presentation on wife assault and dating violence, followed by classroom discussion facilitated by community professionals.</td>
<td>Aims were to change attitudes; students were surveyed pre, post and post-post intervention; results suggested there was a significant positive attitude, knowledge and behavioural intention changes at post-test with most of these maintained at follow-up (5-6 weeks later).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape Education Program (Feltey, Ainslie and Geib, 1991); Ohio; a 45-minute lecture on date rape.</td>
<td>Aims were to change adolescent attitudes; pre-and post-test (6 weeks later) questionnaires indicated that the lecture significantly reduced supportive attitudes toward sexually coercive behaviour for both males and females.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Conclusion**

The clearest conclusion from the literature is that single-factor interventions are less likely to be successful than those that develop a whole-of-school approach to the setting and clarifying of normative behaviour and rules in conjunction with their contingent enforcement. These whole-of-school approaches are likely to consist of a mix of situational and environmental measures and individual change strategies based on cognitive-behavioural models.

A key ingredient seems to be the conceptualisation of the school community in a holistic way, consisting of students, teachers, parents and other stakeholders, combined with the acceptance by management of their responsibility to achieve and maintain a harmonious and caring school environment. As noted in the discussion of gender-based violence, one way this responsibility could be expressed is through appropriate and explicit school policies that send a message that violence is unacceptable across all levels of the school. In this respect, the literature points to the importance of *place management* (discussed briefly in Chapter 1). The successful anti-bullying programs, such as the Norwegian program, are entirely consistent with these emphases.

The literature on prevention approaches to homophobic violence in schools suggests that education programs do have merit for attitude and behaviour change. However, one-off programs are shown to only have a short term effect, particularly for boys. This is concerning given the overwhelming evidence that boys are the major perpetrators of homophobic violence. Griffin (1997) also suggests that impediments to implementation at the local school level (e.g., teacher disinterest/homophobia, need for school principal approval) currently limit the use and potential effectiveness in NSW schools of available anti-homophobia program material and resources. While information about homosexuality and HIV/AIDS is also included in personal development and human sexuality curriculum in some schools, no evaluations of these programs were found in the literature.

The need for ongoing education programs as part of a broader school management approach, that includes anti-discrimination policies and practices and support to students, in order to reduce homophobic violence and assist gay students to remain in school is strongly suggested by the literature and United States school experience. This accords with the general literature on reducing crime and violence in school settings, comprehensively reviewed by Gottfredson (1997) in the University of Maryland report to the United States Congress. As noted earlier, this report recommends that the direction for school based prevention be towards multi-faceted, longer term, and more broad-reaching programs embedded in school capacity building activities, as opposed to more traditional single-factor interventions.
Bibliography


Centre for Sex Equity, O. S. U. (1996). ‘Students in danger: Gender-based violence in our schools.’ Equity Issues, 2(1).


Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


Current Contents.

The purpose of this pilot study was to evaluate a five session dating violence prevention curriculum in terms of its effect on attitudes justifying the use of dating violence. Methods: The curriculum was implemented in all health classes in a Long Island, New York, school. A total of 193 students participated (boys, n=106; girls, n=87). A quasi experimental design was used to evaluate change in attitudes justifying dating violence, with health classes randomly assigned to the treatment or no treatment conditions. Results: Pre to post-program assessments indicated that there were significant decreases in overall attitudes justifying the use of dating violence as a means to resolve conflict among students exposed to the curriculum material, whereas those who were not exposed did not show attitude change from pre to post-program evaluation. Conclusions: The curriculum shows promise as an effective tool for changing attitudes condoning dating violence. Future research is needed to determine whether the observed attitude change is also linked to reduction in aggressive behaviour.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


ERIC.

Violence is a part of life in the United States, which leads the world in homicides, rapes, and assaults. Violence is also part of the daily reality for many children in today’s society, both at home and at school. The school system can be a key intervention point in providing students with the information necessary to understand and prevent violence. Many children do not have the knowledge or skills to prevent or react against violence in their lives, nor do they have the skills to act in non-violent ways. Schools can, and should, set standards for healthy, violence-free relationships. This booklet illustrates the links between gender-based violence and gender stereotypes; describes how schools can promote and support healthy, violence-free relationships, and provides guidelines for policies and procedures that discourage
This newsletter examines the causes, consequences, and prevention of gender-based violence. First, gender-based violence is defined and common examples are presented. Discussed next are the following factors associated with gender-based violence: the culture continually reinforces the notions of male aggressiveness/power/dominance and female passivity/weakness/submissiveness; research indicates that males tend to be more violent than females; gender-based violence often results from expression of emotions in inappropriate ways; and increasingly violent role models reinforce gender-based violence. The role of education/school in promoting and reinforcing gender-based violence is examined along with the following consequences of gender-based violence: diminished education, increased isolation, loss of self-esteem, vulnerability at work, and generational impact. Listed next are five key concepts to include in training for teachers and other staff regarding legal and trust/safety issues related to gender-based violence. Nine actions that schools/teachers can take to combat gender-based violence (including exhibiting/expecting mutually respectful non-violent behaviour, using gender-neutral language and non-sexist educational materials, assigning chores/duties without regard to sex, discussing gender-based violence with students, and creating an environment ensuring confidentiality and non-judgment) are discussed. Also included are research findings regarding sexual harassment and homophobic, date, and domestic violence.


Gender is a significant determinant of attitudes towards rape and sexual aggression: males are more likely to accept myths about rape and to support sexually coercive strategies as justifiable. Here, the effect of a rape education program on adolescent attitudes about forced sexual behaviours, focusing on gender, is tested, based on questionnaires completed by 260 students from urban, suburban, and rural high schools in a midwestern metropolitan area prior to hearing a 45-minute date rape lecture, and post-test questionnaires completed 6 weeks later by 118 students at a suburban high school. Regression analyses indicates that: (1) gender is the most salient variable explaining attitudes about sexual coercion and rape, and (2) date rape education significantly reduces supportive attitudes towards sexually coercive
behaviour for both males and females. It is recommended that a substantial date rape education program introduced at an earlier stage than high school be implemented within school systems to engender an understanding of the dynamics of gender socialisation, structural inequality, and the interrelationship of sex and violence.


Current Contents.

Approximately 20% of adolescents have experienced violence from a dating partner. The Safe Dates Project tests the effect of a program on the primary and secondary prevention of dating violence among adolescents living in a rural North Carolina county. The program being evaluated aims to prevent dating violence by changing dating violence norms, gender stereotyping, conflict management skills, help seeking, and cognitive factors associated with help seeking. School activities include a theatre production, a 10 session curriculum, and a poster contest. Community activities included special services for adolescents in violent relationships and community service provider training. A pre-test post-test experimental design with random allocation of 14 schools to treatment condition was used to test study hypotheses. Data were collected in schools using self administered questionnaires. Eighty one percent (n=1,967) of the eighth and ninth graders in the county completed baseline questionnaires, and 91% of those adolescents completed follow-up questionnaires. The sample is 75.9% Caucasian and 50.4% female. Findings suggest that prevention programs are warranted.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


Gottfredson (1997) in her comprehensive review of school-based crime prevention distinguishes between environmental change strategies and individual change strategies. She reports on evaluations of numerous school-based programs (primarily implemented in the U.S.) and this abstract only summarises the general conclusions from her literature review. Outcomes in relation to substance abuse programs are not included. A couple of programs with proven efficacy for reducing school violence are described in Table 3 accompanying this report. Essentially Gottfredson concludes that strategies that work (at least two different studies found positive effects on measures of problem behaviours, and for which the preponderance of evidence is positive) include: programs aimed at building school
capacity to initiate and sustain innovation; programs aimed at clarifying and communicating norms about behaviours - by establishing school rules, improving the consistency of their enforcement (particularly when they emphasise positive reinforcement of appropriate behaviour), or communicating norms through school-wide campaigns (eg anti-bullying campaigns) or ceremonies; and comprehensive instructional programs that focus on a range of social competency skills (eg developing self-control, stress management, responsible decision-making, social problem-solving, and communication skills) and that are delivered over a long period of time to continually reinforce skills. Programs that are considered promising (one rigorous study and preponderance of positive evidence) include programs that group youths into smaller ‘schools within schools’ to create smaller units, more supportive interactions, or greater flexibility in instruction; and behaviour modification programs and programs that teach ‘thinking skills’ to high risk youths. Peer counselling, peer mediation and peer leaders programs, although increasingly popular in schools, have not yielded promising results to date according to Gottfredson’s overview of evaluations of such programs. However, she does note that many peer programs have not been sufficiently evaluated to date. Such programs are likely to be ineffective as stand alone programs and are better incorporated into broader attempts to improve discipline. School based mentoring programs (one-on-one interaction with an older, more experienced person to provide advice or assistance) appear promising for reducing non-attendance, however their effect on reducing delinquency and violent behaviour has not been established to date. Brewer et al’s (1995) review of evaluations of eight curriculum-based violence prevention and conflict resolution instruction programs reported mixed findings. Two weak studies reported positive results on measures of aggressive behaviour, but no corresponding changes in attitudes towards violence. Other studies were methodologically flawed or didn’t report program effects on aggressive or violent behaviour.


This chapter briefly overviews the Norwegian anti-bullying intervention in schools developed and evaluated by Olweus, and includes some background to the program’s implementation, a description of the program, and evaluation data. Grabosky and James conclude that ‘a well designed and implemented program can significantly reduce the incidence of bullying in schools, within a relatively short period.’ Adult involvement and supervision, and clear signals that bullying is unacceptable are important to the program. From a longer term policy perspective, ‘prevention of bullying in school may reduce violent offending in later adolescence and early adulthood.’

This chapter provides an overview of anti-lesbian and gay violence in NSW schools and endeavours over the last few years to address the problem. Australian and overseas evidence of the prevalence and effects of anti-gay/lesbian violence is comprehensively reviewed, followed by a description of activism by the various gay/lesbian teachers and students groups in NSW (GAYTAS, LTG, GaLTaS). Responses from government and education bodies are outlined, including the Resource for Teaching Against Violence Kit and Violence against Homosexual Men and Women module and curriculum initiatives from the NSW Catholic Education Office. The author summarises relevant recommendations from a number of recent reports into gay and lesbian violence and youth violence covering teacher and school counsellor training, audit of student attitudes, monitoring the implementation of the Procedures for Resolving Complaints About Discrimination Against Students and the Resources for Teaching Against Violence Kit, development of additional teaching resources, and for private school system anti-discrimination procedures. The author draws on the work of Van de Ven (1995) and Project 10 in Los Angeles to argue for school-based support groups for gay and lesbian students, greater visibility for gay/lesbian teachers and students and unambiguous anti-discrimination policies and programs in schools.


The SchoolWatch Report provides data on 152 respondents (64 students, 63 teachers, 25 trainee teachers), 85% of whom were from NSW. The report reveals that 59% of respondents had experienced at least one incident of harassment, threats or violence. The majority of these incidents occurred in schools and were perpetrated by fellow students (80%) or same school teachers (11%). A lone perpetrator accounted for 38% of incidents, 34% of incidents involved 3 to 5 perpetrators, with the remainder of incidents involving 5 or more. Perpetrators were predominantly male (71%), with 22% female only, 4% males and females, and 3% sex unknown. Equally, males reported a higher incidence of verbal harassment, threats and actual physical violence than females. 37% of students reported that a teacher had been present when the harassment or violence took place, but had ignored it or failed to take action against the perpetrator. Under reporting of incidents to authorities was common to all groups (69% did not report), although teachers were the more likely to report. The report also revealed that 80% of respondents had felt emotionally or psychologically affected by the most serious incident, and that of these, 11 ex-students had left school because of homophobia, while a further 13 current students had felt like leaving school because of homophobia. While generalisation across the whole school population from the findings of this report is not possible, the SchoolWatch Report does indicate that homophobia and violence is occurring in schools and that for some students
particularly the consequences are serious. More comprehensive data on homophobic violence in schools is required.


This chapter discusses teacher responses to children from gay families and the importance of home-school interaction to children’s learning. A workshop strategy, Family Diversity Workshops for elementary teachers and teacher trainees, targets teachers’ attitudes and classroom practices with the aim of reducing bias and enabling them to support children from gay and lesbian families. These one-off workshops include information about gay families and prejudice, discussions based on critical incidents, modelling of classroom practice and resource information. Anecdotal evidence of success is provided, but no other evaluative data.


Evaluated the effectiveness of a primary prevention program for wife assault and dating violence. Subjects were 737 9th-13th graders (379 boys, 358 girls). A brief intervention, including a large group presentation on wife assault and dating violence, followed by classroom discussion facilitated by community professionals was instituted. Subjects were surveyed before intervention, immediately afterward, and at 5-6 weeks post-intervention. Significant positive attitude, knowledge, and behavioural intention changes were found at post-test, and the majority of these were maintained at follow-up. Females showed more positive attitudes. Subjects reported a high level of awareness of and experience with violence in their own and their friends' dating and family relationships, and overwhelmingly endorsed primary prevention of relationship violence in the schools.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


This curriculum, comprising book and student worksheets, has been devised to provide information about violence in our society. As an anti violence curriculum, it gives young people an opportunity to discuss and reject commonly held beliefs and attitudes about the role of violence in our society. Rejecting violence as an option, and
helping students discriminate between violence in the real world from the violence of fantasy, the curriculum encourages students to adopt appropriate non-violent responses to conflict and everyday interactions. There is a deliberate attempt in the curriculum to address the different experiences of violence of each gender. For young women it reveals how control for survival of violence lies firmly within their own capabilities, through being empowered with help seeking and assertiveness strategies. For young men the curriculum clarifies the legal implications for violent behaviours. It demonstrates how necessary a non-violent stance is for young males to move into responsible adulthood. Young men gain from this curriculum insight and empathy for the victims of violence and the results of violent interactions. They are introduced to concepts of assertiveness which suggest that strength and masculinity are not compatible with violence towards others. This honest, straightforward curriculum attempts to change attitudes through education and to change behaviours through practice. A 98p teacher’s manual plus student worksheets.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


This research measured the effects of a violence prevention curriculum on the knowledge and attitudes of seventh grade health education students (N=239) about woman abuse using a valid and reliable inventory. Pre-tests, post tests, and post post-tests were administered to experimental and comparison groups. The experimental group received the curriculum intervention, Skills for Violence Free Relationships. Significant differences were found between experimental and comparison groups from pre-test to post test on both the knowledge (p=.0027) and attitude (p=.0335); females showed greater change over time. Such limited change was not unexpected in a middle school population given the reported formative nature of the subjects’ gender acquisition as contrasted with those at an older age.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


This chapter examines the extent of in-school victimisation experienced by junior and senior high school students (n= over 11,000 students from 44 schools) in a large midwestern county (Lucas county, Ohio). While most students are not victimised, a
significant proportion report becoming victims at school, and an even greater percentage know of others who have been victimised on school property. 13% reported being assaulted at least once, with almost one-half of these being victimised more than once. In response to direct victimisation students report feeling unsafe at school, are fearful of being victimised, avoid school and places at school, and carry weapons to school for protection. The results of this study are similar to those of other investigations reviewed in this chapter. What is noteworthy is that students make rational choices based on their experiences with and perceptions of victimisation at school. Their responses however are more inappropriate than appropriate. Avoiding school means that the student will not receive the education they need, carrying weapons can result in more serious confrontations, expulsion, or legal trouble, and feeling unsafe or fearing victimisation at school distracts from the educational process. The authors discuss the implications for crime prevention from these findings and are critical of typical responses that increase physical control over students, visitors and the environment (eg locker searches, security guards, metal detectors and harsh penalties for rule violation). While these actions may decrease victimisation, they may also increase the level of fear in students by creating the perception that schools are unsafe, and therefore contribute to the adoption of debilitating self protection measures. Instead the authors argue for a normative approach to law and control, with schools building responses that are conducive to learning and education, rather than control and coercion. A 1996 study by Lab and Clark demonstrated that schools with lower levels of victimisation were those that included students as part of the solution, as opposed to simply control and discipline responses.


In 1991, the Domestic Violence Review, commissioned by Manitoba Justice, recommended that schools in Manitoba integrate a component on domestic violence into the curriculum. This document presents a teaching support for Health Curriculum in Middle Years (Grades 5-8) designed to prevent violence in daily life and in relationships. The unit is intended to promote an awareness and understanding of the nature and causes of conflict and violence; develop greater sensitivity to issues of conflict, abuse, and violence in daily life and personal relationships; promote understanding of the effects of violence upon individuals; develop personal values and attitudes towards coercion and violence; develop skills for the positive handling of conflict and anger to ensure healthy personal relationships and personal safety; recognise warning signs exhibited by those who are prone to violence; and understand that aggressive behaviour can be dangerous. The unit consists of 13 lesson plans. Lesson 1 introduces the unit, lesson 2 focuses on the meaning of violence, and lesson 3 teaches how to recognise abusive behaviour. Lesson 4 discusses how violence affects
people. Lessons 5 through 8 deals with facts, fallacies, and opinions; stereotypes, social attitudes, and debate. Lessons 9 and 10 focus on anger expression. Lesson 11 emphasises healthy relationships, lesson 12 considers planning for protection, and lesson 13 looks at lifestyle.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


This chapter outlines a staff development approach, titled ‘Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual Issues in the Elementary Classroom’ implemented in San Diego, USA. The staff development module is in 3 phases and includes (1) conceptual framework on homosexual identity formation, (2) discussion, and (3) action strategies for reducing homophobia in schools. The module targets all school staff (teaching and non-teaching) about knowledge and attitudes on homophobia and teachers’ classroom practices. A quantitative and qualitative post-test (N=112) and follow-up (N=48) evaluation of teachers indicate increased comfort level about gay issues although less success with changes in non-bias classroom practices and implementing strategies learnt in the workshops. Various reasons for this are given, including anxiety about parent reaction. The importance of school principal/key administrators support for reducing homophobia in schools is discussed and strategies to achieve this are outlined eg involvement of teacher unions, sexual orientation anti-discrimination policies.


ERIC Database.

The Massachusetts Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth first annual report on various issues of concern to homosexual youth is based on information from public hearings and surveys of local high school students' attitudes about gay and lesbian youth issues. National studies and professional articles were also consulted. Problems facing gay and lesbian high school students include harassment in school, isolation and suicide, dropping out and poor school performance, lack of adult role models, and lack of understanding in their families. Exploration of these problems led to the following series of recommendations to make Massachusetts school environments safe for gay and lesbian students: (1) implement school policies protecting gay men and lesbians from discrimination; (2) train teachers, counsellors, and school staff in crisis intervention and violence prevention; (3) establish school-based support groups for
gay and lesbian students; (4) provide information in school libraries for gay and lesbian adolescents; and (5) develop curricula that include gay and lesbian issues.


This report is one of the earlier pieces of research to focus specifically on school violence. Findings from a large scale victimisation survey (n=31,000) conducted in junior and senior high schools across the United States are presented and compared with National Crime Survey data. The report examines causes of school violence and concludes that importation factors are related to student and intruder violence as violence rates in secondary schools are highest in districts characterised by higher crime rates and street fighting gangs. Aggregate level evidence also indicated that violence is related to students’ attachments to educational values, as violence rates increased with the percentage of students who saw their school curriculum as irrelevant, did not aspire to good grades and didn’t believe that their school experience would positively influence their lives. Higher levels of violence also occurred in schools where students perceived ineffective social control, including undisciplined classrooms, lax or arbitrary enforcement of rules and a weak principal. Whether lack of effective social control actually causes or is only correlated with higher levels of violence in schools requires further research.


This module was introduced into NSW schools in 1995 and consists of 6 sessions (approx 5 hours total instruction time). Material covers myths and stereotypes about homosexuality, information about homosexuality, discrimination and the links between prejudice and violence, issues of homophobia and violence, including consideration of the homosexual perspective and acceptable ways of relating to gay and lesbian people, harassment and violence as criminal offences, and illegal discrimination. ‘Contact’ with gay and lesbian people to challenge stereotypes is included in the program via a taped panel discussion or a panel of homosexual men and women. In the final session students reflect on what they have learned and plan any action to minimise discrimination against lesbians and gay men.


The New South Wales Department of School Education developed the Resources for Teaching Against Violence Kit to assist teachers in the areas of disruptive behaviour management, domestic violence and violence associated with homophobia. The kit was introduced into New South Wales schools in 1992, and updated in 1995, and is recommended for students in Years 9
PREVENTING VIOLENCE  A Review


Current Contents-Social and Behavioural Sciences.

This article traces the history of institutional disciplinary measures, showing that the underlying philosophical orientation towards social control exacts a heavy toll on students, teachers, and the entire school community by producing prison like schools that remain unsafe. The author maintains that a 'get tough' approach fails to create a safe environment because the use of coercive strategies interrupts learning and ultimately produces an environment of mistrust and resistance. He offers alternative strategies for humanising school environments, encouraging a sense of community and collective responsibility.


The Gender and Violence Project is aimed at preventing violence against women and girls by examining how the issues can be tackled in schools. The project is concerned with teachers’ and students’ attitudes and behaviours to ensure that violence is neither accepted nor ignored and is aimed at educating teachers and students to recognise violence. This position paper sets the context for the project, describes a framework for developing a whole school approach to preventing violence, and provides a set of recommendations for pilot projects.

gender-based violence/ violence prevention/ schools/ whole school approach.


*This chapter overviews Olweus’ research into the long term consequences of regular bullying and victimisation by peers in schools, and reports on the effect of the anti-bullying intervention that was developed and evaluated in 42 schools in Norway, following its introduction in 1983. Olweus defines bullying as when a person is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, including ‘when someone intentionally*
inflicts, or attempts to inflict injury or discomfort upon another’. Studies estimate that approx 15% of Norway’s students are involved in bully/victim problems (approx 9% victims, 7% bullies, with some students both bully and victim). Characteristics of typical bullies and victims are provided, with Olweus concluding that typical bullies have ‘an aggressive reaction pattern combined (in the case of boys) with physical strength.’ and that recent studies strongly support the view that this behaviour is a predictor of later criminal offending. Olweus’ follow-up study of 87 men (age 16 yrs and age 23 yrs) suggest that longer term consequences of bullying at school include higher levels of depression, depressive tendencies and poorer self-esteem. However, the study also found that these school victims anxiety-related/internalising characteristics were situationally determined and were not as a result of personality disturbance. Based on these findings, Olweus argues that bullying intervention programs should primarily focus on changing the social environment and behaviour and attitudes of the bully, rather than the victim. The extent to which victimisation/harassment is a causal factor in suicidal behaviour requires more extensive research. Olweus’ anti-bullying intervention includes measures at the school, class and individual level and these are further described in the accompanying literature review to this report. The program underwent a methodologically sound evaluation across 42 primary and secondary schools (2,500 students) in Bergen, Norway. Results were considered impressive with a 50% reduction in prevalence of victimisation and a significant reduction in the number of offenders. The observed effects of the program increased from year 1 to year 2, and the program was equally effective for boys and girls. There was no displacement of bullying from the school premises to the trip to and from school, and a reduction in other undesirable behaviour (truancy, fighting and theft) was also noted. Students satisfaction with school life also reportedly increased. A clear dosage-response relationship also emerged at the class level, with those classes with the larger reductions in bully/victim problems implementing class level interventions (class rules against bullying and class meetings) to a greater extent. Olweus concludes that the ‘reduction in bully/victim problems and the changes in associated behaviour patterns described above were likely to be mainly a consequence of the intervention program and not of some other irrelevant factor.’


The Canadian Toronto Board of Education introduced a comprehensive whole of school Anti-Bullying Intervention Program that targeted attitude and behaviour change of students, teachers and parents. This systems oriented program involved school policy changes, staff development, parent information and training, curriculum-based work, classroom strategies and individual tuition aimed at reducing bullying. Extensive research into the incidents and impact of bullying accompanied the program and confirmed that bullying was a pervasive problem amongst students. The research involved direct observation studies, as compared with self-report survey data used in most other bullying research. The observation studies particularly highlighted the low incidence of intervention by either teachers or other students to
help victims when being bullied (approx 7% of incidents). The program was soundly evaluated in an 18 month follow-up study and found to be successful across a range of measures in reducing bullying, including teachers more actively intervening to reduce bullying.


This first of a four volume series on violence from the National Research Council overviews ‘current knowledge about how different processes (biological, psychological, situational and social) interact to determine violence levels, what preventive strategies are suggested by current knowledge of violence, and the most critical research needs. With respect to school violence, the book briefly considers causal factors (NIE Report, 1978) and current research on the effectiveness of various school-based violence prevention approaches. This research suggests that promising interventions include (1) intellectual enrichment programs, from early/preschool years targeting high risk students and neighbourhoods aimed at preventing school failure, which is a predictor of later aggression and violent offending (2) cognitive-behavioural preventive programs such as anti-bullying programs and social skills training that ‘stress the undesirability of aggression, teach non-violent conflict resolution, and promote viewing of television programs that emphasise prosocial behaviour.’ The popular Boston Violence Prevention Curriculum is reviewed with the authors suggesting that the program is more widely used than is justified based on current evaluations indicating limited success. They summarise that the literature suggests that preventive interventions are ‘more likely to be successful if they involve parents, peers, teachers and significant others in the community, and if the intervention is adapted to the cultural norms of the target age, ethnic, and socioeconomic category’. This is also suggested by several other research studies reviewed for this report into school violence.


The authors discuss the social problem of dating violence and present a didactic support group model designed to empower young women to see themselves as ‘choice makers’ with the ability to make informed decisions in their own best interest. They also present research findings that support the content of the group model and articulate some of their experiences in conducting this group in both the high school and college settings. Finally, they discuss the potential impact of the group according to feedback from participants.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.
This chapter discusses the neglected problem of sexual orientation harassment in school sport and physical education programs and proposes an intervention model to address this. The model is based on a 'whole of school' or school management approach to reduce harassment/violence of gay men in sport and to increase their participation. Based on successful strategies employed in various USA high schools, it includes: (1) assessment of current situation re harassment and inclusion of all students in sport (2) development and enforcement of anti-discrimination policies and procedures, including informing parents of these and suspending students from play who don’t comply (3) staff awareness programs for coaches (4) incorporating equity and diversity issues into physical education curriculum, and (5) support for gay and lesbian students. Evidence of success of individual strategies at various high schools is cited, although no overall evaluative data of the model is given.


In 1992 a government financed project was set up in Germany to develop gender specific teacher training in proactive prevention work on the topic of sexual violence against girls and boys. This article describes the methods that were used to sensitise and enable women and men teachers in prevention work. It highlights in particular the self reflective work that was done with the women teachers and gives hope and encouragement to others who wish to tackle the issue in school.

gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.


This article outlines a US anti-bullying approach, POETICS, that draws on family systems theory to help understand and address bullying in schools. The approach particularly focuses on the wider school and family components of the system and how these contribute to bullying. POETICS stands for the various steps in the approach:

P - problem to be clearly defined
O - organised social network
E - explanations of the nature of the problem by the teacher
T - timing of bullying behaviour in conjunction with other events
I - interactions that surround the bullying
C - coalition or groupings within the classroom
S - positive systemic function served by the problem.
No evaluation or outcome data on the use of POETICS in schools is provided by the authors.


This article discusses the problem of bullying in schools which was identified as a major concern by the 1994 Federal Government House of Representatives Report on Violence in Australian Schools. The article then describes an Australian intervention program to reduce bullying in schools, titled the PEACE Pack. The program based around the acronym PEACE presents resource material for schools on Preparation, Education, Action, Coping and Evaluation (see Slee, 1997; in this annotated bibliography for a fuller description of the Pack). School based interventions using the PEACE Pack have highlighted its efficacy in reducing bullying in schools.


Developed through work in schools in South Australia, this Australian resource for reducing school bullying called the PEACE Pack (Preparation, Education, Action, Coping, Evaluation) comprises a booklet (information about bullying in Australian schools, outcomes of intervention programs, resource list and overhead transparencies) and 14 worksheets (ideas for policy development, lesson planning, details of interventions with bullies and victims). The PEACE Pack draws on a systemic model to understand and address school bullying and violence and describes the difference between first-order and second-order change. First order change focuses on the individual student (eg social skills training) where as second-order change shifts the focus to the overall school system, and the various roles, relationships, interactions and communications within the system that encourage or discourage bullying. The Pack stresses the importance of bringing about second order change in order to effectively reduce bullying. The Pack presents material in five sections and cites research studies relevant to each of these.

Preparation: provides information on the nature of the bullying experience as a basis for policy development, intervention, and parent and student involvement. An overview of Australian research (over 2500 students from more than 60 schools) indicates that between one in five and one in seven students report being bullied ‘once a week or more often’. ‘Physical bullying is reported more by boys with emotional and verbal bullying reported more often by girls. Australian and overseas research indicates that bullying is a physically harmful, psychologically damaging and socially isolating aspect of a large number of students’ lives.’ Profiles of bullies and victims (physical, social, psychological, academic ability and home environment) are summarised from the research literature. The second section, Education: discusses ways to
educate others about the issue and collect information to inform an intervention program. This may include reviewing current school policies and procedures re bullying, direct observations, interviews, surveys and questionnaires. Action: refers to identifying the various actions that will engage the sub-systems of the school environment ie students (including taking account of gender differences), parents and teachers. Guidelines for involving these different groups are provided. Coping: outlines successful intervention approaches to reduce bullying. These include developing an attitude or ethos within the school community to address bullying (eg a separate anti-bullying policy and grievance procedure is recommended); behavioural strategies (including recording, reporting and follow up procedures, clearly identified sanctions, strategies for bullying hotspots/playgrounds, peer mediation, student council initiatives, conflict resolution programs, inservice teacher training on bullying); systemically oriented counselling of students; and curriculum-based work on bullying which is considered vital. This should include both specific lessons on bullying and incorporation into the general curriculum, as well as class meetings to discuss and develop actions re bullying. The final section, Evaluation: involves assessing the program (surveys, interviews, observations) providing feedback and celebrating the gains made. The PEACE Pack has been evaluated in replicated longitudinal studies (over 4 years) in various schools and shown to be effective in reducing school bullying. Overall findings indicate that ‘using the program it is possible to: increase students’ knowledge about resources to utilise if they are being bullied; increase students’ knowledge about how to stop bullying; increase students’ feelings of safety from being bullied; reduce the level of self-reported bullying in schools.’ Examples of programs and their outcomes in a number of South Australian schools are given and personal communication with the author (Phillip Slee) confirmed that the PEACE Pack has been used as a resource for successfully developing anti-bullying programs in schools in other States and in New Zealand. Schools may choose to use the PEACE Pack resources but develop their own name for their particular program or incorporate the approach and material into existing programs or strategies.


This book draws on the authors’ research of an intervention program aimed at reducing bullying, involving 23 primary and secondary schools in Sheffield, England. The intervention program adopted a ‘whole school’ approach with each school developing a policy on bullying and steps to be taken when bullying occurs. These steps included procedures about who to inform when incidents of bullying occur, record keeping about incidents, and how to monitor the effectiveness of the policy. In addition to an anti-bullying policy schools also chose to implement curriculum based programs about bullying that used discussion and problem solving formats, drama and literature and social skills training programs with individuals and small groups. Situational prevention of bullying was also emphasised with improvements to the playground environment and the training of playground supervisors. Overall the anti-bullying
interventions have been successful with evaluations indicating a reduction in bullying of between 15% to 50% in most schools.


Chapters 3, 9 and 10 provide considerable detail in relation to violence in NSW schools. The report concludes that violence is a problem in NSW schools based on data about increased critical incidents reports by schools to the Department of School Education, police reports, suspension rates, and other evidence suggesting that bullying is of serious concern, and that sexual harassment, racism and victimisation of homosexual and lesbian students occurs. Various programs and strategies currently operating in NSW Schools aimed at decreasing and preventing violence in schools are described, although indications are that many of these have not been formally evaluated.


This New Zealand anti-bullying kit titled ‘Kia Kaha’ (Maori phase meaning ‘stand strong’) consists of a 14 minute video and a booklet outlining the program and classroom activities related to the video. The program involves 8 steps directed at students, teachers and parents, namely:

1. checking school and staff readiness for the program
2. using staff meetings to present the topic of bullying
3. using staff meetings to plan and prepare for intervention
4. involving parents
5. planning teaching sessions
6. teaching the program, using video, activities and outside resources, including police where appropriate
7. evaluating the program
8. reinforcing learning by revisiting and repeating activities as necessary.


The outcomes for young offenders (N=37) of two teaching modules for reducing homophobia were evaluated using a multigroup pretest-posttest design. Dependent
variables were cognitive, affective, and behavioural self-report measures, as well as short story responses. Cognition was assessed by the Modified Attitudes Toward Homosexuality Scale (Price, 1982). Affects of homophobic guilt, homophobic anger, and delight were measured by the Affective Reactions to Homosexuality Scale (Van de Ven et al, Bornholt, and Bailey, in press). Behavioural interventions were assessed by the Homophobic Behaviour of Students Scale (Van de Ven et al., in press).

Interventions took two forms: a New South Wales Department of School Education module and a Community Care Schools module. The latter, which specifically addressed maintenance factors of juvenile offender homophobia, was anticipated to result in better outcomes. ANCOVAs and a difference of proportion test revealed that the Community Care Schools module was superior in terms of producing less commitment to homophobic behaviour (p<.005), more positive responses (p<.001), and more positive delight scores (p<.05). Implications for further interventions and research are discussed.


Outcomes of an anti-homophobia teaching unit for 130 high school students were evaluated in a pre-test post-test follow up design, with gender and school type as independent variables. Dependent variables were cognition (Modified Attitudes Towards Homosexuality Scale; Price 1982); homophobic guilt, homophobic anger, and delight (Affective Reactions to Homosexuality Scale: Van de Ven, Bornholt and Bailey, in press); behavioural intentions (Homophobic Behaviour of Students Scale; Van de Ven et al., in press); and short story responses. Multivariate analysis of variance revealed that participants’ anger and behavioural intentions were significantly less homophobic at post-test and follow up. Analysis of the cognition variable showed that hostility toward homosexuals was significantly reduced for girls and initially for boys; however, boys reverted to previous levels of homophobia on this variable at three months follow up. Similarly, analysis of the delight variable for students in single sex schools showed that girls became less hostile and maintained their reduced levels of homophobia, whereas boys became less hostile initially but then regressed. The intervention had no effect on students’ guilt and no effect on delight for coeducational students. Analysis of all participants' short story content using sign tests indicated that the instruction had the desired effect. However, only the female, coeducational school cohort yielded significant results. The findings reinforce the importance of using multiple dependent measures of homophobic response and of collecting follow up data. They also imply that extensions of the unit are warranted, especially in the absence of longer term impact for boys.

---. ‘Promoting Respect for Different Viewpoints and Ways of Living to Australian High School Students.’ Overcoming Heterosexism and Homophobia: Strategies that Work. James
This chapter discusses the author’s evaluation of the NSW Department of School Education module on Violence against Homosexual Men and Women (see Van de Ven, 1995; in this annotated bibliography for details). In addition the author also discusses the reactions of teachers who implemented the module. On the whole they found the module an effective teaching resource that encouraged students to speak openly and challenged misconceptions. The need for more systematic change within schools to reduce homophobia and strategies for raising the awareness of educational personnel about homosexuality are also discussed.


This field experiment investigated the effects of a cooperative learning environment and a Jigsaw classroom environment on academic performance, self-esteem, liking of school, liking of peers, and racial prejudice. Subjects were 103 children in grades four through six, in two separate schools. The cooperative learning condition was used as a baseline measure of the effects of cooperation, against which the effects of a Jigsaw method, involving both cooperation and interdependence, were compared. The results reveal that Jigsaw produced significant improvements on measures of academic performance, liking of peers, and racial prejudice. In contrast, the effect of the cooperative condition was to exacerbate pre-existing intergroup tensions. The present findings demonstrate that the Jigsaw method can be applied successfully in Australian conditions, and lend support to Allport's contact hypothesis.


An activity designed to illustrate the cultural impact of homophobia is described. Role play scenarios assign group participants a bi-sexual, heterosexual, or homosexual identity. Activity participants are then given the opportunity to assume or reject their assigned identity in the role play. College students and participants in professional training seminars report an increased understanding of individual and institutional forms of homophobia and the difficulties associated with ‘passing’ vs. forming a positive homosexual identity.

Data suggest that acquaintance and date rape may account for 50-70 percent of all reported rapes in the United States. Recent findings also indicate that one in four college women have been raped or a victim of attempted rape. As most rape victims are between 15 and 24 years of age, high school-based education programs must be provided if society expects to eliminate this social and public health problem. A series of lessons are proposed that can be included as part of a high school safety and injury prevention unit in an existing health education curriculum. This concept-based unit includes well defined behavioural objectives, recommended content, suggested materials and resources, suggested learning activities, and evaluation measures. etc. gender-based violence/ schools/ violence prevention.
Chapter 5. Violence in Institutional Settings - Prisons

The majority of research studies on prison violence emanate from North America and the United Kingdom, and focus on individual and collective violence in adult male prisons. Primarily this includes inmate-to-inmate and inmate-to-staff violence and riots, with far less emphasis paid to both staff-to-inmate violence/victimisation and self-inflicted violence (suicide and self-harm). Some relevant studies on violence in juvenile institutions have also been included in this review. Overall, there is still a paucity of Australian research studies and program evaluations in relation to prison violence, despite major problems with institutionalised prison violence being identified in Royal Commissions (Nagle, 1978; RCIADIC, 1992) and Reports of the National Committee on Violence (1990; 1994).

An overview of the literature suggests multi-factorial contributors to prison violence. A range of often interrelated factors, including pre-existing inmate characteristics, structural or situational factors associated with the prison environment, and management practices (e.g., prison architecture and design, staffing models, staff skills and training, prison culture and management style) as well as outside environmental influences (e.g., unemployment, racial tensions) are all supported by empirical research as contributing in various ways to prison violence (The American Correctional Association cited in Labecki, 1994; McCorkle et al., 1995). Poor prison management resulting in dysfunctional forms of control are suggested as major causes of interpersonal violence (Ekland-Olson, 1986, McCorkle et al., 1995).

We begin with an examination of the factors that influence prison violence, considering aspects of both the physical and social environments and their interactions with staff and inmate characteristics. We then review the evidence on the effectiveness of prevention programs, including situational approaches, educational programs for inmates, violence alternative programs, social prevention approaches, and a range of more specific strategies such as boot camps and anti-bullying programs.

Factors that Influence Prison Violence

Prison management and accountability

The literature on prison violence has historically examined two competing explanatory models. The importation model (Cao et al., 1997; Harer et al., 1996) views inmate characteristics that predate confinement (such as race, age, education level, prior crimes and history of violence) as the primary contributor to prison violence. The deprivation model (Farrington and Nuttal, 1980; Gaes, 1994) considers the institutional conditions or changes in conditions (relative deprivation) that contribute to prison violence (e.g., overcrowding, privilege levels).
While both models find some support in the literature, there is increasing empirical evidence to suggest that poor prison management and control is the most significant factor in contributing to and even promoting both individual and collective prison violence (Ekland-Olson, 1986; various studies cited in McCorkle et al., 1995; Silberman, 1992). A range of factors is cited including: security lapses, lack of prison officer discipline and morale, officers’ inability or unwillingness to intervene in instances of victimisation and violence, poor grievance and dispute resolution mechanisms, the formation of gangs and cliques, inmates relying on self-protection, staff violence for control of inmates, deterrence and payback (especially where officers feel justified in taking matters into their own hands because the administration provides limited protection from attack). Silberman (1992; 1994) particularly stresses the importance of appropriate accountability and dispute resolution mechanisms, including mediation and ombudsmen, for defusing violence.

Drug use and trafficking in illegal and prescription drugs by inmates also relates to prison violence (Inciardi et al., 1993; Incorvaia and Kirby, 1997).

**Crowding and size of prison**

Various studies have considered whether violence is produced by the cognitive confusion and tension induced by density factors and crowded conditions in prisons. The latest research, comprehensively reviewed in Gaes (1994), highlights the inconsistency of existing data on crowding and therefore the difficulty of generalisation. The most likely conclusion is that over-crowding is not a causal factor in violence, but may possibly be considered a contributing factor, when correlated with other institutional variables, such as the managerial methods used to control or limit violence (Gaes, 1994; Ruback and Carr, 1993).

In his seminal research on the Texas prison system Ekland-Olson (1986) concluded that the crowding model is of limited use when explaining patterns of homicide and serious assaultive behaviour. Rather, his research points to violence ‘as one among several important control mechanisms deeply rooted in the social order of prison life’ (p. 389). Changes in the control structure within the prison (e.g., staff unable or unwilling to control violence, gangs, informal cliques, reliance on self-protection, court mandated orders, poor dispute-resolution mechanisms) better accounted for the levels of violence within the prison.

Prison size alone is also not a reliable indicator of violence within the institution, suggesting that other factors (e.g., staff experience [Kratcoski, 1988]) are more significantly correlated with prison violence. Farrington and Nuttal (1980:221) found no empirical evidence in the literature or from their own study of British prisons to support the view that prison size influences behaviour inside or after leaving prison.
Architectural design

Several studies indicate that group cell housing of inmates contributes to interpersonal violence, especially where there are poor selection procedures and safeguards in place (O’Donnell and Edgar, 1996). Individual cells greatly reduce the opportunities for inmate-inmate victimisation and violence, the only exception to this being self inflicted violence (self-mutilation and suicide) which is more likely when prisoners are in single cells or segregation. The linear architectural design of most prisons is indicated by several authors as a factor that contributes to violence. The inherent design features of this architecture, in conjunction with the indirect staff supervision model that necessarily accompanies this kind of design, creates opportunities for both inmate-inmate and inmate-staff violence (various studies cited in Jay Farbstein et al., 1991; Wright and Goodstein; Zupan and Menke, 1991).

'New generation philosophy' which espouses a podular design (that reduces unprotected spaces) and direct supervision of inmates is increasingly being implemented in the U.S. and the U.K. Although there are fewer empirical studies and some mixed findings on the effectiveness of this new prison concept, the literature generally indicates promising results for a reduction in prison violence and vandalism where new generation architectural design and staffing models have been implemented. Researchers warn, however, that successful implementation of this approach is heavily predicated on a commitment from management and the recruitment, selection, training and retention of appropriate prison personnel' (Jay Farbstein et al., 1991; Zupan and Menke, 1991).

Staff inexperience and training

Surprisingly this area has received scant attention in the literature, but all relevant studies reviewed concluded that staff inexperience was a factor influencing prison violence. Kratcoski (1988) found that work experience of officers, with trainees receiving disproportionate number of assaults, was one of the four most important factors related to inmate-staff assault. The age of the officer, unless also related to amount of experience, the sex of the officer, the presence of other staff members, and threats as a precursor to assault were not found to be significant in this study. Munroe’s study of aggressive and non-aggressive offender responses to an unknown prison officer suggest that ‘inexperienced prison officers are more likely to become involved in violent incidents, because they are perceived by aggressive prisoners as ‘ambiguous’” (Munroe, 1995:245).

Vulnerability to violence

Research evidence suggests vulnerability to victimisation and violence in prison is associated with a number of factors (younger age, race, homosexuality, transexuality, status of offence) and that certain prisoners both feel, and in fact, are more vulnerable to victimisation and violence (Cooley, 1993; Nacci and Kane, 1984; O'Donnell and Edgar, 1996). Racial institutional violence is also well documented as influencing the extent of violence.
against aborigines in the prison system (Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Royal Commission). However, O’Donnell and Edgar (1996) also found that while victimisation is pervasive in British prisons, there are many misconceptions about the nature of victimisation and that these are often counter-intuitive. For example, victims and victimiser are not discrete groups, with those who victimised others often likely to be victims themselves. Previous custodial experience did not reduce the risk of being victimised, although it did increase the likelihood of being a victimiser. Many victims were victimised in several ways (assault, robbery, threats), with exclusion or isolation by other prisoners and cell theft often an indicator of other forms of victimisation occurring. Prisoners rarely reported their victimisation to staff.

With respect to self-inflicted violence, several factors emerge from the literature. Inmates from more severely disadvantaged backgrounds, including violence and family problems, and those with more frequent contact with social services and criminal justice agencies were more likely to attempt suicide (Leibling, 1995). Vulnerability to suicide also appears to be linked to the shock of incarceration. Suicide is more common during the first 24 hours of imprisonment and for those awaiting trial as opposed to serving a sentence (Anno, Harrison, and Rowan, 1983; Hankoff, 1980; both cited in Paulus and Dzindolt, 1992). Howlett’s (1995) case-study analysis of juvenile offender suicide victims addressed the institutional or structural antecedents of suicide and concluded that institutional punishments, isolation and segregation, infrequency of cell checks and failure to adhere to institutional procedures also contribute to suicide. Self-harm by an inmate may send a signal of vulnerability to fellow prisoners and consequently attract victimisation from other prisoners (O’Donnell and Edgar, 1996).

Programs and Approaches to Reduce Prison Violence

Methodologies for predicting violence

Methods for predicting violence and/or prison adjustment have historically looked to background inmate characteristics (e.g., age, race, offence) using various Risk Assessment Tools or Inmate Classification Models, or to personality characteristics, using various mental health-psychopathology screening instruments (e.g. the MMPI typology). A review of the literature reveals that many of these instruments do not predict violence reliably or accurately (Cooper and Werner, 1990; Proctor and Regoli, 1983; Dicataldo et al., 1995; Steinke, 1991). This evidence accords with the general literature on prison violence which suggests that importation factors alone are not sufficient for understanding the causes of prison violence.

Other research has focused on institutional or situational predictors of prison violence (e.g., location of incident, staff experience, staff turnover, staff supervision model, management style, density, type of inmate housing). A number of studies (Kratcoski 1988; Poole, 1983; Steinke, 1991) report on the usefulness of some situational variables for
predicting prison violence, and contend that these should be given more consideration by prison management. Steinke (1991:129) in particular endorses an ecological approach that ‘captures the necessarily interacting variables of the person and the situation’ for understanding and predicting prison violence.

One possible approach is described by Labecki (1994) as a sophisticated 'environmental scanning system' or corrections management information system that reports on key indicators related to the inmate population as well as the institutional environment and administrative practices of the prisons, in order to better enable prison management to predict and avoid violence. Labecki (1994) states that several U.S. institutions currently use comprehensive management information systems, but no data on their efficacy for preventing or decreasing prison violence is reported.

**Situational prevention strategies**

Situational crime prevention strategies are receiving increasing attention in the literature as a means to reduce prison violence. Situational prevention refers to manipulating various institutional or environmental variables in order to reduce the opportunities for victimisation and violence. While all prisons currently employ some situational prevention strategies (e.g., removing weapons, surveillance of prisoners), a diverse range of strategies are suggested in the literature, with varying degrees of empirical evidence to support their usefulness (see Table 5.1). O'Donnell and Edgar (1996) paid particular attention to situational prevention strategies in their recent report to the British Home Office on victimisation in British prisons. This report was based on extensive research as part of the comprehensive anti-bullying strategy introduced into British prisons in 1993.

A possible problem with situational prevention strategies, which aim at opportunity reduction, is that they could lead to a punitive or overly controlling regime. McCorkle et al. (1995) discuss the null effects of increases in security over time, because although this may decrease the opportunities for acts of violence, higher surveillance may also create greater inmate frustration and anomie, leading to violence. Equally, more personally restrictive situational measures (e.g., locking inmates in cells) will threaten legitimisation to a greater degree and thus increase the potential for subsequent disorder and violence (Bottoms et al., 1995).

Generally the evidence attests to the inherent dangers and potential for increasing violence when coercive and oppressive prison management approaches are employed. The unintended consequences of situational prevention, such as increases in inmate frustration and violence, because of less control over one's environment, need to be carefully considered. For maximum benefit, situational crime prevention must be selectively employed, balanced with other preventive approaches and seen as ‘one component of a broader strategy which confronts the underlying causes of victimisation’ (O'Donnell and Edgar, 1996:88).
The theoretical work of Clarke and Homel (1997) and Wortley (1996), which extends situational concepts beyond measures that manipulate the physical environment to the psychological and social environment, are of particular relevance to this problem. Techniques such as rule clarification and making it easier and more rewarding to comply with the regime could reduce opportunities for violence while avoiding the negative consequences of increased physical security. This kind of approach has already been adumbrated by authors like Bottoms et al. (1995).

Table 5.1 Summary of Situational Prevention Strategies Related to Reducing Interpersonal Violence in Prisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situational strategy</th>
<th>Evaluation of effectiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase prisoner age heterogeneity</td>
<td>Mabli et al. (1979; cited in Light, 1990) found that an increase in prisoner age heterogeneity reduced levels of inmate-inmate violence. Light (1990) found that mean inmate age in a prison affected assault severity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-sexed guarding (female prison officers in male prisons)</td>
<td>Evidence is inconclusive with some studies (Jenne, 1996; Holeman and Krepps-Hess, 1983; Kratcoski, 1988) finding no significant correlation with reduced attack, although Rowan (1996) found that as the proportion of women officers in a given institution increases, inmate-staff assaults decrease.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of cash economy for prisoners (target removal)</td>
<td>Recommended by Bottoms et al., (1995) and also by O’Donnell and Edgar (1996) as a result of their extensive research into the British prison system - reduces racketeering and assault/victimisation often associated with cash economy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situational strategy</td>
<td>Evaluation of effectiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Property marking (including of phone cards) for inmates</td>
<td>Recommended by O'Donnell and Edgar (1996) to reduce theft, and because inmate property theft is often associated with more violent forms of victimisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abolish shared cells for inmates, particularly four person dormitory cells</td>
<td>O'Donnell and Edgar (1996) revealed that four person cells have more serious violent incidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison transfer, used to prevent persistently violent prisoners who are leaders in prisons from gaining a following</td>
<td>Cited as a useful strategy involving co-operation between prisons, but no direct evidence of effectiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restriction of potential offender movements (less time out of cells, restricted numbers of inmates in cells); Most extreme example is 'cell lockdown' e.g. 23 hours in cells.</td>
<td>Provides immediate reduction of physical opportunity for violence, but the unintended, longer term consequences may be to increase violence due to prisoner frustration and anger with less control over their environment, and sense of illegitimate treatment (Bottoms et al., 1995;McCorkle et al., 1995).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation/isolation of vulnerable prisoners or of violent prisoners to segregated or dedicated units (target removal)</td>
<td>This is commonly practiced in many prisons and cited as an effective target removal strategy for preventing inmate-inmate violence. O'Donnell and Edgar (1996) question the utility of dedicated units because of victim-victimiser overlap, misidentification of inmates and dilution of a whole-of-prison responsibility to eliminate victimisation. Procedural safeguards and consistent selection criteria are crucial where such units operate.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Programs for inmates**

A range of prison educational and rehabilitative programs are reported in the literature, although primarily these studies address post-release recidivism. Fewer studies directly consider the effectiveness of such programs for reducing interpersonal violence in prisons. In addition, many studies are descriptive or exploratory in nature and the quality of program implementation and evaluation is variable. Only programs where there is demonstrated evidence or some plausible evidence of success, are included in this section.
Some program types (academic and vocational) may reasonably confidently be expected to reduce prison violence, while other program types (violence alternatives) require far more rigorous research, particularly of different treatment modalities, in order to confidently predict outcomes. It is tentatively concluded from the literature that programs that combine violence alternative training within a supportive and ‘opportunity enhancing’ environment of a specialist or rehabilitative unit are more likely to be effective in reducing prisoner violence (Bottoms et al., 1995; Wolfus and Bierman, 1996; cf. Rucker, 1994).

Several authors refer to program principles for ensuring effective offender rehabilitation to reduce recidivism (Gerber and Fritsch, 1995; MacKenzie, 1997). While no similar literature indicating program principles for reducing prison violence *per se* were found, several of the studies in this review discuss program strengths and limitations in light of the following program requirements. These include the need for programs to:

- provide sufficient program integrity so that what is delivered is consistent with the planned design;
- address offender characteristics that are capable of change and predictive of future criminal activities, such as antisocial attitudes and behaviour, drug use, anger responses;
- allow sufficient intensity or time in view of the desired changes;
- use treatment modes and delivery styles that take account of offender learning styles and abilities (cognitive and behavioural methods that provide positive reinforcement and privileges for prosocial behaviour are generally favoured).

**Educational programs - academic and vocational**

Generally, the literature suggests that inmate academic and vocational education programs help decrease prison rule violations and violence and are therefore one of the more useful management approaches for maintaining prison order. McCorkle et al.’s (1995:325) study of 371 U.S. state prisons found that ‘even after controlling for other institutional characteristics, prisons in which a large percentage of the inmate population was involved in educational, vocational, and prison industry programs reported lower rates of violence against inmates and staff.’ Furthermore, their findings suggested that order was best promoted when prisoners were involved in meaningful programs that offered opportunities for self-improvement, and not just structure or ‘keep busy’ assignments.

Gerber and Fritsch’s (1995) overview of recent empirical evaluation studies also concluded that there is a fair amount of support for the hypothesis that adult academic and vocational correctional education programs lead to fewer disciplinary violations during incarceration (see Table 5.2 for further details of these and others studies). No specific studies were found on the relationship between basic or secondary education programs and a reduction in disciplinary problems during incarceration.
Violence alternative programs - conflict resolution and anger management programs

The empirical evidence for the efficacy of violence alternative type education programs is not strong. While a number of programs running in prisons both in Australia and the U.S. are reportedly successful (Love, 1994; Smith, 1995; Report into Youth Violence in NSW, 1995) a rigorous evaluation of their effect on prison violence and post-program inmate behaviour was not always conducted or available. The Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) program and the Pennsylvania Conflict Resolution Program are worth closer study as they certainly are endorsed by prison management and plausibly may be of benefit (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Programs Related To Reducing Interpersonal Violence In Prisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program and Reference Source</th>
<th>Location and Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prison Education Research Project (Windham programs)</td>
<td>Texas, U.S. male prisons, 1991 and 1992</td>
<td>Academic and vocational prison education programs, varying participation by inmates; 14,411 inmates evaluated</td>
<td>Extended participation in programs led to increased prison violations; major violations were infrequent, though rose with slight program participation and decreased with more heavy program participation</td>
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<td>Adams et al. (1994)</td>
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<td>College level education program</td>
<td>Oklahoma, U.S. male prison</td>
<td>College level (post secondary) education program</td>
<td>Methodologically strong evaluation found no correlation between program participation and disciplinary violations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program and Reference Source</td>
<td>Location and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>College level education program</td>
<td>Canadian male prison</td>
<td>College level (post secondary) education program</td>
<td>Methodologically strong evaluation found positive correlation (fewer disciplinary records) for program participants and stabilising effect on prison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Victoria education program</td>
<td>Matsqui, Canada male prison</td>
<td>University level education program</td>
<td>Found no correlation but not statistically significant due to very low prison misconduct rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education program</td>
<td>Texas, U.S. male prison</td>
<td>Vocational education program</td>
<td>Found positive correlation (fewer rule violations) for program participants, suggesting greater impulse control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational education program (PREP and UNICOR)</td>
<td>U.S. federal prisons</td>
<td>Vocational program with work skills acquisition and work experience components</td>
<td>Methodologically strong evaluation found positive correlation (fewer rule violations) for program participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program and Reference Source</td>
<td>Location and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) Smith (1995)</td>
<td>Several Qld prisons since 1993. Program first developed by Quakers in U.S. in 1975 for inmates at Greenhaven prison.</td>
<td>3 level experiential program (36 hrs each) run by voluntary group, focusing on self-esteem, empowerment and communication and conflict resolution skills. Programs also for corrections officers.</td>
<td>Reportedly successful teaching program, anecdotal evidence from prisoners and corrections staff. Confirmed by personal communication with Qld prison educational staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) Rucker (1994)</td>
<td>Midwest U.S. maximum security women’s prison</td>
<td>AVP programs with additional follow up skills or sexuality components</td>
<td>AVP + sexuality program indicated as successful but prison’s coercive environment thwarted post-test success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict resolution training Love (1994)</td>
<td>Huntingdon male prison, Pennsylvania U.S. commenced 1988, Conflict resolution training has been operating in Pennsylvania prisons since 1980</td>
<td>15 hr course covering skills such as listening, problem solving, mediation, anger control, non-violent alternative behaviour etc. Originally only for inmates, now joint inmate and officer training.</td>
<td>No empirical evidence, although reportedly successful at reducing prison violence, improving officers communication skills and more positive interaction with inmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program and Reference Source</td>
<td>Location and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating Without Violence (RWV) Program for domestic violence offenders</td>
<td>Ontario Corrections Institute (OCI), 220 bed rehabilitation facility for violent, sex and property offenders with other emotional and psychological difficulties.</td>
<td>12 week program, (weekly 4 hour group sessions and twice weekly individual therapy sessions). Program focused on emotional processing of previous traumatic life experiences, developing self-esteem, increasing sensitivity to the emotions of others and conflict resolution skills.</td>
<td>Comparison group evaluation found that 57 RWV participants changed the way they dealt with violence within the institution, including decreased use of destructive physical and psychological responses to conflict, reduced irritability and readiness for anger, and reduced defensiveness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barlinnie Special Unit (social prevention program)</td>
<td>Barlinnie Prison, Scotland. Special unit operating for small number of violent long term prisoners since 1980’s</td>
<td>Special long term unit for violent inmates offers high levels of privileges (e.g. unlimited visiting facilities), greater prisoner autonomy, input into running unit, contact with non-criminal outsiders, education and art programs, community meetings, and supportive staff-inmate relationship. Immediate expulsion from the unit for any physical violence.</td>
<td>Successful social program with significant reduction in assaults by inmates compared to their before-unit experience, and to a lesser degree after leaving the unit. Threat of unit expulsion a strong motivator for inmate compliance, although the long-term effect of the unit on desirable behaviour largely the product of social processes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Program and Reference Source</td>
<td>Location and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Management Development Project – Competency based recruitment process Roden (1997)</td>
<td>British Prison Service, pilot program at Nottingham Prison 1996, with plans to extend the process to the promotion selection process for first line managers.</td>
<td>Comprehensive, standardised prison officer recruitment program. Includes Job Simulation Assessment Centre (JSAC) with competency based framework for publicity material, application and assessment, and minimum education requirements.</td>
<td>Currently being evaluated. Reportedly successful. Similar process used for British Police Service promotion for several years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boot camp program for inmates Lewis (1994); Keenan (1996)</td>
<td>Valdosta male prison, Georgia, U.S. commenced 1989. Boot camps have operated in Georgia since 1983</td>
<td>90-120 day highly structured military style program for inmates on disciplinary sanction. Includes compulsory work program, drills, substance abuse and other counselling, life skills and basic education program.</td>
<td>Reportedly successful in reducing violence and the need for prisoner segregation and overall positive effect on prison. Process evaluation conducted, but limited other empirical evidence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance abuse programs</td>
<td>Five U.S. prisons</td>
<td>Prison based 'therapeutic community' type programs</td>
<td>Methodologically sound evaluations indicate programs effective in reducing drug recidivism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MacKenzie (1997)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Substance abuse program</td>
<td>Cadell prison Drug-Free Unit (DFU) South Australia, operating since 1994</td>
<td>Segregated residential unit on prison grounds. Program includes alcohol education, anger management, life skills, counselling, access to external help groups (AA and Narcotics Anonymous) and a work program</td>
<td>Significantly reduced use of drugs by DFU offenders and for 16% of participants also effectively provided an environment free of violent drug related incidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program and Reference Source</td>
<td>Location and Date</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>National prison anti-bullying strategy O'Donnell and Edgar (1996)</td>
<td>British Prison Service. Strategy introduced 1993.</td>
<td>Initial strategy focused on national anti-bullying policies and booklet information as guidance to staff for dealing with bullying and victimisation. Followed up with research over approx 18 months, and recommendations to the British Home Office aimed at decreasing victimisation in prison.</td>
<td>Research indicates pervasive victimisation and poor communication of the strategy. A comprehensive whole-of-prison approach to address the problem including victimisation policies, situational prevention, inmate education programs, staff training, victim support and research is recommended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Prison Officer Initial Training (POINT) program for new prison officer recruits Needs (1997)</td>
<td>British Prison Service. Major program changes introduced in 1996 following a review</td>
<td>Program includes 11 wks residential and prison induction components, skills practice, work-books and performance testing. Course content covers interpersonal skills, criminality, team-building, bullying, health and safety, earned incentives, equal opportunities, managing aggression, prejudice and race relations.</td>
<td>Program is to be formally evaluated within 12 months of operation.</td>
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</table>

Programs that are simultaneously or jointly conducted with prison officers (Love, 1994) may be more effective, although again the empirical evidence to support this is not forthcoming. Rucker (1994) highlights the enormous difficulties associated with implementing AVP or other 'empowering' conflict resolution programs in prisons, especially where inflexible rule enforcement, suspicion and an over-reliance on coercion and counter coercion within the broader prison environment thwart any positive effect of such programs. The Report into Youth Violence in NSW (1995:331) also outlined similar restrictions on potential AVP success in NSW prisons, and made several recommendations to improve future AVP implementation.
Wolfus and Bierman’s (1996) empirical evaluation of an Ontario Corrections violence alternative treatment program, *Relating Without Violence (RWV)*, is worth consideration (Table 5.2). While this program was established with a view to treatment of domestic violence offenders it proved effective in reducing interpersonal violence in the institution. RWV participants, in contrast to two comparison groups, ‘changed the way they dealt with violence within the confines of the institution, including a decrease in the use of destructive responses to conflict, both physical and psychological, reduced irritability and readiness for anger, and reduced defensiveness’ (Wolfus and Bierman, 1996:330). The situating of this program in a rehabilitation unit and its more intensive dual program modality (group and individual sessions) may also account for success compared with other less intensive and 'ad hoc' violence alternative programs.

**Social prevention approaches**

Social prevention, based on changing social relationships and socialisation to achieve the desired effect, can be employed either as an overall prison approach to reducing violence or within a segregated specialist unit or 'therapeutic community' context. Social prevention approaches rely heavily on a changed role for prison officers and an 'opportunity enhancing' environment for inmates.

One of the more successful examples of this approach reported in the literature is the *Barlinnie Special Unit* in Scotland for violent offenders (Bottoms et al., 1995; Cooke, 1989). The fact that inmates often reside in this unit for several years may also significantly contribute to its longer term success with changing behaviour and reducing violence, as inmates are 'socialised' into new ways of thinking and behaving. The *Special Care Centre at Long Bay Correctional Centre, NSW*, is also reportedly successful, although carry over of positive gains made by Unit participants when they return to the normal prison environment is more problematic. Bottoms et al. (1995) also contrast the success of the more social preventive approach adopted by the Long Lartin maximum security prison in England with the similar status Albany prison to illustrate the benefits of long term commitment by prison management to the social prevention of violence.

**Boot camps (for existing inmates)**

Boot camp programs are available in some jurisdictions as one of the range of community based alternatives to imprisonment, although usually not for violent offenders. Two references were found in the literature to a U.S. prison-based boot camp program for existing inmates that had been established in response to disciplinary and segregation problems within the prison (Keenan, 1996; Lewis, 1994).

The *Valdosta boot camp program* (Table 5.2) involves prisoners working their way out of disciplinary segregation and back into the general prison population through successful
boot camp participation. The program reports success with reducing inmate-staff and inmate-inmate attacks, inmate grievances, disciplinary infractions and the number of incidents where force was used to control inmate behaviour. However, the recent Koch Crime Commission (1996) and MacKenzie (1997) gave boot camps a mixed review and the Valdosta program, while sounding promising, requires closer empirical evaluation before we can reach conclusions as to its effectiveness in reducing prison violence.

### Substance abuse programs

Given the positive relationship between prison violence and inmate drug taking, substance abuse programs in prisons may also be useful for reducing prison violence, particularly inmate-inmate assaults and victimisation. MacKenzie’s (1997) review of the literature on drug involved prisoners reveals that ‘drug treatment is effective in reducing recidivism’ and furthermore, ‘offenders coerced into treatment by the criminal justice system do as well as those who enter voluntarily.’ The literature also suggests that the most promising treatments are prison-based therapeutic communities operating as segregated facilities within the prison (MacKenzie 1997; Incorvaia and Kirby, 1997; Kevin, 1993, cited in Incorvaia and Kirby, 1997). A South Australian study of the Cadell prison drug-free unit (DFU) found a significant effect in reducing the use of drugs by offenders in the DFU. In addition, 16% of DFU prisoners commented that the DFU was also successful in providing an environment free from violent drug-related incidents (Incorvaia and Kirby, 1997:44 and 47).

### Programs for staff recruitment and training

Little relevant evaluation literature on prison officer recruitment and training was found, although several authors endorsed new approaches to officer recruitment and training, especially where a more direct supervision model of inmates was called for (Jay Farbstein et al., 1991; Zupan and Menke, 1991). The British Prison Service recently introduced two new programs aimed at improving staff recruitment and training relevant to prison officers’ current roles (Needs, 1997; Roden 1997; see Table 5.2). The evaluation results of these programs should be sought as they may indicate useful approaches in this field. The Pennsylvania conflict resolution program that jointly trains officers and inmates is reportedly successful in improving staff-inmate relationships (Love, 1994).

### Anti-bullying strategies and a whole-of-institution approach

A comprehensive or 'whole of prison' approach to reducing victimisation and violence is strongly endorsed in recent research conducted on the British Prison Service by O'Donnell and Edgar (1996) (see also Chapter 4, School Violence). This research highlighted the relative ineffectiveness of relying on introducing anti-bullying policies into prisons, without strong support for communication and implementation of the policies and concomitant intervention across a range of areas, including situational prevention, inmate education programs, staff training, victim support, and ongoing research (Table 5.2).
Conclusion

In summary, some of the main factors that have been demonstrated to influence prison violence are:

- poor prison management and dysfunctional control systems;
- reliance on inmate self-protection methods (e.g. gangs, paybacks) especially when coupled with management and staff inaction;
- coercive social control and prison management approaches;
- linear design prison architecture resulting in unprotected spaces;
- staff inexperience and lack of training

The most effective or promising programs to prevent prison violence are listed in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Summary of Programs and Approaches that reduce the Influence of Factors Related to Interpersonal Violence in Prisons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs and approaches demonstrated to reduce violence</th>
<th>Promising programs and approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• vocational education programs for inmates</td>
<td>• correctional management information systems to predict potential violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• college level education programs</td>
<td>• Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) and conflict resolution training programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• social prevention approaches and specialist longer term units</td>
<td>• boot camps for violent, disciplinary sanctioned inmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• podular design and direct supervision models (new generation philosophy) where appropriately implemented</td>
<td>• competency based staff recruitment and promotion using a job assessment centre approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• segregated 'therapeutic community' style substance abuse programs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Although the picture is complex, and some inconsistent findings have emerged from studies, generally the literature supports the notion that the more coercive the prison environment the greater the potential for violence. This is especially so where prison management and treatment of inmates is perceived by inmates as unfair or illegitimate, as
this strengthens prisoner solidarity in opposition to the authorities. This in turn threatens prisoner legitimation or endorsement of the regime and consequently their compliance (Bottoms et al., 1995; Light, 1991; McCorkle et al., 1995; Newbold, 1992).

Conversely, prisons that provide more opportunities for inmate participation in education and vocational programs and promote self-efficacy, generally report reduced levels of rule violations and violence (Gerber and Fritsch, 1995; McCorkle et al., 1995; Wright, 1993). A whole-of-prison approach that thoughtfully combines situational and social prevention strategies appears to offer the most likely recipe for reducing interpersonal violence in prisons (Bottoms et al., 1995; O'Donnell and Edgar, 1996).
Bibliography


Love, Bill. ‘Program Curbs Prison Violence through Conflict Resolution.’ Corrections Today 56.5: 144-146.


Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


This study examined the prison behaviour and post-release recidivism of 14,411 inmates released from Texas prisons in 1991 and 1992. Comparisons were made between participants and non-participants in prison education programs (The Windham program) on a variety of behavioural outcomes. The findings suggest that these programs may be most effective in reducing recidivism, when intensive efforts are focused on the most educationally disadvantaged prisoners. The findings with respect to inmates’ disciplinary violations (minor and major) are less encouraging with data indicating that ‘extended participation in academic and vocational programs was associated with increased violations of prison rules’. These findings were opposite to what the authors had predicted and to the general findings in the literature. However these results should be cautiously interpreted for the purposes of this review on the impact of educational programs on prison violence. For example, the study made no specific mention of disciplinary violations involving violence. Major violations (presumably the most likely to have involved inmate violence) were relatively infrequent for both academic and vocational participants, with figures suggesting that major disciplinary violation rates ‘rise when inmates are involved only slightly with programs and decrease when inmates are involved more heavily’.


This chapter draws on research undertaken at two English maximum security prisons for long term inmates, as well as other literature, to contrast situational and social approaches to maintaining order and control in prisons. Situational crime prevention is based on ‘opportunity-reduction and manipulation of the immediate environment’ (Hough, Clarke, and Mayhew, 1980). Social crime prevention, which may involve altering the social environment, is based on changing social relationships and socialisation to achieve the desired effect. While prisons usually employ some elements of both approaches, the contrast in emphasis between the two approaches at the prisons cited in this chapter provides a basis for comparison. Situational strategies include: target hardening (strengthening physical features such as doors, windows, access to prison roofs, often used in riots); target removal ( isolation of vulnerable prisoners,
removal of cash economy); removing the means to crime (weapons); restriction of potential offender movements (less time out of cells, restricted numbers of inmates in cells); surveillance (human and electronic) although this is closely associated with architectural issues in prisons; environmental management (reduce racketeering with cash removal). While the authors acknowledge the value of many situational strategies, they also point out that there has been less empirical investigation of prisoners’ responses to these and their unintended consequences such as increases in frustration and violence, because of less control over one’s environment. In stark contrast, the social approach described in Cooke’s (1989) study of Barlinnie Special Unit in Scotland provides for high levels of privileges, including unlimited visiting facilities for family and friends, the right not to work if desired, cooking and eating non-prison food, in-cell television and general greater prisoner autonomy. The unit which houses previously disruptive long term prisoners, has been successful in significantly reducing the level of assaults by inmates compared to their before unit experience, and to a lesser degree also after they have left the unit. Threat of immediate expulsion from the unit for any physical violence is seen as a strong motivator for inmate compliance, although the ‘apparent long-term effect of the unit on desirable behaviour is largely the product of social processes.’ Bottoms et al. extend Dunbar’s (1985) concept of ‘dynamic security’ (through relationship and activity based regimes) to include the importance of (perceived) fairness in daily routines, treatment of inmates and accountability systems as important for legitimation or endorsement from prisoners for maintaining order and control in prisons. Situational methods of reducing opportunities for disorder are relevant while at the same time maintaining the ‘maximum commitment’ to social prevention and legitimation. Finally they argue that more personally restrictive situational measures (eg locking inmates in cells) will threaten legitimisation to a greater degree and thus increase the potential for subsequent disorder and violence.


Competing models of prison rule violation exist in criminology. The deprivation model proposes that inmate rule infraction is the product of the stressful and oppressive conditions within the prison itself. In contrast, the importation model argues that characteristics of individuals that predate confinement, such as race and gender, are critical factors in determining modes of inmate adjustment. Individual level data from the Ohio correctional bureau are used to evaluate the efficacy of these two models. The results of analyses support the importation model over the relative deprivation model. The implications of the study are discussed within the limitations of the data.

Throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s, victimisation research consistently documented the gap between official crime statistics and criminal victimisation in the community. Victimisation research generally takes the form of surveys of the general community, meaning that institutional victimisation is left undocumented. This paper provides data from a criminal victimisation survey administered to 117 male federal prisoners housed in five prisons spanning three security levels. The results show that rates of victimisation, particularly violent victimisation, were high in the prisons where the interviews were conducted. Compared to non-victims, victims tended to be younger, housed in higher security settings, and in the early part of their prison term. The survey data are compared to official prison data on prisoner-prisoner assault, and victimisation data for the general Canadian population and a sub-sample of urban males, aged 25-29 with a household income of under $20,000.


Ten experienced psychologists and 11 case managers within the Federal Bureau of Prisons employed 17 demographic and biographical variables as cues to forecast violence during the first 6 months of incarceration of 33 male inmates at a medium-security federal correctional institution. Low levels of reliability were found among individual judges’ forecasts, but high agreement was found for their composite judgments. These professionals’ forecasts of inmates' violence showed low accuracy. Lens model analyses suggested that although forecasts and actual violence were both linearly predictable from the independent variables, low accuracy may have resulted because professionals failed to weight these factors optimally. Further analyses suggested that inmates showing violence at follow-up were younger, were more likely to come from non-urban areas, and had a history of more prior arrests and convictions than did inmates who did not show violence in prison. Implications for improving accuracy at predicting short-term violence are discussed.


Testosterone, crime, and prison behaviour were examined among 692 adult male prison inmates. Testosterone was measured from saliva samples, and behaviour was coded from prison system records. Inmates who had committed personal crimes of sex and violence had higher testosterone levels than inmates who had committed property
crimes of burglary, theft, and drugs. Inmates with higher testosterone levels also violated more rules in prison, especially rules involving overt confrontation. The findings indicate differences between low and high testosterone individuals in the amount and pattern of their misbehaviour.


The rapidly expanding population of prison inmates has severely challenged the prison system’s ability to effectively screen incoming inmates for mental disorders and mental health service needs. This study describes a comprehensive mental health screening of 514 inmates (mean age 30.8 yrs) at a maximum security prison, using a modified version of the Referral Decision Scale (RDS), a screening measure developed from the Diagnostic Interview Schedule. Modified items and adjusted cut off scores were used in order to reduce the rate of false positives. Survey results indicate that this modified version of the RDS may be an effective screening measure for correctional settings. Subjects who were positive on the RDS were compared to negative subjects on a variety of offence and prison adjustment variables. Findings indicate that while subjects who were positive on the RDS experienced some initial adjustment problems within the prison, they were generally not found to be involved in an elevated rate of prison violence and were not more often remanded to disciplinary units than those subjects who were negative on the RDS.


*This paper* examines two explanatory models for prison violence. In the first, the crowding model, violence is said to arise from the cognitive confusion and tension induced by crowded conditions. In the second, the social control model, violence is seen as one among several important control mechanisms deeply rooted in the social order of prison life. While these models are clearly not mutually exclusive, they have taken researchers along different paths. *This study* considers three forms of violence in the Texas prison system: homicide, inmate-inmate assaults with weapons, and inmate-staff assaults. Study data indicate that the crowding model is of limited use when explaining patterns of homicide and serious assaultive behaviour. *Overall, the results* support the control model over the crowding model as it was shown that changes in the control structure within the prison (eg staff unable/unwilling to control violence, gangs,
informal cliques, self protection, court mandated orders, poor dispute-resolution mechanisms etc) better accounted for the levels of violence within the prison.

PsycLIT Database.

This article discussed correctional practices in New Zealand, focusing on community corrections and penal institutions. Also discussed are the imprisonment of women, current trends in prison populations, and eligibility for early release. Compared with sentences in the US, sentences in New Zealand are mild. Prisons offer a wide range of recreational, educational, spiritual, and cultural programs. New Zealand probably has one of the lowest levels of prison violence in the world. It is suggested that the incidence of crime is determined by economic and social factors, not by correctional policy. As corrections in New Zealand undergo a population surge, placing effectiveness above expediency is expected to avoid the US experience of chronic overcrowding, curtailment of programs, and a deterioration of work and living conditions.


Contrary to widespread belief about the undesirability of relatively large prisons, a review of the criminological literature yields no empirical evidence that prison size influences behaviour inside or after leaving prison. The English prison statistics show that prison offences, and more specifically assaults, are less likely in larger prisons. However, it was impossible in these analyses to control for the kinds of inmates in each prison. In a more controlled analysis of correctional effectiveness (defined as the difference between predicted and actual reconviction rates), there was a strong tendency for the more overcrowded prisons to be less effective. Size was only weakly related to effectiveness, and this association was reduced further after controlling for overcrowding. It was concluded that an important priority for governmental agencies should be to reduce overcrowding in prisons.


This article provides the most comprehensive review of prison crowding research to date, both in relation to prison violence and illness. The review concludes that the inconsistency of existing data on crowding makes any generalisation of density effects problematic. Most prison
crowding studies do not investigate intervening mechanisms that may account for a relationship between crowding and violence, if and when a relationship is found. One reason for the inconsistency in the results of such studies is that researchers have failed to examine the proximal causes of violence as well as the formal mechanisms prison administrators use to control or limit violence. Data on aggregate measures of density and violence have shown that it is more likely that some factor other than crowding (but possibly correlated with density) is associated with changes in violence.


This article summarises and integrates the findings of recent studies that evaluate adult academic and vocational correctional education programs for men. Studies were given a rating of methodological adequacy from 0 to 3, based on whether they employed the following criteria; control group, matching vs. random assignment of subjects, statistical controls, and tests of statistical significance.. Contrary to the Martinson Report (1974), the authors conclude that the recent research shows a fair amount of support for the hypothesis that adult academic and vocational correctional education programs lead to fewer disciplinary violations during incarceration, to reductions in recidivism, to increases in employment opportunities and to increases in participation in education upon release. The majority of studies focus on post release recidivism and employment. Studies that consider disciplinary violations whilst in prison often make no distinction between violent and non-violent acts. No studies were found on the relationship between basic or secondary education programs and a reduction in disciplinary problems during incarceration. With respect to college level education programs, three studies are reported. Two of these studies were methodologically sound (rating 3), but reported contradictory findings. Langenbach et al. (1990) found no ‘correlation between enrolment in prison-based college programs and prisoners’ misconduct’, whereas Linden et al. (1984) found a desirable correlation, with better disciplinary records for inmates and a general stabilising effect on the prison climate. Gendreau et al. (1985) (rating 2) however found that a university program did not lead to improved disciplinary records, although these results were considered not statistically significant because of the low misconduct rates in the prison anyway. With respect to vocational education, Alston (1981) (rating 1), found less rule violation for inmates undergoing a vocational program and attributed this to ‘more positive impulse control’ (1981:9). Saylor and Gaes (1992) (rating 3) also found significantly fewer disciplinary problems for vocational education trainees. Gerber and Fritsch also report on the recidivism outcomes of a small number of empirical studies of social education or life skills programs (Marshall, Turner and Barbaree, 1989; Fabiano, 1991; Hamm, 1991), however none of these addressed disciplinary violations whilst in prison. Hamm’s (1991) study of a prison intervention program for domestic violence perpetrators is reported on in the Domestic Violence literature review.
Data from 58 male institutions in the federal correctional system were used to test for racial differences in both violent and alcohol/drug misconduct, controlling for a large number of individual, prison environment and community background variables. Because 'structurally' the in-prison station of black and white inmates is essentially identical, the data provide a unique methodological opportunity to test deprivation versus importation models of prison adjustment as well as more encompassing structural versus cultural theories of violence. The major findings are that, net of controls, black inmates have significantly higher rates of violent behaviour but lower rates of alcohol/drug misconduct than white inmates. These patterns parallel those of racial differences in the larger society. We interpret these findings as supporting the importation theory of prison adjustment and the subculture of violence thesis regarding high rates of black violence in the larger society.


Research on the causes of institutional disruption has focused mainly on inmate demographics or institutional variables such as crowding and the ratio of officers to inmates. Only a few studies have been done on the use-of-force as a method to control prison disturbances. Use-of-force refers to incidents in which correctional officers use physical, mechanical or chemical force against inmates. This study on the underlying causes of use-of-force incidents was conducted by comparing incidents in correctional institutions in Florida and the rest of the U.S. Results indicate that use-of-force incidents generally occur during inmate resistance to housing removal, inmate resistance to orders, and disputes among inmates. *The authors draw on social control theory to suggest that inmates perceive physical force by staff as legitimate in certain circumstances (e.g. knowingly broken a rule) and illegitimate in other circumstances (e.g. inmate fighting to defend honour). Inmates, therefore, may respond either positively or negatively to the use-of-force depending on the situation. Ongoing research into anticipating inmates’ responses and the nature of staff’s responses is occurring.*

uses a case study analyses to provide insights into the complex circumstances surrounding the deaths of 8 young people in detention from 1980 to 1983. Howlett discusses the anxiety of social dislocation for young people removed to institutions, especially acute for young indigenous people and where the period of detention is ambiguous. The structural dimensions of institutional violence are also explored. In addition to racist violence inherent in institutional practices (Cunneen, 1990) other institutional factors (harsh punishments, isolation/segregation, poor physical conditions, infrequent cell checks, lack of basic first aid knowledge, failure to follow procedures) are all shown to be linked to suicides in detention. The implementation of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody recommendations, along with other reforms to the juvenile justice system are considered a matter of urgency to prevent further deaths of juveniles in custody.


Research on the prevalence and patterns of drug use in prison suggests only that drug use and trafficking exist in correctional institutions, and that control of drugs by inmates is related to prison violence. Press reports typically focus on trafficking networks and the complicity of prison personnel and avoid discussion of prevalence or patterns. Based on systematic interviews with 43 inmates and 2 anonymous drug screens in the Delaware correctional system, the nature of drug use in prison is assessed. Implications for corrections-based therapeutic initiatives are considered.


This study evaluates the effectiveness of a drug-free unit (DFU) in reducing the use of substances by incarcerated adult offenders in a South Australian prison. Thirty-one prisoners from the DFU and 31 prisoners from the mainstream population participated in the research. Frequency of pre-prison and prison drug use was measured using the Drug Use Questionnaire and a questionnaire designed by the authors. Urinalysis records of all offenders passing through the prison since the DFU commenced operation were also examined. The results revealed that 84% of the mainstream group and 32% of the DFU group were consuming drugs in prison, with cannabinoids, opiates, and benzodiazepines being the drugs consumed, in order of most frequent use. The DFU was found to have a significant effect in reducing the use of drugs by offenders in the DFU. In addition, 16% of DFU prisoners commented that the DFU was also successful in providing an environment absent of violent/drug related incidents. Research by Kevin (1993) indicates the need for substance abusers to have a detached unit away from the general prison population where the pressure to take drugs is
present. Research of this kind indicates the positive effect that environmental modification and segregation can have on a prison setting (Inciardi et al., 1993).


This article, adapted from the authors’ final report to the National Institute of Corrections, United States Department of Justice, attempts ‘to quantify the differences between direct and indirect supervision and to find empirical support for the purported benefits of each approach.’ Indirect supervision is defined as ‘the method of supervising inmates whereby correctional officers monitor inmate living areas from enclosed posts.’ Direct supervision ‘places correctional officers right in the living unit where they are required to have continuous direct personal interaction with inmates.’ There has been an ongoing debate on the benefits of these different approaches, with advocates of indirect supervision reporting results of ‘lower stress, less violence and less vandalism, as well as improved staff morale and greater job satisfaction.’ Using a survey and case study methodology, the research examined key criteria, including construction and operating costs, safety and security, environment-behaviour issues and design issues in both direct and indirect supervision environments. With respect to issues of aggression and safety, the findings of the research were mixed. Interaction between staff and inmates at direct supervision facilities was less hostile, and there was less feeling of danger of staff-inmate attack. However, staff at direct supervision institutions rated their institutions more negatively on a number of safety variables. The authors warn that the ‘benefits of a direct supervision approach may be impeded if this approach is not supported by a commitment from management,’ including ‘appropriate staff training and classification of inmates.’ They also found that direct supervision facilities ‘overall take more effort and commitment to plan, train for and manage.’


This study, based on returned questionnaires from 80 women and 66 male correction officers (CO’s) at 6 Pennsylvania Correction Institutions, and 23 random follow-up interviews, examined the issue of women’s response to aggressive inmate encounters. The authors’ literature review on gender differences in response to aggression in corrections and the related field of policing indicates that to date the research evidence is inconclusive. For example, Holeman and Krepps-Hess (1983) found that ‘women officers are proportionally no more likely nor less likely to be attacked or injured by inmates than men’, whereas Rowan (1996) found that ‘as the proportion of women increases in a given institution there appears to be a reduction on the number of assaults on staff.’ Based on the findings of Jenne’s study, ‘women neither increase nor decrease the rate of violence and are as effective in handling inmate incidents as are male officers’. In some situationally specific encounters, women COs responded more aggressively. Occupational socialisation, demands of the job and the need to ‘prove oneself’ in a male
dominated workplace may contribute to extinguish any gender differences in how women COs respond to aggression. This is contrary to the general literature on gender and aggression which suggests that women engage in aggression less often and less extremely than men (Frodi et al, 1977), view aggression as loss of control and expect condemnation of such behaviour (Campbell and Muncar, 1987), although Frodi et al.(1997) did show that gender differences disappear when women are confronted with highly aggressive males. The authors conclude that the presence of women correctional officers in male prisons may not significantly alter the situation with respect to aggression. However as the evidence on crossed-sex guarding still remains inconclusive, reliable generalisation from findings is not possible.


This chapter presents findings from a descriptive process evaluation undertaken of Georgia’s Comprehensive Correctional Boot Camp Program. These programs which date back to 1983, now include a range of probationer boot camps, inmate boot camps (non-violent offenders) and an intensive treatment program boot camp for inmates on disciplinary sanction. This latter program at the Valdosta Correctional Institution involves prisoners working their way out of disciplinary segregation and back into the general prison population through successful boot camp participation. This article describes the various program components of these different boot camps, and concludes that the adequate provision of resources is critical to their programming. The report also suggests that the inclusion of education and treatment components is essential, as boot camps that ‘utilise physical labour and military drill alone will not accomplish the goal of significantly changing the behaviour of offenders’.


This report provides an overview of boot camps in the United States based on still limited current research, since their introduction to the correctional system in 1983. The report identifies 3 styles of boot camps: military/discipline focused; more rehabilitative and less physical activity focused; more educationally focused. Boot camp participants are typically young, adult, male non-violent offenders, although some camps do operate for violent offenders, with in some cases, a return to a regular corrections institution on camp completion. The report gave boot camps a mixed review and concluded that they are ‘not in and of themselves a remedy for crime or offender management.’ Some camps have had limited success with offender re-integration into the community and ‘positive results have been demonstrated in rehabilitation programs of specific lengths and staff training’. The camps’ impact on participants’ recidivism rates varied. The report acknowledges the potential cost savings of boot camps cf. incarceration in prison, and makes recommendations for operating or opening a boot camp.
This article presents the findings of a research study on patterns of inmate violence towards guards at two correctional institutions (one State and one Federal) in the US. Four factors were found to relate to assaults on officers, namely: location in the prison (70% of assaults in detention/high security areas); shift (majority during day shift); work experience of officer (trainees receive disproportionate number of assaults); age of the assaulting inmate (majority of assaults by under 25 year inmates). The age of the officer, unless also related to amount of experience, the sex of the officer, the presence of other staff members, and threats as a precursor to assault were not found to be significant. The study revealed that most assaults appeared to be spontaneous, but could in fact be anticipated, as they often seemed to relate to inmate frustration, interference with privileges, or an unusual event in the inmates life eg. denial of parole. Of most significance are the findings on staff experience and training. The larger State prison (1200 inmates) with only 2.5% of officers with less than one year experience, in receipt of 90 hours training and who always worked with a more experienced officer, had lower assault rates compared to the smaller Federal prison (600 inmates) with up to 14% of officers with less than one year experience, more limited training and a higher staff turnover rate. The authors conclude that ‘training and supervision practices could be adjusted to reduce assaults’ on officers.

With explosive growth in prison populations, deteriorating conditions "inside," and a large number of mentally disordered felons, correctional mental health programs are inundated with demands for services. Based on the author’s first hand survey of state prisons, inmate responses to the harsh conditions are described and a link is suggested between childhood traumas of inmates and the traumas they experience in prison. Implications for correctional mental health services, as well as correctional policy in general, are offered.

The dramatic increase in the number of prisoners has made the task of eliminating or limiting prison violence more difficult for correctional officers. This is made worse by dwindling manpower and resources in many correctional institutions. One method of
minimizing incidents of violence or assault is to use comprehensive environmental scanning systems to regularly monitor interactions in institutions and identify potential hot spots for violence. The term 'environmental scanning' simply refers to a 'management information system' that enables administrators to more accurately predict and proactively address violence in prisons. Management information or support systems are commonplace in business and industry, however the application of integrated correctional management support systems is relatively recent. Their use is predicated on a theory of multifactorial causes of prison disturbances (institutional environment, inmate population, administrative practices and non-institutional factors), whereby data on all such relevant factors are taken into account when developing a comprehensive institutional violence profile. Labecki, based on a review of scanning systems in several correctional organisations, identifies 5 steps necessary for effective implementation. These are (1) commitment by administration and key personnel to develop and use the system, (2) decide how frequently to report and review information based on population turnover, (3) agree on which indicators to monitor (4) operationally define the indicators (5) designate a 'keeper of the data' at the system and facility level to co-ordinate data collection, compilation, review and distribution of reports on a regular basis. Common key indicators include assaults, misconducts, grievances, contraband finds, programming levels, staff leave utilisations, although these will necessarily vary across systems. Management information systems aim to inform management decisions by providing both quantitative and baseline data for examining trends in institutional climate and by forcing administrators to consider 'why' trends and shifts are occurring. The author, while strongly advocating the efficacy of environmental scanning, does not present any data from institutions that currently use such systems to support claims that they prevent or decrease violence in prisons.


The Valdosta Correctional Institution in the US has been conducting 30 day boot-camp programs (Intensive Therapeutic Program [ITP]) for hardened offender inmates since 1989. The program was originally developed to 'reduce the incidence of disciplinary violations and the number of inmates serving segregation time.' The highly structured and supervised military style program includes a work program, military style drills, substance abuse and other counselling, positive mental attitude classes and hygiene classes, and involves formal evaluations of each participant. The program has also included 104 stable 'mentally ill' inmates with reported positive results and improved participation in mental health programs by these inmates. The authors provide no empirical evidence, but report that the program has been highly successful in reducing inmate-staff and inmate-inmate attacks, inmate grievances, disciplinary infractions and the number of incidents where force was used to control inmate behaviour. Overall the program has had a flow over positive effect on the institutional environment and reduced the need for segregation of inmates. However in the absence of more rigorous data, the
success of this program, while sounding promising, requires closer evaluation before drawing a definitive conclusion as to its effectiveness in reducing prison violence.

Current Contents-Social and Behavioural Sciences.

This article summarises some of the main results from two long term research projects carried out between 1987 and 1992 on suicide and suicide attempts in prison. Its focus is on those results relating to prisoners. Limitations inherent in the use of statistical data on prison suicide and suicide attempts are demonstrated. The use of long semi structured interviews, supplemented by observational methods, participation, statistical data, and informal discussions with staff and prisoners is a more appropriate approach to this type of research. The two studies showed that important differences could be found between suicide attempters and other prisoners. Those differences relating to criminal justice histories and background characteristics were differences of degree. Suicide attempters had suffered more severe disadvantage, violence, and family problems in their histories and they had more frequent contact with social services and criminal justice agencies. The more important differences were found in their descriptions of life in prison, which was seen as more difficult for the suicide attempters in almost every respect. The article concludes by elaborating on the concept of poor coping in prison and by showing how distinct types of prison suicide can be identified for whom the significance of the immediate environment may differ. Finally, links are drawn between prison suicide and other related literature on prison life.


Little is known of the circumstances surrounding prison inmates' assaults on correctional officers. To provide a foundation for understanding the meaning of these events, this exploratory study analyses a sample of 694 official reports of assaultive incidents in a large state prison system over a one-year period. Results of a content analysis suggest that assaultive events occur in relation to a number of interactional themes - unexplained, officer's command, protest, search, inmates' fighting, movement, contraband, restraint, discipline, emotional instability, sexual, intoxication, and medical. The study's findings affirm that prisoners and officers must cooperate in order to negotiate each day with a minimum of disruption. When either party violates salient norms, mutually beneficial interaction patterns may break down and violent interactions may result. Officially reported assaults on staff members may be
understood most clearly by considering the authority of officers, the autonomy of prisoners, and processes of social control enacted by prisoners and officers alike.


Utilising a linked series of multiple regression equations in a contextual analysis design, this study examines ten individual-level (prisoner) characteristics as predictors of severity of assaults on prison staff. Results suggest that inmate attributes do not significantly influence the severity of assaults. Mean inmate age, a prison-level characteristic, is found to affect assault severity even when individual prisoner age is held constant, providing clear evidence of a sociological contextual effect. The results of the study are interpreted as supporting a policy of increasing prisoner age heterogeneity. Support for this strategy was previously found in a quasi-experimental study by Mabli et al. (1979), in which lower levels of inmate/inmate violence at a federal prison followed an increase in prisoner age heterogeneity. A call is made for comparative research focusing on the social structure of adult prisons populated by a majority of young prisoners.


The article outlines a conflict resolution training program for inmates and correctional officers at the State Correctional Institution at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. The institution houses some of the state’s most aggressive inmates, with nearly one third serving life sentences and many with extensive histories of assault. Conflict resolution training (approx. 15 hours duration) covers listening skills, problem solving, values clarification, mediation and victim/offender reconciliation, anger control, forgiveness and non-violent alternative behaviour. The author (Huntingdon’s superintendent) supports conflict resolution training as a proactive approach to prison violence, as it can help resolve problems before they escalate to major disturbances. Anecdotal evidence of the success of the program includes positive comments by inmates and corrections officers, endorsement of the program from the former Deputy Commissioner of Pennsylvania Dept. of Corrections and the author’s view that ‘improving officers’ communication skills has enabled them to respond more effectively to conflicts with inmates and co-workers.’ Conflict resolution training is also cited as effective at the Camp Hill Corrections Institution in 1989 where inmates who had recently undergone such training did not become involved in riots and in fact assisted officers to not be assaulted. More rigorous evaluative evidence of the effectiveness of the conflict resolution programs outlined in the article is required. However based on the material presented, the approach is worth closer examination.

This chapter considers interventions for reducing crime through the courts and corrections and discusses the six categories of: incapacitation; deterrence; rehabilitation; community restraints; structure, discipline and challenge programs; and combining rehabilitation and restraint. For the purposes of this review on prison violence this chapter has been useful for evidence of the success of prison based substance abuse programs, discussion of the various principles for effective rehabilitation programs, and for information on the inconsistent, though largely poor findings on the effectiveness of boot camp programs.


The authors report the findings of a study that assessed the mental health status of youthful inmates as measured by the General Well-Being Scale. Inmates (N=111) in a state prison for young offenders were surveyed to learn the extent to which institutional, social, psychological, and individual variables explain their mental health status. The study focused on the relationship between inmate well-being, fear of victimisation, victimisation experiences, prison stresses, demographic variables, correctional experience, and social support.


This article examines the literature on prison riots and integrates many of the prior conceptualisations of their causes by advancing a typology of explanatory models. This typology classifies prior explanations for riots into six subcategories: environmental conditions, spontaneity, conflict, collective behaviour/social control, power vacuum, and rising expectations. The authors then examine the 1986 riot at the West Virginia State Penitentiary, using an integrated conceptual structure that draws on several of these subcategories. Finally, they examine the utility of the typology by comparing the West Virginia riot with those which occurred at Attica and Santa Fe. The analysis makes clear that none of the individual models in the typology provides an adequate single explanation for these riots. Indeed, meaningful explanations about prison riots seem to require elements from most of the models in the typology. This finding suggests the need for more integrative approaches in the study of prison riots.

Although studies have documented increased levels of violence in U.S. prisons, little attention has been given to how this violence shapes inmate behaviours and lifestyles. This article presents results from a survey of 300 adult males incarcerated in a maximum-security facility, providing data on the types, prevalence, and social correlates of personal precautions to violence. A factor analysis of responses revealed two distinct dimensions of precautionary behaviour. The more fearful, older, and socially isolated inmates primarily used avoidance behaviours to reduce the threat of victimisation. On the other hand, younger inmates who use the inmate culture as a source of status and privilege tended to employ more aggressive or proactive techniques to deter attacks.


Studies of prison violence typically focus either on individual level aggression or large scale collective acts. Most past work consists of case studies, limiting the generalisations from the results. The present study used data from 371 state prisons and measures of both individual and collective violence and attempted to identify the structural, managerial, and environmental determinants of prison disorder. Three types of prison violence were examined: inmate assaults against inmates, inmate assaults against staff, and riots. Findings suggest that poor prison management is a predictor of rates of assault toward inmates and staff. However, the likelihood of prison riots is largely independent of structural, managerial, and environmental factors. The article concludes that poor prison management is a major structural condition that fails to control and may even promote individual acts of violence. The implications for public policy are discussed.

Munroe, F. M. ‘Social Skills Differences in Aggressive and Non-Aggressive Male Young Offenders within an Unfamiliar Social Situation.’ *Medicine Science and the Law* 35.3 (July 1995): 245-248.

Forty male young offenders categorised as ‘aggressive’ or ‘non aggressive’ according to criminal records, were filmed in conversation with an unknown prison officer on two occasions. Independent observers, blind to the offender’s category, rated the aggressive subjects as having significantly poorer social skills than non aggressive subjects, but only during subjects’ first conversation with the officer, i.e. within a novel, unfamiliar
social situation. This finding has implications for the treatment of 'aggressive' individuals as it may be interpreted as evidence of their responding inappropriately (e.g. becoming withdrawn or verbally abusive) because they perceive ambiguous situations as threatening. It also might explain the recent finding from prison violence literature that inexperienced prison officers are more likely to become involved in violent incidents, because they are perceived by aggressive prisoners as 'ambiguous'.


This report updates the U.S. Bureau of Prisons’ ongoing investigation of inmate sexual aggression, considers the relative low rate of sexual assault given the general greater levels of violence seen in U.S. prisons, and also contrasts some of the findings from the Federal study with results from other reports. For example, several major studies contend that racial conflict is a major motivating force behind sexual assaults, but the Federal study calls this interpretation into question. The paper also discusses the Federal Bureau of Prisons’ policy on homosexual activity and family visitation programs. Finally the authors describe some processes that will reduce sex-related violence and improve all inmate safety, including: better, more objective risk assessment techniques; accreditation based on acceptable correctional standards; training, consultation and information sharing through the National Institute of Corrections; and improvements in prison architecture, and improved surveillance through design enhancements. Corrections officials are urged to consider using 'rape kits', a systematic procedure for gathering and testing evidence from alleged assailants and victims of sexual assault.


This article outlines a review of the British Prison Officer Initial Training (POINT) program for new prison officer recruits, and the subsequent major changes made to the training program in 1996. The review strongly criticised the effectiveness of the existing POINT program (2 week prison observation, 9 week residential, followed by further 2 week prison observation) as repetitious and outdated in places, and ‘insufficient to support a culture of systematic learning and personal development.’ Major restructure of the program focused on greater integration and practice of skills through rescheduling of residential and prison induction components, expansion of interpersonal skills training, more rigorous program and testing of performance, and the use of workbooks to promote and record personal development. Course content was extended to include sessions on criminality, team-building, bullying, health and safety, earned incentives, equal opportunities, managing aggression, assumptions and prejudice and race
The program is to be formally evaluated within 12 months of operation, and thereafter annually audited for ‘incorporation of new instructions and relevant material.’

NCJRS Database.

The effects of the administrative changes in the maximum security prison in New Zealand offers an example of the influence of corrections management on inmate subcultures. The experience of three prisons over a 30 year time period reveals that cohesive opposition is the only inmate response to administrative absolutism. This inmate reaction appeared at the Mt. Eden facility in the late 1950's, when the prison moved from its failed experiment with a form of pluralism, in which selected inmates aided the administration, to one of authoritarian management. Cohesive opposition continued in the subsequent austere regimes. The violent antagonism that accompanied inmate cohesion began to break down only when prison officials adopted a more conciliatory approach. Subsequently, a spirit of mutual cooperation guided staff-inmate relations. The experience of this and other New Zealand facilities has shown that a rise in the level of administrative oppression in secure institutions causes inmate self-commitment to deepen. Conversely, when the external threat is removed, a reduction in tension allows defences to relax and a mood of tolerance to develop. Therefore, corrections administrators in the U.S. and New Zealand should not respond to prison overcrowding by abandoning expensive penology in favour of a cheap authoritarian expedient, because the resulting tension, violence, and equipment destruction may not save money.


This is the authors’ revised report for the British Home Office, and the findings are also summarised in the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate, Research Findings Paper No. 37. The British Prison Service launched its anti-bullying strategy in 1993. As part of this strategy, the University of Oxford conducted research on the extent of victimisation in prisons and ways it might be tackled. The study was based on a survey of 1566 prisoners (young offenders and adults), interviews with 61 victims and 31 victimisers, 111 staff interviews, and observation of prison activities. Findings revealed that victimisation was pervasive, with 46% of young offenders and 30% of adults having been assaulted, robbed or threatened with violence in the previous month. Despite the high levels of victimisation, most prisoners reported feeling safe most of the time. Many victims were victimised in several ways eg assault, threats of violence, robbery, verbal abuse and exclusion by other prisoners. Exclusion or isolation by other
prisoners and cell theft were often an indicator of other forms of victimisation occurring. Victims and victimisers were not discrete groups with those who victimised others often likely to have been victimised themselves. Previous custodial experience did not reduce the risk of being victimised, but it did increase the likelihood of being a victimiser. Victimisation relationships usually developed over time and did not occur spontaneously. Very few incidents were reported to staff, mainly due to fear of retaliation and feeling that there was nothing to gain. Staff were sometimes poorly informed about national policy and local initiatives aimed to tackle the problem of victimisation. The researchers advocate a ‘whole prison approach’ to preventing victimisation, and not to solely placing responsibility onto a special facility within the prison. Use of dedicated units for victims/victimisers (remembering that some prisoners are both) may only have marginal impact. Clear and consistently applied selection criteria and procedural safeguards are necessary if separation to dedicated units is used as a strategy. Situational prevention measures include: abolishing four person dormitories as these were shown to have more serious violent incidents; marking property, including phone cards; and private canteen orders. Victimisation policies and initiatives should be clearly communicated to staff and to inmates at induction. Victim support, from staff and trained counsellors, that breaks the culture of not confiding in staff must be challenged if victimisation is to be effectively tackled.


This study assesses the impact of selected deprivation and importation variables on inmate violence in four juvenile correctional institutions. While both sets of variables were shown to exert independent effects on inmate aggression, variations in the institutional context mediated the impact of inmate characteristics on levels of prison violence. Pre-institutional violence emerged as the best predictor of inmate aggression, regardless of institutional setting. Race was shown to affect inmate violence directly only in the most treatment-oriented facility, while the inmate code was found to exert effects only in the most custodial institutions.


This study evaluated the objective and predictive value of the Nebraska Department of Corrections’ Inmate Classification Model, a variation of the Federal Prison System’s Model. A sample of 458 male offenders was assessed on 11 predictor variables, 5 classification variables and 6 demographic variables and 5 institutional adjustment variables. The results indicated that the Nebraska model was making objective classification decisions based solely on the classification variables. However, the model
was not a valid instrument for predicting the offenders' institutional adjustment problems. Age and education level, two variables not included in this model, emerged as the best predictors of adjustment. These findings suggest that the model's predictive value could be improved by incorporating valid predictor variables into the classification process.


This article outlines the move to a more professional, comprehensive, standardised and cost effective approach to recruitment of prison officers within the British Prison Service, with the introduction of: Job Simulation Assessment Centre (JSAC); competency based publicity material, and application and assessment processes; and minimum education requirements. While the JSAC is more staff intensive, the competency based application questionnaire and new educational requirements significantly reduce the number of applicants who reach this final selection stage. The aim of this new approach is to recruit prison officers with the conceptual, analytical, and interpersonal skills most relevant to present day prison officers’ role. The JSAC assesses various interpersonal and written competencies through a 2 hour series of videoed role plays and report writing on situations likely to be encountered in the workplace, such as calming some-one down, assertive behaviour, taking criticism, giving constructive criticism etc. This new recruitment approach has only been operating since November 1996 with plans to extend the process to the promotion selection process for first line managers. The efficacy of this new approach is yet to be proven, although the author reports that a similar process has been used successfully for several years by the Police for promotion purposes. An initial evaluation of the new Prison Service recruitment approach is already under way and the findings should be sought with interest.


The relationship between institutional density (population divided by capacity) and institutional infractions (both violent and non-violent) was examined for 65 different institutions (25 state prisons, 33 county prisons, and 7 transitional centres) by month over a 10-year period. Across all institutions, there appeared to be no consistent pattern of effects for density. Even within institutions, there was no consistent pattern across time. Multivariate analyses holding other factors constant indicated that institutional density and rate of change of prison populations had statistically significant effects on both types of infractions, although the size of the effects was very small. Additional analyses indicated that these effects were particularly true for prisons for youth. Overall, the results indicated that institutional factors other than
density were the strongest predictors of infractions.


This article examines the effects of two disparate social environments on a group of women (N=22) incarcerated in a maximum security prison for women in midwest USA. The two environments included the coercive penal environment where the women were confined and a cooperative Alternatives to Violence (AVP) workshop environment that was created in the broader penal environment. The author, based on participant observation of two AVP workshops, was endeavouring to understand the failure of AVP participants’ post-test scores on trust to increase. This was despite indicators (high attendance, interest, group cohesiveness) during the course of the workshop that these scores would be greater than the low to moderate levels of trust with which participants entered the project. The author provides numerous examples to contrast the 5 main features of the coercive prison versus the cooperative AVP environment, namely; security, rules, relationship between authority and inmates, control strategies, and conflict resolution strategies. She concludes that inflexible rule enforcement, suspicion and an over reliance of coercion and counter coercion within the broader prison environment intruded on the running of the AVP workshops and also served to thwart any positive follow-up effects of AVP. This article highlights the enormous difficulties associated with implementing AVP or other ’empowering’ conflict resolution programs in prisons. With reference to the relevant literature, Rucker also warns against various prison control strategies whose reinforcement contingencies means that they are ’contributing to or reinforcing the very behaviours that they seek to suppress’. Prison policy that precipitates violence by fostering threat, coercion, deception, suspicion, rigidity, entrenchment, and/or faulty communication is highly questionable.’


The Psychopathy Checklist (PCL/PCL R) continues to receive recognition among clinicians and researchers for its ability to predict violent and non-violent recidivism. This article reviews the psychometric properties and the clinical utility of the PCL R and reports a meta analysis of 18 studies that investigate the relationship between the PCL/PCL R and violent and non-violent recidivism. We found that the PCL and the PCL R had moderate to strong effect sizes and appear to be good predictors of violence and general recidivism. As a component of dangerousness assessments, psychologists may want to consider utilising the PCL R when making probability statements regarding placement decisions in institutions, parole and conditional
release decisions, and community placement decisions for psychiatric patients. The generalizability of the PCL beyond these groups, which have primarily consisted of Anglo American samples, is still in question and requires further research.


Violence within an institution can have causes which are sociological, victim-oriented and institutional. If an institution is isolated from society, this is also relevant. The institutional cause of violence is frustration at unequally distributed power. The victim-oriented cause stems from feelings due to learned helplessness. Violence in prisons, schools and homes for the aged as well as ways of institutional governance which may avert violence are discussed.


The mobilisation of resources (economic, coercive, ideological, recreational, political, or legal) is expected to reduce the level of violence in prison by reducing inmate alienation or powerlessness. Access to legal resources reduces inmate violence by providing an alternative to violent self-help as a mechanism for dispute settlement. Staff and inmates constitute conflicting interest groups, competing for control over the daily routines of prisoners within the total institutional framework of the prison. Resources that increase the relative power of inmate groups (eg, prison gangs), increase the level of conflict, leading to more violent confrontations between groups, while access to resources that increase the individual’s ability to control his or her own fate (eg, education and training), reduces inmate violence. Everyday disputes are transformed into serious matters when they represent an affront to the inmate’s self-respect; this is more likely when disputes persist without resolution. Dispute resolution mechanisms such as anger management training, ombudsmen, and mediation by correctional counsellors can reduce the level of violence by diffusing the dispute before it becomes defined as serious or by providing an alternative to violence.


Questionnaire data from 96 inmates, interviews with correctional staff and inmates, official records, and personal observations are drawn on to examine the use of physical
violence in a maximum security prison. It is contended that violence is a form of social control that emerges as a consequence of ineffective legal procedures for addressing prisoner grievances. Findings reveal that: (1) the morale of the staff and its capacity to mediate disputes determine the level of prison violence; (2) violence is one of a limited number of social control mechanisms available to prisoners; (3) inmate access to legal procedures reduces violence; and (4) violence is normative and endemic in prisons as a function of the institutional environment.


This short article outlines the Alternative to Violence Project (AVP) first conducted in Queensland in 1993 with 13 full workshops (approx 36 hrs each) and 2 one-day workshops in correctional institutions, 1 workshop for corrections staff and 7 workshops in the community. AVP, which began in the US in 1975, focuses on self-esteem, communication, and conflict resolution skills and includes a basic and a second level program, a shorter maintenance workshop and a Train the Trainer program. AVPQ is an Accredited Volunteer Organisation with the Queensland Corrections Department and facilitators and participants are voluntary. No hard evaluation data is given in this article, although the author claims that AVP as a ‘grass roots’ program ‘has been highly successful in teaching that a non-violent solution is more effective than violence in resolving conflict’.


The disciplinary records of 93 death-sentenced and 323 life-without-parole inmates were compared to those of 232 life-with-parole inmates. Disciplinary infraction levels across the groups were similar, differences disappearing when other variables were included in a multivariate regression. Death-sentenced and life-without-parole inmates were not more likely than life-with-parole inmates to commit acts of violence (i.e., murders or assaults). It was concluded that restrictive policies that are based on the assumptions of a disproportionate amount of violent behaviour by death-sentenced and life-without-parole inmates should be re-evaluated.

Sociological Abstracts.

Data obtained from 809 infraction reports at a California state prison in 1987/88 are drawn on to examine situational factors (where, when, with whom) as predictors of
types of individual aggressive incidents in a male prison. Incidents of violence were categorised by whether the infraction involved aggressive behaviour directed at staff, another inmate, self or property. Findings show that certain situational variables did predict particular categories of violence. These results support the position that background or personality factors, when used without situational factors, may not provide a complete understanding of prison violence.


Environmental factors which may increase violent behaviour are categorised as spatial intrusions, monotony, and external control. The stress caused by these factors is likely to increase violent reaction especially in those individuals already predisposed to it. Studies have found that all persons display territoriality, which varies according to situation, relationship to other persons, ethnic background, and other variables. The prison setting intensifies normal responses to invasion of space and triggers violent reaction to it. A clearer understanding of the spatial needs of different prisoners could reduce the tendency toward aggressiveness. Monotony in an environment lacking sources of stimulation leads prisoners to create their own excitement, which is frequently undesirable. Simple changes in architectural and interior design, and variety in food and recreational opportunities are presented as possible solutions. The third factor discussed, lack of control over one’s environment, is also largely an integral part of the prison conditions and one which many find threatening. Violent reactions often occur when the simplest aspects of daily life are beyond one’s control. Although environmental changes alone would not eliminate violence, appropriate changes would reduce it. In addition, unavoidable violence might then become more predictable and subject to control.


This study evaluated a group treatment program, Relating Without Violence (RWV), designed to (a) ameliorate psychological and emotional factors believed to contribute to domestic violence and (b) strengthen conflict resolution skills in perpetrators of domestic violence. The 12 week program consisted of weekly 4 hour group sessions coupled with twice weekly individual therapy sessions, and focused on emotional processing of previous traumatic life experiences, developing self-esteem, increasing sensitivity to the emotions of others and conflict resolution skills. The study was conducted at the Ontario Correctional Institute (OCI), a 220 bed treatment facility for sex offenders, violence
offenders and property offenders with other emotional or psychological difficulties. The unit employs an array of rehabilitative approaches including individual and group psychotherapy, milieu therapy, skill training and education. Subjects for this study were 57 perpetrators who participated in RWV, 20 perpetrators who did not, and 24 offenders with no history of violence. Measures included the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS), the Personality Research Form (PRF), and the Adapted Conflict Tactics Scale (ACTS). The abusive-treatment group demonstrated greater improvement in the ACTS and PRF Aggression and Defendance Scales than the untreated abusive group. All three groups improved on the TSCS, PRF Impulsivity, and PRF Nurturance. Overall, RWV participants showed changes over and above the changes exhibited by the two comparison groups, indicating that the program met its treatment objectives. A limitation of the study was the lack of post-release follow-up to examine effects of domestic violence in the community. While this program was established with a view to treatment of domestic violence offenders it is included here as it revealed the effectiveness of such a program for also reducing interpersonal violence in prisons. RWV participants changed the way they dealt with violence within the confines of the institution, including a decrease in the use of destructive responses to conflict, both physical and psychological, reduced irritability and readiness for anger, and reduced defensiveness.


Victimisation among inmates of a correctional facility poses significant problems for the successful control and treatment of inmates. This article presents results from a study of several possible influences on an adult male inmate’s likelihood of committing personal crime, his likelihood of committing property crime, and his likelihood of being victimised by personal crime or property crime in a medium security correctional facility located in the southwestern United States. Results suggest that the characteristics of offenders and victims differ in several respects. These characteristics are presented along with their implications for policies designed to reduce inmate victimization.


This study draws on the recent theoretical and empirical studies of organisational psychologists in applying ‘climate’ to the study of work environments, to extend and correct specification of social climate for the study of prisons. Using this conceptualisation, a relationship is found between climate and several indicators of prisoner adjustment. The results are consistent with those of organisational psychologists applying the concepts in other settings and with related prison
behavioural studies. Specifically, provision of support for self-advancement and improvement is related to positive prison adjustment. Also, prisons with less structure and more opportunities for self-efficacy experience fewer behavioural problems.


This chapter discusses research on physical characteristics, transactional models and policy changes in prisons. The fact that policy changes, often intended to improve institutional functioning, have led to increased inmate violence contrasts sharply with research results on the effects of ‘new generation’ prison architecture. These facilities, designed to increase correctional officer direct supervision and humanise the environment through providing prisoners with greater choice and privacy, have been found to promote positive prisoner adjustment. Violence, vandalism, and behavioural problems appear to be less prevalent in new generation facilities. The need to consider individual needs in structuring physical and social environments in prison is supported by various transactional theoretical research that recognises the importance of the interaction of person and environment.


This chapter critically examines the ‘new generation’ correctional philosophy which espouses ‘innovative podular architectural design and direct inmate supervision’ in order to create more humane and safer prison environments. The authors cite a number of studies (Nagel, 1973; Toch, 1997; Mueller, 1983) to argue that ‘deficiencies in traditional [linear design] jail architecture and [indirect] inmate supervision styles impede formal and legitimate institutional control of inmate behaviour and actually may encourage inmates to engage in violent and destructive behaviour.’ New generation philosophy specifically aims to counteract the assumptions that underpin much of the current traditional prison culture. These include: the fear-hate syndrome between staff and inmates; the unprotected spaces created by architectural design and /or operational procedures; the leadership vacuum (often filled by the strongest and most violent inmates); the isolation from normal, informal social control mechanisms; and the negative expectations of both inmates and staff (Gettinger, 1984). New generation style prisons have developed in the US from the late 1970’s onwards, although strong evaluation and empirical research as to their effectiveness is still relatively scant. However, existing research does generally indicate promising results from podular design and direct supervision styles, especially for significant reduction of violence, homicides, assaults, suicide and vandalism (National Institute of Corrections, 1983; Sigurdson, 1985; Zupan, 1987; Werner et al., 1987). The authors contend that the success of these new style prison facilities is dependent
on the ‘explicit link between philosophy, architecture and operations.’ In particular, greater attention must be given to ‘the recruitment, selection, and retention of appropriate personnel’, officers’ human relations skills, especially conflict management and problem solving, and career paths and salaries and conditions commensurate with the new skills and role required of officers.
Chapter 6. Violence in Aboriginal Communities

This chapter contains a review of a selection of literature pertaining to violence in Aboriginal communities.

Investigating violence in Aboriginal communities is not simply a matter of applying categories or variables used in the study of other communities, such as alcohol abuse or the effects of unemployment (useful as these ways of looking at the problem may be), or even a matter of extending the range of variables to concepts like a loss of traditional control mechanisms (eg., Aboriginal Law). Major differences in history, social structures and culture between indigenous communities and the rest of the Australian population mean that in many cases the nature and meaning of violence differ in important ways, and certainly risk and protective factors require a different set of concepts and analytical skills. To take a simple example, a much wider group of people can be involved in any violence that occurs than is usual in white communities because of inter-clan rivalries and the extended nature of many Aboriginal families (Anderson, 1989; Atkinson, 1994, 1996). An attempt has been made in selecting and reviewing the literature for this chapter to take into account these kinds of qualitative differences.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of what the literature reveals, highlighting the dependent situation of Aboriginal people as a key ingredient in violence. This is followed by a discussion of urban and rural/remote Aboriginal communities, drawing both on the limited literature and more particularly on interviews with some key informants in Brisbane. The information from the key informants is necessarily subjective and is limited to the experiences of urban Aborigines in Queensland, but is presented on the basis that the themes expressed are applicable to urban Aborigines throughout Australia. It is recommended that the issues raised with respect to the plight of urban Aborigines be addressed through further research.

A review of current programs is then presented, highlighting those that seem to be most successful. To clarify ‘what is working,’ a comparison is made with what apparently does not. From this we conclude that there is considerable institutionalised racism that must be eliminated if there is to be success in addressing violence in Aboriginal communities. It is noted, although the issue is not explored in depth, that the ‘stolen children’ are not simply a past phenomena. For one thing, the experience of being taken from their families has proven extremely traumatic for the people involved and contributes to their violent behaviour. For another, the practice apparently continues in some areas. (A program operating in conjunction with the Northern Territory Government to prevent the continuance of this practice is detailed in Chapter 7 (Domestic Violence)).

The next section begins by outlining briefly the extent to which ‘family fighting’ (a term preferred by Aboriginal people) affects Aboriginal communities, and then reviews alcohol use among Aboriginal people. It is argued that, while its use is devastating, it is not enough
to plan programs aimed at treating alcohol abuse in isolation, that is, to treat an individual
who drinks solely as suffering from ‘alcoholism’ as a sickness. In conjunction with any
treatment or control programs, social, environmental and cultural risk factors related to the
harmful use of alcohol by Aborigines must be addressed. That is, we adopt an explicit
theoretical stance with respect to the link between alcohol use and violence, drawing
heavily on structuralist and (to some extent socio-cultural) paradigms, in opposition to a
biomedical paradigm in which the pharmacological effects of alcohol are of primary
importance (d’Abbs et al. 1994).

The chapter concludes with the bibliography and annotated bibliography.

General Findings from the Literature

At the most basic level, the literature into the causes of violence in Aboriginal
communities suggests that violence stems from Aboriginal people’s dependent situations
regarding their relations with the Australian state (Hunter, 1990; Upton, 1992). Aboriginal
people, that is, are unable, generally, to control their own lives because they cannot gain
meaningful employment or implement programs according to their own needs. This is
despite the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody
(RCIADIC) that called for the empowerment of Aboriginal people (RCIADIC, 1992).

Many authors report the manner in which violence within Aboriginal communities
prior to 1788 was controlled, with conflict being resolved quickly within the constraints of
Aboriginal Law (Atkinson, 1990; Biernoff, 1982; Lucashenko and Best, 1995; Payne, 1990;
Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force, 1989; Ridgeway, 1985). This enabled the
community to return to an equilibrium situation of general harmony, which was essential
within small, close-knit communities. This capacity for conflict resolution and the
maintenance of equilibrium has been destroyed by white invasion.

In addition to traditional Law being destroyed in most cases, Aboriginal people who
experienced bad relations with neighbouring groups found that frequently they were
forced to live with these groups after 1788, so that much of this ill feeling has carried over
into contemporary feuding.

Urban and Rural Communities

Urban communities are by definition located in or on the edges of towns and cities,
close to non-Aboriginal people, and are reasonably similar in key characteristics. Rural and
remote communities, on the other hand, vary considerably. Some rural Aborigines live in
camps on the fringes of non-Aboriginal settlements (Collman, 1988). Others live in former.reserve areas, many of the inhabitants of which have been removed from far flung parts of
the country and may have no traditional familial ties with others within the community.
Yet others live on land on which they have lived for thousands of years. While there are similarities, each community responds differently to the apparatus of the Australian state, and is affected differently by violence (Bimrose and Adams, 1995).

The literature on violence in Aboriginal communities contains an abundance of documents referring to rural and remote communities and a paucity referring to urban communities. This is not surprising in the light of the history of non-Aboriginal Australia’s relations with Aboriginal people since 1788. For many years, scholars engaged in Aboriginal studies sought to document what was considered an ‘authentic Aborigine’. Those who were closest to urban centres, those having most contact with non-Aboriginal society, were considered to have lost most ‘traditional’ culture. Consequently, anthropologists and historians concentrated on those furthest from non-Aboriginal society to discover what were traditional Aboriginal practices (Cowlishaw, 1986). In addition, with the introduction of the various State acts (e.g., Queensland’s *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act, 1897*), many Aboriginal people were removed forcibly from their countries and centralised on reserves with Aboriginal people from other countries (see Wearne, 1980 for a discussion on Government acts and the Council for Reconciliation CD-ROM, *Justice and Equity*, for a description of ‘country’).

This centralisation, as noted previously, is the major source of tensions between different language-speaking Aboriginal groups that lead to violence (Anderson, 1989; Queensland Domestic Violence Task Force, 1988; Wilson, 1982, 1985). Because of the extent of violence in these communities, and the interest in rural/remote communities, their problems are well documented. However, there is a need for detailed research into the circumstances surrounding violence in urban centres. This is particularly important given that some 70 per cent of Aboriginal people now live in urban areas (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, 1993:23).

In an attempt to compensate for the lack of literature on urban Aboriginal violence, a small number of Aboriginal informants were interviewed (by Bruce Herd). Brisbane’s Aboriginal and Islander Community Health Service was contacted and on one occasion an Aboriginal pastor working in the Centre’s social welfare section was interviewed. On a second occasion a group of professional welfare workers was interviewed. The pastor’s interview is contained in Appendix 1 to this chapter. While the pastor reported in a somewhat subjective manner (he displayed a good deal of emotion), the interview was valuable in that he revealed the frustration and anger within the urban Aboriginal community arising from the lack of support urban Aboriginal people feel they are receiving from state authorities.

The professional workers reported findings that are consistent with those reported by McLaughlin (1991). Bruce Herd spoke at length with three female Aboriginal social workers, Raelene Burns, Noritta Morseu-Diop and one woman who did not wish to be
identified. He also spoke to other staff at the Centre. The Centre’s staff aim to prevent acts of violence by counselling those at risk of committing, or already committing, violent acts.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Crisis Centre is located in a beautifully renovated ‘Queenslander’ home in Brisbane’s cosmopolitan West End. It is a fitting setting for a serious service that attempts to address the pent-up anger and frustration with Federal and State governments that this group of qualified social workers reports present in its clients. The workers assert that they are frustrated because of their inability to meet their clients’ needs adequately. Programs organised by the state are reactive, the workers warn, rather than proactive. Programs, that is, are ‘Band-Aids’ addressing the symptoms of people’s frustrations rather than the causes. What programs are undertaken, furthermore, are designed usually without consulting those directly involved with their implementation, namely, the Aboriginal people who experience violence and the professionals who must then conduct the programs. Control is solidly retained by the state; Aboriginal people are not empowered to direct their own needs. The impression is one of a general ‘organised chaos’. Aboriginal people are coping as best they can within the constraints imposed by bureaucratic rules limiting their movements to those deemed as adequate by the particular State bureaucracy.

The workers argue that a problem with programs conducted through Queensland’s Corrective Services Commission is that the department is more concerned with numbers who pass through programs than with the quality of service given to clients. Funding requires a quota of clients to be processed (value for money) for continued provision. A time limit, too, is set on client hours. Bureaucratic rules, for example, limit the hours that may be committed by any one welfare worker to assisting a stressed client. A time limit, the workers insist, cannot be set for addressing the problems causing violence that may be the cumulative outcome of several generations of violent and oppressive acts perpetrated by the state (Wearne, 1980).

In addition, funding too often flows to topical areas. For example, while it is obvious that the needs of Aboriginal people in custody must be addressed, those in correctional centres seem to attract the lion’s share of funding, with the position of these clients being neglected when they leave an institution. This results in most institutionalised people returning to the environment that resulted in incarceration. There should be a more holistic approach aimed at the person within and outside the institution, with the aim of preventing both initial incarceration and recidivism. The social workers point out that their restrictions contrast with the holistic manner in which programs operate in Canada (cf., the Canadian program described below: McLaughlin, 1991).

Concentrating on institutionalised clients who may be suicidal, warn the counsellors, has the added disadvantage of ignoring those in the larger community who may take their lives for the same reasons as do those institutionalised. An entire community’s socio-economic and/or historical position must be modified to reduce the risk factors for suicide. A person, for example, may be one of the ‘stolen children’ (Wilson, 1997), experiencing
trauma from this experience and may be marginalised within his or her own community as a result (the person may not know who his or her relations are and have no family connections with other Aboriginal people). As well, the person is likely marginalised within the wider community. Deaths occurring in custody are the tip of the iceberg.

Despite the publicity given to stolen children, the workers assert that removals continue for many Aboriginal children who are defined as dysfunctional according to a middle-class, white idea of a ‘normal’ family. In addition, adults are often unjustly institutionalised for what is defined as mental instability because of a violent act or acts. Intervention by an appropriate Aboriginal counsellor, in comparison, may reveal a history that resulted in anger and frustration that could be redressed by the attention of the indigenous professionals. In practice, often the problem individual is institutionalised into a life of drug-induced stupor.

The Centre’s staff warn that the main problem for Aboriginal service agencies emerges from the State’s unwillingness to coordinate programs according to Aboriginal people’s needs and directions. In their view the ideal would be to see the State’s social services departments made redundant as Aboriginal people, themselves, successfully take control of their lives. While Aboriginal agencies remain dependent on the generosity of social services, bureaucrats remain in employment and Aboriginal people remain in positions of dependency. There is a need for programs to be coordinated with an efficient networking system in place between different Aboriginal agencies to maximise service efficiency. In practice at the moment, each Aboriginal agency is made to guard its own source of revenue jealously to ensure continued funding. As a result, agencies are kept in a dependent situation, divided by economics. The Centre’s workers are attempting to expand their services into a private consultancy by attracting private enterprise as clients. The aim is to counsel workers in private enterprise and to conduct cultural awareness programs for workers in private businesses, thereby gaining greater independence from the Australian state.

At present, the social workers assert that programs in urban areas are fragmented and of limited efficacy because of bureaucratic controls. There is a need to research state assistance for Aboriginal agencies that appear to be confronting to the best of their abilities what they describe as increasing violence. Until Aboriginal people, however, are free to plan and implement their own programs, what programs that operate will remain mere ‘Band-Aids’. One of the workers described the feelings of Aboriginal people towards their situation with respect to the state as one of there being ‘no use complaining because there is no one who will listen.’ Many Aboriginal people are resigned to working to obtain the best conditions for their people within a capitalist social system that appears to have no intention of releasing them from a dependent and thus controlled position within the larger society.
This chapter and Appendix 1 suggest that programs within the Brisbane area (and, by implication, other parts of Australia) are uncoordinated, with Aboriginal service organisations attempting to counter considerable hostility towards the Australian state by Aboriginal people. This hostility is caused by a similar state of dependency to that reported from rural and remote areas. There is a need for research into the needs of urban Aboriginal agencies to determine how to assist rather than control them, so that a viable approach to violence within urban Aboriginal communities can be formulated (McLaughlin, 1991; RCIADIC, 1992). Furthermore, as noted below, Dodson, in his 1996 report, argued that the Community Justice Groups that operate so successfully in rural or remote communities in Queensland could logically be adapted to an urban situation. This should be investigated.

Programs

Reading the abundant literature on rural and remote communities, one finds that there are numerous programs operating with varying degrees of success. To provide a quick reference, Table 6.1 lists the most prominent and indicates the extent to which they are regarded as useful.

The judgement of ‘usefulness’ or ‘success’ is based on available evidence, but data limitations are such that (with one exception) we did not feel comfortable going beyond a simple dichotomy: ‘no evidence provided,’ or ‘addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness.’ This latter categorisation means that as far as we could determine the program shows promise because some kinds of positive outcomes are reported or because risk factors that are generally agreed to be important - especially the empowerment of Aboriginal people - are addressed. Those programs reported as being most successful are designed and controlled predominantly by Aboriginal people themselves (see Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit (CAAAPU), 1991 and McLaughlin, 1991 for directions for alcohol programs). Furthermore, they are not necessarily those that put most strain on a State’s resources.
### Table 6.1 Programs To Prevent Violence In Indigenous Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Begun</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Healing Place. (Hazelhurst, 1994)</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Community controlled programs that operate in Canada and that are recommended by Aboriginal organisations such as CAAAPU</td>
<td></td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Alcoholics Anonymous. (Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit, 1991)</td>
<td>Alice Springs, Northern Territory</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Unlike its non-Aboriginal counterpart, Alcoholics Anonymous, AAA members advertise their participation to change the community’s culture to one of abstinence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Congress Grog Strategy. (Langton, 1992)</td>
<td>Tangentyere Council, Alice Springs, Northern Territory</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>The council proposes a holistic approach to both combat alcohol abuse and assist those affected by abuse</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No evidence provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Driver Training Program. (Bilney and Scandia, 1993; Homel, 1990)</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Addresses problem of the many Aboriginal youths entering the prison system for driving unlicensed vehicles</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Family Health Strategy (Ellis, 1996)</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Strategy seeks to 'break the cycle' of violence in communities through a variety of programs and initiatives</td>
<td>NSW Govern-ment</td>
<td>No evidence provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Family Violence Awareness Program. (Baldini and Nelson, 1992)</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Run by the local community -- aimed at increasing awareness of family violence issues within the community</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No evidence provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alternative Dispute Resolution Project.</td>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Empowers families to adopt and maintain responsibility for mediated agreements</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Herlihy, 1995)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arukun Community Justice System. (McKillop,</td>
<td>Arukun, Queensland</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Community justice program designed and implemented by the community in keeping</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with the cultural needs – supported but not controlled by State government.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit. (Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit, 1991).</td>
<td>Alice Springs, Northern Territory</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Supports community’s operating programs, provides personnel training, education and information</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting it Together. (Chapman, 1995)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indigenous groups across Australia constructed a program for implementation within schools to combat racist attitudes with the aim of preventing racist violence</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No evidence provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornsby Court Users’ Forum. (Evans, 1994)</td>
<td>Hornsby, NSW</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Provides representation for both parties in disputes ensuring satisfaction with the CJ system</td>
<td>NSW Governme</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Julalikari Night Patrol. (Curtis, 1993; Herlihy, 1995; Tregenza, 1997)</td>
<td>Tennant Creek</td>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Conflict resolution that goes further than removing drunks from street. Also campaign to limit the supply of alcohol to the community.</td>
<td>Run, owned, maintained by a largely unfinanced group of prominent community leaders</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KARU: Aboriginal Child Care Agency. (Davis and Dikstein, 1997)</td>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Assists in the placement of Aboriginal children to prevent institutionalisation</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Justice Initiatives Program. (Bimrose and Adams, 1995; Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs [Queensland], 1996)</td>
<td>Queensland: see text for locations</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Each community uses Aboriginal Law as deemed appropriate by the community to control its people</td>
<td>$2.4 m. allocated for 1996/97; community provided with $5,000 annually for administration</td>
<td>Relatively good quality statistical evidence of effectiveness; addresses plausible risk factors successfully.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring hate crimes (Cunneen, 1993)</td>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Pilot project to test the efficacy of police collecting data regarding hate crimes</td>
<td>NSW Government</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Women's Justice Strategy. (Commonwealth Attorney General’s Department, 1995)</td>
<td>Australia-wide</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Improve access to justice for Australian women</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Attorney General’s Office failed to respond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parkes Area Safety Network. (Herlihy, 1995)</td>
<td>Parkes, NSW</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>The Network is a community based initiative which aims to reduce violence by building on community strengths and facilitating community involvement in local decision-making.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Port Adelaide Crime Prevention Project. (Miller, 1993)</td>
<td>Adelaide, South Australia</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Concentrates on youth problems: boredom, unemployment, substance abuse. Also domestic violence, education and Aboriginal community issues.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>No evidence provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangentyere Night Patrol. (Herlihy, 1995)</td>
<td>Alice Springs, Northern Territory</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Volunteers patrol town camps, Alice Springs business district; negotiation to minimise violence; Patrol strengthens traditional methods for social control; provides particular assistance to children and intoxicated persons.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We-Al-Li. (Atkinson, 1994)</td>
<td>Brisbane: travels to communities</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Self-help community involvement procedure – incorporated into University of Qld degree program – series of workshops</td>
<td>Began with Qld government grant – employed by groups to run workshops</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu Night Patrol. (McLaughlin, 1991)</td>
<td>Yuendumu, Northern Territory</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Elder women patrol, controlling alcohol abuse and violence, and work with the community council and the police</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The one program for which (relatively) convincing statistical and other systematic data exist to demonstrate effectiveness is the Local Justice Initiatives Program (Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs [Queensland], 1996). This program operates with minimal assistance from the Queensland Government (the State contributes around $5,000 annually towards administration costs in each locality but those operating the scheme are unpaid). Programs are designed according to a community’s peculiar circumstances. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) Social Justice Commissioner Dodson (1996) favourably reviewed this program, which presently operates in the Queensland communities of Kowanyama, Palm Island and Pormpuraaw. Dodson, in commending the program, noted that it was not being used by the Queensland Government to its full potential. In addition, he asserted that logically the program could be adapted for use in an urban situation. The three communities in which the program operates have seen a lowering of violence, alcohol abuse and crime since implementation. When one considers the degree of violence that existed on Palm Island before the introduction of these programs, the praise seems justified (Wilson 1982, 1985).

The aim of the scheme (Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs [Queensland], 1996), is to empower Aboriginal people by allowing them to provide solutions to social problems in a culturally appropriate manner. How a community is governed is decided by the specific community’s members. In conjunction with this governing methodology, culturally appropriate controls are put into operation in conjunction with the State’s official rules of law. The program is aimed at achieving...
Aboriginal self-determination and at removing as many Aboriginal people as possible from State institutions by developing culturally appropriate punishments and rules in conjunction with State laws. The program, nevertheless, is more inclusive than mere law enforcement: it encourages Aboriginal communities to establish economic independence rather than leaving people dependent on state welfare. The Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (OATSIA) reports that the scheme is being received well by Aboriginal communities with recent funding being provided to establish similar programs at: Maryborough; Thursday Island; Charters Towers; Townsville; Ingham; Mackay; Hope Vale; North Stradbroke Island; Cherbourg; Brisbane; the Gold Coast; Ipswich; Woorabinda; Hughenden; and Mitchell; with several more in the formative stage.

Bimrose and Adams (1995) have reviewed this program’s operation at Kowanyama, Palm Island and Pormpuraaw. The authors provide statistical evidence, reproduced in Tables 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4, of the program’s success since inception while adding the caveat that reviews should continue to record longer-term results; the programs have been operating only since the second half of 1993. They report that less violence and crime is occurring and that fewer people are being imprisoned. Kowanyama in particular had a particularly bad record of juvenile criminal activity that has decreased substantially, as Table 6.3 indicates. There is thus not only a social saving to communities, but a monetary saving to the State through lower incarceration rates and other criminal justice responses to criminal incidents.

The authors indicate that there is no formula that can be set down in an instruction book for anyone wishing to implement similar programs because what is put in place must be decided according to the particular community’s circumstances. For example, a community that is particularly traditionally-oriented would implement different controls than would be implemented by a historically-located community. That is, a community whose inhabitants have a historical connection to the area through the experience of State removals would require different controls because its authority structure would differ to a traditionally-oriented community. Bimrose and Adams’ report lists the different ways this has occurred in the three communities they reviewed and report the problems the communities encountered and how they determined their specific needs.
Table 6.2 Record Of Criminal Activities, 1993 - 1994, Kowanyama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>Number of offences. 1st Jan – 1st Oct 1993</th>
<th>Number of offences. 1st Jan – 1st Oct 1994</th>
<th>% Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Break and Enter</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steal</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receive</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily Harm</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Wounding</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.B.H.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape/Attempted Rape</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DVA Applications</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DV Breach</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weapons Offence</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous Driving</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Police report that the increase in domestic violence applications is because of a changed policy where police make an application for assaults involving defacto couples that did not occur previously.

Source: Modified Bimrose and Adams, 1995:40

Table 6.3 Record Of Juvenile Criminal Activity 1994 – 1995, Kowanyama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Crime Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-March 1994</td>
<td>Approximately 40 – 50 charges each month dealt with by the Children’s Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March – November 1994</td>
<td>No crime committed by a juvenile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1994 – March 1995</td>
<td>Two children each charged with two offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1995</td>
<td>Four children each charged with one break and enter to the school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Modified Bimrose and Adams, 1995:41
Table 6.4  Palm Island Police Statistics 1992 – 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Charges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 January 1992 – 1 October 1992</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January 1993 – 1 October 1993</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 January 1994 – 1 October 1994</td>
<td>738</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Modified Bimrose and Adams, 1995:40

Programs Similar to Community Justice Schemes

An important part of the Community Justice scheme is the use of ‘night patrols’ whose members act as mediators to control violence either before it eventuates or before it becomes excessive. Similar patrols operate in communities around Australia. One such is the Julalikari Night Patrol (Curtis, 1993) which was established first in Tennant Creek in the Northern Territory. Again, this program is largely unfunded, operating with the support of caring individuals whose authority is recognised within the community. This authority structure is important as the patrols usually deal with different language groups, as mentioned above.

The Julalikari Night Patrol is a community-operated system of policing that strives to break the cycle of violence associated with excessive alcohol consumption. Following a night patrol’s intervention in a violent incident, a community meeting is held to mediate the dispute and admonish perpetrators in a culturally appropriate way. What is ‘culturally appropriate’ is determined by the particular community operating the patrol. This program emerged from a 1977 Commonwealth Parliamentary Report on Aboriginal drinking which saw the formation of the Julalikari Council in 1985 followed by the program’s formal beginning in 1989. The program continues (see report in Mugford and Nelson, 1996:24) and has succeeded in halving the numbers of Aboriginal people taken into police protective custody since its inception. Nevertheless it could be argued that the patrol merely addresses a symptom of the more fundamental problems, given the isolated nature of the community with no means of occupying residents’ time and energy and little meaningful employment (Mugford and Nelson, 1996: 24).
Herlihy (1995) reports that a similar program has operated in Alice Springs since 1990 and McLaughlin (1991) reports one operating at the central Australian community of Yuendumu. Those who report on the success of these programs assert that they are successful because they follow the recommendations of the RCIADIC that called for the empowerment of Aboriginal people in the implementation of programs that affected their lives (the Council for Reconciliation CD-ROM, *Justice and Equity* contains the full report and recommendations).

The success of these programs contrasts with the Queensland community of Woorabinda that is experiencing extreme levels of violence due largely to its mixture of language groups whose members recognize no general authority within the community (Foley, 1997). The community is representative of many that are dependent on government welfare for their existence, since there is no industry within the area that offers meaningful employment to the community’s inhabitants. Consequently, there is a general culture of boredom, frustration, alcohol abuse and violence. Tatz, (1990)(Atkinson, 1990) reports on the need for meaning in people’s lives as he observes how a central Australian community’s alcohol abuse and violence cease when the community is engaged in the running of an annual sporting event. It has been suggested that it is not the sporting event, *per se*, that achieves this result, but, rather, the fact of Aboriginal control of the event and involvement in a meaningful pursuit that is lacking generally in Aboriginal people’s lives at other times (Herd, 1996: 84-85).

**Institutionalised Racism**

Successful Aboriginal-managed community justice programs contrast with the community policing approaches that Cunneen (1991, 1994) investigated. Cunneen found that there is considerable institutionalised racism within New South Wales bureaucracies that leads to over-policing and unrepresentative numbers of Aboriginal people being incarcerated (Cowlishaw, 1994). This is supported by recent figures released by the Institute of Criminology (McDonald, 1997) showing that despite the recommendations of the RCIADIC, Aboriginal numbers in police custody continue to rise. As Cunneen (1992) observes, Aboriginal people remain as a group to be controlled according to non-Aboriginal definitions of what is correct behaviour. Consequently, a culture of mistrust has developed between Aboriginal people and the police.

Cunneen reports that this is particularly apparent with regard to women. Aboriginal women assert that police generally do not regard matters of domestic violence as important because they retain a non-Aboriginal constructed image of Aboriginal women as being susceptible to forms of violence that are not police business. What matters for police is the

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2 There are also night patrol programs operating in four locations in NSW (in Kempsey, Forster, Narrandera and Dareton), funded by the Crime Prevention Division of the NSW Attorney General’s Department. The night patrol program was independently evaluated in 2000 with the results being used to further develop the program. Night patrol programs are run in other locations with the support of other agencies, including the NSW Police Service.
official and subordinate position within the dominant legal system that Aboriginal people should occupy. Street offences (such as public drunkenness) thus carry greater weight than do matters of domestic violence. Empowering Aboriginal communities to define and direct their own regulatory frameworks is regarded as essential in order to counteract over-policing in certain areas (such as street offences) and under-policing in other areas (such as violence against women).

Cunneen’s report from 1992 is interesting when compared to the report from Atkinson (1996). Briefly, Atkinson suggests that police have heard and responded to calls from feminist groups that they (the police) should treat incidents of domestic violence seriously, as criminal acts. Consequently, police now arrest more male offenders. Atkinson reports that, anecdotally, this is leading to higher incarceration rates for Aboriginal males.

Cowlishaw (1994) supports Cunneen’s findings and argues that institutionalised racism is responsible for many actions by Aboriginal people being defined as criminal, leading to over-policing and Aboriginal over-representation in correctional centres. Cowlishaw relates a series of events in Bourke to justify her argument. Other analysts, too, describe how Aboriginal people revert to violence and acts defined as criminal by non-Aboriginal law as a means of resistance to what they regard as racist treatment (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1991; Morris, 1995; Sackett, 1988).

Crawford (1992) reports on the failure of the New South Wales Government to implement an appropriate community policing program in conjunction with Aboriginal people. The author argues that although this could be achieved according to ‘the processes of the Police Service’s Community-Based Policing Policy,’ this has not occurred because ‘police just do not know how to communicate with Aboriginal people.’ To correct this, asserts Crawford, an appropriate education program for police officers, beginning with the police department’s senior officers, must be implemented. Only by making the relationship between police and Aboriginal people positive can community policing succeed. At present, argues Crawford, the most inappropriate police officers are assigned to Aboriginal communities, thus exacerbating problems. Crawford lists some positive initiatives that have been implemented, but that have failed, because of this general ignorance of Aboriginal cultures.3

The evidence thus mounts for the application of programs that are appropriate for particular Aboriginal communities rather than the state insisting that Aboriginal people be accommodated rigidly within the dominant legal system. This was the conclusion to which the Australian Law Reform Commission came in 1986. The Law Reform Commission was

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3 Since this study was published, the NSW Police Service has initiated a number of programs to improve relations with Aboriginal communities. The Police Service has an Aboriginal Policy Statement and Strategic Plan, developed in consultation with Aboriginal communities and agencies; a Police Aboriginal Council, with both regional councils and local consultative committees in a three tiered structure to provide the service with advice on Aboriginal issues; 55 Aboriginal Community Liaison Officers; a Koori Support Network for the Service’s Aboriginal employees; and an Aboriginal Recruitment, Training and Career Development Strategy.
directed by the Australian Attorney-General in 1977 to investigate the feasibility of incorporating Aboriginal customary law within Australian law to deal more appropriately with Aboriginal people who came before the criminal courts (Crawford, 1987). The lengthy investigation recommended that this should occur and reported on how it could be implemented. However, the recommendations were never acted on. Owing to the success of the Queensland experience and of those Aboriginal programs whose members work with local criminal justice systems, it is perhaps time that the proposals were reconsidered. The findings of this investigation are on the Council for Reconciliation CD-ROM, *Justice and Equity*.

*Continued removals of Aboriginal children*

Institutionalised racism has a further invidious consequence. Because Aboriginal families are defined according to a non-Aboriginal belief in what is ‘functional’, many children continue to be removed for their ‘protection’. Since the families are seen as dysfunctional by welfare authorities, their children are institutionalised. Aboriginal people maintain that only the reason for removal has changed, not the practice of removal: previously, Aboriginal children were removed to assimilate them into white society for their own betterment (O’Connor, 1994).

Figures from the Australian Institute of Criminology (McDonald, 1996) support the assertion that this practice continues. Sir Ronald Wilson’s report, *Bringing Them Home* (1997), came to a similar conclusion, and Wilson provides statistical evidence to justify the assertion. In addition, Wilson documents the trauma this practice caused for children who were removed under the previous legislation. This trauma, he found, is a major contemporary cause of alcohol abuse and violence among these ‘stolen children’.

*The Structured Use of Alcohol*

Many writers, especially researchers trained in sociological and anthropological traditions, argue that while communities remain in a dependent situation, resenting police attention they regard as excessive, they resort to alcohol abuse that then expresses itself as violence. The degree of violence is determined by how well the community is controlled by local justice initiatives, and especially according to the degree to which a community can become independent; that is, the degree to which a community can design and implement its own programs and maintain itself without assistance from the state (Miller, 1993). While much of this violence is between different language groups, because of the high quantities of alcohol usually involved, a high degree of violence occurs within families whether tension exists between different groups or not.

Domestic violence for Aboriginal people is a real problem. For example, the RCIADIC found that most Aboriginal men who had suicided were serving sentences for violence, many of the acts being against women. In addition, many female Aboriginal prisoners were
incarcerated for violent acts, many occurring to defend against male attacks. Frequently, too, young Aboriginal males attack elderly Aboriginal people to obtain their welfare cheques to buy alcohol (Herd, 1996: 7-8). The structure of Aboriginal domestic violence differs from that of non-Aboriginal domestic violence, since domestic violence in Aboriginal communities usually involves a greater number of victims because of the extended nature of Aboriginal families. Aboriginal people prefer the term ‘family fighting’ (Atkinson, 1994:9; Atkinson, 1996:5; Bolger, 1991:5-6; Herd, 1996:13), and the results of this fighting can be devastating.

Alcohol features prominently in violence in Aboriginal communities. For example, Langton (1992:11), reporting to the RCIADIC, found that, while there were no female Aboriginal deaths in custody in the Northern Territory during 1989 and 1990, alcohol-related murders in that territory during this period accounted for more female deaths than total deaths in custody. However, consistent with many recent explanations of Aboriginal alcohol-related violence (d’Abbs et al., 1994), we argue that it is not helpful or accurate to identify alcohol as the only or prime cause of violence, even in alcohol-related incidents, whether or not they occur in Aboriginal communities (Homel, Tomsen and Thommeny, 1992).

There is a literature that records the structured manner in which alcohol is used within Aboriginal communities according to the construction of the specific community. Collmann (1988), Sackett (1988), and Sansom (1980) provide examples of how this occurs. Collmann demonstrates how Aboriginal people in Alice Springs have rejected housing and other ‘comforts’ provided by the state in preference for the relative independence they are able to achieve by living in their fringe camp. Within this community, alcohol has become an important means of exchange with its basis in traditional Aboriginal practices of reciprocity. Sanson (1980) finds a similar situation in a fringe camp in Darwin that is constructed specifically so that its occupants can operate relatively free from controls imposed by the state. Sackett, meanwhile, reveals the way that Aboriginal people in Wiluna, Western Australia, accept sentences handed out by the courts without stopping their drinking that then leads to violence. The alcohol ‘empowers’ them. Filled with the power from the alcohol, they then resort to violence as a means of protest against the state for the dependent situations in which they find themselves.

Collmann (1988) and Sansom (1980) downplay the deleterious results of using large amounts of alcohol (Herd, 1996: 80), and suggest that it is wrong to regard a community with a high alcohol consumption as unstructured and dysfunctional. All authors show how alcohol is used in a structured manner irrespective of the destructive results of people’s actions. These reports suggest that, when designing programs to address high alcohol consumption, the cultural and social factors related to the practice should be taken into account before, for example, assuming that people are individually pathological and developing treatment programs (Wootten’s 1991 Regional Report to the RCIADIC). Bolger (1991) found that often men remained violent after treatment for alcoholism had stopped.
Nevertheless, this does not mean that Aboriginal people do not realise the seriousness of alcohol as an exacerbating and facilitating agent in violent actions within their communities. Many of the programs that Aboriginal people operate include actions to limit (or eliminate) the use of alcohol. Langton et al. (1990) and McLaughlin (1991) list some of the direct actions taken by Aboriginal people to attack alcohol in conjunction with actions to limit violence. An important aspect of these initiatives, as d’Abbs et al. (1994) note, is that women are playing a growing role in mobilising opposition to alcohol misuse (suggesting a ‘handle’ for further preventive work in Aboriginal communities). Furthermore, it is important to recall that fewer Aboriginal people than the general non-Aboriginal Australian population use alcohol (Australian Council on Alcohol and Other Drugs, 1990; McLaughlin, 1991). However, where this use differs from use by non-Aboriginal Australians generally is that those Aboriginal people who use alcohol do so, generally, at rates far in excess of the rates used by non-Aboriginal Australians.

Many of the alcohol programs appear to be successful. A source that monitors this success in Central Australia (and that has connections to other programs throughout Australia) is the Central Australian Alcoholic Planning Unit (CAAAPU). CAAAPU (1991:21-22) developed from a successful Aboriginal alcohol program operating in Alice Springs, Aboriginal Alcoholics Anonymous (AAA). Unlike its non-Aboriginal counterpart, Alcoholics Anonymous, AAA advertises its members’ participation with the aim of making sobriety more popular than inebriation among the Aboriginal community. CAAAPU represents over forty communities and organisations from across central Australia, coordinating and publicising their efforts to combat alcohol abuse. The organisation is the result of a meeting of different organisations whose members want to present a united front in their battle against alcohol abuse and its resulting violence; the aim is to share successful ideas.

In early 1991 CAAAPU (1991:22) was visited by some Canadian Indians who operate successful alcohol programs in their country. Eric Shirt founded the Poundmaker’s Lodge Alcoholism and Drug Treatment Centre that processes around 650 clients annually, over half of whom stop drinking as a result of the treatment. Eric has assisted in the establishment of a further fifteen treatment centres across Canada. Andy and Phyllis Chelsea operate a successful centre in Alkali Lake in British Columbia. This community changed from a level of nearly 100 per cent alcohol abuse to 95 per cent sobriety in 12 years because of the program’s operation. CAAAPU has sent two representatives to Canada to study the Indians’ programs with the aim of implementing them in Australia.

McLaughlin (1991) reported on the Canadian programs operated by Shirt to the Public Health Association of Australia’s 1991 Annual Conference (29 September to 2 October) which had the theme, The Health of Indigenous People. McLaughlin compared the successful
operation of these programs with many operating in Australia under government control. Australian governments generally, argues McLaughlin, fail to support programs that Aboriginal people initiate. Unlike programs which operate in Canada for native peoples (McLaughlin reports that indigenous Canadians accept the title ‘native’), Australia’s programs are controlled by government departments each of which has its own direction, and so there is a lack of coordination. Furthermore, rather than facilitating a program’s direction as determined by Aboriginal people (which occurs in Canada), Australian departments determine what is required and then consult with a community regarding implementing these requirements under government direction.

Shirt, reports McLaughlin (1991), argues that Canadian Indians’ implementation of alcohol abuse programs has been so successful that his people are no longer automatically associated with an image of being alcohol-affected. This contrasts with Australia where the public generally hold the stereotype of a drunken Aborigine. (Langton (1991: 4-5) reports on how this image was introduced into non-Aboriginal society in ‘Rum, seduction and death: ‘Aboriginality’ and alcohol’. In addition, Langton reports on the extent of Aboriginal alcohol abuse in the Northern Territory in ‘Too much sorry business’ (1990), compiled for the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody.)

While many Aboriginal communities operate successful alcohol and anti-violence programs, they are not of the holistic nature of Canadian programs. For example, Canadian programs are planned, controlled and implemented by Canadian Indians; they are developed by the community; and the programs receive assistance from the government without being government controlled. Furthermore, the local community supports those who receive treatment so that when participants emerge from a program they do not return to an environment dominated by alcohol abuse that then facilitates further involvement in violence. Hazelhurst (1994) has produced a book detailing programs that are used in Canada. Her publication goes into great detail regarding the operation of workshops in Canada.

An important difference between Australia and Canada, argues McLaughlin (1991:9), is the definition of a ‘community’. Too often, Australian government departments assume that an Aboriginal settlement is the same as a community; programs are planned with the assumption that all occupants will automatically agree with the goals and participate in program activities. This is, as we have seen, an erroneous belief because so many Aboriginal settlements are heterogeneous (Foley, 1997)

McLaughlin (1991) reports on several programs being implemented successfully by Aboriginal people. She argues that Aboriginal people recognise the need to confront alcohol abuse to defeat violence in communities, and that it is the duty of the government to assist Aboriginal people by supporting their efforts rather than determining (inappropriately) what directions programs should take. There are several Aboriginal initiatives described by McLaughlin.
The Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit supports Aboriginal communities that operate anti-alcohol/violence programs. CAAAPU has produced a literature review of all interventions documented in the area of Aboriginal substance abuse and plans to implement a train-the-trainer program and to establish an alcohol treatment centre.

A night patrol has been established at Yuendumu where elder women patrol the community in order to control alcohol abuse and violence. The program works with the cooperation of the local police and is reported to have reduced violence and alcohol abuse significantly; many communities are introducing controls on the distribution of alcohol to varying degrees.

Because of the reported success of CAAAPU and the Canadian programs, it is recommended that CAAAPU be contacted with the aim of assessing the outcomes of their members’ journey to Canada, and to establish what if anything was adapted as a result to fit the Australian situation. In addition, CAAAPU could be engaged to report on the successful operations of current Australian programs.

Conclusion

The reasons that violence occurs within Aboriginal communities cannot be understood without some understanding of the history of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations and of Aboriginal history and culture, and nor can prevention programs be studied in isolation from their community context.

The literature suggests that many Aboriginal communities are confronting violence, in most cases with some success. The most successful programs are planned and operated by Aboriginal people. As demonstrated by the community justice programs in Queensland, Aboriginal people can plan successful programs and work in conjunction with the criminal justice system. These types of programs should be adopted throughout Australia.

Nevertheless, the literature suggests that until the recommendations of the RCIADIC regarding Aboriginal empowerment are implemented, Aboriginal communities will continue to experience much higher rates of violence than the rest of the nation. More generally, until Aboriginal people’s dependent situations within the Australian state are addressed, no programs will be permanently effective. This is because new generations will reproduce and intensify Aboriginal resistance to the state, one manifestation of which is violence.

The sources cited or used for this chapter are listed without annotation after the appendix (Bibliography). The lengthy bibliography with comments on and summaries of many of the references follows the Bibliography (Annotated Bibliography).
Appendix 1: The Limits Of Anti-Violence Programs In Australian Aboriginal Communities: A Personal Account

The following is an account of an interview with an Aboriginal Christian pastor, Steve Corporal, conducted by Bruce Herd at the Aboriginal Health Service, Woolloongabba, Queensland, 29 July, 1997.

Steve Corporal is an Aboriginal pastor working for the welfare section of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community Health Service at Brisbane’s Woolloongabba. He speaks slowly with a broad Australian accent and gives the impression that he is a bit of a ‘country bumpkin’ — an impression one suspects is purposely contrived to suit whatever purpose his difficult position at the ‘sharp end’ of Aboriginal social relations requires — and an impression one would do well not to accept. Steve is caring and concerned for the position of Aboriginal people trapped in the far-from-happy position he describes.

To Aboriginal people, argues Pastor Steve, the police are automatically ‘the enemy’ by the fact of Aboriginal people’s birth into Aboriginality. As he describes it, police are the enemy to a group of consorting thieves, of vandals or other such anti-social group. Irrespective of an Aboriginal person’s association with any criminal element, however, the mere fact of birth brings them into constant and unwanted (unwarranted) police attention. For example, driving a late model car receives attention as it is automatically assumed by police that Aboriginal people owner-drive only early model, badly maintained ‘bombs’. Any late model vehicle, therefore, must be stolen. Frequently failure by investigating officers to substantiate their suspicions results in a traffic breach for some minor or contrived offence.

This type of institutionalised racism (widely reported in the literature: eg., Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1994; Cunneen, 1992; Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1991) causes an underlying tension to exist within Aboriginal communities that manifests itself in violence in various forms. For example, an Aboriginal person experiencing institutionalised racism in its many forms on a regular basis, becomes violent after drinking heavily (often in response to perceived hopelessness through this treatment), and turns on family or arresting officers during some alcohol-related incident. He or she may resort to some form of crime simply because he or she deems it appropriate to ‘let the cap fit’. Any programs that are designed to address police and Aboriginal relations, therefore, have only limited success while this type of behaviour continues.

One program that is of value, however, is the use by the police service of Aboriginal Liaison Officers. For example, Pastor Steve cites the incident where an Aboriginal male would not respond to police appeals for him to get down from his position on the heights of a bridge from which he was threatening to jump. When an Aboriginal Liaison Officer appealed to him, however, he climbed down. Aboriginal people are more likely to respond
to members of their own community than to a group they regard as the enemy. The continued mistrust of police requires attention to address violence levels among Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal people’s inability to provide themselves with adequate defence in legal matters prompted the establishment of the Aboriginal Legal Services program. However this service, reports the Aboriginal pastor, is now one of concern. Whether an Aboriginal offender is guilty of a criminal act or not, that person is defended. This offers no disincentive to offenders who frequently (and increasingly) re-offend because they know they can receive free representation should they be accused of a criminal act. Aboriginal people, Pastor Steve argues, should make a community decision to defend only those who are genuinely in need of such defence. This is an area that has been criticised by Diane Bell (1989) who reported on how Aboriginal female victims of male violence receive no legal assistance while their male assailants receive the full support of the community and its legal services; the pastor supports this assertion. Pastor Corporal asserts that Aboriginal family/clan loyalties take precedence in these matters and a consensus could not be achieved within a community to remove support for an accused even though it was widely known of his/her guilt because of this inter-family/clan rivalry.

Despite the value of any programs implemented, argues Pastor Steve, the greatest problem opposing their success is the fact of removal from country and centralisation within some area; former missions and reserves oppose the success of any programs. Any successes occur despite the facts of these communities’ existences rather than because of them. Any successes could be better achieved if these communities were structured differently.

For example, Aboriginal people were not a non-violent people. Apart from controlled violence to restore order by punishing those who contravened Aboriginal Law, there was constant pay-back violence between different language groups over wrongs committed by one against the other. The unexplained death of a clan member through sickness, for example, was usually blamed on another group who had used bad magic to cause the death. (This situation is reported, too, by Tonkinson, 1978.) In many centralised areas, this ill feeling has passed down through time as former enemies were thrown together. Whether or not people today realise how the ill feeling originated, its existence remains and sours social conditions within these communities. This damages the ability of elders on community councils to command respect and administer local laws as members from one group fail to respect a person from another. Whether this situation could be reversed with time is uncertain, but developers of any programs should take note of its possible existence. Where possible, decentralisation would be the ideal. This situation is reported, too, by Tony Foley of the Aboriginal Reconciliation Council (personal communication 1997).

A further source of tension among many Aboriginal people is the fact of their removal. This takes different forms and is not restricted to ‘the stolen children’. For example, there are
many Aboriginal people who cannot trace their fathers. An Aboriginal male was often moved from a family on a reserve because he was regarded as troublesome; his wife and children remained. This could occur several times with each removal resulting in progeny remaining who matured without a family history deeper than the reserve area. This lack of history causes psychological damage and anger against non-Aboriginal society generally and often leads to violence. It may be combined with many other tensions and manifest itself in a wide array of violent and anti-social behaviours.

Refusal by non-Aboriginal society to acknowledge this situation causes further tension. The refusal by the present government to apologise for past wrongful removal of children is adding to the build-up of anger. Reversing this situation requires the implementation of a structured program. Only by educating non-Aboriginal people generally, from early in the formal education system, to the existence and structure of Aboriginal cultures and the historical reality of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations, argues Pastor Steve, can the negative caricature of a ‘typical Abo’ be overcome (cf., Langton 1991).

There is a further result of this removal that leads to much violence within Aboriginal communities. The children of many of these children were raised within dysfunctional families that were an indirect result of removal. Children raised within institutions, for example, are often disturbed and then raise children within a dysfunctional family; this then contributes to the perpetuation of problems. Others who may raise their children to the best of their ability have failed because of a lack of socialisation themselves within a family unit; they have not learned how to raise a child. Many of their children’s problems are thus the result of their own lack of ‘training’ within a functional family.

Considerable violence in Aboriginal people occurs too because of the fact of Aboriginal people’s over-representation within the criminal justice system. Aboriginal people are usually imprisoned for minor breaches. For example, being drunk in public leads to charges of abusive language, resisting arrest or assault police, which can lead to imprisonment through failure to pay fines. When in prison, however, they are in a ‘graduate school of crime’. Aboriginal inmates ‘graduate’ with ‘certificates’ in break and enter, car stealing and ‘expertise’ in all manner of serious crimes. Angry at their imprisonment, they frequently resort to more serious crime and violence when released. Programs aimed at alternative punishments for minor Aboriginal offenders are therefore essential (as recommended by the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody).

Interestingly, Fred Coolwell from the Aboriginal and Islander Youth Program organisation, argues that decriminalisation of public drunkenness as advocated by the RCIADIC would be bad for Aboriginal people. If the police could not arrest Aboriginal people for being drunk, he asserts, they would find something worse; this frightens Aboriginal people (personal communication 1997). While it is hard to agree that removing public drunkenness from the statute books could be a wrong move, it does highlight the fear of police among Aboriginal people, and the anger they feel.
A final area of resentment for Aboriginal people is their almost total reliance on the state for any form of employment. This situation leaves Aboriginal people, asserts Pastor Steve, with a feeling of either overt or underlying resentment. Most Aboriginal working people are employed by government departments in something concerned with Aboriginal welfare. Even ATSIC is constrained by its position as a government department and mistrusted by many Aboriginal people. Even where Aboriginal people are granted a loan to start a business, the pastor argues, this occurs through ATSIC and is liable to constraints laid down by government. Those unable to find work are reduced to relying on unemployment benefits or to different pensions and find themselves in a dependent position. No matter what they do Aboriginal people cannot escape a position of colonisation. This might be acceptable if there were not the wider problems within the community with which people have to deal, for example racism in its different forms with the results described earlier.

This interview, while not describing programs specifically, brought out the frustration ingrained within Aboriginal communities. Welfare workers like Pastor Steve and Fred Coolwell are coping with an unsatisfactory situation to the best of their abilities. They often prevent further violence by providing counselling and defusing potentially explosive situations: there is often the potential present for an Aboriginal person to attack violently a member of non-Aboriginal society, a situation that could lead only to worse relations and further violence. While programs may be effective within some communities, a wider education program is required to change relations generally, reversing the wide institutional racism existing throughout Australia.
**Bibliography**


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Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


Anderson describes the relations that led up to the removal and centralisation of a group of north Queensland Aboriginal people from different countries. Anderson describes how, because the different groups have been centralised on to the land of one particular group, those who have no authority within the area receive an unequal distribution of goods. Tension and violence exist because of living on land belonging to another group.


Atkinson reports on the formation by herself and fellow Aboriginal women of a program to address violence in Aboriginal communities. The Program began operation in 1994. It has proven popular with both indigenous communities and the Queensland Government; Corrective Services and Family Services have employed the originators to run workshops. Atkinson reports that requests have come, too, from communities throughout Australia. In addition, the program has been incorporated into a degree program for indigenous health workers at the University of Queensland. The program is one that empowers Aboriginal people as it is a self-help community involvement procedure. The concept requires that participants acknowledge the cause of violent behaviour (or as Atkinson puts it, to 'own' the actions) and find solutions that are appropriate for the people within their specific situations. Atkinson reports that the program is highly successful.

NOTES:

This report shows how programs run by Aboriginal people in accordance with their wishes and needs can be successful. Nevertheless, this program responds to the symptoms of a problem rather than addressing why Aboriginal people were violent initially. The program should be run in conjunction with an approach that addresses why Aboriginal people become violent initially so that any approach to violence is holistic. It is inadequate to treat why an individual is violent if that person returns to, or remains in, a situation that perpetuates violence.
NOTES:

Atkinson asserts that despite the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC), Aboriginal custody rates and deaths in custody are increasing (cf., McDonald, 1997). There is, she notes, only anecdotal evidence as to the influences of this. However, the author argues that this evidence suggests that where the criminal justice system is implementing more stringently domestic violence legislation, Aboriginal incarceration rates are increasing. The problem of why violence occurs, therefore, has not been addressed, only the criminal justice response to incidents. Atkinson concludes that little progress has occurred to assist Aboriginal women and children. Rather, violence is increasing. Despite the efforts of Aboriginal women to redress domestic violence, these efforts are being counteracted by the criminal justice system. The state, Atkinson concludes, must support Aboriginal people in resolving domestic violence their own way as they implement their own programs rather than using the criminal justice system to incarcerate more people.

Atkinson argues that Aboriginal people prefer the term, ‘family violence’ rather than domestic violence because of the extended nature of Aboriginal families: this extended nature involves more people in violence at any one time than occurs in non-Aboriginal families. The author included a definition of family violence proposed by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) in its 1992 Report: 'Tjunparni: family violence in indigenous Australia':

Family violence is defined as: 'the beating of a wife or family members, homicide, suicide and other self-inflicted injury, rape, child abuse, child sexual abuse, incest...[more than] serious physical injury but also verbal harassment, psychological and emotional abuse and economic deprivation, which although as devastating are even more difficult to quantify than physical abuse' (ATSIC in Atkinson, 1996:5).

The breakdown in traditional Aboriginal society with its controls on violence with women as equal with, and independent of, men is blamed for the growth of violence in contemporary Aboriginal society. Men’s loss of status without a like loss for women is seen as causing men’s violent oppression of women to enforce their authority. Atkinson relates the degree of violence against children and children’s emulation of their parents’ practices. In addition, Atkinson describes instances of incest and pack rape of Aboriginal women and violence by young men against their girl-friends. This report refers predominantly to former reserve areas. Atkinson condemns the degree to which Aboriginal communities are welfare dependent and frequently relegated to the worst socio-economic fringe areas of white settlements; this, argues Atkinson, prevents Aboriginal people from controlling their own lives. Aboriginal people, the author
argues, must become independent and given the power to control their own lives if levels of violence are to be reduced. This report is accompanied by a video that outlines a plan of attack for Aboriginal people to adopt so that they can attempt to redress violence levels within their communities.


This report was part of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. It outlines the extent of Aboriginal alcohol use. The report finds that generally Aboriginal people use alcohol less than Australians generally, that Aboriginal people’s alcohol use is distinctive being more social than non-Aboriginal people’s drinking. In addition, those who live in urban areas drink more than their rural/remote counterparts. Furthermore, a considerable percentage of Aboriginal people have stopped drinking, usually people in their forties. The majority of Aboriginal women, however, do not drink. What is more, those who drink do so at levels that are harmful to health -- around one half of males. Aboriginal drinking is predominantly of the binge type. Alcohol use in childhood and adolescence, too, is common among Aboriginal people.


Although alcohol is not the cause of domestic violence, acts occur more when people are intoxicated. Stress caused by oppression from the dominant culture, racism, certain social conditions’ cause anger within Aboriginal males who are unable to contain their anger and consequently find an outlet within their families, their loved ones becoming the victims of their anger. Children who are the victims of domestic violence learn this behaviour from within the home and become perpetrators themselves thus perpetuating the practice irrespective of any original causative history. The loss of the freedom enjoyed within traditional Aboriginal life led to feelings of frustration as people now feel helpless in the face of an imposed culture; anger mounts to the point of violence. Aboriginal males suffer from low self-esteem because of an inability to gain employment.


The authors report on a program aimed to increase awareness of family violence issues in the Aboriginal community in Perth. The program involved showing a video on family violence to the community and from this obtaining feedback and encouraging discussion of the issues. The Aboriginal community identified their needs including the need for information, counselling and support and the need for the impact of the social environment on the community to be acknowledged.

This paper outlines the loss of power that has occurred for Aboriginal women and the spurious character of Aboriginal women that has been promoted over years of mis-analysis of Aboriginal culture by largely male anthropologists. This false picture causes Aboriginal women to be persecuted or to have male’s violence against them excused because of ‘bullshit tradition’. In addition, because of a Western concept of the male as the head of the family, Aboriginal men have been placed in positions of control within Aboriginal communities such that Aboriginal bureaucracy is male dominated to the detriment of women’s justice. Bell argues that until women are recognised as possessing status and power within traditional Aboriginal society and this fact promoted to eliminate the belief in ‘bullshit tradition’, and until the gender imbalance is rectified, women will continue to be the subjects of violence.


This report finds that mobility and existing Dreaming Law within this remote Arnhem Land Aboriginal community minimised conflict for this close-knit group for whom protracted hostility would be devastating. The settlement, originally established as a mission, was traditionally a gathering area for different clans to participate in ritual practices. The people’s relative isolation enabled them to retain a high degree of traditional practices despite the objections of missionaries: language and religion have been retained. Neither alcohol nor capitalism could threaten the cohesion of the community because of its isolation and inaccessibility. The people have remained within their countries within which ‘an elaborate ceremonial and ritual life, occupying much of the time and effort of most adult males, and to a lesser extent, females’, exists. Health workers, the author argues, must consider the cultural meanings behind community’s actions (as demonstrated by this community’s cohesion) before diagnosing its people as pathological in their actions. That is, the system of control within a community may have broken down; that requires action for the community as a whole rather than individual pathological treatment that merely treats the symptoms rather than addressing the cause.


The Western Australian Aboriginal Driver Training Program began in 1987 as an initiative of the Christian Justice Association. It addresses the problem of the large number of Aboriginal youth entering the prison system for driving without a license. Learners’ permits and practical driving classes are provided for inmates of Longmore...
and Riverbank Juvenile Detention Centres, other Aborigines at risk of offending, and the wives and girlfriends of Aboriginal men banned from driving. The opportunity to gain a driver's license provides participants with the chance to break the cycle of crime and unemployment. (Highly commended project, Adolescents At Risk Category, 1992 Australian Violence Prevention Award).


This Western Australian sobering up centre opened in 1991. It is a community managed service that provides a non-judgemental caring environment in which persons found drunk in public can sober up, thus preventing drunkenness from leading to violence and diverting the persons concerned from the police process. This profile describes the objectives of the service, its chiefly Aboriginal clientele, and its direct and indirect benefits. (Highly commended project, Public Violence, Category, 1992 Australian Violence Prevention Award).


The review is capable of use as a reference for implementing such schemes by other governments or groups within Australia because of the degree of description outlining problems and pitfalls connected with establishing the program. This is a reportedly highly successful scheme that demonstrates its ability to reduce crime and violence within Aboriginal communities. It has been endorsed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Michael Dodson.

This review sets out in considerable detail the establishment of local Justice Councils at three Aboriginal communities. The review outlines procedure for implementing the programs, details the programs’ effectiveness by reporting crime/violence statistics, reveals the opinions of police and other authorities regarding the program’s effectiveness (usually favourable), experiences with government departments and lists pitfalls experienced in the programs’ implementations. The authors make recommendations for strengthening the scheme and point to the need to review its progress over a longer period to confirm their early favourable findings: the program has reduced substantially crime and violence within these communities. While not addressing structural causes of violence, the report lists innovations that have possibilities for dealing with some of the socio-economic problems faced by these isolated communities. In one case, for example, former inmates of a correctional centre wanted to return to their community and establish a bakery to provide for the community after learning baking skills while incarcerated.
Importantly, this report reveals the communities’ improved positions after being empowered with correcting their own social problems as they consider appropriate.


This is an extensive report into occurrences, and reasons for the occurrences, of Aboriginal family violence. It reports how, where Aboriginal people retain greater personal control over their way of life, there is less violence. Alcohol is the dominant contributing factor to the incidence of violence. Bolger reports how there is often abuse of traditional beliefs by Aboriginal men to justify using violence to control women: it was traditional to use violence to control women. Violence generally, argues Bolger, is most prevalent where there are large groups of different country-owning groups centralised within an area whether it is in the country of one group or not. Centralisation is thus a major reason for the inability to curb violence as well as contributing to its occurrence. Centralised areas have little work and throw different groups together who will not acknowledge the authority of those from other groups.


Duncan Chappell, chairman of the National Committee on Violence and ex-director of the Australian Institute of Criminology, welcomes the Federal Government’s gun control reforms, but warns that they will not eradicate the violence ingrained in Australian society. He argues that families are training grounds for violence, and discusses the recommendations made by the Committee in 1990. Violence is a much more complex issue that defies solution by the application of moves such as gun control without addressing how children are socialised into violence in the first instance.


This paper looks at the results of moves to eliminate petrol sniffing at Maningrida, northern Australia. The type of petrol used at the community was changed to a type that was unpleasant to use and, on the surface, has proved effective in discouraging local youths from their habit of sniffing the substance. When compared to other communities, however, it was found that, unlike them, crime had fallen too. It is suggested that, unlike other communities, Maningrida has seen its people introduce other controls considered appropriate by the people which, it is suggested, are more important than the change in petrol in eliminating the habit and combating social problems within the area.

This paper targets institutionalised racism. By not addressing established beliefs regarding Aboriginal people and their culture, programs target and penalise Aboriginal people. For example, over-policing of areas because of perceptions that Aboriginal people are drunks and violent by nature causes tensions between Aboriginal people and authorities. Arrests are made for behaviour that may be, rather than anomic violence, controlled violence aimed at conflict resolution. Welfare rules penalise Aboriginal family constructions as deviant because of the extended nature of many Aboriginal families. Overcrowding by non-Aboriginal standards then leads to continued removal of Aboriginal children and heightened ill feelings and increased violence. Education to remove institutionalised racism, argues Carrington, is essential to remedy violence in Aboriginal communities.


This report offers possibilities for changing official procedures and implementing programs that could prevent the institutionalisation of juveniles. Carrington indicates that 25 per cent of juveniles in NSW institutions are Aboriginal, a figure that is upheld by the latest statistics provided by the Institute of Criminology showing the over-representation of Aboriginal juveniles in corrective institutions (abstracted above).

Carrington has compiled a report into the programmatic problems with the juvenile justice system, and specifically, with welfare services in New South Wales. She finds that those from lower socio-economic lifestyles, specifically Aboriginal people, are penalised over those from better socio-economic groups. It is predominantly the labelling of juveniles as delinquent or as neglected because of their Aboriginality or socio-economic status, that sees them appearing before, and institutionalised, above those from other groups. Girls, Carrington finds, are too often labelled as promiscuous and institutionalised as a result; Carrington points to the inequity of homogeneous labelling. The most over-represented group of juveniles, the author finds, are those from rural Aboriginal communities. She suggests, among reasons mentioned previously, that over-policing is responsible for considerable over-representation as more attention is paid to these communities than to those labelled as suitable. The study, Carrington argues, considers how juvenile justice works in practice and offers suggestions for changing the methodology so that youth are treated outside a system they regard as punitive but is defined by authorities as preventative – as protective of youth.


According to the 1990 report of the National Committee on Violence, Australia is now a less violent place than it was between settlement and Federation. The report suggests media violence is more likely to be a symptom than a cause, with influences in childhood and family background determining a person’s disposition to violence. The
claim that media violence has caused murders to be committed is refuted by Casimir, who notes that public interest in violent films is on the decline.


The Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit (CAAAPU) developed from a successful Aboriginal alcohol program operating in Alice Springs, Aboriginal Alcoholics Anonymous. Unlike its non-Aboriginal counterpart, Alcoholics Anonymous (AAA) advertises its members’ participation with the aim of making sobriety more popular than inebriation among the Aboriginal community. CAAAPU ‘represents over forty communities and organisations from across’ central Australia coordinating and publicising their efforts to combat alcohol abuse. The organisation is the result of a meeting of different organisations who want to present a united front in their battle against alcohol abuse and its resulting violence; the aim is to share successful ideas.

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In early 1991 CAAAPU was visited by some Canadian Indian representatives who operate successful alcohol programs in their country. Eric Shirt founded the Poundmaker’s Lodge Alcoholism and Drug Treatment Centre that processes around 650 clients annually, over half of whom stop drinking as a result of the treatment. Eric has assisted in the establishment of a further fifteen treatment centres across Canada. Andy and Phyllis Chelsea operate a successful centre in Alkali Lake in British Columbia. This community changed from a level of nearly 100 per cent alcohol abuse to 95 per cent sobriety in twelve years because of the program’s operation. CAAAPU has sent two representatives to Canada to study the Indians’ programs with the aim of implementing them in Australia. It is recommended that CAAAPU is contacted with the aim of assessing the success of this Canadian study and establishing what if anything was adapted to fit the Australian situation.


Racism can complicate the issues of gender and violence, and indigenous students in Australian schools are finding it very difficult to cope with both. This article discusses a program called Getting It Together, which addresses gender and violence with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students. Indigenous groups across Australia were consulted, and expressed their concerns that racist attitudes and issues needed to be dealt with before getting down to gender-based violence motives. The program provides suggested professional development modules for teachers, based on the
recommendations of indigenous people, about how to develop suitable anti-violence resources to be implemented within schools.


This is a two volume set, 1991 and its updated 1995 contemporary. The volumes look at violence in Australian society generally. There are reports into racist, domestic, juvenile and alcohol-related violence, for example. In addition, some programs are reviewed as well as suggestions made for areas to address regarding crime prevention policies and or programs. There is a bibliography in both volumes of publications relating to violence in Australian society, the one in the first volume being annotated. Judith Dixon (Vol. 2), ‘Creating safer communities’, reviews community involvement programs in Victoria aimed at securing communities for inhabitants by involving respective inhabitants in the running of prevention programs. There is no mention of violence in rural communities, however, in either issue.


Collmann argues that the social situation of contemporary Aboriginal people is usually analysed according to their degrees of ‘detribalisation’: they have been subjected to varying degrees of alienation from their traditional cultures and, therefore, are suffering from disorientation and social anomie because of this transitional phase between traditional and modern society. The problem with this type of analysis, the author asserts, is that it compares the present with the past rather than analysing the present for its importance to the contemporary situation. ‘[T]he recent development of Aboriginal society must be analysed in the context of white colonisation’, insists Collmann. It is simplistic to assume/assert that any group of Aboriginal people is an example of a destabilised people in the throes of social anomie because of their loss of culture.’ Rather, they should be approached to discover how the group has adapted to their contact with white society. Collmann supports his thesis with a report on an Alice Springs fringe camp in which he resided for some time and undertook ethnographic investigation. He finds that the community is not anomic, but, rather, is structured to attain the greatest degree of autonomy from the Australian state within the economic avenues open to the group.


As part of its national justice strategy, the Labor Government outlined in this Statement its proposals to establish and implement a National Women’s Justice Strategy to improve access to justice for Australian women. This strategy includes the establishment of a national network of women’s legal centres which will also provide specialist services for rural women, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women and women from non-English
speaking backgrounds. Other areas covered in the strategy include: women and legal aid; violence against women; women and the courts and tribunals; and law reforms.


This CDROM library contains a wealth of information pertaining to Aboriginal people. It explains Aboriginal people’s identification of and with ‘country’ and Aboriginal people’s affinity with their Dreaming Law. Progress to date of publication regarding Aboriginal reconciliation with non-Aboriginal Australians is also in the library. The disk contains the entire proceedings of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC). Accessing areas is easy via a menu within which searches can be conducted by ‘word’. For example, aspects of Aboriginal violence will access all references contained in the RCIADIC by entering the word, ‘violence’ into the work search engine. The CDROM is an excellent source of reference for Aboriginal justice and equity issues.


While this report addresses different areas of Aboriginal concern, for example, the escalation of a minor offence of public drunkenness into one of assault police that can lead to imprisonment rather than an overnight detention, it is a call for education programs to decrease the incidence of institutional racism. It reports that existing cultural awareness programs for prison officers are inadequate, not preparing participants adequately to deal with the diversity of Aboriginal cultures to which they will be exposed within the prison system. The report asserts the success of alternative sentencing programs for Aboriginal people that keeps them out of the prison system, a system that leads to increased incidents of violence on release because of conditions within correctional centres. Queensland’s legislation that enables implementing alternative justice programs that incorporate the use of Aboriginal traditional laws is commended. While reporting on the success of some programs and recommending how programs can be implemented successfully or improved, it calls overwhelmingly for wide education of the Australian public to supplant the present negative image of Aboriginal people with a positive one that can do much for displacing the wide ignorance of Aboriginal people that leads to (often unintentional) racism.


This paper emphasises that Aboriginal culture cannot be compared with some past, unchanged culture that was the ideal for a people. Culture is not unchanging and, once this is accepted, the forces that caused its change — that shaped its present structure — can be analysed to discover faults, weaknesses and problems as defined by the culture’s people themselves: these problem areas must come from the people as, arguably, the greatest problem facing a minority people is their lack of autonomy — their inability to shape their lives to their desired level. Cowlishaw
argues for investigating Aboriginal communities as ones of 'resistance to invasion and hegemony'. However, while actions generally may well be explainable in this manner, culture creation is self-perpetuating, that is, once a pattern has been established, its shape occurs without conscious planning of its members and many other forces work to perpetuate courses of action other than conscious gatherings of people who actively plan courses of action. For example, once alcohol abuse becomes a means of empowerment, its use can be argued as being perpetuated through familial socialisation.


This paper seeks to show why there is a need to theorise race relations as a feature of white Australia’s culture and as the context of Aboriginal lives. The violent drama of racial politics as glimpsed on the public media and as experienced by black [sic] communities all over the country, demands analytic attention. Anthropologists were once the experts on race, before the field lost its legitimacy. If we turn our attention to exposing the forms of colonial power that saturate Aboriginal social life, Australian anthropology may be saved from becoming an anachronism.

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Cowlishaw argues that Aboriginal actions viewed as being deviant by non-Aboriginal Australians are reactions to the oppression of the state; it is these oppressive actions that have shaped contemporary Aboriginal culture. Analysis of Aboriginal culture, therefore, must consider the relations between the state and Aboriginal culture since invasion. Only by identifying this relationship can the problems of Aboriginal communities be approached constructively. Seen this way, the structure that continues to oppress Aboriginal society must be changed if the oppression of Aboriginal women by men is to be constructively attacked and successfully changed. That is, Aboriginal men’s violence is a direct reaction to their oppression by the Australian state; their women are the unfortunate victims. Any approach to Aboriginal family violence, therefore, must consider this position or programs will fail because the cause of the violence will remain.


Cowlishaw relates an incident between a white and an Aboriginal youth which led to riots by Aboriginal youths from Bourke in New South Wales. Cowlishaw finds that, because Aboriginal people believe that the white interpretation of the law discriminates against them, they reject white law generally. The law, finds Cowlishaw, discriminates by interpreting many actions of Aboriginal people as socially unacceptable according to white standards. This, asserts Cowlishaw, leads to over-policing and above average arrests of Aboriginal people. Consequently, when the white youth was released from police custody after running over an Aboriginal youth, other Aboriginal youths formed what Cowlishaw argues was a political protest rather than a riot, rather than an unlawful act. There must, finds Cowlishaw, be greater
attention paid to why Aboriginal people continually break white laws rather than continuing to punish them as law-breakers. Until many of their actions are viewed as political protests, there can be no solution to acts of Aboriginal violence.


Crawford reports on the failure of the New South Wales Government to implement an appropriate community policing program in conjunction with Aboriginal people. Although, the author argues, this could be achieved according to 'the processes of the Police Service’s Community-Based Policing Policy', this has not occurred because 'police just do not know how to communicate with Aboriginal people'. To correct this, asserts Crawford, an appropriate education program for police officers, beginning with the police department’s senior officers, must be implemented. Only by making the relationship between police and Aboriginal people positive, can community policing succeed. At present, argues Crawford, the most inappropriate police officers are assigned to Aboriginal communities thus exacerbating conditions. Crawford lists some positive initiatives that have been implemented, but that have failed, because of this general ignorance of Aboriginal cultures.


The authors outline the findings ‘of the Australian Law Reform Commission’s Report on the Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws’. In 1977 the Australian Attorney-General directed the Commission to investigate if it were 'desirable to apply either in whole or in part Aboriginal customary law' to Aboriginal people who came before the criminal justice system. If this were found to be desirable, the Commission was to advise the Attorney-General on how best to do this. The Commission found that this was desirable and reported on what aspects of Aboriginal traditional Law should be adopted.


From both an historical and contemporary perspective, Cunneen demonstrates the ongoing persecution and inequalities associated with the policing of Aboriginal young people. He provides a theoretical framework for understanding the reasons for this, as well as considerable documentation of the nature of contact between the police and young Aboriginal people. In addition to outlining the extent of institutionalised racism, Cunneen demonstrates the limits of official programs or processes. For example, despite the existence of a formal diversionary program existing in both South Australia and Western
Australia to prevent the incarceration of Aboriginal youth, high numbers continue to be incarcerated because police hold the power of discretion as to who may access the program; many Aboriginal youths are denied access.


Cunneen offers a way of expanding police activities so that preventive measures can be developed with the provision of meaningful statistics. The program deserves consideration as it is argued that study of the statistics could lead to implementing violence prevention measures. In addition, Cunneen indicates the relative ease and minimum of training required by police officers to implement the program successfully.

Cunneen reports on a pilot program he conducted to assess the efficacy of collecting data regarding hate crimes. The study was initiated in response to the National Inquiry into Racist Violence (1990) that reported a high degree of such violence in Australia. The pilot study was not conducted with the aim of compiling meaningful statistics, but, rather, to devise a method of instigating such a program. Cunneen argues that the pilot study successfully showed that compiling such statistics during the course of police activities is relatively easy with a minimum of training for police and, due to the demonstrated existence of such violence, incorporating such a program into normal police work would prove effective in devising appropriate police actions to lessen such incidents in the future.


Cunneen critically examines impediments to implementing community policing strategies. His primary focus is on the over-policing, (an area on which Cunneen writes a good deal as well as institutionalised racism) of Aboriginal communities in rural areas of New South Wales. Topics discussed include local politics (non-Aboriginal), tactical response policing and Aboriginal police liaison schemes. He argues that too often community policing, rather than enabling liaison, and thus lessening of tensions, with Aboriginal people, is used as a means of extending non-Aboriginal ideas of justice through authoritative enforcement onto Aboriginal communities. He warns that community policing strategies will continue to be viewed as little more than public relations rhetoric if violence on the part of state officials continues to go unchecked and is unaccountable.

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Although some years old now, this report is a reminder of how the implementation of the dominant society’s idea of justice disadvantages a minority group, especially when that group is labelled as deviant in advance and thus targeted for control according to the dominant society’s ideas of what is acceptable.
Cunneen reports the colonial controls that contain Aboriginal people as subordinate within Australian society, and the mistrust that continues by Aboriginal people (and particularly by women) of the police: the police do not regard matters of domestic violence as important and retain a constructed image of Aboriginal women as being amenable to violence and rape that is none of the police’s business. What matters for police is the official position into which Aboriginal people should remain as subordinate to the dominant legal system: street offences (e.g., public drunkenness) thus carry more weight than do matters of domestic violence. Empowering Aboriginal communities to define and direct culturally important legal frameworks is regarded as essential to counteract this over-representation of police attention in certain areas and under-representation in other areas.


‘Julalikari Council is a town camp organisation of about 900 Aboriginal people in the remote Northern Territory town of Tennant Creek...The night patrols have been operating since the mid-1980s...starting date...1989’ (officially). The patrols were begun on the initiative of the Aboriginal community in an attempt to counter the rampant abuse of alcohol and unacceptable (to the community) levels of violence. ‘The Council patrol operates a roster system of volunteer persons who conduct mobile patrols of the town area and camps at night. The patrol assists in removing intoxicated persons from the streets back to their residence and camps, as well as handling minor disputes that arise in the camps. As a general rule, councillors at each camp now contact the Council patrol in the first instance, however if the matter is serious, the police are called immediately (senior Northern Territory police officer in Curtis, 1993:74).

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This explanation, however, requires elaboration. While the patrol operates on a roster system, the rosters are restricted to persons approved by the Council’s Executive and are comprised of the community’s most influential members. This is necessary to gain the respect of the community who will not recognise the authority of any person. In addition, only those who are willing to devote their time voluntarily are accepted; caring for other’s well-being, not monetary gain, is the requirement. Often long hours are required of members. Duty may consist of ‘two women walking up and down the main street at sunset keeping an eye on some young drinkers...[or of] having [a] vehicle parked at the sports’ grounds on basketball night to provide both a Council presence and a radio base for all manner of reasons’ (Curtis, 1993:74).
The patrol's aim is not restricted to removing drunks from public display. Its primary objective is dispute resolution. This enables the community to build relations rather than operating a defensive campaign that merely stops violent incidents that may erupt next time the protagonists meet over alcohol consumption. Furthermore, the patrol works with the police who handle serious incidents in conjunction with the patrol: the patrol does not surrender operations to the police but, rather, a solution is sought in conjunction with the police who defer to solutions appropriate to Aboriginal Law within the community. The patrol's operations are the efficient (or correct) implementation of a community policing scheme: it operates with cooperation rather than as determined by the police, strictly to the letter of Australian law, and with no regard for Aboriginal Law. The Council’s members meet with police to establish operational procedures so that the patrols and police are cooperating rather than being oppositional bodies -- opposing sides in some power struggle or race war (Curtis, 1993:75--77).

Following a dispute that the patrol has ‘short circuited’, the protagonists are brought before the Council; a solution is avoided while blood is hot and people are intoxicated. A resolution is then sought so that the community can return to an equilibrium position of harmony rather than leaving feelings simmering until the next alcohol-induced confrontation (Curtis, 1993:75).

While the patrols are an unarguable success in controlling alcohol abuse and violence levels, they do not address the reasons that conflict in communities occurs. The Council calls for the state to address the structural conditions that leave Aboriginal people in dependent and depressed conditions that are the reasons that the alcohol abuse occurs initially. The patrols are an Aboriginal initiative to control conditions -- conditions that are beyond the ability of Aboriginal people to change in isolation. What is more, the Council is adamant that the patrols should not be seen as a panacea for these social causes at which the state should ‘throw’ funds: excess amounts of money will not improve the program. It is the caring and committed nature of the patrol’s members that is important. Nevertheless, the Julalikari program, if studied properly, is one to be emulated in other communities (Curtis, 1993:78).

This report should be read in conjunction with Herlihy (1995), abstracted below. Curtis provides the details of Julalikari Night Patrol’s raison d’être and conditions of operation that are missing from Herlihy’s report. Specifically, this paper outlines the control (owning) of the program that resides in the community’s hands. While financial assistance from the state is welcomed, for example, it is not a prerequisite; importantly, this removes the program from any control by, or dependency on, the state for its operation. Of salience is an unpaid workforce of operators who do not regard sophisticated premises as necessities. This program owes its success to a culturally appropriate program that addresses the problems caused by the community’s oppressive socio-economic position within the state, and recognition that this is the cause of people’s problems. The author describes the caring nature of a program aimed at conflict resolution, rather than merely removing drunks from the streets, that is run, owned and maintained by a largely unfinanced group of prominent community leaders.

The authors review an extensive literature into reasons for drinking by Aboriginal people and the consequences of that drinking, as well as programs aimed at addressing alcohol-related violence. The authors contrast explanations of the link between alcohol use and violence drawn from three paradigms: a biomedical paradigm, in which behaviour is explained in terms of the pharmacological properties of alcohol; a socio-cultural paradigm in which pharmacological effects, while not discounted, are viewed as being mediated by social and cultural factors in which action is goal-directed; and a ‘structuralist’ paradigm, in which ‘root causes’ are seen in terms of historical and social factors such as poverty and colonial dispossession. Among many important points made in this comprehensive document, it is noted that contemporary patterns of family violence in Aboriginal communities cannot be explained adequately in terms of traditional values and practices; attitudes to alcohol use are strongly structured along gender lines, with Aboriginal women playing a prominent part in mobilising opposition to alcohol misuse; paralleling the situation in the non-Aboriginal community, liquor licensing laws are rarely used to control the supply of liquor to intoxicated Aborigines; and the tourist industry has had a generally deleterious effect on Aboriginal alcohol-related problems since it leads to pressure for increased alcohol availability while resulting in more stringent social controls on highly ‘visible’ forms of Aboriginal alcohol use.


The Family Law Act defines ‘family’ counter to Tiwi family structure, namely according to a nuclear definition of ‘family’. The Tiwi family, in contrast, has strong traditional cultural continuities. The family structure operates according to an extended structure where children are ‘grown up’ by a number of relevant related family members. Consequently, when the biological family members come to the attention of the criminal justice and welfare systems, application of nuclear family values can perpetuate the supposedly extinct stolen children phenomenon as children are removed and institutionalised within State welfare homes. In contrast, the Northern Territory Government has recognised this need for Aboriginal families and has made provision under Part ix of the Northern Territory Community Welfare Act 1993. Aboriginal children where possible are placed with family members rather than being institutionalised. An Aboriginal Child Care Agency, KARU, established in 1987, works with the Northern Territory Government to fulfil this need for Aboriginal families. If no family exists or is deemed unsuitable, KARU then seeks a suitable family within the appropriate clan with whom the child/ren can be placed. Institutionalisation is a move of last resort.

In this section of his report, Commissioner Dodson writes of the Queensland Government’s Community-based Justice Initiatives Program. Dodson provides impressive evidence of the program’s success in two rural Aboriginal communities, Kowanyama and Palm Island (Palm Island in particular has a history of horrific violence, [cf., Wilson, 1982, 1985]). He speaks of the sparse resources that are provided for the program’s implementation emphasising how it is not essential to provide large sums of money to ensure a program’s success; money, he notes, is too often provided as a substitute for informed practice -- a substitute for action that is regarded by the state as too difficult. Despite the program’s obvious success, Dodson argues, it is not receiving the support it should from the Queensland Corrective Services Department (the department responsible for its implementation); although sparsely funded, all available money is not used as the department hinders the program’s implementation. This criticism, however, he warns, should not see funds now thrown at the scheme without adequate controls which lead to reports of Aboriginal misuse of public moneys as occurs often with other programs. Importantly, he reminds us, the program is successful because it is run according to the needs of the individual community as the community’s inhabitants see fit. Only with this degree of support and empowerment, Dodson insists, can a program succeed. Importantly, Dodson argues that the program could be successful within urban communities were people within these communities given the opportunity to plan according to the people’s peculiar needs.


The high consumption of alcohol in sectors of the Aboriginal community, rural and urban, over the last two decades has resulted in much suffering and loss. Serious crime, domestic and interpersonal violence, income diversion, a deterioration of health and living conditions and significant cultural degradation are all evident and can often be put down to the abuse of alcohol. This article looks at Halls Creek, a small town in the East Kimberley region of Western Australia, the problems it faced and how the community responded.

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>This article offers evidence of how a program designed and instigated by a specific Aboriginal community can produce positive results.


>Aboriginal women’s position can not be analysed under a universal system of feminine oppression: Aboriginal women, Duff argues, suffer from racism in conjunction with ideologies of feminine inequality. Aboriginal women argue that sexism entered Australia with the culture of
the white invaders. Aboriginal women, asserts Duff, reject the thesis that Aboriginal men were disadvantaged more by colonisation than women because of the loss of their superior positions as defined by Aboriginal Law. The welfare system, argues Duff, exposed Aboriginal women and their families to state scrutiny that imposes white cultural standards that, if not met, lead to the removal of the women’s children and incarceration in state welfare institutions; forced removal of Aboriginal children thus continues. This sexism continues in all aspects of Aboriginal women’s lives and must be addressed if violence by Aboriginal men is to be stopped.


This article provides a brief outline of the NSW Government’s Aboriginal Family Health Strategy, developed by the NSW Health Department and the Community Controlled Health Services and launched at the end of 1995. The strategy seeks to ‘break the cycle’ of violence in communities through a variety of programs and initiatives. Emphasis will be placed on mental health, drug and alcohol abuse, family health education, the location of services, safety houses, community controlled Aboriginal family health programs, the creation of Aboriginal Family Health Worker positions and data collection. The program is particularly concerned with the existence of institutionalised racism and the consequent use of inappropriate government policies designed to meet Western conditions.


Many of the author’s suggestions could see the community become economically self-sufficient if implemented. However, in talking with Mr Foley, one is left with no illusion as to the lack of confidence he has that this will occur. The report is worth reading for anyone contemplating general policies for Aboriginal communities as it shows the specificity relating to this type of centralised community. This report addresses the social problems inherent within all sections of the Woorabinda Aboriginal Community, Queensland. Problems concerning children occur because of the situation that exists within this community and, as the author emphasises, they are problems common to Australian Aboriginal communities of this kind generally. Although Foley proposes a number of (as yet untested) policies, many of them punitive, he identifies the dominant problem as the centralised nature of the community’s population: Woorabinda residents are from many different Aboriginal language-speaking groups, excluding most of the original country-owners who were forcibly removed and resettled elsewhere when the settlement was formed in 1927. Woorabinda is experiencing extreme conditions of violence, substance abuse and social anomie. The author identifies the major obstacle to achieving culturally appropriate remedies is the lack of authority experienced by the council of elders. This is a
community whose members are predominantly welfare dependent and who thumb their noses at the State’s punitive measures to their breaking of the dominant culture’s laws. It is a community without meaningful existence who, prior to its demise, embraced a CDEP scheme suggesting their desire for self-sufficiency. They have no respect for authority that has been lost because traditional country-defined, Story-time Law no longer applies. For this community to succeed, its members would have to accept this area as their own and establish an authority structure according to a history of occupancy methodology.


Fredericks reports on the success of the We Al-Li program (Abstracted under Aboriginal Violence under Atkinson) that is conducted by a group of Aboriginal women headed by Judy Atkinson. Fredericks participated in the series of workshops. The author indicates that although this is a program formulated by Aboriginal women, it is successful for both men and women of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal origins. Although the program is highly successful and ‘compliment[s] clinical health services’, Fredericks argues, it has considerable difficulty obtaining financial assistance from governments. Fredericks suggests that this indicates the colonialist and racist nature of the state as it wants to retain control of the direction of indigenous services.


The Northern Territory has a higher crime rate than other jurisdictions, particularly crimes of violence, despite having more police officers per 100,000 population. It is hoped that the incidence of homicide and other violence related crime will begin to decrease through initiatives such as the Northern Territory Government’s Alcohol Strategy, firearms legislation, domestic violence legislation, Police Aides (described as being a successful program) and Aboriginal Wardens Schemes as well as various national strategies such as National Exchange of Police Information (NEPI) and Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP).

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Despite statistics suggesting that increased policing is not the answer to problems of violence, the Northern Territory Government seems overly reliant on increasing policing methods. The author does assert, nevertheless, that without an education program to lessen the influence of alcohol use within the Territory, policing methods will be insufficient to lessen incidents of violence. Most violent acts occurred in rural areas with the majority being impulsive acts occurring in ‘hot blood’ that occurred between persons known to each other; a high proportion were between partners. Non-Aboriginal partner deaths usually occurred because of violence that increased over some years to a female. Any strategies described in this report require follow-up investigation.

*The authors outline the extent (extremely high) of sexual assault (including incest) within Aboriginal communities. Assaults are exacerbated by the isolated positions of many Aboriginal communities that lack support facilities for victims. In addition, incidents are vastly under-reported; this is exacerbated by the close-knit structure of most communities: they keep the problem to themselves. Furthermore, both violent past treatment from the state and present violent treatment from State police forces engender mistrust that results in under-reporting. The authors report on the way that Aboriginal women are taking control of the situation themselves as they react against their abusive treatment at the hands of their men.*


Based on pioneering initiatives of Aboriginal leaders in Australia and Canada, and on her own research and experience, Hazlehurst presents a range of group healing processes and personal empowerment techniques aimed at indigenous community recovery. She focuses on the problems of alcohol addiction, family violence, and the breakdown of indigenous communities. Practical workshops and techniques are described in the latter part of the monograph.


This dissertation goes beyond culture to explain why Aboriginal people act the way they do within their disparate communities. While acknowledging that Aboriginal people have been dispossessed and their culture destroyed in many cases, their socio-economic position within the capitalist state is revealed to insist that only by addressing this realistic position can remedies for many of Aboriginal people’s problems be found. This report reveals why many programs designed by non-Aboriginal authorities and aimed at addressing problems experienced by Aboriginal people do not work. It also emphasises the degree of institutional racism that exists within Australian society. The dissertation supports many of the aims espoused for programs presently in existence.

This report details the problems an Aboriginal Christian pastor finds that Aboriginal people, with whom he deals in his capacity as a social worker with the Brisbane Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community Health Service, have within the greater non-Aboriginal, Australian society. The pastor details incidents of institutionalised racism, and the despair experienced by former ‘stolen generation’ children. The pastor finds that the Aboriginal legal service, while being necessary to provide defence for disadvantaged people, frequently works for the perpetrator more than the victim: irrespective of a person’s guilt, finds the pastor, that person is provided with legal aid which often provides no incentive to those inclined towards criminal acts. Aboriginal people must take responsibility for the actions of their people if they are to combat violence.


The author reports on an interview he conducted with Aboriginal social workers at an Aboriginal crisis centre in Brisbane Queensland. The interview was conducted in an attempt to redress the paucity of information existing regarding urban Aboriginal communities. The author recommends that research is essential to redress this situation. The report finds that Aboriginal agencies are attempting to manage the violence within the Brisbane area that Aboriginal people are experiencing but that their efforts are being restricted by State bureaucratic interference and a state of dependency on the Australian state.


This document contains the Australian Institute of Criminology’s data base on action which has been or is being taken by Australian governments (or by organisations funded by Australian governments) to deal with the wide variety of factors which impinge on levels of violence in our society. Areas covered include health and welfare, the criminal justice system, policing, education, employment and training, housing, public transport, sport and recreation and Aborigines.
The Western Australian Aboriginal Alternative Dispute Resolution Project was established as a mediation/conciliation program to help Aboriginal families resolve disputes. It was a response to the perceived need to provide a dispute resolution service for the Nyungar community, which had serious problems with chronic inter-family feuding. This profile describes the patterns of feuding, the project's objectives, the emphasis on empowering families to adopt and maintain responsibility for mediated agreements, and its achievements after the first year of operation. (Highly commended project, 1993 Australian Violence Prevention Award).


More than 80 per cent of all domestic incidents in Halls Creek were estimated to be alcohol related. The Halls Creek Alcohol Action Advisory Committee has taken a number of important steps to address this issue, including: the establishment of the Salem Shelter sobering up centre; restriction of alcohol availability; and the development of a family outreach program. The success of the Committee has inspired other towns to follow their example. (Commended project, 1993 Australian Violence Prevention Award).


The Julalikari Night Patrol is a community operated system of community policing that was implemented in the Northern Territory town of Tennant Creek. The program strives to break the cycle of violence associated with excessive alcohol consumption. Following a night patrol's intervention into a dispute, a community meeting is held to mediate the dispute and admonish perpetrators in a culturally appropriate way. This program emerged from a 1977 Commonwealth Parliamentary Report on Aboriginal drinking which saw the formation of the Julalikari Council in 1985 followed by the program's formal beginning in 1989. The program continues (see report in 1996, Violence Prevention in Practice, p. 24, published by the Australian Institute of Criminology) and has succeeded in halving the numbers of Aboriginal people taken into police protective custody since its instigation. Nevertheless, the report outlines the isolated nature of the community with no means of occupying residents' time and energy; there is little meaningful employment. The patrol thus merely addresses a symptom of the community's existence.
Established in Goonellabah in late 1991, this community based centre addresses community concerns about sexual assault, street violence, racial tensions and difficult relationships between neighbours. Many of its programs are directed at children and young people because of the rising rates of vandalism, truancy, underage drinking and gang membership. Initial evidence indicates that the opening of the Centre has been beneficial. (Highly commended project, 1993 Australian Violence Prevention Award).

The area covered by the Parks Area Safety Network is characterised by a number of social problems, including high levels of reported violent offences. The Network is a community based initiative which aims to reduce violence by building on community strengths and facilitating community involvement in local decision-making. This project profile describes the relationship between the Network and the South Australian Crime Prevention Strategy; the need to address the self esteem of young people, especially Aboriginal youth; and guidelines for projects initiated by the Network. (Winning project [secondary award], 1993 Australian Violence Prevention Award).

In 1990 the Tangentyere Council established this volunteer group which patrols Aboriginal town camps and the central business district of Alice Springs on a regular basis. In using non-violent methods such as negotiation to help minimise violence, the Patrol strengthens traditional Aboriginal methods for social control. It provides particular assistance to children and intoxicated persons. A considerable reduction in criminal damage and street disorder has been noted since its introduction. (Commended project, 1993 Australian Violence Prevention Award).


*This report highlights two important aspects of policing. First, it highlights the dangers of high speed pursuits to both police and the general public that requires a more holistic approach to police training programs than presently undertaken. Second, while outlining an apparently successful program for lessening Aboriginal over-representation, both in pursuits and*
incarceration, it brings attention to the more serious problem of Aboriginal peoples’ poor socio-economic positions within Australian society that must be addressed before their over-representation in high speed pursuits can be countered successfully.

This report investigates aspects of high speed pursuits in Perth, Western Australia. It finds that generally pursuits are not justified according to the results perceived by police as justification and the money expended because of the pursuits. Because of the high proportion (30%) of pursuits that involve traffic offences, it is recommended that pursuits should not occur unless there is direct evidence that a suspect vehicle is stolen. In addition, wider training for police officers is recommended incorporating more than training in high speed pursuit vehicle handling skills. It was found, too, that Aboriginal people were over-represented at the rate of ten to one compared to the wider population in pursuits and for vehicle stealing. Relations between Aboriginal people and the state generally, the report found, need to be addressed to lessen the involvement of Aboriginal youth in vehicle-related crime. A program needs development to improve relations. It is recommended to expand an existing driver program for Aboriginal youth with the aim of improving their employability by gaining possession of a driving licence. In addition, if more Aboriginal people possessed licences, this would eliminate one breach that increases their over-representation in correctional institutions, namely, driving unlicensed. Aboriginal youth are affected, usually, by alcohol or substance abuse (glue sniffing) due to their poor socio-economic positions within the greater society: they abuse substances for varying reasons related to their socio-economic positions.


This report supports the case of institutionalised racism that other authors in the bibliography report. This practice reinforces Aboriginal people’s perceptions of powerlessness within the non-Aboriginal state as outlined by Carrington (1990). It is an official government investigation some six years ago outlining a problem that Aboriginal people report continues today. Colonial control continues with its concomitant powerlessness for Aboriginal people. Furthermore, the report explains that Aboriginal women are reluctant to seek official assistance: not only are many assaults against them condoned by acceptance of what Aboriginal people term ‘bullshit traditional justice’ (see Payne, 1992), but there has been considerable abuse against them by police officers. The report reveals that abuse against Aboriginal people generally is widespread causing distrust, anger and violent reactions to this sort of attention by the police. The report argues that attitudes must be changed at an institutional level before progress can occur.

The National Inquiry into Racist Violence produced this report which outlines the extent of racist violence within the community. It reports on the treatment of different ethnic groups and Aboriginal people by society generally and by Australia’s law enforcement agencies and finds that there is considerable violence perpetrated against different ethnic groups and Aboriginal people. The report submits measures to counter the practice.


Hunter reports on the way that violence has increased in the Kimberley area of Western Australia since Aboriginal people have been displaced from most of their traditional capitalist employment within the cattle industry. They are reliant predominantly now on welfare for incomes. This conspicuous situation within an urban economy dominated by welfare payments is the pre-eminent reason for feelings of inadequacy that lead to alcohol abuse and consequent violent actions both against each other and the dominant society. This article reports the proliferation of domestic violence in both urban and reserve areas that is precipitated by alcohol abuse. Its occurrence is not exclusively between partners; it is a general male action against females. This suggests a general belief that male superiority needs to be confirmed by the use of their greater physical power. Only by addressing Aboriginal people’s socio-economic positions, argues Hunter, can an end to violence by Aboriginal people be achieved.


Violence against Aboriginal women has increased since the legalisation of alcohol; welfare dependency adversely affects self-esteem through the loss of power; alcohol-affected and violent homes adversely socialise people into accepting and perpetuating violence against women. Hunter raises these issues without substantiating or negating them.


The relevance of Aborigines’ low economic status to their disproportionate rate of custody is explored in this chapter. In considering the causes of Aboriginal poverty, Johnston points to the historical legacy of the dispossession of Aboriginal people and their continuing exclusion from economic power structures. He examines the particular problems of Aborigines living in rural communities.
Available figures show that drunkenness and alcohol-related offences are the usual reason for Aboriginal imprisonment with Aboriginal people preferring imprisonment to the paying of fines. To Aboriginal people, swearing and fighting are ritualised events that closely follow traditional patterns of social control. However, within non-Aboriginal society, this sort of behaviour is defined as deviant and punishable by law. Consequently, Aboriginal people are being punished for continuing a practice that results in conflict resolution and a return to a peaceful equilibrium. Because Aboriginal people are denied equal legal representation within the dominant state, they use the state’s legal institutions to protest their oppression: they continue to use swearing and conflict resolution practices, accepting state retribution although it brings no change to the system.

Racism is here examined in relation to its origins in the colonial culture and in the motivations and intents of the colonisers. It is contained in the metaphors and icons, onto which the stereotypical information is projected, which express fear and attempt to tame the native and turn him into a mendicant. Bennelong is shown as the first instance of the British constructing the image of the 'degenerate native', the 'drunken Aborigine', the 'urban Aborigine'. Whites are made innocent of the destruction of Aboriginal society because the Aborigines are 'drinking themselves to death'. This paper asks whether the notion of social pathology has allowed anthropologists to avoid dealing with the realities of Aboriginal social life.

This article reports on Marcia Langton’s address to the Health of Indigenous Peoples, Public Health Association Conference at Alice Springs in 1991. Langton outlines a report submitted by a committee, of which she was a member, to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC). Langton reveals the extent of alcohol use by Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory and the accompanying violence that is occurring. Langton also notes how Aboriginal people are addressing the problem of alcohol abuse and some of the programs that are being implemented by Aboriginal people. The full text of Langton’s report is available from the findings of the RCIADIC.

The authors argue that violence within Aboriginal communities is a direct result of the loss of Aboriginal Law since invasion which prevented the unstructured use of violence by Aboriginal people. Alcohol, the authors argue, does not cause violence, but, rather, is a contributing factor. Rather than being controlled by Aboriginal Law, Aboriginal people now use alcohol within a general Australian culture that glorifies violence and men’s subjugation of women. This is exacerbated, the authors argue, when Aboriginal women accept the use of violence by their men as a sign that ‘he’ loves them. Solutions can not be found, the authors argue, by clinging to a belief that traditional Law can be retrieved. Solutions must be instigated by Aboriginal women who must denounce assaults against them as the ‘cowardly, brutal bashings of physically weaker women by Aboriginal men, men who could choose not to abuse their Aboriginal families’. Aboriginal people, themselves, the paper argues, must change this culture of violence.


The report argues that eight out of ten indigenous Canadian women have or will experience family violence at some time. Consequently, the women themselves chose to confront the problem because their men were not doing so. The group approaches the practice of domestic violence in what they regard as a holistic manner. Rather than providing shelter for victims, they seek accommodation for perpetrators so that the victims remain within their homes. It is the whole community, the group argues, that must be healed rather than individuals within. This prevents the violent person returning to the same environment that condoned the violence initially. Solutions, thus, are community-based.

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The indigenous Canadian community-based approach to dealing with domestic violence involves what the people regard as a ‘Circle of Healing’. This approach was instigated by a group of indigenous women in 1988 from the Hollow Water Reserve. The community identifies its problems as being linked to its poor political and socio-economic status. The people recognised that they needed to confront their positions within this state rather than let the state dictate how they reacted, that is, by the abuse of alcohol and the self-destructive use of violence.

The program involves a two-tiered system. The first part involves ‘a five-day intensive therapy’ where the initial problem is faced by the whole community. The perpetrator then is ‘sentenced’ to a healing process that may last as long as five years. The offender is usually sentenced to community work and must submit to community control until the behaviour changes. In the meantime, any victim/s are protected from retribution. By taking community responsibility, the people are charting their own direction which is under their control.

It has been more than five years since the report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody was tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament. Over that period we have seen both improvements in some areas addressed by the Royal Commission and increasing Aboriginal disadvantage in others. Many indigenous organisations continue to be at the forefront of action to enhance Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander well-being; the number of Aboriginal deaths in police lockups has fallen; the number of Aboriginal deaths in Australian prisons has risen; and the number of indigenous people in prison custody and their level of over-representation there (compared with non-Aboriginal people) is rising. The Royal Commission provided a blueprint for building on the strengths and working to overcome disadvantage with the principle of Aboriginal self-determination underpinning its recommendations. The lack of commitment and action by many sectors of government to implement the Royal Commission’s recommendations, and the apparent limited understanding of the self-determination principles, augur poorly for the future. Case studies and statistical data are presented in the areas of Aboriginal deaths in custody and incarceration.

The author finds that the continued socio-economic disadvantage of Aboriginal Australians compared to the greater population, is a prime reason for their continued high arrest rates. Alternatives to imprisoning fine defaulters, the report argues, would stop the practice of imprisoning people for poverty. McDonald argues that the cutting of certain government aid programs for Aboriginal people has exacerbated their high incarceration rates.

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This report analyses whether the Royal Commission’s recommendations aimed at keeping Aboriginal people out of judicial custody have been implemented. The author provides statistical data showing that deaths in official custody have not fallen and that incarceration rates have risen; the figures are current to 1996. McDonald points out that, according to the statistics, deaths in police custody have fallen while rising in correctional centres. This raises the question of why. This is an especially relevant question as different analysts (including McDonald) suggest that Aboriginal people are still being arrested because of institutionalised racism and over-policing of Aboriginal communities (cf. Cunneen abstracted above). The statistical data in this report support these claims. Although it could be interpreted as hearsay, this author was informed by the manager of Moreton Correctional Centre, Wacol, Queensland, that police in this State, since the pressure brought to bear because of the Royal Commission’s recommendations, have shortened the time as much as possible that they hold Aboriginal prisoners in their lock-ups; they transfer them with all haste into correctional centres. Consequently, their death rates have fallen while those for correctional centres have risen. This assertion, noting the anomaly, bears substantiation. Unfortunately, McDonald seems to accept that the lower police rate of deaths in custody is a sign that police have improved their methods.
One must be sceptical of this bearing in mind other reports (e.g., Cowlishaw, 1994) and the degree of apparent over-policing the literature reports as continuing.


During recent decades there has been a marked increase in interest and discussion about Aboriginal rights and welfare. Much of this discussion has centred around legal issues and as Australian society has become more concerned, so the Australian Institute of Criminology has responded by giving a high priority to Aboriginal Justice Issues.

The Australian Institute of Criminology held this conference in June 1992. The conference was planned, in part, in response to the Recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. The aim of the conference was to identify solutions to the problems associated with Aboriginal people and the criminal justice system, particularly focusing on Aboriginal perspectives. The program presented an overview of many issues including self-determination, community crime prevention, indigenous women and the law, juvenile justice, Aboriginal/police relations, corrections and the judiciary.

In his opening address, Rob Hulls draws on his experience with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Service to highlight the urgent need for the implementation of the recommendations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody which concern law and justice and the wider issues of economic and social disadvantage. He raises the question of the appropriateness of the application of the white criminal justice system to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities.

Michael Mansell takes his idea further in his paper, ‘Law Reform and the Road to Independence’. He sees self-determination as the essential determinant of justice for indigenous people. Mansell puts forward the Aboriginal Provisional Government’s model for Aboriginal independence and emphasises the need for the legal system to be examined in the context of the overall relationship that Australia has with Aboriginal people.


*McLaughlin reports on the Public Health Association of Australia’s 1991 annual conference (29 September to 2 October) which assumed the theme, The Health of Indigenous People. McLaughlin reported on the lack of support by Australian governments for programs that Aboriginal people are instigating in an effort to overcome the problem of alcohol abuse in Aboriginal communities. Unlike programs which operate in Canada for native (McLaughlin reports that indigenous Canadians accept the title ‘native’) peoples, Australia’s programs are...*
controlled by government departments each of which has its own direction; there is thus a lack of coordination. Furthermore, rather than facilitating a program’s direction as determined by Aboriginal people (which occurs in Canada), the departments determine what is required and then consult with a community regarding implementing these requirements under government direction. The author describes how different Australian programs are operating and compares this with the operations of Canadian programs thus highlighting what is lacking in the Australian ones.

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Canadian Indian, Eric Shirt, reports that Canadian Indians’ implementation of alcohol abuse programs has been so successful that his people are no longer automatically associated with an image of being alcohol affected. This contrasts with Australia where the Australian public generally has an image of a drunken Aborigine (Langton, 1991:4--5). (Langton reports on how this image was introduced into non-Aboriginal society in 'Rum, seduction and death: “Aboriginality” and alcohol’ (1993) and reports on the extent of Aboriginal alcohol abuse in the Northern Territory in 'Too much sorry business’ (1990), compiled for the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody). While many Aboriginal communities are operating successful alcohol and anti-violence programs, they are not of the holistic nature of Canadian programs. For example, Canadian programs are planned, controlled and implemented by Canadian Indians; they are supported by the community where the program operates and receive support from the government not control of the way the program operates. Furthermore, the local community supports those who receive treatment so that when they emerge from the program they do not return to an environment dominated by alcohol abuse that then facilitates the person’s return to a life of alcohol and violence.

An important difference between Australia and Canada, argues McLaughlin (1991:9), is the definition of a ‘community’. Too often, Australian government departments assume that an Aboriginal settlement is the same as a community and programs are planned with the assumption that all occupants will automatically comply. This is an erroneous belief because so many Aboriginal settlements are heterogeneous because of historical centralisation from many areas of the country; they have nothing in common except their history of removal from land, resettlement in the area and control by the state; the only other common link many people have in some of these settlements is their sharing of alcohol (cf., Foley, 1997). Until Aboriginal people are able to determine their programs taking this heterogeneity into account, programs will not succeed.

McLaughlin (1991) reports on several programs being implemented successfully by Aboriginal people. She argues that Aboriginal people recognise the necessity to confront alcohol abuse to defeat violence in communities and it is the duty of the government to assist Aboriginal people by supporting their efforts rather than determining (inappropriately) what directions programs
should take. Aboriginal initiatives described by McLaughlin are:

- Central Australian Aboriginal Alcohol Planning Unit (CAAAPU) which supports Aboriginal communities that operate anti-alcohol/violence programs; CAAAPU has produced ‘a literature review of all interventions documented in the area of Aboriginal substance abuse’; CAAAPU planned to implement a ‘train-the-trainer’ program and to establish an alcohol treatment centre;

- a night patrol has been established at Yuendemu where elder women patrol the community controlling alcohol abuse and violence; the program works with the cooperation of the local police and is reported to have reduced violence and alcohol abuse significantly;

- many communities are introducing controls on the distribution of alcohol to differing degrees.


The Port Adelaide Crime Prevention Project has concentrated on problems associated with youth -- including boredom, unemployment and substance abuse. Other areas which have been targets of intervention include domestic violence, education and Aboriginal community issues. Miller provides a brief description of several of the projects under this program.


This report supports the assertions of Pastor Corporal from Brisbane’s Aboriginal and Islander Health Service regarding historical hostilities between different language-speaking groups (see Herd, 1997 above).

Miller describes the problems faced by the centralisation of different clans at the settlement of Arukun. She analyses the effectiveness of different programs that depend for their success on the degree of historical hostility that exists between different clan groupings: clans carry ill feelings established prior to invasion that have persisted over time. Arukun, according to Miller’s report, is addressing its violence problems (many of which occur in the absence of alcohol) successfully because of a desire to do so by the community’s people, and because of the ability to separate the groups within their traditional lands where, besides being separated, they are relatively economically independent from the State as they have access to traditional resources. The community, reports Miller, seeks assistance with controlling the community from the Queensland Government, but according to the people’s perceived needs rather than as dictated by the State. Nevertheless, asserts Miller, only by regaining economic independence (and in this case by access to their land) can violence problems be addressed successfully. While situational
crime prevention methods address immediate violence levels, they are, the author insists, only temporary measures.

Miller lists the high rates of Aboriginal violence generally and argues that, predominantly, this level is caused by the dependent economic situation in which Aboriginal people exist within the Australian state. Their lack of power generally leads to a feeling of helplessness in the face of their poor socio-economic positions. This feeling manifests itself in the form of intra-cultural violence. This hypothesis is derived from the work of psychologists who have recorded extreme hostility in depressed people who then become aggressive.


Miller’s analysis, by targeting the continued subordination of Aboriginal people, indicates the direction any policies aimed at redressing these violence levels must take. Policies, that is, must attack the powerless positions in which Aboriginal people live rather than the people themselves. The people are not individually sick. Rather, they are in untenable situations within the Australian state.

Miller traces the history of violence as it has occurred to Aboriginal people since invasion. She notes its destructive difference compared to the structured violence of traditional Aboriginal society that was aimed at conflict resolution. Because of Aboriginal people’s continued history of subordination to non-Aboriginal society combined with this history of destructive violence, argues Miller, Aboriginal people are filled with feelings of frustration at their continued helplessness. Consequently, the author argues, Aboriginal people now turn this violence against each other in the form of intra-cultural violence. Really, this practice is a cry for help from a subordinated people.


By comparing the statistics presented here with those released by the Australian Institute of Criminology (abstracted in McDonald, 1997 above), it is feasible to suggest, because imprisonment rates continue to rise, that overpolicing because of the criminalisation of Aboriginality continues and is an important area for policy change. This assertion is supported by Cunneen (1991, 1992, 1994, abstracted above).
criminalisation of Aboriginal people within Australia, and specifically, in the far west of New South Wales. The author argues that Aboriginal people have been created as a criminal group that then attracts considerable over-policing of their communities. This results in Aboriginal people’s over-representation within the criminal justice system, mainly for minor offences and predominantly against police officers. Morris argues that the paramilitary arms of the New South Wales police department (e.g., the Tactical Response Group) were created specifically to control Aboriginal people in the far west who were labelled as other and criminal within the greater Australian society. Morris cites statistics from the 1960s through to the 1980s to support his case of this Aboriginal construction as a criminal group as he shows the hugely disproportionate over-representation in the criminal justice system compared to non-Aboriginal Australians. This use of the criminal justice system, Morris argues, is an exercise of state violence and legal coercion to impose the dominant society’s concept of what is normal onto a marginalised group.


This report lauds the success of Community Justice Programs run by the Queensland Corrective Justice Department in conjunction with the Aboriginal communities of Pormpuraaw, Kowanyama and Palm Island in North Queensland. Around $5,000 are provided by the Department yearly to assist the communities to run these culturally appropriate programs. The programs are demonstrated to reduce crime and violence within the communities.


The Australian Violence Prevention Awards scheme is a joint government initiative established in 1991 by the Prime Minister, State Premiers and Chief Ministers, designed to encourage the public to become more involved in violence prevention and to assist governments in identifying and developing models of best possible practice which will reduce violence in the community. This booklet offers a range of possibilities that communities might consider. Each entry describes one project, including details of the violence prevention strategy that it has adopted, the effectiveness of the project, its current status, its funding and staffing resources and a contact point for further information. All states and territories are represented and areas covered include: reducing violence, crime and fear in the gay and lesbian communities; domestic violence prevention; community justice groups in Aboriginal and Islander communities; elder abuse prevention programs; racist violence; youth projects; rural communities and intervention and behaviour change programs.

The authors argue that the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody has taken a pathological approach to the reasons that Aboriginal people abuse alcohol. The authors argue that this fails to confront the loss of people’s power to control their own destinies. The authors suggest amendments which clearly advocate empowerment of Aboriginal people so that they regain control of their lives. This control, the authors insist, was wrenched from them from the moment of invasion.


This paper discusses some issues and considerations in mediation with Aboriginal people based mainly on the experiences of staff and mediators of the Community Justice Program. The paper borrows from parts of a paper produced by Christine Nolan, Assistant Director of the Community Justice Program from 1990 to 1994. Some basic issues that relate to dealing with Aboriginal family disputes are discussed, the Community Justice Program and the Aboriginal Mediation Project are explored. The strategies, training, selection of mediators and content and structure of the project are outlined. The author discusses provision of visiting mediation services, issues of neutrality, voluntary attendance, confidentiality and domestic violence.


There is an urgent need to find new justice strategies for Aboriginal communities which are flexible enough to accommodate both customary and Western law. With this in mind, Nolan discusses the Aboriginal mediation project piloted for the last two years by Queensland’s Community Justice Program. She outlines its activities and achievements, and highlights some key issues and dilemmas (e.g., neutrality, voluntariness, confidentiality, domestic violence). (Paper presented at the 2nd National Conference on Violence, Canberra, June 1993).


This report supports Cunneen’s (1994, abstracted above) that reports how police ignore policies aimed at keeping Aboriginal children from being institutionalised.
Historically, removal of Aboriginal children has been justified according to ethnocentric and racist guidelines: first children were removed to socialise them into a ‘civilised’ (white) society; second, any child of mixed parentage was deemed neglected and therefore removed for protection from inadequate parents. Contemporaneously, institutionalised racism sees Aboriginal children defined unequally in comparison to non-Aboriginal children. They are labelled as inherently criminal and treated accordingly. They are arrested more often for minor crimes, targeted more (over-policed) and dealt harsher penalties when before the courts, than non-Aboriginal children charged with similar offences.


This report supports Sauvè’s (1996) analysis (see abstract under Sauvè below). Unlike Sauvè, however, this author describes the program as successful. O’Donnell outlines the procedures adopted, and hails the success of, an alternative disputes resolution program run in conjunction with Aboriginal people. It is aimed at providing culturally appropriate dispute resolution mechanisms and operates as part of the Queensland government’s Community Justice Program (described elsewhere). Although the program theoretically promotes independent mediators to any resolution, the author asserts that this is culturally inappropriate and inadvisable.


This is the literature regarding the Queensland Government’s program that has been described as highly successful (see Dodson, 1996; Mugford and Nelson, 1996, abstracted above). This is an Australian Award-winning Program.

This booklet is published by the Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (OATSIA) to outline a program funded by the Queensland Government. The program was instigated largely in response to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. It is part of a two booklet series, the other being:


The aim is to empower Aboriginal people with providing solutions to social problems in a culturally appropriate manner. How a community is governed is decided by the specific community’s members; funding for implementing this structure is provided then by the Queensland Government. In conjunction with this governing methodology, culturally appropriate control methods are then put into operation in conjunction with the State’s official rules of law. This is explained in the second booklet. The
The program is aimed at achieving Aboriginal self-determination and with removing as many Aboriginal people from State institutionalisation by compiling culturally appropriate punishments and rules in conjunction with State laws. The program, nevertheless, is more inclusive than mere law enforcement aimed at encouraging Aboriginal communities to establish economic independence rather than leaving people dependent on state welfare. The OATSIA reports that the scheme is being received well by Aboriginal communities with recent funding being provided to communities at:

- Maryborough, Thursday Island, Charters Towers, Townsville, Ingham, Mackay, Hope Vale, North Stradbroke Island, Cherbourg, Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Ipswich, Woorabinda, Hughenden and Mitchell with several more in the formative stage.


In 1993, the Northern Territory police held two seminars on the issue of violence against Aboriginal women. Using Bolger’s (1991, abstracted above) exploratory study (one of the few on this topic) as a base, the organisers canvassed the views of Aboriginal people on effective strategies for dealing with such violence. This article presents 24 suggested strategies or key issues identified by the seminar participants. This report identified that present approaches to violence were not appropriate to meet the reality of Aboriginal communities supporting the analysis by Sauvè (1996, abstracted below). Although the recommendations address many of the immediate problems concerned with assault, the authors failed to proceed deeper than addressing what are undoubtedly on-the-spot problems faced continuously by police; the authors are police officers. For example, by citing alcohol as the dominant cause of violent acts, they fail to address why alcohol is used so widely by Aboriginal people. (*For an analysis of this problem, see Herd 1996*). Consequently, while their recommendations will assist in dealing better with incidents of violence, they are merely addressing the symptoms that will continue without addressing the underlying cause; the recommendations only assist police in dealing with violent incidents ‘on the ground’.


Aboriginal women in traditional society enjoyed an equal status with their men. However, since invasion, they have been portrayed as inferior which has resulted in their losing power in their dealings with the state and in the eyes of white society generally. In traditional Aboriginal society, violence was structured and part of the social control mechanism. It is now unstructured disrupting many communities as death and injury within families occur at the hands of family members. The incorrect portrayal of Aboriginal women’s positions within their traditional society has led contemporaneously to many Aboriginal men using traditional violence mechanisms as an excuse for using violence against their women; this was never the
case traditionally. The use of violence has increased, too, as more Aboriginal people use alcohol. Because of the high arrest rates for alcohol-induced incidents, decriminalisation of public drunkenness is welcome. However, by simply leaving alcohol-affected individuals free without some means of control leaves the alcohol-affected person’s family vulnerable to abuse by that person. The decriminalisation of being alcohol-affected in public must be accompanied by appropriate controls. In addition, the reason that so many abuse alcohol must be broached so that an appropriate program can be structured to reduce the incidence of alcohol abuse.


This paper argues for the empowerment of Aboriginal people so that Aboriginal people can find solutions to their own problems and decide their own directions. In addition, it demands the empowerment of Aboriginal women in conjunction with their men as was traditionally the way, that is, that both Aboriginal men and women should support each other in all ways as they did in traditional society. Aboriginal women, the author argues, have been constructed as subordinate to Aboriginal men because non-Aboriginal society has extrapolated its patriarchal beliefs on to Aboriginal society. In reality, the author argues, Aboriginal men and women complemented each other in all areas of Aboriginal society. Until non-Aboriginal society realises this and returns this power to Aboriginal women, they will be disadvantaged in all their interactions with non-Aboriginal society. This has resulted in a system of ‘bullshit traditional culture’ being constructed by non-Aboriginal society.


This article reports on the formation of the Coalition for Crime Prevention in Queensland and describes the following community based crime prevention programs in Queensland and elsewhere: Job Corps; Surfers Paradise Safety Action Project; The Perry Pre-School Project; The Prevention of School Bullying in Norway; Positive Parenting of Preschoolers Program; Domestic Abuse Intervention Program, Duluth, Minnesota; Julalikari Night Patrol. It argues that crime prevention is cheaper than law-and-order strategies based on long prison sentences, and that crime prevention programs promote social justice.


This report argues that Aboriginal people have adopted the worst of white social practices and that these are more detrimental to Aboriginal people than to non-Aboriginal people because of the adverse socio-economic conditions under which Aboriginal people live, for example, unemployment, health, housing and the like. Where this situation is resisted and traditional Law
persists, the situation, the report finds, is less destructive. The report found, too, that a culture of violence socialises children into a life of violence of their own.


This report documents the development by the Talera Centre Holland Park, Queensland of a program to address the needs of child witnesses to domestic violence. The project occurred over a 16-month period and was funded by the Queensland Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs. It consisted of a group-based strategy targeting parents and children. Separate groups were run for children of different ages and for their mothers. A total of 36 people participated in two separate 11-week courses. These two courses were evaluated, and both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analysed. The results demonstrated that, as predicted, the group-based strategy could not meet the needs of all families at all times. In particular, families still experiencing immediate crisis benefited less from participating in groups than did families who had not lived with violence in the home for a reasonable period. The project also concluded that a range of intervention strategies is required to meet the varying needs of both children and parents. Interventions need to occur at both an individual and structural level. The psychologising and individualising of domestic violence will do little to challenge the social structures and patriarchal norms which help to perpetuate domestic violence in our community. This report also makes a number of recommendations to the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs, in its capacity as the State Government’s lead agency addressing domestic violence.


This report challenges the modernisation theory that regards Aboriginal problems as temporary adjustment difficulties as Aboriginal people change from a traditional culture to a modern Western culture. Reser challenges the practice of seeing problems as the fault of individual pathology rather than seeking to understand the actions of people in a culturally appropriate manner. For example, Reser argues that actions should not be regarded as pathological without investigating what other influences within people’s lives may be responsible. Consequently, Reser finds that alcohol abuse and violence are likely to be defiant reactions to attempts by the state to impose assimilation onto Aboriginal people rather than individually pathological acts. Appropriate analysis cannot occur until a culture is understood, the author argues. Its
actions can then be analysed according to the people’s meanings rather than the ethnocentric meanings of an analyst from a different culture.


This article asks the question of why a traditionally non-violent people have become so destructive towards their families. The reasons according to Ridgeway are summarised as:

* denied traditional rights;
* urbanised males lost rights to ritual of circumcision and the support provided by older men through the system of Aboriginal Law;
* to gain equality within the non-Aboriginal community, Aboriginal males pattern much of their behaviour on poor non-Aboriginal male models;
* women’s role regarding child bearing is reinforced within the non-Aboriginal system reducing Aboriginal male responsibility and creating a situation where Aboriginal children are denied the love and care of fathers;
* financially Aboriginal women are not dependent on males for survival which alienates the men and leads to violence by men who resent being unnecessary within the family unit;
* a low level of achievement, self esteem and self-worth by Aboriginal men whose job opportunities are minimal, and whose equality within the greater community is non-existent.


This report demonstrates the need to be aware that, among Aboriginal communities, there may be cultural explanations for violent actions. This may suggest that authoritative non-Aboriginal intrusion is inappropriate. However, each community must be approached according to its particular circumstances and especially with respect to the community’s interactions with the capitalist state (cf. the likes of Sackett [1988], below, and Wilson’s [1982, 1985] descriptions of two very different communities in which, in Wilson’s reports, a culture of alcohol and violence definitely plays a part in determining people’s actions which, nevertheless, does not explain the ultimate reason that the violence occurs, but, rather, how people are socialised into its existence).

The article considers aspects of violence in everyday life among the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands. It briefly compares the role of violence in bureaucratically and juridically mediated forms with self-help and social regulation in Aboriginal societies, focussing on the expressive or performative aspects of violence in everyday interaction. Myers’ discussion of violence among the Pintubi posits a dialectical polarity of relatedness and differentiation, corresponding with the affective poles of compassion and anger. This is compared with Sansom’s account of semi-ritualised
forms of violence in Aboriginal fringe-camp life, where a point of commonality in Myers and Sansom’s approaches is found: this consists of the attainment of action, of violence, self-violence and destructiveness to the witnessing public. In Tiwi life too, conflict is dynamically shaped by actors’ attempts to impinge upon, to seek to arouse and in some cases to manipulate, compassion or concern in the witnessing group as defence or as a form of moral attack. Open, dramatic ‘appealing violence, often in the form of a more or less controlled loss of self-control, seeks to parry indirect interpersonal tension and antagonism, to reassert or restore social distance and protect or privilege important relationships from intrusive demands. However, these violent appeals in rhetorical threat, in self-violence, destructiveness or sometimes in dramatic suicidal gestures also invariably indicate extreme personal difficulty displaced into open forms of confrontation.


This paper argues that continual colonial control of Aboriginal communities deprives the people of the power to manage their own affairs and further deprives them of the ability to control their own communities. This leads to disorder and violence that sees an increasingly depressed people who are frustrated at the disorder within their lives. This institutionalised deprivation of power Rose terms ‘passive violence’ because its bureaucratic framework enables acts of violence to occur by depriving Aboriginal people of the ability (power) to manage their own communities.


Sackett’s study of remote Aboriginal people in Western Australia’s Wiluna settlement found that drinking among these people has increased as a means of protest the more state controls are imposed. It is, he argues, an ironic cycle: the more non-Aboriginal punitive controls are applied, the more resistance there is in the use of alcohol and accompanying violence. In turn, the more violence, the more control occurs leading to over-policing and consequently an ever increasing cycle. The use of alcohol, argues Sackett, empowers its users who reject any means of control on their actions. In addition, alcohol provides them with an excuse for their behaviour. They have adopted popular conceptions of reasons for drinking, for example that they have “nothing else to do” regurgitating the phrase when asked why they drink. There is, suggests Sackett, wide acceptance that drunks are not culpable because of their state which leads to their being excused for all manner of offences like family abuse. Those who drink excessively aim to get away with as much as possible. Sackett argues that no punitive programs put into play by the state will address problems of violence within Aboriginal communities. Solutions, he argues, must address Aboriginal people’s loss of power. Programs must be implemented by Aboriginal people for Aboriginal
people and address the unequal socio-economic positions within the particular community.


The aim of the National Family Violence Intervention Program is to help decrease the incidence of family violence in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities by raising community awareness to approaches for addressing family violence. As well as discussing strategies and aims, this article also looks at key issues which include lack of culturally and spiritually appropriate programs and services, lack of knowledge of available mainstream services and resources, and interagency communication breakdown.


The deleterious effects of alcohol misuse among Aboriginal Australians have been well documented and are widely acknowledged by Aboriginal people. However, most academic discussion has attempted to explain the demand for alcohol by Aboriginal people. In this review, we argue for an analysis of the political economy of Aboriginal alcohol use which also focuses on the supply and promotion of alcohol. Our own research and that of others demonstrates the utility of such an approach and the practical benefits it offers for harm minimisation strategies.


This book deals with the ways in which Aboriginal people living in a Darwin fringe camp manage their everyday affairs. Sansom examines the rule-governed drinking of the fringe dwellers, their rules for keeping order in the camp, the ways in which they organise themselves to do business with the police, and the relationships between the sexes. There are also accounts of the fringe dwellers' patterned use of cash and of their relationships with white Australians in Darwin. The book presents an account of the 'total lifestyle' of the Darwin fringe.


The author argues that not only are some groups of people more likely to become victims of violence, but some groups suffer more greatly than others and for longer. He states that it is simply not correct to argue that all victims suffer the effects of violence equally. Violence disproportionately impacts upon young adults, women
(particularly working class women and indigenous women), children and indigenous people generally. Victims who have little political, social or economic independence are more likely to have their vulnerability to, and pain of, violence increased by their inability to move away from risk. Women, for instance, who are materially dependent on men (or the welfare system) are likely to remain at risk of violence. Issues addressed include family violence, Aboriginality as a factor in violence victimisation, and strategies for strengthening families and preventing the creation of victims of violence.


In reviewing a number of possibilities for reform of the criminal justice system, Sarre argues the case for deploying social science techniques to explore justice issues. He discusses criminal justice program evaluation; crime prevention theories and strategies; the control of violence; police use of firearms; and the establishment of priorities. Sarre indicates how increased use of punitive measures does not reduce the incidence of violence and how the ready availability of firearms within the home increases the likelihood of a family member resorting to their use within this most dangerous and violent area of Australian society, that is within the home.


This report contrasts with O'Donnell (1993, abstracted above), who reports that a similar program is a success. O'Donnell, however, reports that mediators in the community he observed, act in a culturally appropriate manner. This is a 'follow-up research' project to judge the efficacy of a mediation program undertaken by the Hopevale Aboriginal community (1993) with the assistance of the Queensland Government's Community Justice Program. Although the author does not overtly state it, her comments infer that training of mediators in the program presents essentially a Western concept of a mediator's role, viz. an impartial and unbiased person who controls/directs the process so that an acceptable/equitable outcome is achieved for the participants; the author describes the program an 'abysmal' failure. She describes the difference between an Aboriginal concept of a mediator's role and the reasons for this necessity. In addition, she outlines the problems for battered Aboriginal people within families who turn/refuse to turn, to Western law for protection. This analysis underlines the necessity of designing anti-violence programs according to a community's directions that are appropriate for the cultural construction of that community. This report is puzzling in that it is reported in Government guidelines that this is the aim of these programs. This aim seems to have broken down at Hopevale.

White society is permeated by a double standard regarding sexual morality that has been upheld by patriarchal legislation. This was imposed onto Aboriginal society from invasion within this same legislation as a white society dominated by males assumed this same construction (incorrectly) for Aboriginal cultures. Thus, the Australian state’s treatment of Aboriginal culture justifies the analysis of cultural imperialism because the state’s treatment of Aboriginal people both ignored the people’s traditional culture and imposed a white culture informed by its patriarchal nature onto Aboriginal people. This position is challenged today by the position of Aboriginal women in the area of the Flinders Ranges who enjoy a strong position of power within their community, and especially regarding the people’s claims for land rights.


This paper has potential for changing the image of the ‘typical Aborigine’ that evidently exists for most Australians. If more positive reporting could occur, and the prohibition on referring to a perpetrators ethnicity adhered to, institutionalised racism could be attacked: it is people’s beliefs that often guide their prejudices, Sercombe argues, as images are constructed through the media rather than by reality. Sercombe also suggests the danger of initiating ‘pro-active’ policing programs such as confronting ‘potential’ perpetrators when they are seen on the street by police. Because the image of the Aboriginal youth as criminal has been constructed, it is the Aboriginal youth who would be targeted above other groups. Sercombe relates two incidents of unjust police harassment of Aboriginal youth simply because of their Aboriginality to bring attention to this potential inequity. Sercombe presents data showing the over-representation of Aboriginal people, particularly juveniles in the West Australian newspaper between March 1990 and April 1992. Despite recommendations to the contrary by the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, the author finds that journalists are reporting Aboriginal people as criminal by referring to their Aboriginality when reporting a crime. Consequently, the image of the ‘typical’ Aboriginal youth is one of a substance abuser (especially glue) and criminal. This image, Sercombe finds, is exacerbated by Western Australia’s talk-back radio as presenters foster the image. Aboriginality has consequently, Sercombe argues, become explanatory when crime is reported. There were no positive reports of Aboriginal juveniles as high achievers and none delved into Aboriginal homelessness or unemployment. News articles come predominantly from police and court sources rather than from investigative journalism: the paper uses providers of information for economical and time-restraint purposes (editorial deadlines) rather than sending journalists into the field. Because the newspaper expresses views that condemn Aboriginal marginalisation and disadvantage, the paper concludes that it is not outright racism that determines the news format. Rather, the newspaper provides what it believes its readers want, news on crime. This, because of the over-representation of Aboriginal people within the
legal system, leads to a picture of the criminal Aboriginal (which is exacerbated by the papers’ unethical use of the perpetrators’ ethnicity when reporting).


The text of a speech presented at the Tenth International Congress on child Abuse and Neglect, which was held on September 10—13, 1994, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The speaker, an indigenous Australian who suffered from sexual abuse as a young child, discusses how the judicial system seems to be sympathetic toward the perpetrators and not the victims of sexual abuse and violence and gives examples of seven cases, involving both indigenous and non-indigenous people. She adds that research has revealed that the Australian government spends about $1,000 per white person in remote communities compared to $600 per indigenous person and that many indigenous people in remote areas are working for welfare benefit, compared to non-Aboriginal Australians, who receive this payment as a right. A list of the services that all communities should have access to is provided, and recommendations made by the Secretariat of the National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care Agencies of Australia for a National Aboriginal Child Welfare Legislation are outlined.

NOTES:

This text is one of the best summaries of the background to, and present socio-economic reasons for, Aboriginal people’s resorting to alcohol/substance abuse and consequent violence. This is in addition to outlining institutionalised racism that leads to unfair treatment of Aboriginal people by authorities at all levels of Australian society.


This paper outlines the importance of the development of school based programs which deal with curriculum issues and which address the need to remove the structural barriers to a racist free learning environment. The author suggests that it is the law which provides the impetus for anti-racist program development. (Paper from Striking it Right: Racial Vilification in Australia symposium.).


This observation of a people in control can be extrapolated into an example of community life generally. If people within Aboriginal communities, that is, were employed constructively, in charge of their own lives rather than languishing as welfare dependents within areas with no employment aspects or means of meaningful existence, there would, arguably, be a general reduction in violence, alcohol and substance abuse.
Tatz argues that an aid to preventing violence within Aboriginal communities is to provide organised sport. As the community’s people organise a sporting event, they are given some meaning within an otherwise meaningless existence. For a short time, the people engage in a fruitful occupation that benefits the whole community as they assist each other in the organisation of, and then participation in, this event. As well, as the television program, Payback, showed, many traditional practices occur at these events as traditional rituals are performed and outstanding disagreements are settled, for example, payback for past wrongs so that conflict is resolved. This then, is affirmation that people require that meaning is returned to their lives where they control what occurs. Tatz observes this happening for a short time by the Aboriginal organisation of a sporting event as shown, again, on Payback. Programs that work, are those where Aboriginal people are given primary responsibility for their operation.


From invasion, the introduced legal system ignored Aboriginal women’s traditional cultural and legal role and instead was used to enforce reproductive and social control. British culture being inherently patriarchal, the invaders assumed that Aboriginal society operated similarly with no status for women separate from that of their men; British women of the time had no legal rights under British law. These same assumptions were thus applied to Aboriginal women. It is this history of patriarchal law that has constructed the contemporary status of Aboriginal women and is the basis of much of the abuse they experience today, including the institutionalised racism that sees much violence being officially condoned because of a false belief in the position of Aboriginal women in traditional society: it was believed that male violence was used traditionally to control Aboriginal women.


Wanganeen is a privately practicing therapeutic masseuse who offers assistance to those wishing to overcome experiences of violence. Although the author concentrates on indigenous people, she claims that her program can assist anyone wishing to change their ways. The process concentrates on locating the source of the person’s violence, facing the experience/s that led to the life of violence, and reversing the person’s position.

This is essential reading for understanding the background that has constructed much of the bitterness felt by Aboriginal people towards the Australian state. The history is similar for other States. Wearne traces the history of the Queensland Government’s legislative control of Aboriginal people. It outlines the history of Aboriginal and settler contact with Aboriginal people since 1824 detailing the widespread extermination and consequent centralisation of Aboriginal people generally. This includes a history of how Native Police were used to defeat ‘hostile’ Aboriginal clans. The author finds that for Aboriginal people to live responsible lives within the greater Australian community, they must be given the power to determine the direction of their lives free from state controls. The author calls for Australian people to share Aboriginal cultures by gaining an understanding of them rather than accepting a detrimental stereotype of what it is to be Aboriginal.


The effects of the Crime (Serious and Repeat Offenders) legislation on young people in the country are addressed in this article. Concerns of, and protest action taken by people in the Pilbara region of Western Australia are described. Of particular concern, along with the problems of incarceration 1800 kilometres away, is the ‘now well documented history of Aboriginal deaths in custody and police violence’. Resolutions made at the Pilbara Social Justice Health Forum condemning the State government for enacting the ‘hasty and ill-conceived’ legislation are outlined.


The report notes that a dominant causative influence in alcohol abuse, mental disturbance and violence among large numbers of Aboriginal people is the experience of their removal from families and country by agents of the state. Wilson argues that until the experiences of their removal are addressed, these people will remain disturbed to varying degrees. The Report outlines measures, from acknowledgment by the state and former institutions of their complicity in the removal campaign, to apologies to affected people, compensation and assistance in retrieving their past, and in continued support and mental treatment for removed victims. Furthermore, it is up to the state to educate Australians generally in what occurred in the past so that greater understanding can be engendered that lessens tensions between indigenes and the greater Australian public. In addition, the report provides statistical evidence of the continued disproportionate removal of Aboriginal children (in comparison to non-Aboriginal children) because of the application of the dominant society’s welfare standards of what is an acceptable domestic environment within which children should live. This often culturally inappropriate treatment of Aboriginal families causes resentment and anger among Aboriginal people and leads to further (or exacerbates existing) levels of alcohol abuse and violence.

Another article that emphasises the need to construct programs, in this case, assistance to domestically battered women, differently to mainstream programs. In this Wilson supports Malveaux (1987) who argues that African American women are disadvantaged twice compared to white women because of institutionalised racism that is not acknowledged by white American women. This is another case for addressing the wide existence of institutionalised racism.


Alcohol is of enormous importance in bringing Aborigines into custody, and is frequently involved in custody deaths. Wootten asserts the need to look beyond treatment and address the problem through fundamental social change. He argues that open recognition of the alcohol problem and its underlying causes is essential. A rural example illustrates dimensions of the problem. The following topics are also discussed: proclaimed places; community action; cultural issues in alcoholism treatment; supply of drugs by doctors; and drug abuse.


This is a short article reporting the formation of a program financially assisted by the Brisbane City Council to address violence in the Brisbane suburb of Inala. It reports on the a local Aboriginal group, Inala Murri Watch, formed to assist people abusing alcohol.

This organisation is now called:
Murri Aid Inala Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Corporation Inc.
28 Azalia Street
INALA QLD

Phone: (07) 3372-9292
Chapter 7. Domestic Violence

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of how domestic violence should be defined and its prevalence and incidence. This is followed by a review of what is known about the major risk factors for domestic violence and (very briefly) some theories that have been proposed to explain it.

The evidence on prevention is then examined under the broad headings of ‘criminal justice’ and ‘community-based’ approaches, depending on whether a program involves some part of the criminal justice system as a major component or is largely independent of police, courts and the correctional system.

Criminal justice responses include: police initiatives such as mandatory arrest and alarms and pre-programmed mobile phones; court-based violence prevention orders; and the ‘Duluth’ model, which combines legal coercion with support for victims and education and rehabilitation for offenders. One consequence emerging from the fact that domestic violence is being regarded more seriously by the criminal justice system, with police and courts assuming a more aggressive role towards offenders, is that imprisonment rates are rising (Criminal Justice Commission, 1998). A key mechanism for this increase could be the number of men imprisoned for violating domestic violence court orders.

Community-based approaches include: assertiveness training and empowerment techniques for victims; holistic, ‘healing processes’ in indigenous communities; shelters and follow-up support for victims; children’s access programs that provide facilities for the safe hand over of children; and education programs for violent men (also discussed in the examination of criminal justice responses).

The chapter concludes with a discussion of domestic violence issues in relation to specific groups: violence in same-sex partnerships; indigenous communities; women from non-English speaking backgrounds; and women with disabilities.

Three reports relevant to specialised aspects of the prevention of domestic violence have recently been published by National Crime Prevention. The Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium (1999) has summarised the evidence pertaining to children and young people as victims of, or witnesses to family violence, and has proposed a policy framework for the implementation of early intervention programs for the prevention of child abuse, family violence, and juvenile crime. For further information on the theory and practice of developmental prevention, the reader is referred to this report. Focusing on one aspect of developmental prevention, Indermaur, Atkinson and Blagg (1998) have compiled a national register of violence prevention programs for adolescents (as offenders or victims), and have formulated a model program for implementation in rural towns. Some of the literature reviewed in this report is referred to in the present chapter and (in more detail) in
Chapter 4 (*School Violence*). However, as Indermaur et al comprehensively analyse a specialised topic, the reader is again referred to their full report for details. Finally, Blagg (1999) has outlined an ‘indigenous rural model’ for preventing family violence in Aboriginal communities. Many of the points raised in his report are discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 6 (*Violence in Aboriginal Communities*), although we prepared our review independently.

**The Extent of Domestic Violence**

Most definitions of domestic violence refer to actual or threatened violence or harassment between married or *de facto* partners living in the same household, or who have lived together (eg, Seddon, 1989). This type of definition excludes same-sex partners and other family members such as children and older people. Since the bulk of the literature is based on this approach, ‘domestic violence’ will generally refer in this chapter to actual or threatened violence between an offender and victim who have been, or are presently, in an intimate relationship (Ferrante, Morgan, Indermaur and Harding, 1996). It should be noted, however, that there is increasing scholarly interest in other forms of family violence (eg, Browne and Herbert, 1997), and that in some contexts, such as Aboriginal populations, it is not appropriate at all to distinguish domestic violence from other forms of violence in an extended family structure (Bolger, 1991; Blagg, 1999).

Domestic violence is acknowledged widely as a significant problem (Trimboli and Bonner, 1997). In 1990 the United Nations (1993) adopted resolution 45/114 wherein a working group of experts was established to formulate a manual to assist those working in the field. The group found that domestic violence occurs widely in all countries and that its extent is largely hidden because of the nature of the crime: it is frequently culturally condoned and occurs behind closed doors. It is generally under-reported and investigation into its occurrence has been conducted only since the mid-1960s. (Davies, 1994; Morley and Mullender, 1994; Seddon, 1989; Symons, 1995; Keys Young, 1994).

That domestic violence is a huge problem is suggested by two surveys in the United States by Straus and Gelles (1986), based on the *Conflict Tactics Scale* (*CTS*). This scale is designed to measure how differences are settled within a relationship. The authors found that in 1975, of cohabiting couple [s] in 2,143 households, 12.1% of women had been assaulted by their partners at least once during the previous twelve months. Of 3,520 households surveyed in 1985, 11.3% of women had been assaulted. However, the CTS has been criticised for measuring behaviours that are qualitatively and quantitatively different from the kind of violence that is the focus of crime victim surveys. Specifically, the incidence of domestic violence is higher using the CTS than is observed in data from other sources or using other survey methods, and men and women appear to be equally victimised, contrary to the findings from all other forms of data on domestic violence (Ferrante et al, 1996). Nancarrow (1998) argues that the CTS measures the incidence rather than the nature of violence and does not reflect how similar violent actions may have
differing impact depending on the sex of the perpetrator. She illustrates this by comparing the relative impact of a slap, kick or punch when delivered by a woman to a man compared to the same act of violence committed by a man against a woman.

Crime victim surveys in English-speaking countries yield rather different estimates of the extent of domestic violence, reflecting not only variations in incidence but also methodological variations. For example, a 1993 random telephone survey of 12,300 women over eighteen years of age in Canada (Rodgers 1994) found that 3.0% of those married or living in a de facto relationship had been assaulted during the prior twelve months. Comparable prevalence figures for the United States reported by Ferrante et al (1996) vary from 3.4% to 17.8%. Based on computer-assisted self-interviewing in the 1996 British Crime Survey (using a laptop computer), 4.2% of women and 4.2% of men said they had been physically assaulted by a current or former partner in the last year (Mirrlees-Black and Byron, 1999). However (as noted above), compared with women, men were less upset and frightened by their experience, less often injured, and less likely to seek medical help.

Mugford and Mugford (1992) suggest the extent of domestic violence within Australia by pointing out that a 1980-1981 New South Wales Police Department investigation found that after domestic violence, police spent more time responding only to traffic offences. In the Australian Capital Territory around one-third of total calls to the Australian Federal Police (AFP) are related to domestic violence (Waterhouse, 1994). Symons (1995) reports that New South Wales police attend around 80 domestic violence incidents daily, but that this is just the 'tip of the iceberg'. In the United Kingdom, for example, women are beaten on average 35 times before they report the occurrence to police. Police are usually called only after victims confide in mothers or friends, and court action is an absolute last resort (Seddon, 1989).

The most reliable and comprehensive statistics pertaining to violence against women in Australia derive from a 1996 survey by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). According to the ABS publication Women’s Safety Australia (1996), of women with partners:

- 2.6%...experienced an incident of violence by their partner in the previous 12 month period, while 8.0%...reported an incident of violence at some time during their current relationship [,] 7.6%...physical violence [and] 1.0%...sexual violence. Half of the women who experienced violence by their partner reported...more than one incident...7.4% said that the violence occurred often while 26% said it occurred only rarely (ABS, 1996:7, 50-51).

There were marked variations by marital status in the prevalence of physical violence (including threats). Most frequently victimised in the past year were those separated (14.2%), followed by 13.3% for those never married, 11.4% for those in a de facto relationship, 5.8% for those divorced, and 3.7% for married respondents. Of those women physically assaulted, 19% reported the assault to the police while of those
sexually assaulted, 15% did so (ABS, 1996:7). This suggests a high degree of under-reporting.

Women were more likely to be physically assaulted than sexually assaulted at some stage by their partners (7.6% compared to 6.4%). In addition, ‘half of the women who had experienced violence by their current partner said there had been more than one incident’ (ABS, 1996:8). Of those ‘women who have ever been married or in a de facto relationship’, 23% had been assaulted by a partner during a partnership. Of those women with partners, 5.5% had been:

pushed, grabbed or shoved and 4.4% had experienced threatened or attempted assault. Equal proportions (0.7%) either had been beaten, choked or hit at some time during the relationship’ (ABS, 1996:51).

In addition, 8.8% of those currently in relationships had been subjected to some kind of emotional abuse, ‘manipulation, isolation or intimidation’. Those experiencing this type of abuse were more likely also to be experiencing physical abuse (59% compared to 4%) (ABS, 1996:51).

Risk Factors

The analysis of crime victim data, and other data sources such as hospital admissions and police records, has permitted the exploration of factors that are associated statistically with reported domestic violence. Ferrante et al (1996: 104) summarise the main risk factors:

**Male/female distribution.** Females consistently comprise around 90% of victims no matter which data source is used. As noted by Mirrlees-Black and Byron (1999), even when men are victims, the injuries tend to be less serious and the incidents less frightening than for women.

**Age.** Younger women are at greater risk of domestic violence in all data sources. This finding on age effects is universal in violence research: young people (especially teenage boys) are always victimised at a much higher rate than older people (Homel and Mirrlees-Black, 1997). There is evidence that women experiencing domestic violence are older than women who experience non-domestic forms of violence, but the risks are still much higher for women under 40 years of age.

**Race.** Aboriginal women, particularly in rural areas, are at much greater risk, with police and hospital data indicating rates between 50 and 100 times those in the non-Aboriginal population.
Region. Western Australian data suggest that rates are higher in non-metropolitan areas, especially for Aboriginal women. Devery (1992) shows that rates of domestic homicide are higher in regions of low socio-economic status.

Alcohol. The data do not permit unequivocal conclusions concerning the role of alcohol consumption by victims or offenders. A review by Keys Young (1994) of the international literature suggests that men who drink often (but are not ‘almost always drunk’) are much more likely to be offenders, and that, controlling for respondents’ usual drinking patterns, drinking is a precipitator of violent incidents. However, not all studies have confirmed these associations. Trimboli and Bonner (1997) considered the relation between alcohol and violence in regard to those who had breached Apprehended Violence Orders in NSW. Respondents reported that in one-quarter of cases alcohol had set the violence in motion, while one-third reported that the offender had been drinking before the incident. These results support other reports into alcohol and violence. For example, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986:103) found that in seven out of nine cases investigated, alcohol positively influenced a violent incident. A recent study by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996) reported that alcohol contributed to a violent incident in 41.1% of an ‘estimated 338,700 women’ surveyed. A Canadian survey (Rodgers 1994) found that alcohol was involved in violent incidents against women in half of the most recent violent incidents reported.

The United Nations (1993) study into domestic violence throughout the world found that alcohol, drugs, mental illness and stress may all contribute to individual acts. However, the reasons must be sought from within a society’s general social structure that is centred in gender power and economic inequality.

Socio-economic status. There is strong evidence from many studies that women from lower socio-economic groups are more likely to be victims, over and above the impact of region and race. For example, in a NSW study Devery (1992) found that there is more violence in working class areas than in more affluent ones. However, Browne and Herbert (1997) note that more affluent classes often disguise the abuse that occurs. In addition, there is more separation of women from lower socio-economic areas suggesting that class does not necessarily entrap battered women. Devery also suggests that different types of abuse may exist within different socio-economic groups.

Relationship between victim and offender. Both the type of relationship (legally sanctioned or de facto) and the state of the relationship (intact, breaking up, or terminated) are important. As noted earlier, women in de facto relationships and those divorced or separated are at higher risk than married (or widowed) women. There is also evidence that rates of violence are higher in new relationships or in those that are temporary or experimental.

Coumarelous and Allen (1999) analysed data from the 1996 ABS Women’s Safety Survey using multiple logistic regression in order to clarify the impact on risk levels of correlated risk factors. They analysed all forms of violence against women, not just domestic
violence. For physical violence in the last 12 months, they found that out of 10 risk factors included in the analysis the primary predictors were being young, living in a *de facto* relationship, being separated, never married or widowed (in the opposite direction to the other factors), being on government benefits other than family payments, and experiencing childhood or prior adult physical violence. Much the same variables predicted sexual violence in the last 12 months, except that childhood sexual abuse (rather than physical abuse) was a key predictor.

**Theories**

Most explanations of domestic violence can be broadly classified as sociological or psychological. These theories have different implications for prevention, so are worth reviewing briefly.

Sociologists tend to emphasise social stress factors, or argue that domestic violence occurs because of social construction. Many analysts refer to patriarchal ideology but do not elaborate, while many who do, do so in a limited manner (Alder, 1992; Davies, 1994; Edwards, 1987; McGregor; James and McIntyre, 1990; Morley and Mullender, 1994; Scutt, 1983, 1986; Seddon, 1989). Broadly, the argument is that men are socialised as the heads of their households (their ‘castles’) within which women serve. When men meet opposition (or perceived opposition) to this from women they can react violently.

One of the most noted promoters of this thesis is Nancy Chodorow (1978, 1989), who argues that patriarchal ideology is a tool that legitimises the industrial capitalist system by socialising children into their correct roles within society. This occurs by ensuring that the father’s role is defined, within the home, as that of dominant provider while the mother’s is defined as that of passive nurturer. This then works to socialise boys and girls into their correct roles within society by observing within the home how the roles are played out between their parents. Boys, by being psychologised in this manner, take on specific dominant male characteristics and are prepared for a greater involvement within the workplace and a lesser-involved position within the family. Girls are socialised in the opposite way. Thus from this perspective, many males who are socialised in response to patriarchal ideology become violent within the home. For example, because men have been socialised to believe in their dominance within the home, they react violently to women who challenge this position (Herd, 1996). Daly develops this idea, (1997:37) drawing upon Messerschmidt’s concept of ‘doing gender’ within his analysis of crime. He describes crime ‘as...a resource that may be summoned when men lack other resources to accomplish gender’. Crime is therefore a means of achieving masculinity when other traditional means are not available (for example in areas of high unemployment where men cannot achieve their masculinity from being the family breadwinner). (Nancarrow, 1998)

In addition to patriarchal ideology, Mugford and Mugford (1992) (and others, such as Gil, 1978) suggest that violence will never be prevented within Australia because it is part of...
our culture, from gender construction in the family to the contact sports promoted as the ideal. Sporting celebrities are idealised, making violence an even more acceptable social reaction. According to these authors there is a place for ‘re-constructing’ the Australian image, perhaps through media campaigns such as Life: Be In It designed to promote a more positive image of women generally, and of what it is to be masculine.

Social stress models emphasise the role of social class variables such as low income, unemployment, poor housing, and social isolation. Goode (1971) (cited in Browne and Herbert, 1997) argues that in families the more resources or alternatives an individual has recourse to the less they will need to resort to force to resolve problems. This suggests that domestic violence (and all forms of family violence) will occur more frequently in lower socioeconomic status families, a prediction that is generally borne out by empirical research (Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium, 1999; Ferrante et al, 1997).

Social stress theory and class analysis can help explain why women in middle income ranges often remain in abusive relationships, while both richer and poorer women escape (Burns, 1987; Cass and O’Loughlin, 1985; Chesterman, 1989; O’Donnell and Saville, 1980, 1982; Scutt, 1983). Women with the education that enables them to command sufficient income to be independent of a male’s support, are least likely to endure an abusive relationship; they are able to support themselves and any children they may have – and will do so. Concomitantly, women of low socio-economic status who have little or nothing to lose (some in fact gain) by exiting from an abusive relationship, do so. Women most at risk are those of middle income and without the educational qualifications to command more than that provided by the partner (their lack of money traps them). By leaving and accepting welfare or a low-paid job, they are disadvantaged considerably, especially if they have dependent children. Stewart (1999) also suggests that many women in this situation may avoid involving the criminal justice system, as they do not wish their relationship to end.

Older psychological perspectives tended to emphasise inherent personality characteristics such as ‘aggressiveness’, or psychodynamic processes such as ‘excessive drive’. In recent years social learning explanations have been more prominent. This approach ‘provides a less rigid understanding of human aggression and emphasises observable changes seen in a person’s behaviour as a result of learning’ (Browne and Herbert, 1997:29). Echoing some of the feminist perspectives, social learning theory leads to the conclusion that men learn violent behaviour by observing aggressive role models. It also draws attention to childhood experiences such as being the victim of abuse, or observing violence between parents, thus connecting with social stress models.

Theories that are currently attracting most attention are interactionist in form, or are multifactorial and integrate modern sociological and psychological models. For example, Hollin (1993) has proposed a person-environment model with a focus on the situation in which the violence occurs, the person (thoughts, feelings, actions), and the impact of the
violent behaviour on the environment. In this model, environmental stressors that are often related to social disadvantage cause perpetrators to assess their situations differently to other family members (e.g., as threatening); they are frustrated by discrepancies between expected and actual events; they respond to this in an angry or distressed way; a lack of inhibitions and a low threshold of tolerance, exacerbated by alcohol or drugs as crime facilitators, increase the risks of violence, which in these circumstances can be triggered by even trivial stimuli such as a facial expression.

Browne and Herbert (1997) propose an integrated multifactorial model based upon Rutter’s (1985) premise that aggression is a social behaviour within everyone’s repertoire. Rutter suggests that aggression is kept under control when the individual has high self-esteem, good relationships and the stress is appropriately managed. Browne and Herbert develop this idea, proposing that the quality of relationships and responses to stress in the family will depend on the individual’s personality and character traits which may result from early experiences. Stress factors and background influences are then mediated through interpersonal relationships within the family. Sources of stress are: relations between caregivers; relations to dependants; structural factors such as poor housing; and stress generated by dependants. Secure relationships ‘buffer’ the effects of stress, while insecure or anxious relationships may permit an ‘episodic overload’ (such as an argument) to precipitate a physical attack. This will further damage relationships, possibly resulting in a ‘spiral of violence.’

Most theories draw attention to the importance of social and interpersonal stressors and to family dynamics, including the way children are socialised and treated by parents. By specifying mechanisms that connect environmental, cognitive and behavioural factors, the more recent psychological models provide testable theories and suggest multiple points of entry for preventive interventions that can be adequately evaluated.

Criminal Justice Responses

For some time authors have condemned the criminal justice system for not regarding domestic violence as serious, indeed, as a criminal act (Scutt, 1986). Women have had difficulty having their physical safety ensured by a legal system that has the laws in place to enforce their safety but often refuses to do so. Police use the excuse that they can act only on a complaint from the victim. The law, however, clearly allows for intervention on the victim’s behalf without a complaint from the victim. Scutt argues that enforcing the law regarding criminal assault will not change the system that causes men to feel empowered to use physical force against women. Nevertheless, failure to enforce the law is part of the system that promotes male superiority. Therefore, this failure must be confronted in conjunction with other aspects if violence within society against women is to be defeated.

Scutt (1995) questions, too, the ability of the judicial system to apply the law regarding marital violence objectively. Judges, for example, are a product of their
socialisation. Consequently, there is a tendency for some judges to regard violence within a relationship as less serious than that against someone in the general community, assault against a stranger, for example. The very act of dealing with domestic violence as a civil matter rather than as a criminal one defines domestic violence as a less serious occurrence, argues Scutt. Furthermore, because it is required for a victim to show that violent acts have been ‘continued’, that is, conducted on a regular basis over a period of twelve months, the victim is vulnerable to considerable abuse that, furthermore, condones a ‘limited’ use of violence. Violence, that is, can be seen as tolerable if used only occasionally.

A further disadvantage experienced by women coming before the courts is that they can call as an ‘expert’ witness in relation to what is considered violent, only a psychologist or psychiatrist rather than those with most experience in the area of domestic violence, namely, social workers. Too often the former ‘experts’ regard women as pathological and therefore responsible for the abuse they receive. Too often these professionals believe that women suffer from the sickness of ‘learned helplessness’ when, rather, argues Scutt, the women learn that there is no help available for them after exhausting all avenues. Scutt concludes that the too wide acceptance of domestic violence as less serious than criminal assault must change before women can receive just treatment before the law.

Graycar (1995) supports this perspective, arguing that many women who raise the issue of violence in the process of a property settlement are not believed by the court. Graycar insists that violence should be considered for property settlement because women are frequently prevented from reestablishing themselves after a divorce because of their financial dependence on a partner. A greater share of property could assist the woman to establish her future position within society.

Criminal justice responses to domestic violence have changed. Authors are noting increased intervention from police forces across the nation in response to criticism such as that above. For example, Symons (1995) reports that the police service in New South Wales has responded to complaints that police have tended to regard domestic violence as a ‘family matter’ and that the service’s domestic violence strategic plan (established in 1993) ‘has taken a back seat with few…policies being implemented.’ The service has completed a research report aimed at redressing police inaction by introducing new initiatives.

Symons (1995) argued that data collection should be standardised across the State to ensure consistent and accurate information is available to police. This would assist police in

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4 Early experiments were conducted with dogs in which the subjects were exposed to prolonged bouts of punishment. When punishment (in the form of electric shocks) became unpredictable and uncontrollable, they ceased attempting to avoid it. It was hypothesised that humans would react similarly, producing the theory of learned helplessness: exposure to unpredictable violence from which there was no perceived escape would interfere with a victim’s ability to seize an opportunity to do so when one presented itself (Walker, 1977).
making an adequate response when they attend an incident; since if the offender’s history is known a better decision can be made. Domestic Violence Liaison Officers were also found to be inadequately trained, and there was a recommendation to study ‘successful’ patrols and identify why they are more successful than others.

A criminal justice response to incidents of domestic violence in NSW and other states has been the introduction of ‘apprehended violence orders’ (the terminology for court orders varies between states). Trimboli and Bonner (1997) report that in New South Wales, the numbers issued by the courts have increased ‘fifteen-fold’ in the ten years to 1997. Despite such an increase, the authors indicate that most investigations have concentrated on the ease with which applicants can obtain orders rather than on their effectiveness in preventing domestic violence. In contrast, the authors found that the orders were ‘very effective’ in preventing domestic violence. Nancarrow (1998) found that only 1,200 of the 13,000 domestic violence protection orders issued in Queensland each year are breached.

However, the authors found that when orders were breached by an offender that

‘[o]nly about one-third of the breaches were reported to the police. More disturbingly, police took no action in response to about 70% of the breaches reported to them. Given the effectiveness of Apprehended Violence Orders in preventing violence, the response of police to breaches will clearly need to be reviewed’.

While court orders can be a useful domestic violence prevention tool for many victims, they do not guarantee that the violence will stop. Bulbeck, Kwitko, Stewart and Dower (1997) found within their survey sample of 602 respondents to protection applications, thirty were involved in multiple applications with different individuals. Nancarrow (1998) found from unofficial Police data that over a four-year period (1st January 1994 – 31st December 1997) 15 of the 56 homicides related to spousal domestic violence were committed by a respondent to a protection order.

Nancarrow (1998) concludes that court orders are not effective violence prevention tools for all victims, especially those who do not have or do not want access to the justice system. Court orders are often a last resort for victims and children who have suffered enormously and repetitively before seeking legal intervention. Furthermore they do not address the underlying causes of the perpetrator’s aggressive behaviour.

The article by Symons (1995) cited the Northern Territory Government’s response to domestic violence as a possible model to emulate. The Domestic Violence Strategy, begun in 1994, is considered a model countermeasure because of its integrated and comprehensive approach. Domestic violence is regarded as a crime and the Strategy improves the criminal justice response to incidents by providing better services to victims. There is a special Aboriginal Family Violence Strategy as well as specific approaches for non-English speaking background (NESB) victims. The scheme involves a ‘no drop’ prosecution policy
in conjunction with counselling and support facilities for offenders and victims. It is the responsibility of the Office of Women's Policy within the Department of the Chief Minister and is directed by a Domestic Violence Coordinating Committee. The media is used to publicise the Strategy’s aims and has succeeded in lifting the profile of domestic violence within the community so that such violence is being recognised as unacceptable. A pilot project has been operating in the Casuarina Police District and uses a ‘minimum standard of responses’ including domestic violence orders and support facilities. The response includes a follow up within 48 hours of the incident to gauge what further action is required.

However, the Northern Territory approach has been criticised by Spowart and Neil (1997), solicitors at Domestic Violence Legal Help, a service of the Darwin Community Legal Service. The authors argue that because the Strategy does not confront the ideology within society that discriminates against women and that ensures their subordination to men, it is an unsuccessful program. Spowart and Neil (1997) insist that working against these stated aims is the manner in which domestic violence is defined. For example, violence against women and domestic violence are defined separately. This makes the Strategy contradictory because domestic violence is viewed as any violence committed by any family member against another family member. Furthermore, the Strategy is based on the assumption that there is a degree of violence perpetrated against men that is under-reported because of the stigma attached to a man admitting that he is the victim of violence from a woman. The authors argue that by doing this the Strategy ignores the inherent power inequality within society that perpetuates male dominance of women by men. Such a definition has detrimental effects within the criminal justice system as courts too often see the problem as one to be settled within the home, thereby removing the criminality from the violent act.

The Special Needs of Aboriginal Communities

While criminal justice responses appear to have increased in frequency and intensity, thereby reversing the trend of apparent apathy, there is evidence that responses should be tempered according to the different needs of specific social sectors. For example, recent reports (eg. Atkinson, 1996; Blagg, 1999) have questioned whether the criminal justice system is meeting the needs of Aboriginal Australia.

Atkinson argues that the ‘legal system fails to meet the needs of Aboriginal women at all levels’ and that it also fails most Aboriginal men. There is, she notes, only anecdotal evidence as to the effects of this. However, this evidence suggests that where the criminal justice system is implementing more stringently domestic violence legislation, Aboriginal incarceration rates are increasing (McDonald, 1997 also records increases in incarceration rates). The problem of why violence occurs, therefore, has not been addressed, only the criminal justice response to incidents. While these responses may possibly be correct for non-Aboriginal Australians, a different approach is necessary for Aboriginal Australians. Atkinson (1996) concludes that little progress has occurred to assist Aboriginal women and children. Rather, violence is increasing. Despite the efforts of Aboriginal women to redress domestic violence, these efforts are being counteracted by the criminal justice system. The state, Atkinson asserts, must support Aboriginal people in resolving domestic violence their own way as they implement their own programs rather than using the criminal justice system to incarcerate more people.
Davis and Dickstein (1997) relate how the state has worked with Aboriginal people to adapt non-Aboriginal law to suit the specificity of an Aboriginal community. As the authors point out, the Family Law Act defines ‘family’ in nuclear terms, contrary to Tiwi people’s (northern Australia) family structure. The Tiwi family, in contrast, has strong traditional cultural aspects and operates according to an extended structure where children are ‘grown up’ by a number of relevant related family members. Consequently, when the biological family members come to the attention of the criminal justice and welfare systems, application of nuclear family values can perpetuate the supposedly extinct ‘stolen children’ phenomenon as children are removed and institutionalised within State welfare homes (Wilson, 1997). The Northern Territory Government has recognised this need for Aboriginal families and has made provision under Part IX of the *Northern Territory Community Welfare Act* 1993. Aboriginal children where possible are placed with family members rather than being institutionalised. An Aboriginal Child Care Agency, KARU, established in 1987, works with the Northern Territory Government to fulfil this need for Aboriginal families. If no family exists or is deemed unsuitable, KARU then seeks a suitable family within the appropriate clan with whom the child/ren can be placed. Institutionalisation is an option of last resort.

Because of this evidence, and because of the reported success (see Chapter 6) of programs planned, instigated and controlled by Aboriginal communities, it is recommended that criminal justice responses to domestic violence involving Aboriginal women be investigated to ascertain their cultural appropriateness.

### Criminal Justice Programs

Table 7.1 has been constructed to provide a quick reference to those criminal justice programs that have been reported and their efficacy, as far as can be ascertained. Programs that appear most effective are those modelled on the U.S. ‘Duluth’ program although recent reviews have suggested that programs of this sort may have serious limitations (Nancarrow, 1998). Perhaps more promising results are now emerging from programs that involve a planned police response to prevent repeat victimisation. This newer approach shares with the older Duluth model an emphasis on partnerships between police and other agencies that provide victim support.

### The Duluth model

The Duluth program (Grabosky and James, 1995), for which the official name is *Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP)*, works in conjunction with the criminal justice system. Offenders are required to accept responsibility for their actions and undertake an educational (rehabilitation) program. If offenders do not comply, they are dealt with by the courts. The program treats offenders as having committed a criminal offence and lends support and assistance to victims. The DAIP is reportedly highly successful in its place of origin, Duluth, Minnesota, U.S.A., but has differing success rates in other areas.
Nevertheless, it is recommended as a model because of the positive results it has achieved, but it should be introduced according to the particular needs of each area in which it is planned to operate as determined by local community organisations.

Similar programs have been implemented in other areas of the U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand (Grabosky and James, 1995). One U.S. program was evaluated after seven years of operation, with the result that recidivism for offenders who had passed through the program was 4% compared to 18.5% for offenders who had received traditional court sentencing. A further program based on the Duluth model and operating in Bellevue, Washington, works on the principle of close cooperation between counselling and support services and the criminal justice system. In addition to arresting offenders, the program combined criminal justice responses with support for victims and counselling or education for offenders (Mugford and Mugford, 1992).

### Table 7.1 Criminal Justice Programs

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Begun</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Northern Territory Standardised Response Scheme: Ref: Symons, 1995.</td>
<td>Casuarina Police District, Northern Territory</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Pilot scheme to provide a standardised police response to incidents of domestic violence</td>
<td>Northern Territory Government</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic Abuse Intervention Project. Ref: Grabosky and James, 1995.</td>
<td>Duluth, Minnesota, U.S.A.</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Offenders are required to accept responsibility for their actions and undergo rehabilitation. If offenders do not comply, they are dealt with by the courts. The program treats offenders as having committed a criminal offence and lends support and assistance to victims.</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Domestic Violence and Repeat Victimisation project. Ref: Hanmer, Griffiths and Jerwood 1999.</td>
<td>West Yorkshire, Britain</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Provides a three-tiered response to domestic violence including an equal focus on both victim and offender, implementation of this policy by all officers, and inter-agency co-ordination</td>
<td>Home Office</td>
<td>Concrete evidence of effectiveness, with reduced repeat calls and fewer chronic offenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic Violence Strategic Plan:</strong> Ref: Symons, 1995.</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Plan to standardise police responses to DV across the State and to implement adequate training for all concerned</td>
<td>New South Wales Government</td>
<td>Not known</td>
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<td>Family Violence Prevention Coordinating Committee. Ref: Mugford and Mugford, 1992.</td>
<td>Hamilton, New Zealand</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Follows the principles of the US Duluth Program – this report provides more information than provided by the entry above: Ref: Waterhouse, 1997</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornsby Court Users’ Forum. Ref: Evans, 1994.</td>
<td>Hornsby, New South Wales</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Provides representation for both parties in disputes ensuring satisfaction with the CJ system</td>
<td>NSW Government</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandatory Arrests. Ref: Sherman, 1992.</td>
<td>Minneapoli s USA</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Mandatory arrests in some cases deter offenders from re-offending</td>
<td>Police operation s</td>
<td>The program works in areas of high employment but increases violence by unemployed offenders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merseyside Demonstration Project. Ref: Lloyd et al., 1994; Sherman, 1997b.</td>
<td>Liverpool, Britain</td>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Aims to prevent revictimisation of vulnerable women. Uses pendant alarms, police domestic violence early warning database, improved police/court liaison, and support to victims.</td>
<td>Home Office</td>
<td>Repeat victimisation most likely to occur within first 24 hrs and first 30 days after initial incident and alarms allocated accordingly. Case example evidence of effectiveness but no other data.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PREVENTING VIOLENCE A Review**
Safelink. Ref: Morley and Mullender, 1994; Korn, 1996

West Yorkshire, Britain 1992 Aims to prevent re-victimisation of women who have no easy means of escape or calling for help. Provision of pre-programmed mobile phones for a short period, and backed up by specialist domestic violence unit, computerised Domestic Violence Index of all calls and a 24-hour helpline.

West Yorkshire Police Demand for and availability of phones monitored to ensure most vulnerable women are assisted. No other outcome data, although West Yorkshire Domestic Violence Unit reportedly one of the more successful Units in Britain.


Armadale, Western Australia Not known Police act to ensure that violence does not recur by support of victims and treatment of offenders

Run in conjunction with police duties Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness


Wyong, NSW From early 1980s Supports women and children escaping from violent situations to acquire Protection Orders from the court

Legal Aid Commission Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness


Islington, Britain. 1993 Aims to decrease repeat victimisation through immediate crisis intervention. Provides a one-stop location for information about accessing local support resources, especially advice and legal services.

Home Office Successfully decreased repeat calls to the police. Developed effective inter-agency links increasing the number of referrals to other agencies taken up by victims of domestic violence.

A New Zealand program in Hamilton run by the Family Violence Prevention Coordinating Committee has reported similar success (Mugford and Mugford, 1992). This program uses arrest for offenders as the first option and then assists victims to link with support services. A six-month’s trial reduced acts of domestic violence substantially. Arrests increased considerably and victims generally were happy with the program's
operation. The safety of women and children increased and many offenders were sentenced to an education program that reportedly made them more accountable for their actions.

The Australian Capital Territory (ACT) has considered the Duluth and Hamilton programs in an enquiry (Waterhouse, 1994). One conclusion was that while the ACT’s domestic violence laws generally are effective, more emphasis is needed on implementation. The ACT has an established infrastructure that supports victims of domestic violence. The police are linked to the Domestic Violence Crisis Service and the criminal justice system, which cooperates to assist domestic violence victims; legislation supports the program. The Crisis Service is a twenty-four hour, seven days a week service providing crisis intervention, support and home assistance for victims.

Around one-third of total calls to the AFP are in respect to domestic violence (Waterhouse, 1994). On receipt of a call, the police inform the Domestic Violence Crisis Service which attends the incident to assist police. Crisis workers arrange any necessary assistance for victims while the police tend to the criminal side of the incident. Crisis workers assist victims in obtaining Protection Orders if required and arrange follow-up assistance for victims including arranging for accommodation and social welfare support. The criminal justice system assists victims by providing legal aid (Waterhouse, 1994). The AFP promptly follow up any necessary criminal justice responses regarding the offender thereby reinforcing the seriousness of the offence. Victims are provided with maximum protection and special units attend to sexual assault and child abuse. Police officers receive specialist training in regard to these areas to assist them in their responses. Anderson (1999) reported that this collaborative approach in the ACT has been developed into an Interagency Family Violence Intervention program. This is a pilot program that commenced in May 1998, and involves additional agencies including the Courts, Legal Aid, Corrective Services, Relationships Australia and several others.

Although the Duluth program is not mentioned specifically, the description of a program operated by the local police sergeant in Armadale, Western Australia, fits that program’s description. Within this community where police spend 30% of their time attending to domestic incidents, Sergeant Heald has compiled a program that is designed to stop incidents of domestic violence from recurring (Police News, 1994). Heald has the assistance of a women’s shelter to which he refers victims for counselling and protection if necessary. The sergeant has compiled a brochure informing victims and offenders about the problems with domestic violence. The police act on incidents immediately, collecting photographic and medical evidence. The only way a victim can withdraw a complaint is in front of a magistrate when the charges against the offender are heard. The police process charges even if victims do not wish this done. Violent offenders are often required to undertake a twenty-six week remedial course. The program is also aimed at changing the police culture of accepting that acts of domestic violence are a natural part of married life.
Nancarrow (1998) assesses the Duluth model and concludes that it has some limitations. She argues that since the Duluth model operates on the basis of criminal law and is limited to responding to criminal assault, programs that are based upon its principles cannot take advantage of the early intervention focus of Queensland’s civil protection order system. Furthermore, evaluations show that the success of the model varies greatly. Paymar (1994) reports that while 80% of victims from one survey were no longer abused, a second survey reported that between 40 and 60% of violent perpetrators had re-offended, many being violent towards the same partner.

**Police Programs to Prevent Repeat Victimisation**

A police policy that originated in the U.S. and that initially was reported favourably (and widely implemented in the U.S.) has since been found in need of modification. Before 1984 in the U.S.A., offenders in domestic assaults were seldom arrested. Now, many States have mandatory arrest laws (Sherman, 1992). This change occurred largely in response to an experiment conducted by Sherman in Minneapolis (reported in 1983), where mandatory arrests for domestic assault considerably deterred offenders. Since then, replications have been conducted in five other U.S. cities, with varying results. Offenders arrested for domestic assaults are affected differently by arrest according to their socio-economic position. For example, middle class males are deterred from reoffending by arrest, while unemployed offenders, who are frequently black, become resentful and more violent as a result. In addition, some offenders are deterred for a short time only. Sherman concludes with several recommendations for implementing policies, with the provision that any policies should remain flexible enough to adapt to changing information supplied by science (Sherman, 1992: 252-253).

One practical direction that police can take is to focus specifically on the prevention of repeat victimisation using a variety of situational techniques and support services, with arrest as one option, depending on seriousness and prior history (for example, by distinguishing common law and criminal offences: Hanmer, Griffiths and Jerwood 1999). British police, with support from the Home Office and researchers such as Ken Pease, have pioneered this approach.

The Domestic Violence Matters (DVM) project began in February 1993 (Kelly, 1999). It is based upon the assumption that a police intervention alone is insufficient to equip women with sufficient emotional and practical resources to change a situation where they are victims of domestic violence. The project employs ‘civilian’ (non-police) support workers to follow up police responses to domestic violence and to provide comprehensive information to women about other agencies that could assist them in their situation, particularly advice and legal services. The crisis information workers are available 16 hours per day, 7 days a week enabling a rapid response. Many women reported that speed of response is a significant factor allowing them to take immediate action to increase their safety and accelerate the process of change. The project has been successful in decreasing
repeat calls to the police and increasing the number of referrals to other agencies being taken up by victims of domestic violence.

The Safelink program (Morley and Mullender, 1994; Korn, 1996) commenced in 1992 as part of the West Yorkshire police response to domestic violence. It aims to prevent revictimisation of particularly vulnerable women who cannot easily escape or call for assistance. Strategies include the use of a specialist domestic violence unit, a computerised Domestic Violence Index of all calls, and a 24-hour helpline. An innovative aspect is the provision of pre-programmed mobile phones for a short, defined period. Demand for and availability of phones has been monitored to ensure most vulnerable women are assisted, but no other outcome data are available, although the West Yorkshire Domestic Violence Unit is reportedly one of the more successful units in the UK.

The Merseyside Demonstration Project (Lloyd et al., 1994; Sherman, 1997b); in Liverpool, UK, commenced in 1993. It involved a range of reforms including pendant alarms, a police domestic violence early warning database, improved police-court liaison, and support to victims. Like the Safelink project, the main aim was to prevent revictimisation of vulnerable women. It was found, in common with all research on repeat victimisation for many types of offences (Farrell, 1995), that the single most likely time for repeat incidents of violence is within the first 24 hours of an initial incident. The great majority of repeat incidents recorded within a year occurred within a month of the initial incident. Alarms were allocated on this basis. Case study examples are offered as evidence of effectiveness of the program, but there appear to be no other published evaluation data.

Hanmer et al (1999) have recently published details of a more extensive program in Leeds, West Yorkshire (see Table 7.2), that builds on the Safelink project and similar initiatives (especially the Huddersfield project: Anderson, Chenery and Pease, 1995). In the words of the authors (p. v):

The aim ... was to reduce repeat victimisation through a three-tiered programme of operational interventions. It required an equal focus on the victimised woman and the offending man in order to set up an interactive crime prevention approach that both protected the victim and demotivated the offender. The programme required all the officers at Killingbeck [Leeds] to implement the Force policy on domestic violence; that is, to proceed pro-actively and to ensure the safety of the victim, along with closer inter-agency involvement with organisations supporting victims and those that respond to offenders.

The ‘three-tiered programme’ involved an extensive range of measures focussed on the victim and on the perpetrator. A distinction was also made between common law (breach of peace) and criminal offences. Specific measures included gathering information, issuing an official warning, and ‘Police Watch’ for criminal offenders (Level 1); Cocoon and Police Watch, a second official warning, and opposing bail in the Magistrates Court (Level 2); and
a panic button/vodaphone, third official warning, and a Crown Prosecution Service file jacket and domestic violence history (Level 3). Cocoon Watch involved neighbours, family and relevant agencies in contacting police immediately if further incidents occurred (with the permission of the victim and the knowledge of the perpetrator), while Police Watch involved police patrols within the vicinity of the incident on a twice weekly basis initially for a period of six weeks.

The main achievement of the program was to increase the proportion of police attendances that were one-off from 66% to 85%. The time interval between attendances also increased to over one year for 50% of men. Women and their supporters were encouraged to ask for police support through interventions at the three levels. Chronic repeat offenders were identified, individually assessed, and over the year of the project their numbers were reduced. The program required few additional resources and was therefore cost effective, and had a range of benefits to the police organisation, such as improved data accuracy and better cooperation with other agencies.

It is interesting to note that the recent British projects have used domestic violence alarms or pre-programmed mobile phones in an endeavour to provide a quick police response to women at extremely serious risk of repeat victimisation. When pressed, these phones or small pendant personal alarms/panic buttons, directly activate a message to police headquarters to urgently attend to the situation. Sherman (1997b) concluded that to date, there is insufficient outcome data on the safety and effectiveness of these types of alarms, and since in practice they tend to be used in conjunction with other strategies, definitive data on effectiveness may be hard to come by. Nevertheless, personal alarms and mobile phones may be useful risk minimisation strategies for women in rural and remote areas where alternatives to removal from violent situations are not easily available.
Table 7.2  The Domestic Violence Repeat Victimisation Model.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention Level</th>
<th>VICTIM</th>
<th>PERPETRATOR</th>
<th>PERPETRATOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Common law offences</td>
<td>Criminal offences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 1</td>
<td>· Gather information · Information letter 1 · Police Watch</td>
<td>· Reiterate force policy · First official warning · Information letter 1</td>
<td>· Magistrates –conditional bail/ checks · Police Watch · Information letter 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 2</td>
<td>· Information letter 2 · Community constable visit · Cocoon and Police Watches · Target harden property</td>
<td>· Reiterate force policy · Second official warning · Police Watch · Information letter 2</td>
<td>· Magistrates – bail opposed/ checks · Police Watch increased · Information letter 2 · CPS file jacket and domestic violence (DV) history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level 3</td>
<td>· Information letter 3 · Police Watch · Domestic Violence Officer visit · Agency meeting · Panic button/ vodaphone</td>
<td>· Reiterate force policy · Third official warning · Police Watch · Information letter 3</td>
<td>· Magistrates – bail opposed/ checks · Police Watch Increased · Information letter 3 · Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) file jacket and DV history and contact CPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Intervention</td>
<td>Implement – log reasons for selection</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Implement and log level of action undertaken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Common Law Offences were primarily breach of peace.

Cocoon Watch requests the help and support of neighbours, family and relevant agencies in further protecting the victim by contacting the police immediately if further incidents occur. A Cocoon Watch is only implemented with the informed consent of the victim, and the perpetrator is made aware of the action.
Police Watch provides a visible police presence to both the victim and the offender and involves police patrols within the vicinity of the incident on a twice weekly basis initially for a period of six weeks immediately following reported incidents.

### Community-Based Programs

Prevention strategies can be classified according to whether they adopt a primary, secondary or tertiary model of prevention, although that system of classification often breaks down since in practice interventions might draw simultaneously on techniques from all three levels (Browne and Herbert, 1997).

Primary prevention models attempt to influence the causes of violence through social, economic, health and education policies. Public awareness campaigns, school based education programs (Chapter 4) and early intervention programs aimed at reducing family violence (Developmental Crime Prevention Consortium, 1999) are all examples of primary prevention approaches. Secondary prevention primarily focuses on risk management of domestic violence, and refers to responses such as police and criminal justice interventions and other measures that reduce the risk or harm to victims (such as safe refuges). Tertiary prevention is primarily aimed at the treatment of violent offenders and the prevention of recidivism. In recent years, integrated prevention strategies that incorporate primary, secondary and tertiary models of intervention and that emphasise a whole of government response and the coordination of services and programs have been instituted (eg. Northern Territory domestic violence strategy, Canada’s Yukon Family Violence Strategy).

### Public Awareness Campaigns

There is some evidence for the effectiveness of public awareness campaigns. Nancarrow (1998) cites the results of attitudinal studies conducted before (Public Policy Research Centre 1987), and after (Office of the Status of Women, 1995), the National Stop Domestic Violence Campaign (1988 – 90). Prior to the campaign, 14% of Australians believed it was acceptable for a man to use physical force against his wife in certain circumstances, compared to 8% after the campaign. Similarly, the proportion of respondents who supported the notion that such physical violence was a criminal offence increased from 79% in 1987 to 93% in 1995.

Nancarrow (1998) examines the relative success of the drink-driving campaigns in comparison with domestic violence prevention campaigns and concludes that,

‘unlike the drink driving campaigns, previous domestic violence campaigns have not been sustained over long periods of time and they have not been backed up by non-discretionary and highly visible ‘police crackdowns’, followed by strong legal sanctions for offenders’.
Nancarrow argues that the effectiveness of violence reduction strategies is harder to measure than reductions in randomly tested drivers over the blood-alcohol limit for legal driving. Governments prefer programs producing tangible, quantifiable results as their expense can be more easily justified to their electorate. She suggests that future campaigns should be carefully tailored to respond to the various sections of the community, rather than providing one message for all. The 1995 Office of the Status of Women survey revealed that certain sub-groups of the population were better informed than others. For example, those from non-English speaking backgrounds were generally less well informed than the general population.

**Overview of Community-Based Programs**

The following section reviews the literature on the efficacy of secondary prevention approaches such as refuges and other risk minimisation interventions (see summaries in Table 7.3). The current findings in relation to education programs for violent men are also discussed. Several of these programs work in conjunction with the criminal justice system and are increasingly viewed as part of an integrated prevention response to domestic violence. This section also briefly considers domestic violence issues in relation to specific groups within the community. These groups include:

- same-sex partners (people in gay and lesbian relationships);
- women from non-English speaking backgrounds; and
- women with disabilities.
Table 7.3  Community-Based Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Begun</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Funding</th>
<th>Evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives to Violence Program.</td>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>Possibly</td>
<td>Self-help program aimed at assisting participants to find the reasons for their violence and thus the solution/s</td>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertiveness Training. Ref: Smith, 1996.</td>
<td>General applicability</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Women are trained to be more assertive on the premise that by doing so they will not be subjected to violence by a partner who regards them as helpless and thus amenable to abuse</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>Has indirect results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balancing Power in Domestic Violence Relationships Ref: Wileman and Wileman, 1995.</td>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Authors conducted a pilot study of two groups of battered women to empower them so that they could reduce the violence within their relationships and thus retain the relationship (this was their choice).</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Authors report that the program was successful; however it has been criticised by Shaw and Pye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Access Programs. Ref: Momot, 1996.</td>
<td>Australia and New Zealand</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Provides transport, a safe venue and supervision for hand over of children on access visits</td>
<td>Various sources</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Group Work Program.</td>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Children are treated, in conjunction with mother-victims, for the affects of witnessing domestic violence</td>
<td>Federal Government</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle of Healing.</td>
<td>Fort McPherson, Northern Canada</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Community-involved approach to eliminating family violence</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KARU: Aboriginal Child Care Agency.</td>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Assists in the appropriate placement of Aboriginal children to prevent their institutionalisation</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Family Treatment.</td>
<td>Maryborough, Queensland</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>One week’s intensive therapeutic treatment within a residential setting to assist safe return of child to family</td>
<td>Queensland Government</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelters- Refuges and follow-up support programs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provide shelter for emergency safe refuge and the possibility of follow-up support programs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shelters are critical to preventing domestic violence. Women rate them the most effective type of service. Shelters combined with follow-up support are most effective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Begun</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Funding</td>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spark Resource Centre. Ref: Silard, 1994.</td>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Victims confront their abused positions to which they admit thereby gaining the power to remove themselves from danger</td>
<td>Private Practice</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with promising evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual Healing Workshops. Ref: Wanganeeen, 1996.</td>
<td>Sacred Site</td>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>Assists those experiencing violence to locate the source of their violence and thereby reverse the practice</td>
<td>Private Practice</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We Al-Li. Ref: Fredericks, 1996.</td>
<td>Queensland:</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Self-help community involvement procedure – incorporated into University of Qld degree program – series of workshops</td>
<td>Began with Qld government grant – employed by groups to run workshops</td>
<td>Addresses plausible risk factors with good evidence of effectiveness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Shelters/Refuges and Follow-up Support**

The literature strongly supports the critical role of refuges and shelters in preventing domestic violence, particularly repeat victimisation. A study US-wide from 1981-1983 (Stout 1989, cited in Morley and Mullender, 1994:31) ‘found a strong negative correlation between the rate of shelters in a state and femicide: states with a higher coverage of shelters had fewer killings of women by their partners than did those with a lower coverage.’ Shelters have been positively evaluated in several studies and found by women to be the most effective of all services approached for help in dealing with violence (Smith, 1989; Bowker and Maurer, 1987; both cited in Morley and Mullender, 1994). The need for shelters to more appropriately cater to the needs of minority or more disadvantaged groups of women is receiving increasing attention in the literature. In particular women from non-English speaking backgrounds, women with disabilities and lesbian women are identified.

There is an emerging body of research that demonstrates the importance of follow-up support and programs for women who use shelters in order to prevent their return to further violence and to help them to re-integrate into the community. The importance of
funded workers to run these programs is also emphasised. Morley and Mullender (1994) overview a number of these studies that indicate the effectiveness of support groups for women to empower them to take further preventive steps, combat isolation and develop crucial support networks (Clifton, 1985; Condonis et al., 1990). Jackson and Dilger (1995) describe such a group program in Australia and underline the advantages of the mutual aid process that such groups offer women.

As further evidence, a single site study (N= 155) by Berk (1986, cited in Sherman, 1997a) found that ‘unless shelter clients took other steps to seek help beyond staying in the shelter, their rates of repeat violence after leaving the shelter were actually higher than a similar group who had not gone to a shelter. Among women who did take additional steps, however, the shelter stay had a measured protection effect against repeat violence lasting about 6 weeks.’ An Australian study (Worth and Tiggemann, 1996) that examined the variables which predict the intended and actual return to violent partners of women in a shelter argued that therapeutic interventions that address the attitudinal predictors of intention or actual return could aid some women and their children to remain away from a violent living situation.

**Children’s Access Program**

The Children’s Access Program is an example of an innovative situational prevention approach that aims to reduce the risk of domestic violence occurring at hand over for access visits for children of separated parents. A few such programs, operating in Australia and New Zealand, provide facilities for the safe hand over of children on access visits, or provide for supervised access visits at a neutral venue. As an example, the Deer Park Community Information Centre model (Momot, 1996) works closely with other agencies, monitors Family Court Orders to ensure appropriate referrals, and provides three sub-programs including:

- a low risk program involving supervised hand-over and where necessary, transport. This program is used where risk of physical violence is low but other high conflict occurs between parents.

- a high risk program involving transport for children between the vulnerable parent and the access centre for hand-over to the other parent, preserving security of address for the vulnerable parent. This program is used where there is a high risk of physical violence or a need for security of address, particularly where an Intervention Order is in place.

- parent/child unification program involving access combined with a parenting program in the form of supervised playgroups, activities and outings. This program is used where there has been little contact between parent and child and there is a risk of family violence.
Violence Prevention Programs for Violent Men

Change programs directed at men who are violent towards their partners (also referred to in the literature as perpetrator or batterer programs) have primarily developed in the form of counselling or education groups. Many programs now operating adopt a ‘gender-based, cognitive-behavioural modality, where men are confronted with the consequences of their behaviour, held responsible for their abuse, have their rationalisations and excuses confronted, and are taught alternative behaviours and reactions’ (Gondolf, 1997:84). Alternative treatment modalities reported in the literature include programs aimed at anger redirection, couple counselling/communication skills education, trauma therapy, and programs that incorporate a mental health and/or substance abuse focus.

Evaluations of couple format programs suggest that these are not as effective in stopping violence as men’s programs (Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Kaufman, 1992; Bograd, 1984; cited in Gondolf, 1997). Browne and Herbert (1997), however, suggest that conjoint treatment for domestic violence can be effective for some couples, although they acknowledge that this approach is controversial. Several reportedly successful men’s violence prevention programs are outlined in Table 7.4 (refer also to the earlier discussion of the US Duluth program and programs based on this model). The following discussion briefly discusses these programs and addresses some of the more general issues concerning the effectiveness of perpetrator programs. (See also Keys Young (1998) for a recent comprehensive review of perpetrator programs.)

Evaluations of approximately 30 single site programs indicate cessation of violence in a substantial proportion of program completers (60% to 80%) and a less impressive (but less well documented) reduction in threats and verbal abuse (various studies cited in Gondolf, 1997:86). The evaluation by Dobash and Dobash (1996) and Dobash et al. (1997) of two Scottish programs found that approximately 66% of participants successfully reduced their violent behaviour and significantly reduced their controlling behaviour over a one year period. Two Australian programs, the South Australian Domestic Violence Service Men’s Group Program (Poynter, 1991) and the Sydney St. Vincent de Paul Men’s Violence Management Program (Hawkins, 1995) are reported as effective in reducing violent behaviour. Frances’ (1996) evaluation of seven Victorian group behaviour change programs for violent men also found that these programs were useful with reduction or cessation of physical violence and other abusive behaviours reported by both men and women partners. McFerran (1989) critically overviews other individual and group programs operating in Australia.

While results from some group programs for violent men, particularly those using a cognitive-behavioural approach, appear promising (Keys Young, 1998), several analysts (Gondolf, 1997; McFerran, 1989) suggest that methodological limitations in many evaluation studies make generalisations of findings and longer term effectiveness of these programs difficult to substantiate. For example, many evaluations report low response rates (30% to
45%), short-term follow-up (eg. 6 months), self-report measures only, lack of control groups, event-oriented outcomes only (eg arrest, physical assault), and fail to take account of intervening variables (eg victim services) and high drop-out and non-compliance rates. Suggested strategies to address these methodological shortcomings include multi-site and experimental design evaluations, better tracking to reduce subject attrition, two to three month periodic follow-up, verification of self-report with data from other agency sources, and consideration of process outcomes and secondary impacts on partners in addition to assault (Gondolf, 1997).

At this stage the literature only provides preliminary evidence as to what batterer program modalities and program structures are likely to be most effective and appropriate. Longer term programs (one year) are possibly more effective and this program dosage is increasingly being adopted in State standards for batterer programs in the USA (Cutler and Fueyo, 1991; Smith, 1991; both cited in Gondolf, 1997). Grace (1996) also endorses the likelihood of more ‘substantial behaviour change’ from longer duration group programs that may, for example, involve a structured group component (of perhaps 10 weeks duration) followed by an ongoing support and discussion group.

### Table 7.4 Programs For Men Who Are Violent Towards Their Partners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Australia Domestic Violence Service&lt;br&gt;Men's Group Program&lt;br&gt;(Poynter, 1991; McFerran 1989); South Australia; 12 wk group therapy program using psycho-educational approach offered on a regional basis.</td>
<td>Targets behaviour and attitude change in men who are abusive/physically violent towards their partners. Pre-test/post-test evaluation (n=51) with 6 and 12 month follow-ups (n=20) collected data from participants and partners. Results indicated that the majority of men made long term behavioural and attitudinal changes, although the study had limitations (70% ceased physical violence and 40% stopped non-physical abusive behaviour). Replicated 3 year study currently being undertaken in Adelaide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent de Paul Men’s Violence Management Program (Hawkins, 1995; Law Society Journal, 1995; Sutton, forthcoming) Sydney; Men’s group program (3hrs/wk) based on feminist model of domestic violence, teaching anger management, interpersonal skills and self-awareness. Includes voluntary and some court mandated participants. Group for women partners also available if they wish to attend.</td>
<td>Targets behaviour and attitude change, with cessation of physical violence the primary aim. A 3 year follow up study of the program indicates long term effectiveness with approx. 85% of female partners reporting cessation of physical violence by their partners. However other emotional and psychological controlling behaviours and the concept of ‘male privilege’ not significantly reduced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHANGE and the Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project (LDVPP) (Dobash et al,1996; Dobash and Dobash, 1997) Scotland; criminal justice program comprising 6 to 7 months, weekly structured group sessions using an educational cognitive- behavioural approach. LDVPP also included 7 preliminary individual sessions. Partners informed of session content/issues, with some receiving victim support from other agencies.</td>
<td>Targets behaviour and attitude change and insight development for men found guilty of DV offence. Evaluation comprised comparison group design (men who received other criminal justice sanctions eg fines, probation, prison) and partners in 3 stages (initial intervention, 3 and12 mths). Results found that the men’s re-education program was the most successful at reducing violent incidents, frequency of violence and other controlling behaviour during 12 mths follow-up, although all criminal justice interventions appeared to have some positive effect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relating Without Violence (RWV) (Wolfus and Bierman, 1996); Ontario; prison based 12 wk program (group and individual session) using trauma therapy and cognitive approach, including emotional recovery, self-esteem, sensitivity and conflict resolution techniques.</td>
<td>Targets emotional recovery and behaviour/skills for dealing with interpersonal conflict for DV offenders. Comparison group evaluation found RWV program decreased use of destructive responses to conflict, anger readiness and defensiveness. However study limited by lack of post release follow up re domestic violence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference in outcome between voluntary participation and mandatory or criminal justice sanctioned participation in programs also requires further research. Dobash and Dobash (1997) suggest that voluntary participation in programs results in high attrition rates and is unlikely to reach the vast majority of men who use violence. Keys Young (1998) observe in addition that voluntary programs tend to vary widely in quality and depend heavily on the skill of the facilitator to ‘engage’ participants. However, Frances’ (1996)
evaluation of seven Victorian programs involving primarily voluntary participants found a drop out rate of 27%, which is lower than for many US mandatory programs. Grace (1996) refers to current research and the development of minimum program standards (eg V-NET) to highlight that combining voluntary and mandatory participation in the one program can be problematic. Current thinking in the Australian literature suggests limiting the number of mandatory participants in any one program and/or operating separate ‘dual track’ programs. This would involve mandatory participation programs with a victim orientation integrated with the criminal justice system, as well as more community service based programs for voluntary participants.

Further program developments that address dual diagnosis perpetrators (i.e. substance abuse and/or mental illness and violence), relapse prevention, and matching program type to batterer characteristics, similar to what occurs in the alcohol rehabilitation field is also recommended (Gondolf, 1997). Gleason (1997) contends that alcohol education and controlled drinking concepts should be included in battering intervention programs, rather than totally relying on other agencies to treat participants’ alcohol problems.

Overall, the evidence with respect to violence prevention group programs for perpetrators of domestic violence suggests that some programs contribute to the cessation or reduction of violence in some men over a 6 month period, and longer in some cases, while others may even have counterproductive effects (Dobash and Dobash, 1996; Dobash et al, 1997; Gondolf, 1997; Hawkins, 1995; Keys Young, 1998; Poynter, 1991). However, the need for stronger evaluation of perpetrator programs to take account of both the methodological limitations discussed above and other possible factors that contribute to outcomes (eg program structure, linkages with the criminal justice system, voluntary versus mandatory participation, participant’s motivation) dictates that caution be exercised before concluding that these programs have demonstrated their effectiveness in domestic violence prevention in all instances.

Domestic Violence and Same Sex Partners

The limited literature to date on domestic violence in gay and lesbian relationships has tended to focus on exposing the extent of the problem and arguing for more attention and resources to be directed towards this neglected area of research and violence prevention (Lockhart et al., 1994; Renzette, 1988; Sarantakos, 1996). Based on current research, the prevalence of domestic violence in same sex relationships is difficult to substantiate, although the problem is very likely under estimated and under reported (Vickers, 1996). Jenness (1995) reports how the exposure of the problem of domestic violence in same sex relationships in the U.S. has often occurred inadvertently through anti-gay and lesbian violence projects. Other authors however, discuss how for a number of reasons, the gay and lesbian community (particularly gay males) are often reluctant to identify and acknowledge the problem of domestic violence in same-sex relationships (Renzette, 1988; Vickers, 1996).
The literature highlights the fact that secondary victimisation of gay or lesbian individuals experiencing domestic violence is pervasive, and occurs with respect to the police, the courts, and generic domestic violence agencies. Furthermore, in many instances specific legislation that affords protection to other victims of domestic violence does not cover couples in same sex relationships. Vickers (1996) provides a thorough overview of the limitations of current responses to domestic violence for same sex couples, including problems of homophobic attitudes of police, the courts and other service providers and of difficulties with accessing shelters, counselling and support services. Gay men in particular have few, if any options, for appropriate support. Gay males escaping domestic violence often have to rely on men’s crisis accommodation where issues of safety and suitability to deal with domestic violence are of concern. Vickers (1996) cites research in Perth, which found that while refuges do not make special provision for lesbians, the presence of lesbian workers in some refuges helps to make them more accessible to lesbian domestic violence victims. The same was found with respect to gay male workers in men’s crisis accommodation.

Limited material on services or programs that specifically address same sex domestic violence was found in the literature, and none of these studies reported outcome data or evaluations. In a number of U.S. cities a model for same-sex domestic violence services has grown out of Anti-Violence Projects run by gay and lesbian organisations. These projects (eg San Francisco Community United Against Violence, Colorado Anti-Violence Project) now run funded support services for gay or lesbian survivors of domestic violence, including reporting of domestic violence, advocacy support to deal with police and the courts, counselling, support groups and referral (Jenness, 1995; Vickers, 1996).

Support services in Australia appear more fragmented. Gay and lesbian counselling services, often operating with no or limited funding and volunteer workers, endeavour to provide support to domestic violence survivors, if requested. Support groups for lesbians operate in some cities and Stewart (1996) describes one such program operating in NSW. This six-session program provides a safe place for women to tell their story and offers support and information around topics such as the effect of abuse, self-esteem, anger, and being single and the subject of homophobia. A similar type of facilitated group program over eight sessions, called ‘Breaking Free’ operates in Melbourne. The role of police gay and lesbian liaison officers in relation to same sex domestic violence is not clear from the literature reviewed for this report.

**Domestic Violence and Women from Non-English Speaking Background**

Issues specific to these groups of women and their children have been increasingly documented in recent years. Research has primarily focused on identifying issues and recommending changes to legislation, the criminal justice system, and domestic violence services to ensure that they adequately protect women and children from violence, and provide services that are appropriate, culturally sensitive and accessible. However, the
literature reveals very little descriptive or evaluative evidence of programs aimed at specifically addressing the prevention of domestic violence for women from culturally diverse or non-English speaking backgrounds.

Aldunate (1996) discusses problems of access to interpreters for women when dealing with police and the court system. Easteal’s (1996) large scale research study highlighted a range of issues identified by migrant women survivors including isolation, associated emotional abuse, economic dependency, and co-existing violence towards their children by their partner. Contributing factors to violence were perceived by migrant women as involving generation-to-generation violence, alcohol and unemployment. Issues identified as contributing to abuse by immigrant husbands included ‘normative wife abuse within the culture of origin, belief in family privacy, changes in gender roles in Australia, isolation, lack of support, language difficulties and downward shifts in employment status.’ Migrant women were found to face special problems with gaining assistance including difficulty telling family or friends, poor police responses and a lack of knowledge about rights and services, including negative images about shelters.

This report outlines general solutions to problems of domestic violence as well as specific solutions aimed at improving the situation for immigrant women. Specific solutions include: modification to immigration laws, improved access to information about rights, domestic violence and services, further screening of sponsors, improvements to refuges, increased outreach programs for remote and rural women, appropriately skilled and bilingual workers and greater co-ordination of government services.

Assafiri and Dimopoulos (1995) outline the problems that migrant women encounter when they seek to leave or escape violent men. In addition to coping with the trauma of violence and the loss of their homes, they face widespread racism from the legal system, including the inadequacy of legal procedures and attitudes of magistrates and registrars. A series of interviews with NESB women who sought intervention orders after suffering domestic violence reveals that the victim’s behaviour and her culture become the arena for scrutiny, rather than the adjudication of the violence of the perpetrator. The notion of legal protection was rarely identified as a right but rather a privilege delivered or offered differentially to NESB women.

Iredale (1994) examined repeat and serial spouse/fiance sponsorship in Australia, based on a review of the literature and interviews conducted with women who had been sponsored (with the majority deriving from Asia), community and health workers, refuge workers, and others (total N=124). Findings reveal that repeat sponsorship was a common phenomenon. Further, repeat sponsors demonstrated a high level of perpetration of various forms of domestic violence. Changes in immigration policy aimed at preventing the abuse and exploitation of women who come to Australia as spouses or fiances were introduced in 1994.
Frances (1996) and Grace (1996) also consider that violence prevention programs for violent men have not adequately addressed issues in relation to men from different cultural backgrounds.

**Domestic Violence and Women with Disabilities**

Literature that addresses domestic violence against women with disabilities has only begun to emerge in recent years, and as with other minority groups, this literature has tended to focus on firstly exposing the extent of the problem. A report by Mulder (1995:17-20) *Reclaiming our Rights*, cites various research that suggests that women with disabilities are battered more than able bodied women and also face a higher incidence of sexual assault. A number of Australian and Canadian research studies (Mulder, 1995; Cattalini, 1993; Chenoweth, 1993; Riddington, 1989; Doucette, 1986) indicate that the problems experienced by women with disabilities in relation to domestic violence and sexual assault include:

- under reporting of domestic violence (which may in part relate to women not always identifying the violence as ‘domestic’ because they do not reside in a ‘nuclear family situation’ and the violence may be perpetrated by carers or non-family household members)

- situations where women are not covered by domestic violence legislation because their ‘domestic’ situation does not involve a spousal relationship (eg in Qld, women residing in group homes, hostels or other institution are not afforded protection under the current Domestic Violence Act 1989)

- greater physical, financial and emotional dependence, for many women, on a perpetrator of domestic violence as well as fewer alternative options for financial and accommodation support

- lack of credibility given to women with disabilities’ accounts of violence when they do report to police or other professionals

- lack of recognition of women’s legal status, due to limited capacity to consent in certain instances, or assumptions made by police and the criminal justice system about lack of legal status and witness credibility

- an emphasis placed on their disability as the problem, rather than the perpetrator of violence as the problem

- organisational resistance to acknowledging and addressing violence because of a ‘service culture’ informed by myths and prejudices about women with disabilities, and often a lack of clear policies or guidelines for dealing with incidents of violence
• lack of information or knowledge on the part of women as to what constitutes sexual assault and violence

• inaccessible information in relation to violence, violence prevention and services

• lack of access to existing services (eg shelters, court support services, counselling) due to both problems of physical access and the attitudes of service providers.

This summary highlights both the enormity of the difficulties faced by women with disabilities confronted by domestic violence, as well as the need for considerable reform to existing domestic violence prevention responses to ensure that women with disabilities are afforded the necessary protection and support. Suggestions for addressing these issues are included in the reports cited above as well as in papers to the Plenary Session for the National Domestic Violence Forum (1996).

There is limited literature to date on efforts that appear promising or effective in preventing domestic violence and/or the ‘secondary victimisation’ by the criminal justice system and services that is experienced by women with disabilities. Masuda and Riddington (1990) report on a Canadian national survey of transitional houses (shelters) for battered women, which rated services in each province and territory for accessibility. Guidelines for improving the accessibility of these houses and services for women with disabilities are outlined. Sweeney (1993) outlines the Denver Domestic Violence Initiative for Women with Disabilities (DVI) that has been operating since 1986. The DVI was established to address the specific issues faced by women with disabilities who are survivors of domestic violence. The organisation provides support, crisis intervention, advocacy, and education as well as training and assistance to generic agencies to enable them to meet the needs of women with disabilities. The literature suggests that this model for service delivery to women with disabilities has been successful although empirical evaluation data are not cited.

Mulder (1995) details recommendations for intervention at both government and community levels that focus on:

1. empowerment through, for example, community education, representation by women with disabilities on relevant committees, Disability Plans for Sexual Assault services, advertising of official complaint mechanisms, support groups for women with disabilities, training and information on sexual assault via schools, and Family Planning programs;

2. access to quality services through for example, appropriate accredited training on disability and violence for direct workers, police and Department of Community Services workers, the development and monitoring of policies and procedures re sexual
assault, sexuality and complaints, increasing access and rights re access to TTY, interpreters and communication assistants, provision of counselling services, refuge access and appropriate housing;

3. advocacy through funding for advocacy services for women with disabilities, rights to a support person and appropriate interpreters for deaf/ hearing impaired women when dealing with police.

**Conclusion**

Over the past few years, the justice system has responded to criticism from many feminist analysts that domestic violence for too long was not regarded seriously. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable distance to travel. For example, breaches of court orders are not being followed up properly by police.

More worryingly, the early high hopes that were held for the preventive impact of criminal justice responses in general, and court orders in particular, have not been consistently supported by evaluative research. Court orders do not guarantee that the violence will stop, as highlighted by the fact that a substantial number of spousal murders are committed by men subject to these orders. Moreover, mandatory arrest appears to have counterproductive effects for marginalised men, and increased criminal justice attention may disadvantage marginalised groups, especially Aboriginal people. More generally, criminalisation of domestic violence, whatever its virtues from a justice and prevention perspective, may result in higher rates of imprisonment.

The Duluth model, with its combination of criminal justice measures and perpetrator programs, should nevertheless still be taken seriously for its preventive potential. In this approach, offenders are required to accept responsibility for their actions and to undertake an educational (rehabilitation) program. If offenders do not comply, they are dealt with by the courts. The program treats offenders as having committed a criminal offence and lends support and assistance to victims. However, the success of the imaginative British police approaches to the prevention of repeat victimisation suggests that the Duluth model could be further developed to incorporate such features as personal alarms, Police and Cocoon Watch, official warnings, extensive inter-agency cooperation, and more generally the tiered response focussed on victims, common law offenders, and criminal offenders. The British approach is now supported by strong quantitative data, is achievable by local police, and is cost effective. Consequently, it could be argued that it provides a benchmark for the appraisal of earlier models.

The literature on community-based approaches provides a reminder that sometimes simple methods can be effective for particular people or situations. Personal alarms provide one example, and safe environments for the hand over of children on access visits
another. Shelters are also an effective situational prevention technique, especially if combined with programs that assist women to plan beyond their stay in the refuge.

Perpetrator programs are emerging as an important part of the overall response to domestic violence. Some programs contribute to the cessation or reduction of violence in some men over at least a six month period. However, there is a need for stronger evaluation of these programs so that their positive features and overall impact can be better assessed. In particular, the proper mix of various types of mandated and voluntary programs needs to be determined.

Finally, this review has drawn attention to the need for research on the prevention of domestic violence involving specific groups such as gay men and lesbians, women from a non-English speaking background, and women with disabilities. It is already clear, however, that considerable progress could be made in reducing the incidence of violence in these groups if the kinds of law reforms discussed earlier were implemented. In addition, secondary victimisation through the criminal justice system could be reduced through a heightened awareness and more sympathetic attitudes on the part of police and other key players in the system.
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Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM: SOCIOFILE
Forms of violence related to social change and technological development are examined, based on existing research. It is suggested that criminal and domestic violence is related to the construction of masculinity by male perpetrators. Further, increases in female crime are ascribed to increased poverty, not to women's liberation. The literature suggests that criminal violence is related to economic inequalities that result from changes in the labour market structure, for example, economic specialisation and technological expansion. International competition and the search for cheaper labour lead to violence in the form of work injuries and deaths. Ways to control violence, for example, through informed debate and collective action, are outlined.

NOTES:

The author presents evidence that supports her thesis that, to alter the level of domestic violence, the structure of society must be changed holistically. For example, her evidence suggests that violence in society is increased because of inequalities of race, class and gender and that while individual programs may contain violent acts at that level, they will not stop new generations emerging as violent individuals within a general culture of violence. Furthermore, most violence is conducted by males: in Australia and the US, more than three quarters of all homicide offenders and two thirds of victims (Wallace, A. [1986]. Homicide: the Social Reality, Sydney: New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research; Wolfgang, M. and Ferracuti, F. [1967]. The Subculture of Violence, London: Tavistock Publications). It is time, because of neglect, that the social construction of male violence was investigated with a view to altering the construction to one of a less violent type. Males, subordinated by inequality of income, often without work in a society that constructs the male persona around a male's position in the workplace, resort to violence within the home (his ideological 'castle') to prove their dominant position within society. Braithwaite, J. and Braithwaite, V. (1980). 'The effects of income inequality and social democracy on homicide’, British Journal of Criminology, No. 29, pp. 45-53, found that thirty-one nations had increased homicide rates because of income inequality and the low percentage of gross national product spent on welfare. Polk, K. and Ranson, D. (1991). 'Patterns of homicide in Victoria’, in Chappell, D., Grabosky, P. and Strang, H. eds, Australian Violence: Contemporary Perspectives, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, pp. 53-118, found that the dominant factor in male violence in sexual intimacy was attributable to a man’s attempts to control the female’s behaviour. Consequently, until a holistic

This paper is based on the author's view as an immigrant women in Australia and experience working with immigrant and Anglo women in the area of violence against women. Instances of overt and covert bias in the legal system against women from non-English speaking backgrounds are examined, particularly in relation to accessing legal information on rights, services and legal processes. The problem of providing adequate access to interpreters is explored, highlighting the lack of legislation in this area. The need for cross-cultural training for all those involved in the legal process is emphasised and a program of education on race and ethnicity for all the judiciary is suggested.


This article outlines the problems that migrant women encounter when they seek to leave or escape violent men. In addition to coping with the trauma of violence and the loss of their homes, they face widespread racism from the legal system, including the inadequacy of legal procedures and attitudes of magistrates and registrars. A series of interviews with NESB women who sought intervention orders after suffering domestic violence reveals that the victim's behaviour and her culture become the arena for scrutiny, rather than the adjudication of the violence of the perpetrator. The notion of legal protection was rarely identified as a right but rather a privilege delivered or offered differentially to NESB women.


NOTES:

Atkinson asserts that despite the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADIC), Aboriginal custody rates and deaths in custody are increasing (cf., McDonald, 1997). There is, she notes, only anecdotal evidence as to the influences of this. However, the author argues that this evidence suggests that where the criminal justice system is implementing
more stringently domestic violence legislation, Aboriginal incarceration rates are increasing. The problem of why violence occurs, therefore, has not been addressed, only the criminal justice response to incidents. Atkinson concludes that little progress has occurred to assist Aboriginal women and children. Rather, violence is increasing. Despite the efforts of Aboriginal women to redress domestic violence, these efforts are being counteracted by the criminal justice system. The state, Atkinson concludes, must support Aboriginal people in resolving domestic violence their own way as they implement their own programs rather than using the criminal justice system to incarcerate more people.

Atkinson argues that Aboriginal people prefer the term, 'family violence' rather than domestic violence because of the extended nature of Aboriginal families: this extended nature involves more people in violence at any one time than occurs in non-Aboriginal families. The author included a definition of family violence proposed by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) in its 1992 Report: 'Tjunparni: family violence in indigenous Australia':

Family violence is defined as: 'the beating of a wife or family members, homicide, suicide and other self-inflicted injury, rape, child abuse, child sexual abuse, incest...[more than] serious physical injury but also verbal harassment, psychological and emotional abuse and economic deprivation, which although as devastating are even more difficult to quantify than physical abuse' (ATSIC in Atkinson, 1996:5).

Abstract obtained from AUSTROM: FAMILY.

This publication presents results from a national Women's Safety Survey conducted in February to April 1996, which involved 6,300 women. The survey provides information on women's safety at home and in the community and, in particular, on the nature and extent of violence against women in Australia. Information is presented about the prevalence of physical and sexual violence experienced by women and the nature of this violence, including relationship to the perpetrator, where the violence occurred, and whether or not injuries were sustained. Additional information is reported about the actions taken in response to occurrences of violence, women's fears of violence and incidents of stalking and other forms of harassment.

NOTES:

This survey provides contemporary data regarding violence against women. It is an important document because of the extent to which violence against women has been reported. For example, Coochey (1995) reports on what he argues is a wide misrepresentation of statistics by government ministers and departments such as the Office of the Status of Women (OSW).
According to Coochey, in 1987, the OSW asserted that one in three married women was likely to be the victim of domestic violence. The source for this statistic was the book, Behind Closed Doors ‘written by three American social researchers, Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz in 1980 and the Canadian Juristat study’. However, the author found that the reference in the book was: ‘one in three households would experience some degree of domestic violence but in one half of the cases the woman would be the perpetrator’. Coochey cites several other cases of the misuse of statistics.

This ABS survey should suggest a more accurate depiction of women’s positions within society regarding their safety. It finds that:

the 12 months prior to the survey...1.9% [of] women (over 18 years) experienced an incident of sexual violence...perpetrated [predominantly] by men (99%)...[M]ore women experienced sexual violence from someone other than their partner (ABS, 1996:6).

Of those women 'physically assaulted' during this period, 19 per cent reported the assault to the police while of those 'sexually assaulted', 15 per cent did so (ABS, 1996:7) suggesting a high degree of under-reporting.

Of women with partners:

2.6%...experienced an incident of violence by their partner in the previous 12 month period, while 8.0% reported an incident of violence at some time during their current relationship [,] 7.6% physical violence [and] 1.0% sexual violence. Half of the women who experienced violence by their partner reported more than one incident. 7.4% said that the violence occurred often while 26% said it occurred only rarely (ABS, 1996:7, 50-51).

Women were more likely to be physically assaulted than sexually assaulted by their partners, 7.6 per cent compared to 6.4 per cent. In addition, 'half of the women who had experienced violence by their current partner said there had been more than one incident' (ABS, 1996:8). Of those 'women who have ever been married or in a defacto relationship', 23 per cent had been assaulted by a partner during the partnership. Of those women with partners, 5.5 per cent had been:

pushed, grabbed or shoved and 4.4% had experienced threatened or attempted assault. Equal proportions (0.7%) had been either beaten, choked or hit at some time during the relationship (ABS, 1996:51).

In addition, 8.8 per cent of those currently in relationships had been subjected to some kind of emotional abuse, 'manipulation, isolation or intimidation'. Those experiencing this type of
abuse were more likely to be those also experiencing physical abuse, 59 per cent compared to 4 per cent (ABS, 1996:51).

This reveals a different picture to that supposedly reported by the OSW of 33 per cent. While 23 per cent of women had experienced violence at some time in some relationship, those experiencing violence in a current relationship do not amount to a double digit percentage. Nevertheless, this should in no way detract from the numbers being assaulted. For example, 2.6 per cent of women who experienced violence in a twelve month period amounts to 111,000.


Despite the social turmoil created by drug abusers who are resistant to treatment, very little has been done to develop techniques for working with them. This article identifies some of the more promising approaches in the literature. Among these are individualised and objective feedback on the social and physiological effects of drug consumption. Expert advice to quit and the deliberate manipulation of environmental contingencies by workers can also be effective, as can partner interventions such as reciprocity, marriage counselling and reinforcement training. Resistant drug abusers are of particular interest to social workers, who frequently encounter drug addiction in the context of some other, often more pressing social crisis such as domestic violence or homelessness.


This study looks at client satisfaction of counselling in domestic violence cases. The author considers the findings of research which explore the issue of whether or not it is appropriate for the Court to refer parties to conciliation counselling if one party has behaved violently towards the other. Comparisons are made with research done by Dr Gay Maxwell in New Zealand in 1987, who studied 528 first time clients from 4 New Zealand Family Courts. Issues of safety for themselves or their children were of initial concern, but after 6 months, 65% of those who had safety concerns, no longer held them.

Becker addresses areas of service provided for women and raises the need for providing assistance for children who live within violent homes. Children, Becker argues, must be included in any programs that confront domestic violence as they are profoundly affected by being witness to constant assaults on their mothers. Evidence suggests that children growing up within such environments are frequently maladapted, displaying violent tendencies in their contact with those outside the home. Becker argues that if domestic violence prevention is to be taken seriously, the position of children within violent homes must be addressed; if they are not, the cycle of violence will continue as many of these children in their turn become perpetrators in their adult partnerships.

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Becker describes a program within two women’s refuges in South Australia developed to deal with children from violent homes. The treatment involves ten weekly sessions of around two hours each. Although the sessions are structured, they have a flexibility that allows for individual problems. The program works in conjunction with the mother-victim so that the parent-child relationship is enhanced. The women’s shelters to which Becker refers are associated with the government sponsored, Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP). Becker indicates that the shelters are not designed to meet the needs of children; the children’s program has developed incidentally. There is, however, a need for a universal adoption of children’s assistance within the assistance program.


Responsiveness relates to the quality and quantity of the interaction between the police and the public. Regionalisation of police command / devolution of decision-making has led to problems in providing highly specialised police services.


This recent book on family violence considers various forms of family violence (spouse maltreatment, child abuse, sibling abuse, parent abuse and elder abuse) from a comprehensive interdisciplinary perspective. The authors discuss causes of family violence, coercive family relationships, the prediction of violence, and primary, secondary and tertiary models of prevention. Drawing on a large body of literature, the efficacy of various approaches to prevention of spouse maltreatment or domestic violence are discussed, including a more detailed focus on various psychological treatment modalities (eg. individual, conjoint, family, group therapy) aimed at women and/or abusive men. The authors are concerned to equally consider
effective violence prevention approaches for the large number of women who choose to remain in their relationship, as to date prevention efforts have focused on removing the immediate threat of violence (eg shelters) and assisting women to leave their violent relationship.


This article presents four case studies of elder abuse from the files of a multi-site training project designed to teach rural caregivers of persons with Alzheimer’s Disease and related disorders how to better manage behavioural problems associated with dementia. The cases are used to illustrate characteristics of victims, perpetrators, and family systems that are vulnerable to abuse. The examples presented reflect personality characteristics in the caregiver, and anxiety and lack of knowledge. The role of health care professionals and researchers who uncover abuse or neglect situations is also discussed.


Popular assertions for the existence of high numbers of matrifocal families were taken into account when conducting this research and either disproved or found to offer insufficient explanation for the increased numbers of matrifocal families. These factors included:

* increased availability of divorce since legislation made legal separation easier; Australia’s numbers increased from 1976:
* access to welfare benefits made matrifocality attractive; and
* demographic imbalances in sex ratios lessened marriage chances for women.

Significantly, ‘[t]he marriage rate of highly educated women is below-average while the numbers of divorced and separated women is below-average’. Also, [t]he average education level as well as the income level of supporting mothers is well below average. Many were found to have had unreliable incomes during their marriages and a minor reduction on separating that was reliable, was found preferable to the oppressive relationship. Many, too, had been the sole breadwinners during their marriage so that a change actually benefited them.

Of the two major sources of income support for single-parent families, social security transfers and earned income, there was an increase in the proportion of families dependent on social security in the period 1974-1982, a period of recession and high unemployment. Over this period the value of income support for parents declined because of the non-indexation of the child components of pensions and benefits. Disincentives to the parents' LF participation are identified: lack of post-school qualifications, shortage of jobs, scarcity of affordable childcare and the low-income retention rates imposed on the extra earnings of pensioners and beneficiaries.

The authors report that the higher the educational qualifications of female single parents, the more likelihood of their being employed, especially full-time. There is useful ABS labour force data provided.


This article looks at the areas that have been targeted in relation to reducing acts of domestic violence since 1981. The author finds that progress has occurred predominantly with government agencies as changes to criminal justice responses have occurred to offer greater protection to victims, for example, with the widening of the powers accorded to Apprehended Violence Orders. While these strengthened areas are to be commended, according to Suzanne Hatte, Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Behavioural and Community Studies, University of New England, the area of culturally constructed stereotypes is in need of change. While society constructs male violence as accepted, even a desired male attribute, and condones, albeit tacitly, violence against women, acts of domestic violence will continue.

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Causton (1993:23) argues that one of the most important areas to change is the ‘cultural expectations of the effects of alcohol’, for example, accepting that being affected by alcohol at the time of an assault is wrong. The author finds that in only 25 per cent of domestic assaults was alcohol a contributing factor. Those who investigate the link between alcohol and violence argue that rather than investigating the degree to which violent offenders have used alcohol, the degree to which alcohol users are violent is more relevant (Weatherburn [n.r] in Causton, 1993:23). Not doing this perpetuates the myth that it was the alcohol that caused the violence not the man when, in reality, it was the violent man empowered by use of alcohol; as many women are assaulted by sober as by intoxicated men.
Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper argues that disabled women victims of physical, emotional and sexual abuse obtain little support from existing services for other victims of violence, or from the disability or women’s movements.


*Chesterman analyses Commonwealth Employment Service records to find that single-parent women who cannot attain high-paid employment are those most likely to be long-term recipients of welfare support. These women, Chesterman argues, cannot gain employment that provides sufficient income to support themselves and their children mainly because of a lack of education. Those able to support themselves, usually do. Chesterman analyses different government programs to find that most are inadequate. When women do not possess the means to attain sufficient income, Chesterman argues, they must be given access to affordable childcare facilities or they will remain welfare dependent.*

NOTES:

While this report does not address domestic violence, it offers reasons that women will accept low-income welfare support: they have no alternative. This adds weight to those (e.g., O’Donnell and Saville (1980, 1982 abstracted below), who argue that women remain in violent family situations because they can not afford to leave. Those who can, even if this means an equally low income provided by welfare payments, often do. This paper is added weight to those offering a solution to Devery’s (1992 abstracted below) apparent paradox that women of both low and high incomes leave violent partnerships. It also suggests directions for policies that lessen women’s dependence on welfare.


*Chodorow argues that patriarchal ideology is a tool that legitimises the industrial capitalist system by socialising children into their correct roles within society. This occurs by ensuring that the father’s role is defined, within the home, as that of the dominant provider while the mother’s is defined as that of the passive nurturer. This then works to socialise boys and girls into their correct roles within society by observing within the home how the roles are played out between their parents. Boys, by being psychologised in this manner, take on specific dominant*
male characteristics and are prepared for a greater involvement within the workplace and a lesser-involved position within the family; girls are socialised in opposition.

NOTES:

Males who are socialised in response to patriarchal ideology become violent within the home in three ways (or combinations thereof). First, because men have been socialised to believe in their dominance within the home, they react violently to women who challenge this position (Herd, 1996). In addition, when men are faced with the reality of the workplace (its contradictions), they become frustrated and respond to any perceived challenge to their authority within the home, the only place they are capable of exerting authority. However, they must exert their authority physically. The reality of the workplace is contradictory because men find that they are subordinate to many others who are usually promoted within patriarchal ideology as lesser: their bosses may not be white but of a different ethnicity; the boss may be gay; the boss may even be female (Tomsen, 1990:52-53).

Finally, men are socialised according to Chodorow, largely according to a perceived image of masculinity. Rather than being faced with a constant male image at home, children find that the father is frequently absent within the workplace. The more the father is absent, therefore, the more children, faced with patriarchal ideology that permeates society, grow to adulthood according to a perceived image of what it is to be masculine. Furthermore, the more they are faced with authority from a mother (which contradicts ideology) the more opposed to female authority they become. This leads to excessive rejection of women in authority in adulthood and leads easily to violent reactions. This position is exacerbated within families whose father is completely absent. That is, boys in families whose heads are female because of divorce or death of the ‘correct’ household head, mature with an even more exaggerated idea of what it is to be male.


The author, who is writing a book based on this article argues against the notion that violence by men against women is rampant. He provides examples of claims pointing to the prevalence of male violence against women and argues that many of the statistics used by authors are flawed. For example, an often-quoted statistic first used by the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) in 1987 notes that one in three married women was likely to be the victim of domestic violence. The sources the OSW provided for their statistics were the book, Behind Closed Doors written by three American social researchers, Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz in 1980 and the Canadian Juristat study. The book reads that ‘one in three
households would experience some degree of domestic violence but in one half the cases the woman would be the perpetrator’. The author reports on several other examples of the misuse of statistics and of a continuing campaign by the OSW to misrepresent purposefully violence against women by men.


The prevalence of domestic violence in Australia has long been ignored, although there has been increased awareness of the problem since the issue was highlighted at a national level in 1989. The neglect and abuse of elderly people was largely overlooked in Australia until 1990, despite the subject receiving greater publicity elsewhere. A study in rural north western New South Wales is designed to provide information that can be used by local care providers to formulate strategies for services for elderly people. The study of 598 clients, of whom thirty-three were found to be abused, identifies health problems, abuse rates and interventions offered. The findings suggest that the type and prevalence of elder abuse in non-metropolitan areas is very similar to that in metropolitan areas.


This publication is a collection of articles outlining the extent to which domestic violence is a world-wide phenomenon; it is not restricted to certain countries or cultures. The anthology covers around thirty ‘countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, the Pacific and North and Latin America’. The book promotes the argument that violence against women is a result of the patriarchal structures that perpetuate the dominance of women by men through the uneven distribution of power that then manifests itself in male violence against women. Davies suggests that common threads emerge such as the connection between male violence and the economic dependency of women. Furthermore, it is common that family violence is commonly hidden within the walls of the family home. To combat its occurrence successfully, the author argues, both countries’ laws and their attitudes towards women must be changed, that is, their largely patriarchal social constructions.


The Family Law Act defines ‘family’ counter to Tiwi family structure, namely according to a nuclear definition of ‘family’. The Tiwi family, in contrast, has strong traditional cultural continuities. The family structure operates according to an extended structure where children
are ‘grown up’ by a number of relevant related family members. Consequently, when the biological family members come to the attention of the criminal justice and welfare systems, application of nuclear family values can perpetuate the supposedly extinct stolen children phenomenon as children are removed and institutionalised within State welfare homes. In contrast, the Northern Territory Government has recognised this need for Aboriginal families and has made provision under Part ix of the Northern Territory Community Welfare Act 1993. Aboriginal children where possible are placed with family members rather than being institutionalised. An Aboriginal Child Care Agency, KARU, established in 1987, works with the Northern Territory Government to fulfil this need for Aboriginal families. If no family exists or is deemed unsuitable, KARU then seeks a suitable family within the appropriate clan with whom the child/ren can be placed. Institutionalisation is a move of last resort.


Workers from the Toukley Women’s Refuge began providing support for women making Apprehended Domestic Violence Orders before the courts. A group of volunteer supporters developed as the program’s popularity increased. In late 1993, the Wyong Local Domestic Violence Committee requested financial assistance from the Information Training Research Action Centre (ITRAC) to establish a pilot Domestic Violence Court Support Project that could support a paid coordinator thereby improving the program’s efficiency. The funds were granted and the scheme began in June 1994 ending in December 1994. Following completion, ITRAC engaged a consultant to establish the program’s worth. Following the consultant’s successful report, funding has been extended and since 1996 is provided by the Legal Aid Commission. The program, now permanently funded, has become a model for establishing similar schemes providing assistance to women and children requiring escape from violent situations. The program is officially titled, the Wyong Domestic Violence Liaison Action Committee.


This report finds that reasons for the degree of violent domestic acts are ambiguous. For example, while there appears to be a correlation between people’s socio-economic position (there is more violence in working class areas than in more affluent areas) there is more separation of women from lower socio-economic areas suggesting that class does not necessarily entrap battered women. Nevertheless, the report finds that it is not proven that higher status men are not violent towards their partners nor that there is not a situation of unequal power relations existing within partnerships generally. The report suggests that different types of abuse may exist within different socio-economic groups that require investigation. Social learning, the report finds, is responsible for violent acts as children learn the practice from within a violent
family. Of importance, the report argues, is that socio-economic factors contribute to incidents of domestic violence. Appropriate programs can be structured to help those at risk. Above all, there is a need to go past simplistically attributing masculinity to violent acts.

NOTES:

This report highlights some important factors in the search for reasons that domestic violence occurs, and thus how the incidence can be addressed adequately. The author is puzzled by the apparent paradox of women’s socio-economic status. However, several writers have addressed this position. Herd (1996, abstracted below) has addressed these authors views. Specifically, the authors (Burns, 1987; Cass and O’Loughlin, 1985; Chesterman, 1989; O’Donnell and Saville, 1980, 1982; Ross and Saunders, 1993; Scutt, 1983) find that women with the education that enables them to command sufficient income to be independent of a male’s support, are least likely to endure an abusive relationship; they are able to support themselves and any children they may have. Concomitantly, women of low socio-economic status who have little or nothing to lose (some in fact gain) by exiting from an abusive relationship, do so. For example, because a woman loses little, nothing, or, in fact, gains economically by leaving an abusive relationship and accepting welfare, she will do so (e.g., when she leaves an abusive situation, the male no longer drinks what little money there is). The authors find that women at most risk are those of middle income and without the educational qualifications to command more than that provided by the partner (their lack of money traps them). By leaving and accepting welfare or a low-paid job, they (and especially if they have dependent children), are disadvantaged considerably. There is much, as the report finds, to by gained by investigating the unequal power relationships within partnerships.


This article describes two Scottish probation men’s education programs (CHANGE and LDVPP) and reports on the findings of an evaluation study of the impact of these programs on subsequent violence to partners, in comparison to other types of criminal justice sanctions. Refer to the following bibliography entry by the same authors for details of this study. Findings from the research show that in contrast to men who experience other forms of criminal justice sanctions, a considerable proportion of the men participating in CHANGE and LDVPP had successfully reduced their violent and controlling behaviour over a one year period. The authors refer to other research and meta-analysis as evidence for the effectiveness of cognitive and behavioural group programs for offenders, over and above other program or treatment modalities (eg psychodynamic approaches, casework, punishment based). Other research and the findings of this study indicate that effective programs are focused, structured, well planned and managed, and have high program integrity.

This paper presents the major findings of a 3 year evaluation study of the impact of two Scottish men’s probation programs on subsequent violence to partners, and compares their impact to other types of criminal justice sanctions. The two programs (CHANGE and the Lothian Domestic Violence Probation Project, LDVPP), used an educational cognitive-behavioural approach in weekly structured group sessions over 6 to 7 months. The focus was clearly on the offender, his violence and his responsibility for change. Partners were kept informed of the issues covered in the sessions. A range of standard measures to assess violence, injuries, other coercive and controlling behaviour and quality of life were gathered from men and their partners at point of imposition of the criminal justice sanction, 3 months after initial assessment and 12 months after assessment. This occurred for the Program group and for the comparison group (Other Criminal Justice). Subject drop-out from the research study was significant, more so for male respondents (eg from 51 men and 47 women at Stage 1 Program group to 27 men and 28 women at Stage 3 Program group). The relatively small number of research participants, especially by Stage 3, in addition to lack of control for selection bias led the authors to suggest caution in interpreting findings as conclusive. However, reported findings were encouraging, and included: according to partners, all criminal justice interventions (ie fine, probation, prison) appeared to have some positive effects on their men’s behaviour during the 12 month follow-up period, although the re-education Programs were the most successful at reducing violence (33% of Program men compared to 75% of Other Criminal Justice committed another violent act within 12 months), and also significantly reduced coercive and controlling behaviour associated with violence. Frequency of violence was also reduced for the Program group compared to the Other Criminal Justice group, with 7% and 37% of men respectively initiating 5 or more violent incidents during the 12 month follow-up.


Based on a small scale survey of 30 women with disabilities and 32 women without disabilities (total N=62) this report presents information on sexual and physical violence against women. The study found that 67% of women with disabilities reported being physically abused as children, compared to 44% of non-disabled women. In addition, women with disabilities were more likely to have been sexually abused as children (47%) compared to 34% of women without disabilities. Physical and sexual violence against women with disabilities during their adult years was also higher than for non-disabled women. 33% of women with disabilities reported physical assault, mostly by husbands, and 31% reported sexual assault, compared to 22% and 23% respectively for non-disabled women. Overall the rate of physical violence against women with disabilities was 1.97 times higher than for women without disabilities, and 1.38 times higher in relation to sexual violence. The study also found that the most dangerous place for girls or
women with disabilities was their own home. In addition to violence from family members, violence by teachers and other carers/attendants was also common. Escaping from assailants is often very difficult for women with disabilities for a number of reasons, including financial dependence on the perpetrator, as well as lack of accessible transport, and lack of physical access to women’s shelters and the availability of attendant care. The report also indicates that women with impaired communication or developmental disabilities are particularly vulnerable to abuse, and that isolation and institutionalisation are major factors contributing to violence experienced by women with disabilities.

Abstract obtained from AUSTROM:CINCH (Criminology)

The results relating to offenders’ birthplace in a study on homicide between adult sexual intimates are examined using data from the National Homicide Monitoring Project, 1989-1991, and case data (N=110) from the Dept of Public Prosecution in NSW and Victoria. The research shows a disproportionately high number of overseas-born perpetrators and cases that were usually preceded by a history of physical or emotional violence characterised by jealousy. It is concluded that these data may be an anomaly, or a sign of high domestic violence rates in these communities, or an indication that domestic violence is less reported by overseas-born women survivors. The latter two theories discussed using overseas and Australian literature on domestic violence.


This article is drawn from a report by the author titled ‘Shattered Dreams: Marital Violence Against Women: The Overseas-Born in Australia’. The report was based on a large scale study across NSW, Qld, S.A. Vic, and the ACT involving 800 victim surveys, a survey of legal aid practitioners, ethnic welfare agencies and refuge workers (N=400), information from 3061 police calls concerning DV, and 21 in-depth interviews with survivors. A number of issues were identified by migrant women survivors including isolation, associated emotional abuse, economic dependency, and co-existing violence towards their children by their partner. Contributing factors to violence were perceived by migrant women as involving generation to generation violence, alcohol and unemployment. Issues identified as contributing to abuse by immigrant husbands included ‘normative wife abuse within the culture of origin, belief in family privacy, changes in gender roles in Australia, isolation, lack of support, language difficulties and downward shifts in employment status.’ Particularly vulnerable groups included Asian women who had been sponsored by non-Asian men and women brought from overseas to wed someone.
from their own culture already resident in Australia. Migrant women were found to face special problems with gaining assistance including difficulty telling family or friends, poor police responses and a lack of knowledge about rights and services including negative images about shelters. The article outlines general solutions to problems of domestic violence as well as specific solutions aimed at improving the situation for immigrant women. Specific solutions include: modification to immigration laws, improved access to information about rights, domestic violence services, further screening of sponsors, improvements to refuges, increased outreach programs for remote and rural women, appropriately skilled and bilingual workers and greater co-ordination of government services.


This chapter traces the changing of feminist analysis from the 1970s as cultural determinism takes precedence in feminist analysis. An article of referral to further reading should someone desire to investigate the area in depth. The point is that no longer would feminists accept that males were biologically determined towards violence and especially not towards women. Consequently, the emphasis has moved to other reasons (especially the structure of patriarchal ideology that positions a male as dominant within society) that women are unevenly victimised within the home in comparison to men.


The Benevolent Society’s Early Intervention Program...[works] with high risk families with a child under three. [The program treats] distortions in the parent-infant interactions which put the infant at risk...[The team conducting the program is] multidisciplinary...consist[ing] of social workers, psychologists, a nurse, an occupational therapist, a physiotherapist, a psychotherapist and an administrative officer. The team is able to offer a variety of services ranging from social support to therapy, depending on what each family needs or wants. However, Edwards argues that total prevention of child abuse will not be possible until we, as a society, cease to tolerate certain values and conditions which undervalue children and undermine the
relationship between parents and children. These include poverty, sexism, media violence and corporal punishment. The Benevolent Society has been able to develop a comprehensive model that permits an eclectic approach to the prevention of child abuse in high risk families with infants. Because the EIP team has been able to develop a unique understanding of how relationships experienced in infancy impact on adult ways of relating, it is able not only to prevent abuse, but also to facilitate the development of infants and their families.


Ellwood finds that the structure of US families has been moving increasingly to a single-parent model since the 1960s. The author finds that there is no evidence to support a thesis that increased welfare support for single parents is the reason; welfare support declined from 1972 but the trend continues. Ellwood finds the trend present in both low-income groups whose economic positions has worsened with the state’s economic decline, and higher-earnings groups presenting a paradox similar to Devery (abstracted above).

NOTES:

Ellwood could not explain the trend to single-parent families except to suggest that women were becoming less dependent on a male wage. This offers supporting evidence that it is women’s dependence on men that has them trapped within a violent partnership offering a direction for introducing policies that will support women requiring independence to leave a violent family situation.


This report from the Crime Research Centre uses various data sources to attempt to produce an accurate picture of the nature and extent of domestic violence. Sources include police recorded crime statistics, hospital admission records, police emergency calls data, police local data in an area of Western Australia where the Duluth project was being replicated, the Crime Research Centre’s own three tiered victims’ survey, Court restraining orders, women’s refuge or shelter data, and crisis intervention data from the Department for Community Development. The book also discusses the extent of domestic violence against men and particular attention is also paid to the position of Aborigines and rural Western Australian inhabitants.
Clinical and epidemiological evidence indicates that a significant proportion of Vietnam veterans suffer from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), alcohol abuse and poor physical and mental health. In turn, anecdotal evidence suggests that the wives and children who live with these men may also suffer substantial day to day difficulties, including the threat of violence.

A random sample of one thousand Australian Army Vietnam veterans selected for the Australian Vietnam Veterans Health Study (O'Toole et al., Paper 1, 1994) provided the opportunity to assess the prevalence of these disorders, and to identify the potential impact that these and other factors may have on incidents of domestic violence.

While the prevalence of domestic violence within this sample was no greater or less than reports of domestic violence in the community (Roberts et al., 1993; National Committee on Violence, 1991), this study provided the potential to disentangle factors identified in the literature as predictive of domestic violence in the community (a priori factors), and military, post military or other factors which may modify these factors in some way.

While marital distress, younger age and alcohol abuse (a priori factors) were predictive of domestic violence, results of this study suggested the potential for a substantial impact by military factors on incidents of domestic violence within this sample. These included not only war service and combat related issues such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and the subsequent receipt of war service health care or pension support, but more specifically the initial choice of a military career rather than conscription. Results suggested that regular soldiers were significantly more likely to admit to episodes of domestic violence than national servicemen. The former were employed, with sound socio-economic status and little negative impact from their combat service. National servicemen, on the other hand, were more likely to admit domestic violence only if they had suffered from their war service in some way (such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) and remain permanently disabled.

The results also suggested considerable interaction or effect modification between the factors predictive of domestic violence, and consistent similarities between these factors and the predictors of alcohol abuse and Post Traumatic Stress Disorder.
This brief paper also draws on other work by the author (Frances, Alder and Sutton, 1994; Frances, 1996), including a 1996 Ph.D. thesis ‘A Study of Seven Attitude/Behaviour Change Programs for Men who are Violent in the Home’. The author’s Victorian research indicates that the majority of men attending violence prevention programs in Victoria do so on a voluntary basis, and are not court mandated. Furthermore, approx. half of all men attending programs have never had contact with the police or criminal justice system. Drop out rates from programs are approx 27% which is lower than in the US. Approx 70% of participants have never completed secondary school, and approximately one third are unemployed. Most Victorian men’s violence prevention programs use a short course format (12-16 weeks) followed by an ongoing support group, and are provided by agencies ‘within the context of a total package of support services to women, children and men’ including one to one counselling, and support groups for women. A referral service (Men’s Referral Service) acts as a central referral point for programs. While program structure varies between groups, V-NET (peak body) has developed standards of practice for member agencies, which provide some basis for accountability and evaluation of programs. The author stresses the need for ongoing training for program staff and the development of specific courses on violent men’s education programs at the tertiary level. Courses need to address the socio-economic and educational background of men participants, the needs of indigenous and non-English speaking background people and partner safety protocols and support. Frances also argues for more ‘consistent and realistic levels of funding’ for programs. The author’s own and other research indicates that men’s violence programs ‘have provided a useful and educational experience for many men.’ Reduction/cessation of physical violence and other abusive behaviour have been reported by both men and women partners. Frances concludes by suggesting that ‘group programs for men have a potentially important role in preventive health, and as a form of early intervention which may well save women and children much personal pain and injury. Formalisation of the Victorian model and dual track voluntary and mandated programs are also suggested.


Fredericks reports on the success of the We Al-Li program (Abstracted under Aboriginal Violence under Atkinson) that is conducted by a group of Aboriginal women headed by Judy Atkinson. Fredericks participated in the series of workshops. The author indicates that although this is a program formulated by Aboriginal women, it is successful for both men and women of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal origins. Although the program is highly successful and ‘complement[s] clinical health services’, Fredericks argues, it has considerable difficulty obtaining financial assistance from governments. Fredericks suggests that this indicates the colonialist and racist nature of the state as it wants to retain control of the direction of indigenous services.
This review examines psychological factors in the personalities of battering men. Issues reviewed include theoretical typologies of domestically violent men with focus on their use of alcohol, their frequent antisocial orientation, and their mood. Attention is directed to their poor educational records and their frequent criminality. The biological/genetic literature related to aggression and violence is discussed. Speculation is made about a typology involving two types of batterers. One type is frequently alcohol-abusing, anti-social, low in intelligence and criminal in history. The second type uses less alcohol, is brighter and better socialised, has a better work record and lacks a criminal background. The conclusion is made that batterer intervention programs should acknowledge that batterers frequently have psychological and social problems in addition to their violence in the home. Suggestions are made for inserting alcohol education and controlled drinking concepts into battering intervention programs, rather than totally relying on other agencies to treat alcohol problems. Recommendations are made about the management of batterers with serious character problems, including insisting upon strict attendance, requiring batterers to pay for programs, and dismissing men who are uncooperative. The Duluth model is recommended for hard core batterers as it provides for longer term programming and should be accompanied by strict criminal sanctions for non-compliance.

The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs in Queensland funds the specific group-based program for parents and children at the Talera Centre which deals with child witnesses of domestic violence. The work of the centre is described in this paper which outlines key dilemmas for social workers in dealing with issues for child witnesses of domestic violence. The importance of community education is emphasised, highlighting the need for centralisation of agencies with resources, funding and staff providing a service covering all points of entry. The Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project in Minnesota is described as an illustration of an ideal model for intervention.

Abstract obtained from journal article.
This article provides a critical analysis of current research and knowledge on batterer programs and suggestions for enhancing evaluation methodologies and the effectiveness and appropriateness of these programs. Batterer counselling programs are a relatively new endeavour and remain the core of batterer interventions. These programs are currently experiencing some conflicting convergence and divergence in program approach, format and objective. How effective they are and which programs are most appropriate have not been satisfactorily determined. Several methodological innovations from other evaluation research, and an expansion of research design to include social impact assessment and medical ethics assessment, may improve the recent wave of single-site evaluations. Although experimental and clinical trial designs are often idealised, naturalistic comparative studies of existing programs may be sufficiently instructive at this stage to identify the most appropriate programming. Research addressing program drop-out might include evaluation of specialised dual-diagnosis-type programs and, possibly, longitudinal studies of the change process in general. Another area of concern is how to assess the risks and dangers to battered women. Although dangerousness and lethality research in other fields has shown limited results, typologies of batterers may at least help establish categories of ‘high-risk’ men. This might be followed or accompanied by research on patient matching that identifies the most appropriate interventions for different types of batterers. The judgment of batterer program staff and battered women also might be investigated to identify criteria and processes of decision making that might be applied to program discharge and court-sentencing decisions. Despite several model programs, curricula, and training programs, the field remains very uneven in availability and sophistication of services. Basic needs assessments may be useful in designing technical assistance and program development strategies, especially for extending batterer programs to rural and minority communities. Collaboration between researchers, practitioners and victims, although often difficult to establish and maintain, makes the research more grounded, clinically relevant and applicable, and therefore should be pursued.


The program works in conjunction with the criminal justice system. Offenders are required to undertake the program and, if they do not comply, they are returned to the criminal justice system where they are dealt with by the courts. The program treats offenders as having committed a criminal offence and lends support and assistance to victims. The program is reportedly highly successful in its place of origin, Duluth, Minnesota, USA, but has differing success rates in other areas. Nevertheless, it is recommended that the program be implemented for the positive results it has, but that it should be introduced according to the peculiar needs of each area in which it is planned to operate.

This paper overviews the current status and pertinent issues in relation to group behaviour change programs for violent men in Australia. These programs are now available in all capital cities, although coverage is uneven, and few programs exist in rural areas. Many of these programs appear to operate with similar aims and philosophy, although information is limited by lack of a national data base or accreditation system. The author states that ‘there is widespread agreement that groups should be grounded in an analysis of power and control in gender relations.’ Programs tend to offer limited duration (approx 10 weeks) structured groups, and on-going support and discussion groups. The author cites V-NET (Victorian Network for the Prevention of Male Family Violence Inc.) and other research supporting the complementarity of these two approaches and the likelihood of more ‘substantial behaviour change’ from longer duration group programs. Group processes, often based on ‘restraint theory’ (Jenkins, 1990), involve practice of non-violent behaviour, mutual support and use of facilitators as role models. Partner safety is a primary concern, with most programs having some contact with female partners over the course of the program. This may include contact to inform them of the program’s aim, and/or other support services, checks on safety, involvement in parallel programs or counselling, and for program evaluation purposes. Who attends group programs is also discussed, however there is limited available data on participants’ socio-economic profile and programs for specific minority group men (eg., indigenous, disability and non-English speaking background) have generally not developed to date. Voluntary participation in programs is more common than mandatory participation. Problems associated with combining voluntary and mandatory participants are discussed, with the author citing current research and practice that suggests limiting the number of mandated participants in each group (refer V-NET minimum standards), or for a ‘dual track system’ of separate programs for voluntary participants and mandatory offenders. Current debates about the effectiveness of men’s group programs are discussed, in particular Gondolf’s (1993) criticism of the current conceptualisations of what constitutes effectiveness (also see Gondolf, 1997 in this bibliography). Findings from Frances’ (1994) study of Victorian programs is also outlined. Three specific examples of initiatives designed to improve communication, accountability and co-ordination of programs are outlined. These include the work of the state wide peak body V-NET (support to programs, manages Men’s Telephone Referral Service, publications, practice standards); regional networks of service providers; and integrated community intervention projects which offer a coordinated response to domestic violence within a criminal justice framework, based largely on the US Duluth model (eg. projects operating in Moe, Victoria and Armadale, WA.). Finally, Grace summarises initiatives to improve the effectiveness of men’s programs and to develop a national approach to stop domestic violence. These include: the development of practice standards; a national program database; formal training for group facilitators; peer supervision; program evaluations and the development of more relevant frameworks and methodologies; a national curriculum for group behaviour change programs;
integrated intervention models with the criminal justice systems as well as community service models for voluntary participants; and national monitoring and accountability systems eg accreditation.


Graycar suggests that many women who raise the issue of violence in the process of a property settlement are not believed by the court. The author argues that violence should be considered for property settlement because women are frequently prevented from re-establishing themselves after a divorce due to their financial dependence on a partner. A greater share of property, asserts Graycar, could assist the woman to establish her future position within society.


This project was implemented and evaluated between January and December 1997 in the Killingbeck Division of the West Yorkshire Police in Leeds. Its aim was to reduce repeat victimisation through a three-tiered programme of operational interventions. It focussed not only on the victimised woman but also the offending man to create an approach that protected the victim while demotivating the offender. The program required all police officers at Killingbeck to act pro-actively to ensure the safety of the victim and to maintain a closer inter-agency involvement with organisations supporting victims and with those that respond to offenders. The programme both reduced repeat attendances and increased the time intervals between attendances by responding more appropriately in domestic settings, both to men who required firm action from the police and to women who required their assistance. The programme enabled chronic repeat offenders to be identified, individually assessed and, over the year of the project, for their numbers to be reduced.


Information from personal communication with Carmel Mahoney, program facilitator also included.

This report describes the St. Vincent de Paul Men’s Violence Management Program conducted by the Society’s Family and Welfare Unit at Redfern, and indicates that it has had some success in reducing physical and non-physical abuse behaviour by perpetrators. The program integrates a feminist model of domestic violence with teaching anger management, interpersonal skills and self-awareness, and aims for attitude and behaviour change, with the primary aim the cessation of physical violence. The contract is with the perpetrator to attend group sessions (3 hours per
and a group for the women partners is also conducted if they wish to attend. Personal communication with Carmel Mahoney, program facilitator provided information about a three year follow up study of the program by Steve Sutton, the program’s psychologist (publication forthcoming). This study found that approx. 85% of female partners report cessation of physical violence by their partners. However other emotional and psychological controlling behaviours and the concept of ‘male privilege’ had not significantly reduced. The majority of program participants are voluntary although some participants are court mandated. NSW Probation and Parole now conduct their own perpetrator programs and are looking to expand these.


This dissertation goes beyond culture to explain why Aboriginal people act the way they do within their disparate communities. While acknowledging that Aboriginal people have been dispossessed and their culture destroyed in many cases, their socio-economic position within the capitalist state is revealed to insist that only by addressing this realistic position can remedies for many of Aboriginal people’s problems be found. This report reveals why many programs designed by non-Aboriginal authorities and aimed at addressing problems experienced by Aboriginal people do not work. It also emphasises the degree of institutional racism that exists within Australian society. The dissertation supports many of the aims espoused for programs presently in existence.


The present review involves the evaluation of 97 potential risk markers of husband to wife violence. Using 52 case comparison studies as the source of data, markers were divided into four categories: consistent risk, inconsistent risk, consistent non-risk, and risk markers with insufficient data. Based on this classification, it appears that a number of widely held hypotheses about husband to wife violence have little empirical support. Only witnessing violence in the wife’s family of origin was consistently associated with being victimised by violence. Furthermore, it seems that characteristics associated with either the husband-offender or the couple have greater utility for assessing the risk of husband to wife violence than characteristics of the wife-victim. Findings are discussed in terms of the methodological and theoretical implications of current research on this form of adult domestic violence.
Abstract obtained from: Sociological Abstracts 1986-1999/06

This article examines repeat and serial spouse/fiance sponsorship in Australia, based on a review of the literature and interviews conducted with women who had been sponsored (with the majority deriving from Asia), community and health workers, refuge workers, and others (total N=124). Findings reveal that repeat sponsorship was a common phenomenon. Further, repeat sponsors demonstrated a high level of perpetration of various forms of domestic violence. In July 1994, the Minister for Immigration announced changes in government policy aimed at preventing the abuse and exploitation of women who come to Australia as spouses/fiancées.

Abstract obtained from journal article.

This article is the result of over 4 years experience in working with women who are survivors of domestic violence. It examines the usefulness of different models (including the Mutual Help Model, the Duluth Minnesota Model, and the Mutual Aid Model) and the need for flexibility and spontaneity in this area. A framework for working in groups with women struggling with domestic violence is set out, with particular attention given to the needs and difficulties of working with women from non-English speaking backgrounds. *The need for leaders to develop a culturally sensitive group model is emphasised. The group program covers topics such as the cyclic nature of abuse and types of abuse, coercion and control, legal protection and safety, effects of domestic violence on children, family of origin issues, effects of domestic violence on self-esteem, dealing with anger, communication, gender issues and focusing on the future. Difficulties in running an open and ongoing group are discussed, including supervision, burnout and leader change over. However, the advantages of a group model for working with these women include the mutual aid processes of sharing data, the dialectical process, exploring taboo subjects, sharing of the phenomenon of domestic violence, emotional support, mutual demand, mutual expectations, helping with specific problems, rehearsal and empowerment.*

see Violence Against Lesbians and gay men annotated bibliography for abstract.

The Domestic Violence Matters (DVM) project began in February 1993. It is based upon the assumption that a police intervention alone is insufficient to equip women with sufficient emotional and practical resources to change a situation where they are victims of domestic violence. The project employs civilian support workers to follow up police responses to domestic violence and to provide comprehensive information to women about other agencies that could assist them in their situation, particularly advice and legal services. The crisis information workers are available 16 hours per day, 7 days a week enabling a rapid response. Many women reported that speed of response is a significant factor allowing them to take immediate action to increase their safety and accelerate the process of change. The project has been successful in decreasing repeat calls to the police and increasing the number of referrals to other agencies being taken up.


Keys Young conducted an investigation into the ‘relationship between alcohol use and violence’ for the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse. The report formed a background paper for a National Symposium on Alcohol Misuse and Violence ‘hosted by the Department of Human Services and Health in December 1993’. The report considered:

*levels of alcohol consumption and associated violent behaviour;
*a sample of violent crimes and the proportion that involve alcohol;
*some research on alcohol consumption, violent crime and non-violent crime; and
*a review of databases and information collected on alcohol use and violence (Keys Young, 1994:105).

This investigation, however, proved inconclusive. It was found that there has been little analysis undertaken regarding the two areas in conjunction, that is, both alcohol use and the incidence of users regarding violence. Most investigations have considered the areas in separation thereby leaving their relationship unknown.

NOTES:

Keys Young found that with domestic violence that ‘State data collections are uncoordinated’ and that definitions of domestic violence vary widely thereby making statistical accuracy difficult because of the numbers excluded from any one survey. Furthermore, the report found that victims are reluctant to report their victimisation. Those agencies possessing records, therefore, are limited to those who seek their assistance. Phone-in surveys, Keys Young found, are
unreliable because of their non-randomness of selection. This problem is constant with overseas findings.

The author suggests that a standardised definition is necessary if violence and alcohol use are to be investigated accurately. Keys Young (1994:8) offers the following as an example:

[A]lcohol-related violence is that threat and-or use of physical force which occurs: at a particular time of the day or night: on a particular day: involving a certain type of alcohol at a certain consumption level: and in a particular social setting.

The report found that some courts accepted alcohol use as a mitigating circumstance thus excusing an offender’s behaviour. Nevertheless, Keys Young found that available data on the use of alcohol in incidents of domestic violence is contradictory suggesting a lack of definitional consistency in gathering evidence. However, while data for the general Australian population is unreliable, for the Aboriginal population it suggests overwhelmingly that alcohol is a major contributor to violent incidents.


This paper and related appendix outlines various domestic violence programs based on a primary, secondary and tertiary prevention model framework. These include primary prevention approaches such as public awareness and community education campaigns, education and curriculum programs and early intervention programs; secondary prevention programs related to law enforcement (police, courts, legal reforms) and a brief reference to tertiary prevention in the form of perpetrator programs. Several examples of integrated strategies that work across all three levels are also outlined. The paper concludes by asking a series of useful questions about the future directions for domestic violence prevention strategies and crime prevention against women generally in Australia.


This paper [e]xamines the current issue of power and intervention in family therapy from the perspective of Jacques Derrida’s philosophy as a both/and complexity. In a deconstructive reading that presents power as both real and socially constructed, the paper negotiates the border between such dualities as knowing/not-knowing, intervention/non-intervention, and power/non-power. H. Goolishian and H. Anderson’s approach to therapy is tracked as deconstructive in practice, but not in theory, and a double view of power in relation to both G. Bateson and Foucault is
discussed. It is suggested that power is both endemic to the context of family therapy and an illusion of epistemology. A case illustration of domestic violence is included.


This short article briefly outlines arguments for and against perpetrator programs and describes the holistic approach to domestic violence prevention used by the Sydney St. Vincent de Paul Society, including their Men’s Violence Management Program (see Hawkins K. for a description of the Men’s Violence Program). Arguments against perpetrator programs include the fact that they may ‘further deplete already under-resourced women’s services, influence victims’ decisions to stay with violent partners and therefore jeopardise victims’ safety, be ineffective in bringing about a reduction or cessation of violent behaviour, lead to an increase in verbal violence and other controlling behaviours, despite being effective in reducing physical violence, lead to the criminal justice system using the program as a diversionary strategy or as an alternative to custodial sentences’. However, the article argues that ‘ignoring the perpetrator will leave the magnitude of the problem unchanged’ and only serves to continue the cycle of violence. The success of perpetrator programs, including the St. Vincent de Paul program however suggest the value of a more holistic approach. Other services provided by St. Vincent de Paul focus on protecting children in domestic violence situations, and include: making safety plans for mothers so that children are not in danger; where the male partner is prepared to leave then support is offered to mothers to stay safely in their own home, and the man may be assisted to find alternative accommodation. Other planned supports for children include homework tutoring, playgroups and therapeutic groups and occasional care and holiday camps.


Abstract taken from journal article.

This paper reports on the experience of non-English speaking migrant women living in Port Hedland, a small isolated Western Australian town, who are victims of domestic violence. Issues addressed include: the lack of social and family supports available to the women, physical and social isolation, ignorance of legal rights and community and government support services, power inequality within the marriage, and cultural beliefs associated with keeping the marriage and family intact.

The Merseyside Demonstration Project, established in Liverpool in 1993, involved a package of police and community based reforms particularly aimed at preventing repeat victimisation. Research on risks associated with re-victimisation undertaken by the Home Office Police Research Group concluded that with respect to domestic violence, women were repeatedly victimised and that attacks were often carried out soon after the initial incident. This report describes the various reforms including: the introduction of a quick response pendant alarm program for women deemed at serious risk of repeat victimisation; a computerised early warning database; better information and liaison between courts and police about injunctions; and increased victim support services and information provided via the Centre Against Partner Assault domestic violence prevention worker. Police were made more aware of their powers with respect to domestic violence intervention and took an active role in providing information to victims. The Merseyside Project has been considered successful with the project later replicated in Sheffield. The report contains no formal evaluation of the Project although some initial data and several case examples are presented that suggest effectiveness.


Examined the extent, nature, and correlates of conflict and violence in lesbian relationships. Survey responses of 284 lesbians (aged 21-60 yrs) suggest that lesbian violence was not rare. 90% of subjects had been recipients of one or more acts of verbal aggression from their intimate partners during the year prior to this study. These acts tended to revolve around conflicts about partner’s job, partner’s emotional dependency, money, housekeeping/cooking duties, sexual activities, and use of alcohol/drugs. 31% of the subjects reported one or more incidents of physical abuse. Physical abuse was triggered by or erupted around issues of power imbalance and/or a struggle for varying levels of interdependency and autonomy in the relationship. Subjects who perceived that their partners felt less of a need for social fusion in the relationship reported lower levels of verbal aggression/abuse.


This report provides background research information about the nature and prevalence of sexual, physical and emotional abuse of women with disabilities. It also reports on a Canadian
prevent violence: a review

A national survey of transitional houses (shelters) for battered women, which rated services in each province and territory for accessibility. Guidelines for improving the accessibility of these houses and services for women with disabilities are outlined.


The report argues that eight out of ten indigenous Canadian women have or will experience family violence at some time. Consequently, the women themselves chose to confront the problem because their men were not doing so. The group approaches the practice of domestic violence in what they regard as a holistic manner. Rather than providing shelter for victims, they seek accommodation for perpetrators so that the victims remain within their homes. It is the whole community, the group argues, that must be healed rather than the individuals within. This prevents the violent person returning to the same environment that condoned the violence initially. Solutions, thus, are community-based.

NOTES:

The indigenous Canadians community-based approach to dealing with domestic violence involves what the people regard as a ‘Circle of Healing’. This approach was instigated by a group of indigenous women in 1988 from the Hollow Water Reserve. The community identifies its problems as being linked to its poor political and socio-economic status. The people recognised that they needed to confront their positions within this state rather than let the state dictate how they reacted, that is, by the abuse of alcohol and the self-destructive use of violence.

The program involves a two-tiered system. The first part involves ‘a five-day intensive therapy’ where the initial problem is faced by the whole community. The perpetrator then is ‘sentenced’ to community work and must submit to community control until the behaviour changes. In the meantime, any victim/s are protected from retribution. By taking community responsibility, the people are charting their own direction which is under their control.


This report, prepared for the NSW Domestic Violence Committee, overviews the literature on Batterer’s Programs and describes several Australian programs currently operating. The report concludes that there is a lack of conclusive evidence of the success of batterer programs and that better evaluation frameworks, external evaluation of programs, and careful monitoring of programs is required. Existing programs and any evaluations of these are critically analysed, including: South Australian Domestic Violence Service; MOVE, Tasmania; various individual
therapists/counsellors; Marriage Guidance Councils in various states; and a range of different programs operating in NSW.


Examining some political implications of therapeutic responses to male violence against female partners, it is concluded that social change will be achieved only when all interventions are entirely consistent with the construction of male violence as a crime. Other approaches, in particular, the therapeutic construction of male violence being a result of conflict, are critiqued, and it is argued that the primacy of male violence is in the social/cultural system and has its roots in gender inequality. Any useful intervention must take this context into account and must avoid blaming or implicating the victim. Male violence is not primarily a relationship issue, but a crime, and is not appropriately dealt with when construed solely as a problem to be addressed via individual psychotherapy or relationship counselling.

**COMMENT:**

The authors argue that any therapeutic program must address the source of violence, that is, the offender’s beliefs that violence is an appropriate response to a situation where he (usually) is exerting a belief in a right to impose his power and control over another. Treatment must address the fact that violence is ‘criminal, shameful and socially unacceptable’. Too often treatment involves a relationship where the aim is to discover how to co-exist without conflict while not addressing the ethics of using violence as a control mechanism; the former cannot occur until the latter is understood as an unacceptable and criminal act. The primary objective of any counselling must be cessation of violence and the safety of the victim. The authors take particular exception to the methods of Straus, M., Gelles, R.J. and Steinmetz, S.K. (1980). *Behind Closed Doors*, New York: Anchor Books, whose ‘Conflict Tactics Scale’ has been too widely accepted: ‘violence is the result of conflict’ and methods should be developed to reduce conflict so that violence does not develop. This, assert the authors, is incorrect: violence is a crime that must be recognised as such and stopped; conflict then can be addressed.


This article reports on a study of female victims of abuse who had been hospitalised for treatment of injuries inflicted by their spouses. A phenomenological approach was
adopted wherein four women were interviewed to elicit their perceptions of their last hospital experience. Four major themes emerged from analysis of the interview data. These were that the women consistently experienced: disengagement and loss of status; disempowerment and lack of control; stigma and social isolation and a sense of being misunderstood. The results of the study are discussed in relation to women’s expectations of nurses’ attitudes and nursing interventions.


The Children’s Access Program a recently funded Commonwealth initiative aimed at establishing a national network of community based change over and visiting centres is designed to ‘provide a safe, neutral and professionally supervised environment where children can be transferred to or spend time with a non-custodial parent without the adult parties having to meet’. A few such programs, operating in Australia and New Zealand, provide facilities for the safe hand over of children on access visits, or provide for supervised access visits at a neutral venue. This article describes the Deer Park Community Information Centre model, which provides 3 sub-programs including: (1) a low risk program involving supervised hand-over and where necessary, transport. This program is used where risk of physical violence is low but other high conflict occurs between parents. (2) a high risk program involving transport for children between the vulnerable parent and the access centre for hand-over to the other parent, preserving security of address for the vulnerable parent. This program is used where there is a high risk of physical violence, a need for security of address, particularly where an Intervention Order is in place. (3) a parent/child unification program involving access combined with a parenting program in the form of supervised playgroups, activities and outings. This program is used where there has been little contact between parent and child and there is a risk of family violence. The program works closely with other agencies and monitors Family Court Orders to ensure appropriate referrals. Evidence of the effectiveness of such programs is not provided in this article.


This review of the international literature on domestic violence was prepared as background to the development of the Merseyside Project in Britain (see Lloyd et al., Crime Prevention Unit Series Paper 49). The report examines literature on the extent of domestic violence, multiple victimisation, severity, violence prone groups and the economic and social costs of domestic violence. The second part of the report focuses on preventing domestic violence and provides a comprehensive overview of the literature across a range of intervention approaches.
Considerable attention is given to police and criminal justice responses, including criticisms of police responses and their reluctance to intervene in domestic violence. Recent North American studies that evaluate the efficacy of different police responses such as pro-arrest policies and co-ordinated criminal justice system (CJS) responses between police, prosecution and sentencing are analysed. The recent U.K. development of police specialist domestic violence units is thoroughly discussed and examples of best practice and success, as well as major shortcomings and resource limitations are provided. The need for greater interagency liaison is also endorsed. The apparent success of the Streatham deferred cautioning policy is also considered in the light of a limited evaluation study, with the author concluding that it is difficult to determine whether improvement ‘resulted from the cautioning policy per se or from a strong interventionist policy on DV generally, plus a Domestic Violence Unit’, both of which were previously absent. Overall the literature suggests that effective policing regarding domestic violence requires ‘co-ordination between the police and other criminal justice and community agencies, police accountability to women victims through continued internal and independent monitoring, and well-funded independent victim advocacy and support services which work closely with the police’ (p.26). A number of recommendations for effective local police response to DV are made. The report also identifies numerous problems with women’s access to current civil law remedies (e.g., injunctions). Literature on community supports for women (refuges, support groups and follow-up, crises services) highlights the need for greater emphasis on follow-up support and advocacy programs and crisis services to more effectively prevent domestic violence and women’s return to violent home situations. The DAIP Duluth program in the U.S. is considered an interesting preventative initiative.


Mugford and Mugford investigate policing of domestic violence in Australia. By comparing different overseas systems, the authors propose a program that uses the best of the overseas programs. The authors argue that only by changing the manner in which domestic violence is policed can its high incidence and excessive costs (both monetary and social) be broached successfully.

NOTES:

The authors offer a definition of domestic violence again contrasting the diverse definitions in use within society; theirs is more comprehensive, embracing homosexual relationships, but, as with many others, it excludes children and older people from consideration.

The authors point out that, although women are by far those victimised most, women instigate violence at an equal degree to men (Straus and Gelles in Mugford and Mugford, 1992:321).
However, as a result of female-instigated violence, the female aggressor is frequently injured in the process of attacking her male partner while the male seldom is.

The extent of domestic violence is suggested as the authors indicate that a 1980-1981 New South Wales Police Department investigation found that police generally spent more time only on traffic enforcement than on replying to incidents of domestic violence. Cost-wise, the authors found that a Queensland investigation by Roberts (1988) estimated that providing services (shelter and the like) for twenty victims came to over $1 million.

Domestic violence, the authors argue, occurs largely because of the manner in which violence is a fabric of Australian culture. For example, wide acceptance of violence by both men and women displays the manner in which both sexes are socialised.

Nevertheless, the authors indicate how domestic violence is becoming less tolerated by society generally and that policing methods have become more aggressive by prosecuting more offenders. However, this approach is problematic. As the Sherman ‘zero tolerance’ scheme in the US found, blanket application of this approach proved problematic (abstracted under Sherman).

Consequently, the authors investigated different overseas schemes to gauge their efficacy. In particular, they found that the Duluth Program (abstracted under Grabosky and James) provided a grounding on which to build. The authors believe that a program based on the Duluth Program, operating in Hamilton New Zealand run by the Family Violence Prevention Coordinating Committee, has value.

This program uses arrest for offenders ‘as the first option’ and then assists victims to link with support services. A six month trial reduced acts of domestic violence substantially. A further program based on the Duluth model and operating in Bellevue, Washington, works on the principle of close cooperation between counselling and support services and the criminal justice system. In addition to arresting offenders, the program combined criminal justice responses with support for victims and ‘counselling/education’ for offenders. Furthermore, these programs expedite proceedings as quickly as possible to maximise results.

Nevertheless, the authors argue that while these programs are effective, they could be improved. They suggest that a scheme that uses arrest and counselling with a system of ‘shaming’ as rehabilitation for offenders is more productive. The authors propose a ‘stigmatisation and reintegration’ approach. This process follows the principle of requiring the offender to accept the illegality of his actions and to apologise for having been violent. This occurs within a formal criminal justice system.

For example, specialist police are required to administer the program. When these police attend an incident and believe that arrest is necessary, the victim must appear before a court. Rather than sentence the person to punishment or counselling, the person must appear in a court in which a network of his family, friends and fellow workers is in attendance; this publicly shames
the person whose actions do not remain hidden. The network of friends is involved as much as possible in consequent rehabilitation counselling. This has the added effect of spreading the seriousness of the procedure throughout the community.

When the offender is deemed ready to face his position and to state his intention not to return to using violence, the person must apologise to his partner in front of his network of friends. The victim then has the choice of accepting the offender back into the relationship or of pursuing a life on her own. The offender is entered into a good behaviour bond by the court and the victim’s position is protected whether she returns to the relationship or not.

Mulder, L. (1995). Reclaiming our Rights: Access to Existing Police, Legal and Support Services for Women with Disabilities or Who are Deaf or Hearing Impaired Who are Subject to Violence. Sydney: Dept of Women.

This research project report examines the barriers to accessing police, legal and support services for women with disabilities and women who are Deaf or hearing impaired and who are subject to domestic or sexual violence. In-depth interviews were conducted in Sydney and country NSW with 19 women with disabilities, 3 carers and 27 disability or domestic/sexual violence organisations. The report also makes a series of broad ranging recommendations to address the identified barriers. The report overviews current literature on violence against women with disabilities and the even more limited literature on service provision for these women. The research for the project identified a range of problems for women with disabilities in relation to violence, including: under-reporting of domestic violence; a focus on the women’s disability rather than the abuse and their lack of credibility when they do report violence; service cultures that perpetuate negative myths about disability; lack of information about what is violence/sexual assault; inaccessible information on violence, prevention and services; lack of access to services; lack of co-ordination between services; service provider ignorance about disability; and poor resourcing of services. Detailed recommendations for intervention at both government and community levels focus on (1) empowerment through for example, community education, representation by women with disabilities on relevant committees, Disability Plans for Sexual Assault services, advertising of official complaint mechanisms, support groups for women with disabilities, training and information on sexual assault via schools and Family Planning programs (2) access to quality services through for example, appropriate accredited training on disability and violence for direct workers, police and Dept of Community Services workers, the development and monitoring of policies and procedures re sexual assault, sexuality and complaints, increasing access and rights re access to TTY, interpreters and communication assistants, provision of counselling services, refuge access and appropriate housing (3) advocacy through funding for advocacy services for women with disabilities, rights to a support person and appropriate interpreters for Deaf/hearing impaired women when dealing with police.

This paper considers the application of various crime prevention approaches in strategies aimed at the prevention of spousal domestic violence. These prevention approaches are based around a discussion of the nature and causes of domestic violence.


This report shows that domestic violence is common within the Australian community and not something that is dominated by membership of any socio-economic group. The report dispels the myth that the home is a haven from a violent 'outside' society, that the 'stranger' is the one to be wary of. The report presents alarming statistics showing that over 40 per cent of homicides occur within families with 25 per cent being perpetrated by a person’s spouse; 60 per cent of homicides occur within homes with firearms featuring heavily. A contributing factor to this violence level is the tendency to treat marital violence as a private matter rather than a criminal one with the victim regarded widely as being partially responsible for the assault. The report finds that domestic violence is common and widely tolerated by society.


This paper reports on attempts by the New South Wales Police Department to address incidents of personal violence specifically towards gay and lesbian communities, and domestic violence, highlighting practices adopted. The report cites the National Committee on Violence (1990) report that found most personal violence occurred between men and within families. Regarding domestic violence and violence against gay men and lesbians, the author argues that much police response is limited by the hidden nature of the crime. Consequently, Nixon argues, the police service has launched a victim support program and is working on community policing methods, both areas aimed at improving relations between victims/potential victims and the police. The paper reports that the media is being used to popularise support for police in the implementation of their duties. Collaborative programs, Nixon suggests, have been successful in developing working relationships with other agencies and in spreading general mindfulness of violence and the need to report incidents. The NSW police have received an Australian Violence Prevention Award in 1995 for developing a program for violence prevention for gay and lesbian communities; the police intend to expand the program. Ongoing training is essential, Nixon asserts, to ensure a high level of police skills to prevent violent acts and this is under constant appraisal. Consequently, the police reply to crime is improving. [C]onfusing and ambiguous legislation and policies, the author argues, hinder police in the implementation of their duties.
Too often, the paper argues, there is need to ensure that those police promoted to managerial positions are the best people in practical policing so that they can work realistically with police ‘on the street’. The Police Service is undertaking an investigation into domestic violence to analyse the best methods for addressing the crime. Research, it is found, shows that police are not using effectively present legislation designed to protect victims of domestic violence. The paper outlines ways of improving police practices.

NOTES:

This paper is not specific in its description of Police Service actions towards violence. It suggests that the police administration takes personal violence seriously but requires specific details to discover how police approaches are occurring.


The authors argue that explanations of domestic violence which are rooted in the individual psychology of marriage with partners tend to present a highly distorted view of why women remain with men who batter them…[C]ontinuing domestic violence is closely linked to the structural inequality built into male and female roles in our society…[C]onstant battering is closely associated with a woman’s vulnerability as housewife and mother, and in this position, any woman is to some extent at risk…[C]lass inequality makes some women particularly vulnerable. Explanations of domestic violence which concentrate on the psychology of the abused or the abuser are misleading in that they ignore the way in which people’s choices are formed and controlled by social structures relating to sex and class (O’Donnell and Saville, 1980: 79).

NOTES:

This article is one of several suggesting the need for support for women who cannot afford to leave a conflicting partnership. The authors provide statistics supporting their thesis to show that it is women who cannot provide sufficiently for themselves (especially with children) who require the support offered by women’s refuges. The report offers a direction for state policy to provide for women dependent on a male wage for support who, therefore, cannot afford to escape a violent partnership. This report offers a solution to Devery’s (1992 abstracted above) apparent paradox that women of both low and high income leave violent partnerships. Devery does not investigate those in the middle who cannot afford to escape.

This report looks at the patriarchal power relations within society that allow men to dominate women, and especially the unequal position of dependent women who are trapped within a violent relationship because they cannot afford to escape. Class, the authors argue, is not a reason for less violence, but only a means of escape as those who can afford to leave a violent relationship do so. Those who cannot, however, are trapped because of their economic positions. The authors argue that until women achieve economic independence from a male wage, they and their children are subordinated to male control within the home. They require access to affordable child care and housing that does not place them below the poverty line if they leave a violent relationship.

NOTES:

This paper is one of several offering an explanation for the apparent paradox indicated by Devery (1992 abstracted above). By addressing domestic violence as a class position, weaknesses in policy appear to which possible solutions can be constructed.


Sergeant Fred Heald's efforts to stamp out domestic violence in Armadale have been publicly acknowledged by Western Australia’s Attorney General and Chief Justice. This article describes the scheme, which protects victims and gets the offenders into court on a more secure basis than was possible before. The scheme also involves changing the attitudes of victims, offenders and police. Cooperation with the Starick House refuge is an integral part of the scheme.

NOTES:

Within this community where police spend 30 per cent of their time attending to domestic incidents, Heald has compiled a program that is designed to stop incidents of domestic violence from recurring. Heald has the assistance of a women’s shelter to which he refers victims for counselling and protection if necessary. The sergeant has compiled a brochure informing victims and offenders about the problems with domestic violence. The police act on incidents immediately, collecting photographic and medical evidence. The only way a victim can withdraw a complaint is in front of a magistrate when the charges against the offender are heard. The police process charges even if victims do not wish this done. Heald’s program is modelled on similar successful programs operating in the US and New Zealand. The program is also aimed at changing the police culture of accepting that acts of domestic violence are a natural part of married life. Violent offenders are often required to undertake a twenty-six week remedial course.
Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper reports on the long-term efficacy of a group therapy program for men who are abusive and physically violent towards their women partners. The twelve week program was offered on a regional basis by the Domestic Violence Service in Adelaide. Data were collected from the male participants and their women partners. The pre-test post-test evaluation incorporated a six and twelve month follow-up study and covered attitudinal characteristics, the measurement of physical and non-physical abuse and examined the social environment of the participant’s family. Qualitative data were also collected. The results indicated that the majority of men made long term behavioural and attitudinal changes. In conclusion, the evaluation is discussed in relation to a social change strategy aimed at eliminating domestic violence.

Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM:PsycLIT.

_The article outlines the development of the Open Day (OPD) family therapy program. Developed as a response to long waiting lists and the inaccessibility of therapeutic programs for families requiring therapy, often for problems which involved child abuse and domestic violence, OPD has proved a viable option. The project involved the provision of an OPD where clients could gain access to therapists for a ‘one-off’ consultation within one week of referral. Following this session, the family, together with the therapist, may either decide to return the family to the waiting list or decide that one meeting has been sufficient. From the clients’ perspective, many more families are meeting with a therapist at the time of their concern and crisis, when their motivation may be highest. Therapists perceived the value of early intervention and saw positive responses of families who could come for therapy and receive help at relatively short notice._

Abstract obtained from Criminal Justice Abstracts.

Despite the increase in research on domestic violence during the last two decades, little attention has been given to the problems of partner abuse among homosexual couples. The present research takes a step forwards toward developing an understanding of homosexual partner abuse by examining the incidence, forms, and correlates of...
violence in lesbian relationships. Based on questionnaire data from 100 lesbian victims, the study addresses, in particular, the relationships between lesbian battering and (1) abusers’ dependence on their partners, and (2) perceived power imbalances between partners in abusive lesbian relationships. In addition, the study explores the extent to which responses from the lesbian community and others to victims of abuse may serve to prevent or exacerbate lesbian battering. The article concludes by raising questions to guide future research.


This paper reports results from a 1988 Canadian survey of 245 women with disabilities. It reports that 40% had experienced some form of abuse, about 12% had been raped, and 15% had been assaulted. For 56%, sexual or physical abuse began after the onset of their disability, and for another 26%, abuse occurred both before and after the onset of disability. For 19%, abuse had occurred before but not after the onset of disability. Some form of violence or sexual assault was experienced by women in all disability categories, and there was some evidence that multiple disabilities increased risk. Perpetrators of abuse, rape or assault included spouses and ex-spouses (37%), parents (15%), strangers (28%), service providers (10%), boyfriends or dates (7%), and the remainder by other relatives, neighbours or their own children. Reports were made to police, social service agencies, parents, teachers or spouses in 43% of the cases, and the author points out that this rate may be high because more than half of the respondents in this sample were members of consumer groups with disabilities, and more than 49% were members of women’s advocacy groups. The most common reasons cited for not reporting were fear and dependency. Only about 10% of the sample had used shelters or other services, about 15% reported that no services were available at all. The report also provides other details of the DAWN Canada study and several other studies.


While Russell provides good data on the problems of drug and alcohol abuse and the problems experienced by the children and families of those incarcerated, she neglects the question of meaningful employment for those newly released. Providing professional assistance for the person and family is undoubtedly necessary, but if the person is unable to gain employment, both he or her and the family will probably remain within a socio-economic underclass that may well lead to recidivism because of perceived uselessness within society.
Russell describes the effect that gaol parents have on their children - maltreatment, criminality, alcohol and drug problems, and family violence have a profound effect on children - programs to minimise the harm done to children of inmates are non-existent and need to be developed. Russell suggests some areas for assisting the newly released person to cope with release and for providing support for the person’s family, concentrating on the duties of case managers and government departments.


Estimates of single parenthood rates within Chicago in 1970 and 1980 are made. It is shown that single parenthood is explained predominantly by low earning ability. In addition, the data reveal that very high earning ability also increases single parenthood rates. The former is affected substantially by low education and high unemployment - particularly in the black community - while the latter is partly the product of an increase in the earning ability of women - particularly among women with a college education (Sander, 1985).

**COMMENT:**

This article is valuable as it is one of several which offers a solution to the apparent paradox proposed by Devery (1992), that is, that women in a battered family situation are more likely to leave the site of conflict if they are at the opposite poles of the financial spectrum. However, it is those in the middle who require most assistance. The author does not make this finding as he was not researching domestic violence. When the article is married to other articles, such as Burns (1987), Cass and O’Loughlin (1985), Chesterman (1989), Devery (1992), Ellwood (1993), O’Donnell and Saville (1980, 1982), though, it offers a strong probability and suggests further research. The findings have implications for policy makers too: women require support to prevent their being trapped in a violent partnership.


This study was conducted because police are usually the first point of contact in incidents of domestic violence and their responses are crucial to following events. This study found that police require greater training in handling domestic violence and that they should possess information on support facilities available for the protection of victims and for counselling. There was a need for a data base containing any past history of domestic violence for either the family or for the offender as this would assist police in their immediate responses. The study found that there was a need for police to go beyond enforcing breaches of the law to one of supplying assistance and support.
NOTES:

This study finds that there is a need for the type of program that is being conducted by Sergeant Heald in Western Australia.

Abstract obtained from journal article.

This paper presents data from a study of 82 cohabiting homosexual couples (42 lesbians and 40 gay couples), chosen by means of snowball sampling and resident in city and country areas of three Australian states. The study examined a variety of issues of homosexual cohabitation including stability, problems, conflicts and violence. Semi-structured questionnaires were administered to both homosexual partners, 17 of whom were interviewed as key informants. Most couples demonstrated a low degree of stability and commitment, experiencing problems, conflicts, and interpersonal violence. Nevertheless, their overall performance on these measures is not very different from that of heterosexual cohabiting couples. The paper affirms the presence of same sex families and the need for more research in this area.


The authors describe a program, which they argue is successful, that is designed to halt conflict within a family and thus negate recidivism by the family against a child who has been removed for its own protection. The program was designed by the social workers within the Maryborough, Queensland, office of the, then, Department of Family Services. Maryborough at that time had a population of 22,000 and is described as being ‘chronically short of specialised child abuse treatment teams’. The program was developed in 1984. It works by ensuring a commitment by both the family and the child to redressing the problems which caused the initial abuse. The approach consists of a week of intensive therapy within a residential environment. Therapists conduct discussions during the day and a ‘homemaker’ assists the family from 4.00 pm remaining with the family for the evening meal and into the night to establish a routine and to identify any problems that might occur during this period. The authors argue that the program successfully eliminates conflict and is cost effective in that it removes the ongoing costs that would be entailed if the child had to remain in the Department’s protective custody.

This analysis argues that it is the structure of society where power is exerted at all levels over all individuals that is the root problem that then manifests itself within the home as acts of violence against women. Men are dominated within their workplaces and are promoted by dominant ideology as being superior within the home with women as the subservient partner. Scutt argues that so long as ideology works to keep certain classes powerful within society and men dominant within the home, domestic violence will continue. Scutt interviewed 127 Australian domestic violence victims to show this unbalanced power situation within the home as those women suffering most violence were those most dependent on their husband’s income: they were trapped financially and unable to leave the violent home. In addition, they were from a middle income group where the woman would suffer considerably socio-economically if she were to leave.


For some time authors have condemned the criminal justice system for not regarding domestic violence as serious, indeed, as a criminal act (Scutt, 1980). Women have had difficulty having their physical safety ensured by a legal system that has the laws in place to enforce their safety but refuses to do so. Police use the excuse that they can act only on a complaint from the victim. The law, however, clearly allows for intervention on the victim’s behalf without a complaint from the victim. Scutt argues that enforcing the law regarding criminal assault will not change the system that causes men to feel empowered to use physical force against women. Nevertheless, failure to enforce the law is part of the system that promotes male superiority. Therefore, this failure must be confronted in conjunction with other aspects if violence within society against women is to be defeated.


Scutt questions the ability of the judicial system to apply the law regarding marital violence objectively. Judges, for example, Scutt argues, are a product of their socialisation. Consequently, there is a tendency for some judges to regard violence within a relationship as less serious than that against someone in the general community, assault against a stranger, for example. The very act of dealing with domestic violence as a civil matter rather than a criminal one defines domestic violence as a less serious occurrence, argues Scutt. Furthermore, because it is required for a victim to show that violent acts have been ‘continued’, that is, conducted on a regular basis over a period of twelve months, this leaves the victim vulnerable to considerable abuse and furthermore condones a ‘limited’ use of violence. Violence, that is, can be seen as tolerable if used only occasionally. A further disadvantage experienced by women coming before the courts is
that they can call as an ‘expert’ witness in relation to what is considered violent, only a psychologist or psychiatrist rather than those with most experience in the area of domestic violence, namely, social workers. Too often the former ‘experts’ regard women as pathological and therefore responsible for the abuse they receive. Too often these professionals believe that women suffer from the sickness of ‘learned helplessness’ when, rather, argues Scutt, the women learn that there is no help available for them after exhausting all avenues. Scutt concludes that the too wide acceptance of domestic violence as less serious than criminal assault must change before women can receive just treatment before the law.

NOTES:

In this paper Scutt continues to point out the failings with both the law as it stands and as it is both interpreted and practiced by law enforcement agencies and judicial circles (see Scutt abstracted above). Reports like this suggest failings in the legal system that should be investigated with the aim of correcting continued domestic abuse and the position of women who come before the courts charged with serious crimes like murder and manslaughter that are likely (with a change to how law is either written or interpreted) to be viewed as justified, that is, as self defence.


Seddon outlines the various criminal justice responses, for example, how criminal law applies to incidents of domestic violence. The author finds that because of ‘deep-seated beliefs about the privacy of the family and shame about exposing a failure in the family relationship to the outside world’, victims usually resort to the criminal justice system for assistance with domestic abuse as a last resort - as ‘a sign of desperation’.

NOTES:

Although the publication date of this text may make many explanations of the laws approached within the covers obsolete, general information regarding domestic violence does not date. For example, the definition adopted by Seddon displays the diverse range of definitions that analysts and/or legal entities use in their approach to the subject of domestic violence. Seddon defines domestic violence as ‘actual or threatened violence or harassment between married or de facto partners living in the same household or who have lived together’. This excludes same-sex partners and other family members such as children and older people.

Nevertheless, as Seddon points out, the law is restricted in dealing with what he terms ‘subtle forms of violence’. By this one must assume psychological abuse, that does not leave any physical scars that could be used as evidence by a victim, and economic control that imprisons a person dependent on a partner’s income for existence as surely as do the bars of a prison.
In addition, because of the way that people are reluctant to admit to acts of domestic violence, its degree is difficult to ascertain; statistics are unreliable. This can be added to by the manner in which domestic violence is defined as suggested above. Although statistics are unreliable, evidence suggests that women are by far those most victimised. In addition, women are frequently trapped in an abuse situation because of their economic dependency on a male.

Although the causes of domestic violence are not proven, evidence points to a high degree of the abuse of males of their power usually stemming from patriarchal social constructions and beliefs. Nevertheless, as Seddon suggests, many authoritative patriarchal males rule ‘their’ domains without resorting to violence. Perhaps, however, this occurs because of a submissive female; violence may occur if the male’s authority were challenged. The ‘factor’ tipping an offender ‘over the edge’ according to Seddon would be the person’s emotional and psychological construction. This usually stems from social moulding and can be exacerbated by violent backgrounds where a cycle of violence is perpetuated by the offenders learned and then adopted practice of violence within his own family life.

Where alcohol use is concerned, Seddon argues that it is undoubtedly a ‘contributing factor’ but that it is ‘too simplistic’ to blame alcohol use as a cause; it is the ‘trigger’ that sets the violence in motion. The violence is present in the person’s psychological makeup. Considerable violence occurs in violent families where alcohol is not used by the perpetrator.

Seddon outlines the myths surrounding domestic violence such as:

* the victims deserved to be assaulted because of provocation;
* the victim masochistically enjoys violence;
* domestic violence is private and not anybody else’s business;
* violent partners are easily detectable because of their abnormal (possibly violent) outward behaviour.

In addition, Seddon outlines the reasons that victims do not leave, for example economic dependency, and what is required to assist such victims including government assistance available. The remainder of the publication is devoted to criminal justice responses (laws extant at the time) to domestic violence.


This article discusses the continuous debate about the viability, efficacy and appropriateness of providing services to perpetrators and couples where domestic violence is the presenting problem in therapy. This paper argues that within a
comprehensive and integrated model of service provision that encompasses all family members (*The Family Safety Model*), it can be appropriate and effective to incorporate these service options if screening, monitoring and service models are carefully selected and provided in a context of agency safety and support. *This model provides a useful framework for addressing some of the concerns about perpetrator programs discussed in the literature.*


Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM: PsycLIT.

The article [c]riticises R. Wileman and B. Wileman’s article on balancing power in domestic violence relationships. Their suggestion that women could learn skills to 'effect positive change' in their partner’s [sic] abusive behaviour and decrease vulnerability to violence is both inappropriate and potentially dangerous. Further, in helping women to take responsibility for change, the group program may make the women feel responsible for the violence. However, it is asserted that change is the violent man’s responsibility. Their use of the ‘Cycle of Violence’ in intervention assumes that violence or its threat has a cyclical basis in all cases. It is safest for the women to leave the relationship, or to take out an Apprehended Violence Order.


In opposition to pre-1984 in the USA where offenders in domestic assaults were seldom arrested, many States now have mandatory arrest laws. This change occurred largely in response to an experiment conducted by Sherman in Minneapolis, reported in 1983, where mandatory arrests for domestic assault considerably deferred offenders. Since then, Sherman has conducted tests in five other US cities. Sherman finds that offenders arrested for domestic assaults are affected differently according to an offender’s socio-economic position. For example, middle class males are deterred from re-offending while poor offenders, who are frequently black, become resentful and more violent as a result. In addition, some offenders are deterred for a short time only. As a result of the latest research, Sherman’s book ‘describes the four dilemmas for policing domestic violence’: (1) ‘arrest reduces domestic violence in some cities but increases it in others’; (2) ‘arrest reduces domestic violence among employed people but increases it among unemployed people’; (3) ‘arrest reduces domestic violence in the short run but can increase it in the long run’; (4) ‘police can predict which couples are most likely to suffer future violence, but our society values privacy too highly to encourage preventive action’ (Sherman, 1992: 19). Sherman concludes with several recommendations for implementing policies with the provision that any
policies ‘should remain flexible enough to adapt to’ changing information supplied by science (Sherman, 1992:252-253).


This is a report on crime compiled for the U.S. Congress on programs and their ability to influence levels of crime and violence. Sherman argues that the practice of providing assistance within the home for those experiencing violence has ‘almost uniformly positive results’. These programs concentrate on preventing child abuse; abused children frequently become delinquent adolescents and then adult criminals. The efficacy of home visits seem to rely on the frequency of visits and the length of such visits, the results of limited-duration visits losing their impact after a period of inattention. Sherman finds that the use of personal alarms (worn around the neck by victims) that alert police to an attack is used in the U.K. and in Melbourne, Australia. There is evidence that they are activated by a high proportion of those who wear them but there is no evidence available that proves that the wearing diminishes violence. This chapter also assesses the efficacy of mandatory arrest programs and the degree to which guns are involved in domestic homicides; Sherman is unable to predict how many deaths would be prevented by banning guns.

NOTES:

Sherman finds that mandatory arrests and ‘court-ordered treatment’ for offenders have widely varying results according to offenders’ socio-economic and ethnic background with treatment programs proving effective according to the skills of those treating offenders; no generalised finding is possible. Sherman concludes that:

- **What Works**

  *Long-term, frequent home visitation combined with preschool prevents later delinquency.

  *Infant weekly home visitation reduces child abuse and injuries.

  *Family therapy by clinical staff for delinquent and pre-delinquent youth.

- **What Doesn’t**

  *Home visits by police after domestic violence incidents fail to reduce repeat violence.

- **What’s Promising**

  *Battered women’s shelters for women who take other steps to change their lives.
*Orders of protection for battered women.

_Sherman concludes the chapter by reviewing a number of programs funded by the U.S. Department of Justice._


_Sherman investigates what types of police responses to violence work. He concludes that, while there is a belief by some analysts that increased police intervention reduces crime rates and an opposing belief by others that increased police presence has minimal influence, the actuality is in the middle. The author argues that results depend strongly on what ‘objectives, tasks, places, times and people’ police are concentrated. Police, Sherman finds, frequently create incidents by their lack of manners and aggressive behaviour. Sherman found the results of programs to be:_

_What Works:_

*Increased directed patrols in street-corner hot spots of crime.

*Proactive arrests of serious repeat offenders.

*Proactive drunk driving arrests.

*Arrests of employed suspects for domestic assault.

_What Doesn't:_

*Neighbourhood block watch.

*Arrests of some juveniles for minor offences.

*Arrests of unemployed suspects for domestic assault.

*Drug market arrests.

*Community policing with no clear crime-risk factor focus.

_What’s Promising:_

*Police traffic enforcement patrols against illegally carried handguns.
*Community policing with community participation in priority setting.

*Community policing focused on improving police legitimacy.

*Zero tolerance of disorder, if legitimacy issues can be addressed.

*Problem-oriented policing generally.

*Adding extra police to cities, regardless of assignments.

*Warrants for arrest of suspect absent when police respond to domestic violence.

Sherman ends the chapter by analysing the effectiveness of programs funded by the Department of Justice.


The author, 'a counsellor and adult educator with Spark Resource Centre, the only organisation for single parents in Australia', describes the manner in which she treats victims of domestic violence. The Centre was established in 1979 and confronts women with the reality of their violent situations. By making the abused women admit that they are remaining within a violent situation that they excuse under the misguided belief that their partners love them, she is able to change the lives of these women.

NOTES:

The author argues that when confronted with a victim who will not admit her abused situation, she must force the victim to admit to the abuse. Silard has a number of approaches revolving around getting victims to relate their domestic situations. When meeting a victim who insists that, despite the abuse she receives, she still loves her partner, she writes down the type of abuse being dealt out to the victim. For example:

*Harold has beaten me on many occasions, but I love him.
*Harold has strangled me until I was unconscious, but I love him, and the like.

She then asks the client to read the list out loud. This is usually successful in bringing realisation to the person that she is in an abused situation and with continued counselling the person is able to confront the situation and remove herself from it.

Smith investigates the worth of assertiveness training for battered women. The author argues that reasons for recommending that battered women undergo assertiveness training is that, rather than being submissive in their relationships, by becoming assertive they can reverse the cycle of violence within which they live. However, Smith argues that there is the fear that if a woman returns to a violent family life and asserts herself this will anger the violent partner to the point where the woman will experience increased victimisation. Consequently, Smith undertook a survey of ten battered women most of whom had undertaken such training. The author found that, rather than return to their violent situations and assert themselves, they asserted themselves only when they considered it safe to do so. They had the sense to look out for their own safety.

NOTES:

The author found that assertiveness training rather than providing a direct means of confronting a woman’s violent situation, has an indirect effect. Women who undertake such training gain the confidence to expand their network of contacts often enabling them to establish the means to leave the violent situation. In addition, Smith argues that assertiveness training is recommended because of a false set of premises. For example, such training puts the onus of change on the victim who, by changing, automatically changes the partner’s violent nature. This does not occur; partners remain violent. In addition, even if the existing partners did change, there would be as many or more emerging from childhood to replace the reformed offenders because the social structure remains intact that has produced the violent males initially. It is the social structure that both produces violent people and socialises many women into believing that they are destined to find happiness in the idyllic structure of marriage.

Abstract obtained from journal article.

Many researchers have examined the serious consequences that spouse abuse may have on battered women’s physical and psychological health. Considerable less attention has been given to the effects on children of witnessing domestic violence. This article reports on an empirical study which examined the effects of witnessing domestic violence on the psycho-social adjustment of fifty-four young children aged from three to six years. The children’s adjustment was examined using the Child Behaviour Checklist and 42 per cent of the children exhibited behavioural problems in the clinical range on this measure. Significant correlations were found between the children’s
adjustment and the amount of verbal aggression and domestic violence in the home prior to parental separation. The implications of the research for social work and family violence policy and practice are also discussed.

NOTES:

The survey found that the children displayed aggressive behaviour that is often reported in other investigations in only 11.5 per cent of cases. The authors are unsure of why this is so suggesting that the group may be too young to display these tendencies which may not emerge until a later age. However, the project found that where domestic violence occurs, the child is frequently a victim of violence as well as the mother. The authors found that there was a lack of appropriate counselling for children who often needed different approaches applied according to stages of parental separation. For example, counselling immediately after separation when a mother was usually housed in a refuge should differ from that required when the mother had been resettled in her own accommodation and was reintegrating into the community. In addition, mothers frequently required training in their responses to their children’s behaviour. They frequently were either over- or under-authoritarian. This occurred because of the former relationship where mothers often compensated for a violent partner’s behaviour by being lenient towards the child’s behaviour. Conversely, mothers often carried their former violent lives into their relationships with their children and required training to reverse this practice.


Smith reports on the Alternatives to Violence Program, Queensland that seems to have been started in 1992. The program is a self-help approach to reasons that people are violent; the program targets all types of violence. The author argues that the program does not provide answers for people but assists participants in the program to find out for themselves why they are violent thus enabling the people to find their own solutions. The approach, the author argues, follows the premise that all people have the potential for good and only require the ‘self esteem, communication, cooperation, and creative conflict resolution’ skills to achieve that good.

NOTES:

The program’s staff conduct workshops in correctional centres and in the general society. Smith writes that the program has been welcomed by the Queensland Correctional Services Commission who are assisting in the widening of the program within its centres. Training workshops consist of thirty to thirty-six hours of cooperation between participants over a three day period; often participants from the general community are included enabling a first-hand glimpse into correctional life for violent people. All staff and participants are volunteers.
The structure of workshops centre around twenty participants who work at discussion, role-playing and small group work to locate the source of their violent behaviour and thus arrive at individual solutions. The University of Queensland’s School of Media Studies has reportedly produced a film based on the experiences of several prisoners who have participated successfully in the program. The program originated in the USA where the author reports that it has been operating successfully since 1975.


Spowart and Neil (solicitors at Domestic Violence Legal Help, a service of the Darwin Community Legal Service) criticise the Northern Territory Government’s ‘Domestic Violence Strategy’. The Strategy, begun in 1994, ‘is considered a model approach to...domestic violence because of its integrated and comprehensive approach’, the authors claim. Domestic violence is promoted as a crime and the Strategy intends to improve the criminal justice response to incidents by providing better services to victims; this includes enforced counselling of offenders. The Strategy has a special Aboriginal Family Violence Strategy as well as specific approaches for NESB victims. The authors argue, however, that, because the Strategy does not confront the ideology within society that discriminates against women and that ensures their subordination to men, it is an unsuccessful program.

NOTES:

The strategy is the ‘responsibility of the Office of Women’s Policy within the Department of the Chief Minister’ and is directed by a Domestic Violence Coordinating Committee. The strategy uses the media to publicise its aims and has succeeded in lifting the profile of domestic violence within the community so that domestic violence is being recognised as unacceptable. Its stated aims are to:

*reduce the incidence of domestic violence;
*prevent the recurrence of domestic violence;
*work towards the elimination of violence against women (Office of Women’s Policy (1995). Domestic Violence Information Kit, October, Fact Sheet One.)

However, working against these stated aims is the manner in which domestic violence is defined, argue Spowart and Neil. For example, violence against women and domestic violence are defined separately. This makes the strategy contradictory because the strategy sees domestic violence as any violence committed by any family member against another family member. Furthermore, the strategy argues that there is a degree of violence perpetrated against men that is under-reported because of the stigma attached to a man admitting that he is the victim of violence from a woman. The authors argue that by doing this the strategy ignores the inherent power inequality within society that perpetuates male dominance of women. Such a definition
has detrimental reactions within the criminal justice system as courts too often see the problem as one to be settled within the home thereby removing the criminality from the violent act. This, the authors argue, is reflected in the rules governing the awarding of a restraining order to a victim. The applicant must show that:

* the defendant has assaulted or threatened to assault the applicant; or
* the defendant has damaged or threatened to damage property in the applicant’s possession; or
* the defendant has behaved in an offensive and provocative manner towards the applicant; and
* if not restrained, the defendant is likely to repeat the above behaviour (Spowart and Neil, 1997).

Furthermore, the authors claim that the latest campaign within the strategy conducted under the slogan, ‘Stop in the name of love’ situates domestic violence within the family environment rather than emphasising the criminality of the act. Such a slogan, that is, could convey the message to the criminal justice system and the community generally that domestic violence is ‘a relationship problem that needs to be resolved’ when it is a problem of unequal power relations in which violence is used to ensure that the will of the more physically powerful is attained.


The experience of abuse in lesbian relationships is similar to the woman’s experience of abuse in a heterosexual relationship. However, though the dynamics of abuse are the same, the power basis is different in that it is not gender based. The incidence of domestic violence in lesbian relationships, coupled with a lack of awareness in the community of this issue led to the development of this program for lesbians experiencing domestic violence. The program aims to: provide a safe place for women to tell their story; offer support and information for lesbians to enable them to make choices; and challenge the participants’ expectations of relationships. Six program sessions cover: what is abuse, the effect of abuse, self-esteem, anger, setting boundaries, being single and homophobia.

Abstract obtained from: PsycLIT 1981-1987

This study compared the rate of physical abuse of children and spouses from a 1975 study with the rates from a 1985 replication. Both studies used nationally representative samples (2,143 families in 1975 and 3,520 in 1985), and both found an
extremely high incidence of severe physical violence against children and a high incidence of violence against spouses. However, the 1985 rates were substantially lower than in 1975: the child abuse rate was 47% lower, and the wife abuse rate was 27% lower. Possible reasons for the lower rates in 1985 are evaluated, including (a) differences in the methods of the studies, (b) increased reluctance to report, (c) reductions in intrafamily violence due to 10 yrs of prevention and treatment effort, and (d) reductions due to changes in American society and family patterns that would have produced lower rates of intrafamily violence even without ameliorative programs.


This brief article outlines the Denver Domestic Violence Initiative for Women with Disabilities (DVI) that has been operating since 1986. The DVI was established to address the specific issues faced by women with disabilities who are survivors of domestic violence. The organisation provides support, crisis intervention, advocacy, and education as well as training and assistance to generic agencies to enable them to meet the needs of women with disabilities. No evaluation data included.


For too long the crime of domestic violence has remained in the background of police and policing priorities. Often viewed as ‘family matters’, police generally get involved only at crisis times. In the past two years, New South Wales’ Domestic Violence Strategic Plan has taken a back seat with few of its policies being implemented. In the meantime, the problem of domestic violence hasn’t gone away. However, with the completion of a research project by the New South Wales Police Service, new initiatives have been launched which aim to provide a much improved police response for victims.

NOTES:

In 1994 the New South Wales Police Service established a committee to investigate police responses to domestic violence aimed at improving these responses. The investigation found that police responses needed to be standardised across the State. During the period of the report, domestic cases increased but it is not known if this is because of increased incidents or more reporting of the incidents by victims; around eighty incidents daily are attended by police across...
the State. Social workers believe that this is the ‘tip of the iceberg’. In the United Kingdom, for example, women are beaten on average thirty-five times before they report the occurrence to police and police are usually the last called; victims confide in mothers or friends first. Court action is taken as a move of last resort after police are called. The report found that victims are from all socio-economic groups, class being no determinant of who will be a victim. In addition, the committee found that while the presence of alcohol adds unpredictability to the situation, in a New South Wales study conducted between 1968 and 1981, alcohol was found to be present in only 8.1 per cent of cases. Nearly 65 per cent of men who killed partners had consumed no alcohol at the time. Other States report alcohol present in around 50 per cent of cases. Firearms, however, were present frequently during disputes. The incidence of domestic violence, the committee found, was consistent across the State.

The investigation found that data collection should be standardised across the State to ensure consistent and accurate availability to police so that an adequate response could occur when police respond to an incident; if the offenders history is known a better decision can be made as to the current incident. Domestic Violence Liaison Officers were found to be inadequately trained. There is a need to study successful patrols and identify why they are more successful than others.

Police attending a domestic violence conference in Sydney in 1995 argued for consistent domestic violence laws across the country because offenders are treated differently with definitions of domestic violence being inconsistent. For example, some states do not recognise same-sex couples as being a legitimate pairing.

The Northern Territory Government’s response to domestic violence is cited as one to be investigated as a possible model to emulate. The scheme plans to enforce a ‘no drop’ prosecution policy in conjunction with counselling and support facilities for offenders and victims. A pilot project has been operating in the Casuarina Police District and uses a ‘minimum standard of responses’ including domestic violence orders and support facilities. The response includes a ‘follow up’ within forty-eight hours of the incident to gauge what further action is required.

The committee found that the New South Wales Police needed to establish a similar standardised response across the State and to implement adequate training for all concerned.


This paper examines the issue of elder abuse from a Canadian and Australian perspective. A research project was undertaken in Canada and Australia to identify registered nurses’ knowledge about the types of abuse, skill at recognition and comfort
counselling and intervening in cases of elder abuse. Although a phenomenon that has probably been in existence for many years, it is only during the last decade that elder abuse has come into prominence as an important aspect of family violence. A recent Canadian report records that elder abuse today is at the same level of publicity as wife abuse ten years ago (Canadian Nurses Association, 1993). It is estimated that as many as 4 per cent of the elderly population in each country are exposed to elder abuse (Podneiks and Pillemer, 1990, National Survey on Abuse of the Elderly in Canada, Ryerson Polytechnic Inst., Toronto; Nurrle et al., 1992; Modern Med. Austral., September, pp. 5871). This takes the form of physical, emotional as well as financial abuse. Each country has an increasingly aging population. By the year 2000 the percentage of the population over the age of 65 is predicted to be 13.6 per cent in Canada and 11.7 per cent in Australia (Gnaedinger, 1989, National Forum on Family Violence; Rowland, 1991, Aging in Australia, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne). Nurses in both community practice and health care facilities have a responsibility to this elderly population to identify those being abused and those at greatest risk. This study questioned a small sample of registered nurses in both countries to identify whether nurses were adequately prepared to identify, intervene and manage the types of abuse, or comfortable and skilled when dealing with the types of elder abuse.

Abstract obtained from publication’s preface.

Since the introduction of the Apprehended Violence Order scheme in New South Wales, the number...issued by the courts has increased...fifteen-fold in...ten years. Much of the discussion [regarding]...orders has focused on issues of process[, i]n particular...the ease with which orders can be obtained and the possible abuse of orders by persons involved in family law matters. With the exception of an earlier Bureau study by Julie Stubbs and Diane Powell, no attention has been paid to the question of whether the orders achieve their legislative objective, namely, to provide people who obtain the orders with protection from violence, abuse and harassment...[T]he [present] study [found] that Apprehended Violence Orders are very effective [in preventing domestic violence. Furthermore, the study] determined whether Apprehended Violence Orders were breached, whether breaches were reported to police and whether police were active in dealing with alleged breaches. The results of these issues are disappointing. Only about one-third of the breaches were reported to the police. More disturbingly, police took no action in response to about 70 per cent of the breaches reported to them. Given the effectiveness of Apprehended Violence Orders in preventing violence, the response of police to breaches will clearly need to be reviewed.
NOTES:

The survey from which this report was derived studied a sample of both sexes granted Apprehended Violence Orders (AVOs) in Sydney. It was found that in all cases of breaches occasioning assault that alcohol was allegedly involved in one-third of incidents. Violence against women has been acknowledged generally as a significant problem. As a means of comparison, two surveys in the U.S.A. by Straus and Gelles (1986) found that in 1975, of ‘co-habiting couple[s]’ in 2,143 households, 12.1 per cent had been assaulted by their husbands ‘at least once during the previous twelve months’, and of 3,520 households in 1985, 11.3 per cent had been assaulted. A 1993 random telephone survey of 12,300 women over eighteen years in Canada (Rodgers, 1994) found that 3 per cent of those married or living in a de facto relationship had been assaulted within the prior twelve months. Of those who had not cohabited in some way, 29 per cent had been either physically or sexually assaulted by a partner at some time in the relationship.

The respondents to the present survey reported in one-quarter of cases that alcohol was the trigger that set the violence in motion while one-third reported that the offender had been drinking prior to the incident. These results support other reports into alcohol and violence. For example, Hotaling and Sugarman (1986:103) found that in seven out of nine cases investigated, alcohol positively influenced a violent incident. In Australia, the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1996) reported that alcohol ‘contributed’ to a violent incident in 41.1 per cent of an ‘estimated 338,700 women’ surveyed. A Canadian survey (Rodgers, 1994) found that alcohol was involved in violent incidents against women in ‘half of the most recent violent incidents reported’.


In 1990 the United Nations adopted a resolution, 45/114, wherein a working group of experts was established to formulate a manual to assist those working in the field of domestic violence. The manual offers information about how different countries view domestic violence and the extent of the problem world-wide. Domestic violence the group found, occurs widely in all countries and its nature is largely hidden because of the nature of the crime: it is frequently culturally condoned and occurs behind closed doors. It is generally under-reported and investigation into its occurrence has been conducted only in the past twenty-five years from date of the group’s investigation.

Furthermore, generally its incidence is not culturally nor class restricted occurring across all socio-economic groups. However, those incidents that come to public attention usually do because of the need of victims to seek assistance. Those who are wealthier, for example, can afford to move to safe accommodation or to enlist private medical assistance thus circumventing public facilities. This frequently results in its being seen as a result of poverty or low socio-economic class circumstances.
A study from Canada found that children who witness family violence frequently gravitate to lives of violence because of their childhood experiences. In addition, many street children are refugees from violent families. However, the manual argues that evidence is lacking in this area and it requires, therefore, further investigation.

Although many theories exist as to why domestic violence occurs, there is no over-riding causative reason. While alcohol, drugs, mental illness and stress may all contribute to individual acts, the reasons must be sought from within a society’s general social structure that is centred in gender power and economic inequality. Nevertheless, irrespective of what causes the incidence, it is an unacceptable practice for which individual responsibility must be taken. A family has the right to its privacy, but this does not include the domination or physical or other oppression of any member within that family; the sanctity of the home should not be pursued at the expense of any individual within. The manual argues that the most important area that countries who seek to combat the occurrence of violence in the home must face is what stand the country’s criminal justice system takes.


This article defines same sex domestic violence and examines the myths, stereotypes and prevalence of this violence. Evidence suggests that the problem of same sex domestic violence is under estimated and under reported. Vickers discusses the reluctance of the lesbian and gay community to acknowledge the problem, and the role of heterosexism and homophobia in maintaining silence on the issue. The difficulties experienced by gay men and lesbians with respect to the criminal justice system (police and courts) in relation to same sex domestic violence highlights why little faith is placed in these institutions to address the problem. Support programs or services specifically addressing same sex domestic violence are also limited, and generic domestic violence programs, such as women’s shelters may be ‘unwelcoming of lesbians, homophobic, or insensitive to their needs’. While there are indications that women’s shelters in a number of countries are beginning to address lesbian domestic violence, the ‘options available to gay male victims are grossly inadequate’. Gay males often have to rely on men’s crises accommodation where issues of safety and suitability to deal with domestic violence are of concern. Finally, responses to same sex domestic violence in Perth are discussed, including the efforts of the short lived ‘Outing Sexual Assault and Domestic Violence’ (OSADV) group, which conducted an awareness campaign within the lesbian/gay community and provided domestic violence training for counsellors at the Gay and Lesbian Counselling Service. The WA Police Force appointed two gay/lesbian liaison officers during 1996 which may help to address same sex domestic violence issues, e.g., lack of police training, accurate data collection and research. Local research has found that while refuges do not make special provision for lesbians, the presence of lesbian workers in some refuges helps to make them more accessible to lesbian
domestic violence victims. The same was found with respect to gay male workers in men’s crises accommodation. The Gay and Lesbian Counselling Service which provides volunteer counselling, support and referral services, reports only a small number of identified domestic violence/sexual assault victims seeking assistance. The author suggests that effectively addressing same sex domestic violence will involve grassroots initiatives to confront the silencing on this issue, especially from within the lesbian/gay community, collective efforts from the lesbian/gay community and existing domestic violence agencies to increase service access, and the elimination of homophobic attitudes in legal and other organisations dealing with domestic violence.


Walker argues that research shows that women in dependent situations (e.g., those unable to leave because of financial dependency) who are exposed to a life of violence, learn to accept their situation as inevitable. The author asserts that the women learn that they are helpless so that even should an opportunity to escape present itself, they do not believe that they can. Therefore, treatment of affected women requires a process of ‘unlearning’ as the victim is shown that she can be empowered to control her life without relying on the support of a partner who continually victimises her. This research opposes the assertions by early researchers that women who endured violence were masochistic; this can not be substantiated. Usually victims remain because of no other option, lacking a haven to which they may escape. Victims are scared of being unable to cope alone and thus endure their victimisation.


Wanganeen is a privately practicing therapeutic masseuse who offers assistance to those wishing to overcome experiences of violence. Although the author concentrates on indigenous people, she claims that her program can assist anyone wishing to change their ways. The process concentrates on locating the source of the person’s violence, facing the experience/s that led to the life of violence, and reversing the person’s position.


[The] ACT’s domestic violence laws have been referred to the ACT Community Law Reform Committee for an inquiry. Waterhouse reports that the Committee found that the ACT’s laws generally are effective but that more emphasis is needed on the laws being
implemented. The Committee has evaluated the effectiveness of the USA’s Duluth Program and in particular how a similar scheme is working in Hamilton in New Zealand. It was found that arrests have increased considerably and that victims generally are happy with the program’s operation. The program has increased the safety of women and children and many offenders have been sentenced to an education program. Offenders generally are now ‘more accountable for their’ actions.

NOTES:

The author reports that the ACT has ‘an established infrastructure’ that supports victims of domestic violence. The AFP are linked to the Domestic Violence Crisis Service and the criminal justice system who cooperate to assist domestic violence victims; legislation supports the program. The Crisis Service is a twenty-four hour, seven days a week service providing ‘crisis intervention, support and home assistance for victims’.

Around one-third of total calls to the AFP are in respect to domestic violence. On receipt of a call, the police inform the Domestic Violence Crisis Service who attend the incident to assist police. Crisis workers arrange any necessary assistance for victims while the police tend to the criminal side of the incident. Crisis workers assist in the obtaining of Protection Orders if required and arrange follow-up assistance for victims including arranging for accommodation and social welfare support.

The criminal justice system assists victims by providing legal aid. The AFP promptly follow up any necessary criminal justice responses regarding the offender thereby enforcing the seriousness of the offence. Victims are provided with maximum protection and special units attend to sexual assault and child abuse. Police officers receive specialist training in regard to these areas to assist them in their responses.

Notes obtained from: AUSTRON:PsycLIT.
Abstract obtained from journal article.

The authors argue that women’s powerlessness to effect change in their partner’s violence has been promoted in much of the existing literature on domestic violence. This has led to a downgrading in therapeutic responses to domestic violence and an over-reliance on legalistic remedies. However, many victims of domestic violence often assert that they want relationships to survive and the violence to stop. Others may wish to leave their partners but find this too difficult. This paper describes a therapeutic/educational group program which sets out to identify how women can become empowered and effect positive change in their partner’s violent behaviour.
The balancing of power was based upon the application of a set of guidelines which were applied in conjunction with McDonald’s (1989) Cycle of Violence, with cognisance given to perpetrator characteristics. This initiative broadens the range of services available to women and it questions the political correctness of current domestic violence public social policy.

NOTES:

The authors studied the association between the frequency and intensity of violent behaviour and the level of vulnerability of victims of domestic violence, and the effectiveness of a group intervention in reducing vulnerability and violence. Sixteen females in two twelve week programs were assessed for violence and vulnerability during pre-intervention, intervention, and post-intervention (3 month follow-up) stages. I. S. McDonald’s (1989) Cycle of Violence was used as a framework to sensitise subjects to the perpetrator’s characteristics to promote their understanding of their volatile partners and interrupt the cycle of violence. Group membership was associated with a significant decrease in violence, vulnerability and neuroticism. Reduction in violence was dependent on the male assuming responsibility for change, though it was more likely to be associated with women decreasing their vulnerability and balancing power in the relationships.

The cycle of violence to which the authors’ refer covers the following stages of a violent relationship:

1. violent explosion 2. remorseful stage 3. a buy-back stage of promises of changed behaviour 4. a honey moon stage of affectionate behaviour 5. a tension building stage 6. a stand-over stage of threats 7. violent explosion that has travelled full circle.


Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM: PSYCLIT.

Replies to E. Shaw and S. Pye’s comments on the original article by R. Wileman and B. Wileman on balancing power in domestic violence relationships. It is argued that women are not powerless to influence positive change in such relationships. A balance of power can be attained by many women, without increasing the risk of retaliatory abuse, providing the authors’ guidelines are observed. The ‘Cycle of Violence’ should be seen as a construct which is useful for women in understanding their situation. There is no guarantee that an Apprehended Violence Order will ensure women’s safety. In fact, research shows that police intervention has led to an increase in violence.

Witt argues that acts of family violence occur because society generally is predisposed to using violence: norms of behaviour exist that promote violence as an accepted practice. Rather than there being subcultures of violence, it is society generally that is responsible for the wide occurrence of domestic violence across all socio-economic groups. These norms are perpetuated as family members absorb them through socialisation within the family due to dominant ideology. Violence within society is maintained as socially necessary ‘by the relationship between economic classes’; Dominant ideology has maintained women as subordinate thus creating a class of potential victims. It is the ideological structure of society that must be addressed to lessen the incidence of domestic violence.


refer Prisons annotated bibliography for abstract.


Abstract obtained from: AUSTROM:CINCH (Criminology)

The study aimed to prospectively assess the variables, which predict women’s intention to return, and actual return to violent partners. A questionnaire was developed and administered to 78 women who were taking refuge in a women’s shelter after leaving a violent partner. After a two month period it was determined whether or not the women had returned to their partner. Intention to return was significantly predicted by the frequency and severity of violence, the age of the women’s youngest child, her belief the partner had changed, subjective norms and external locus of control. Actual return was predicted by the intention to return to partner, number of times a woman had previously left her partner, commitment to relationship, subjective norms and allocation of responsibility for violence. It was argued that therapeutic interventions that address the attitudinal predictors of intention to return or actual return could aid some women and their children to remain away from a violent living situation.
Chapter 8. Violence against Lesbians and Gay Men

The terms gay and homosexual are used in this chapter to refer to both gay males and lesbians and may also include people who are bisexual and transgender, as some studies examined for this chapter included these groups. Some studies comment that heterosexuals who are perceived to be gay may also be the target of anti-gay violence or hate crime. The terms gay males, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender will be used to distinguish the groups.

Bias crime or hate crime refers to crimes where the offender’s actions were motivated, in whole or in part, by bias. Among the types of bias generally included in hate crime statistics are racial bias, religious bias, ethnic bias, gender bias, and sexual orientation bias. Some laws against bias or hate crime also cover persons with disabilities, political affiliation, and age.

Homophobia was a term originally coined to mean ‘dread of being in close proximity to a homosexual person’ (Smith, 1971; Weinberg, 1972). However, it now has a much more general meaning, referring to any kind of negative attitude, belief, behaviour or expression of intolerance towards gay males and lesbians (O’Donohue and Caselles, 1993). Homophobia is not a medically recognised phobia, and a number of authors criticise the use of the term for overly attributing individual psychological characteristics as the causes of prejudice against lesbians and gay men (Herek, 1990; Logan, 1996). Terms such as homoprejudice, homonegativity, and heterosexism are preferred by several authors as more accurately describing the social-structural origins of anti-gay prejudicial attitudes and behaviour.

Heterosexism refers to ‘an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatises any non heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship, or community’ (Herek, 1990).

As with other chapters, this chapter is divided broadly into two sections. In the first we discuss factors that could be related to violence against lesbians and gay men, and document what is known about the incidence and patterns of such violence. In the second section, we analyse prevention programs, emphasising the importance of data collection and evaluation as well as the success of selected programs.
Factors that Influence Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men

Risk and impact of violence against gay men and lesbians

Information about the incidence and prevalence of violence against gay men and lesbians is pertinent to more fully examining the possible causes of this violence and to implementing effective prevention strategies. Both Australian and overseas researchers find that accurate data on hate or bias crimes against lesbians and gay men is limited because of under-reporting to police and lack of uniform data collection (Count and Counter Report, 1994; Cunneen and de Rome, 1993; Ehrlich, 1990; Herek and Berrill, 1990; Out of the Blue Report, 1995).

However, recent Australian and U.S. studies have produced some similar findings (Berrill, 1990; Berrill and Herek, 1990; Comstock, 1991; Count and Counter Report, 1994; Herek et al., 1997; Off Our Backs Report, 1992; Out of the Blue Report, 1995). These studies indicate that the rate of anti-gay/lesbian violence is several times higher than the rate of criminal violence experienced by the general population. The majority of perpetrators of crimes against gay men and lesbians are young males (between the ages of 19 to 25 years). Men are generally more likely to be attacked by a group, whereas women are almost equally likely to be attacked by a group or one perpetrator. Gay men are more likely to be attacked in street or pubic settings, in contrast to women who are equally likely to be attacked in private settings such as the home or places of work. Women experience a higher prevalence of sexual assault hate crime. Australian and U.S. evidence also suggests that homosexual murders are often more violent than those with heterosexual victims, and may involve wounding far beyond that required to cause death. This is often termed ‘overkill’ (Bell and Vila, 1996; Berrill and Herek, 1990; Mason, 1993).

There are some differences in findings between the U.S. and Australian literatures. Comstock’s (1991) survey review (N=20) suggests that in the U.S., members of racial minorities are more frequently the victims of homophobic violence than are white lesbians and gay men. Insufficient Australian data is available to draw any conclusions on the role of racial or ethnic differences in homophobic violence (Mason, 1997). In addition, Berrill (1990) reports on the growing role of organised hate groups and gangs in the U.S. in attacks on homosexuals, while in Australia ‘the available evidence does not suggest that formal gangs are involved, or that perpetrators are drawn from a particular racial group or social class’ (The Report into Youth Violence in NSW, 1995:58).

Australian data on violence against lesbians and gay men is primarily from the following studies (see annotated bibliography for more details):
• The National Lesbian Conference 1991 survey of 300 women revealed that 18 percent of respondents had experienced physical assault in the previous 12 months (NSW Police Service 1995: 2).

• The Off Our Backs Report (1991) survey of 42 women revealed that ‘lesbians are almost equally at risk of an attack from an individual as they are from larger groups’ and that ‘a third of survivors experience ongoing harassment and that this is often perpetrated by neighbours and co-workers.’

• The Gay Men and Lesbians against Discrimination (GLAD) 1994 Victorian survey of 1002 people revealed that 70 percent of lesbians and 69 percent of gay men reported being verbally abused, threatened or bashed in a public place. High levels of discrimination were also reported with respect to employment, education, medical services, police and housing.

• The Count and Counter Report (1994), among other findings from an analysis of 184 incidents over approximately two years, shed more light on ‘group’ attacks on lesbians and gay men. All the incidents involving assailants under 19 years were group attacks, including five reports of 15 to 17 assailants and one report of 20 assailants. The larger the number of assailants the younger they were likely to be.

• The Out of the Blue Report (1995) by the NSW Police Service revealed that gay men were at least four times more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to be assaulted; lesbians were at least six times more likely to be assaulted; and both groups had a higher level of fear of victimisation than that reported by the general community.

• New South Wales homicide statistics indicate that of a total of 617 homicides from 1990 to 1995, hate crime was the apparent motive in 22 cases (Out of the Blue Report, 1995). Anti-gay murders compromise approximately one quarter of all 'stranger murders' in the state (Thomsen, 1993).

• Chapter 4 has further information about violence against lesbians and gay men in school settings, and Chapter 3 discusses briefly violence against gay men and male suicide rates in rural areas.

Evidence of under-reporting of hate related violence is cited in several reports. The New South Wales Police Service survey (Out of the Blue, 1995) found that only 18 percent of incidents were reported to police. The following groups: lesbians, transgenders, people living with HIV/AIDS and non-metropolitan lesbians and gay men are also suggested as groups who under-report violence (Count and Counter Report, 1995). Violence, harassment and entrapment by police are cited as reasons for fear of and under-reporting of crimes to police (Berrill and Herek, 1990).
Differences between the violence experienced by gay men and by lesbians, coupled with the fact that there are similarities between anti-lesbian violence and other types of violence against women, suggest the importance of gender to any understanding of homophobic violence. Mason (1997:28) asserts that ‘much hostility may represent a network of interrelated prejudices that cannot always be automatically separated into disjunctive categories of gender or sexuality’ (see Mason, 1997; and Irwin et al., 1997 for further explorations of the issues of gender and homophobic violence).

An appreciation of the consequences of violence for victims is important as it highlights the need for a range of violence prevention approaches, especially those that focus on empowerment and victim support within the gay and lesbian community. Herek et al. (1997:195) found that ‘bias-crime survivors manifested higher levels of depression, anxiety, anger, and symptoms of post-traumatic stress’ compared to non-bias crime victims or non-victims. They, along with other authors, suggest that because anti-gay violence represents an attack on the victim’s gay identity and community, the attack further heightens their sense of vulnerability and increases the risk of negative mental health outcomes.

The impact of homophobia and violence on gay and bisexual youth is well documented, and includes homelessness, alcohol and substance abuse, leaving school early, unsafe sex choices, and suicide (Massachusetts Governor’s Commission on Gay and Lesbian Youth, 1993; Penley-Kenton, 1995; Report into Suicide in Rural New South Wales, 1994; Report into Youth Violence in NSW, 1995). Particularly concerning is the increasing evidence from the U.S. and Australian literature of a relationship between youth suicide attempts/suicide rates and violence against gay and lesbian youth (Green, 1996; Hunter, 1990). Green’s (1996) analysis of urban/rural suicide trends among NSW youth suggests that ‘homosexuality may be an issue in the special circumstances of suicide among rural youth’ and that this has been largely ignored in previous research (see Chapter 3).

Homophobia

Since the 1970’s a considerable body of empirical research has been focused on distilling variables, chiefly personality characteristics and life experiences, that contribute to homophobic responses. While this research contributes to the body of knowledge on homophobia, several valid criticisms of these studies have been made. On closer scrutiny, a number of the instruments used to test homophobia have reliability and validity limitations (O’Donohue and Caselles, 1993; Schwanberg, 1993), and the over-reliance on university and college population samples raises questions as to the generalisability of findings (Agnew et al., 1993). Studies with other samples, especially with known perpetrators of violence and crimes against lesbians and gay men, are far fewer.

Studies are predominantly American and their applicability to the Australian situation is largely untested, although Pain (1995) found that the Index of Attitudes Towards
Homosexuals (IAH) was valid for Australian populations. Van de Ven’s research (1995) with Australian school students and juvenile offenders provides one of the few other exceptions. Finally, there is still a gap between attitude-based research and research that examines behaviour (that is, actual or self-reported anti-gay behaviours). ‘Attitudes alone do not predict behaviour; situational factors are often much more powerful in determining what an individual will actually do in the presence of a liked or disliked attitude object’ (Agnew et al., 1993: 2038).

Table 8.1, developed from overviews in Herek (1984) and Schwanberg (1993) and other studies cited in the annotated bibliography, summarises the major findings from several of the more significant research studies.

A number of researchers have endeavoured to extend the unidimensional constructs of homophobia and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Fyfe (cited in O’Donohue, 1993) distinguishes between cultural homophobia, attitudinal homophobia, and homophobia as a personality dimension. Herek (1984; 1987) argues that a more complex view is needed of the psychology of positive and negative attitudes toward homosexual persons. He proposes a model that distinguishes three types of attitudes according to the social psychological function they serve: (1) experiential - categorising social reality by one’s past interactions with homosexual persons; (2) defensive - coping with one’s own inner conflicts or anxieties by projecting them onto homosexual persons; and (3) symbolic - expressing abstract ideological concepts that are closely linked to one’s notion of self and to one’s social network and reference groups. Van de Ven (1995) further clarifies this model and applies it to known juvenile offenders against lesbians and gay men. Educational and other strategies for changing attitudes serving each of the above functions can then be developed. San Miguel and Millham’s (1976) study of the role of several antecedents of aggression towards homosexuals concluded that this aggression ‘may result from a complex interaction of attitudinal and situational variables.’
Table 8.1  Predictors of Homophobia Extracted From the Literature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Studies</th>
<th>Limitations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of lesbian or gay male acquaintances</td>
<td>Lance 1987; Gentry 1986, 1987; Hansen 1982a; San Miguel and Kellogg 1976; Bowman 1979.</td>
<td>self reported attitudes only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of homosexual experience</td>
<td>Lumby 1976; Weis and Dain 1979; Mosher and O'Grady 1979</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Normative beliefs about peer attitudes (especially for males)</td>
<td>Herek 1984; Larsen, Reid and Hoffman 1980</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong religious beliefs, conservative ideology</td>
<td>Gentry 1986, 1987</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High authoritarian and related personality characteristics e.g., status conscious</td>
<td>Smith 1971; MacDonald and Games 1974; Sobel 1976; Larsen et al 1980</td>
<td>target not specified beyond term 'homosexual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less permissive sexually or more guilt/negativity about sexuality</td>
<td>Nyberg and Alston 1976</td>
<td>target not specified beyond term 'homosexual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger and less well educated</td>
<td>Hudson and Ricketts 1980; Simoni 1996</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reside in areas where negative attitudes are the norm, especially during adolescence (rural and small towns)</td>
<td>Levitt and Klassen 1974; Hansen 1982; Pratte 1993</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More likely to express racist and/or sexist attitudes</td>
<td>Henley and Pincus 1978; Larsen, Cate and Reed 1983</td>
<td>target not specified beyond term 'homosexual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men more negative than women</td>
<td>Bouton 1981; Minnigerade 1976; Maret 1984; Logan 1996; Pratte 1993; Simoni 1996</td>
<td>target not specified beyond term 'homosexual' in many studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some studies support equal negativity by men and women</td>
<td>Nyberg and Alston, 1977</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study by Agnew et al. (1993) warrants closer attention because it examines the predictors of homophobia within a proximal-distal theoretical framework that considers what are the possible ‘manipulable precursors’ of homophobia. In other words, what are the variables that could be manipulated in order to reduce homophobia and where are the possible points of intervention. Agnew’s study examined proximal and distal family, individual and situational factors, and concluded that many types of variables contribute to negative attitudes towards homosexuals. However, distal family factors (largely demographic factors) and underlying personality dimensions and family socialisation experiences do not predict as strongly as do proximal beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Interventions that therefore seek to change an individual’s current beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are likely to be more effective.

**Youth and machismo (male honour)**

The overwhelming evidence from the literature is that males are primarily responsible for violence against lesbians and gay men, and that youth is a factor in this violence. However the evidence for this is stronger with respect to violence against gay males than against lesbians. The increasing evidence, primarily from Australian research, of the broader age range of perpetrators of violence against lesbians must not be ignored. Unsupervised male teenage groups are identified as a risk factor for violence generally (British Crime Survey, 1992; University of Maryland, 1997). Harry (1990) views anti-gay violence as the result of immature males fulfilling sexual status needs. Through such violence they reaffirm their commitment to heterosexuality in a way visible to their peers. He describes offenders as either activists, who seek out homosexual victims, or opportunists, who victimise gay men and lesbians as occasions arise. In additions to these groups there is a ‘passive audience’ of others who abandon any helping-citizen role when faced with such violence by others.

Several authors describe the benefits that youth derive from hating gay men and lesbians and perpetrating violence against them as including: social acceptance by others; reinforcement of a particular set of values; acquisition of a way of dealing with internal anxieties about their own sexuality and identity; and a public defence of their male honour (Herek, 1987; Polk, 1993; Report into Youth Violence, 1995; Van de Ven, 1995). The Report into Youth Violence in NSW (1995) also considered other social or environmental factors that may contribute to an increased likelihood of using violence for psychological benefit. For example ‘... unemployment can lead to increased frustration, self-doubt, and ... increased boredom and time available for being on the streets with other young males. All these factors increase the potential for peer group dynamics to lead to harassment and violence.’
The relationship between interpersonal violence and cultural/societal discrimination against lesbians and gay men - heterosexism

Researchers are increasingly turning their attention to the link between interpersonal violence and systemic or structural violence in society. The 1990 Report of the National Committee on Violence acknowledges cultural factors as the second most significant factor contributing to violence in our community. The orientation of a culture and the shared beliefs within a subculture help define the limits of tolerable behaviour. Behavioural norms that define violence against lesbians and gay men as normal or legitimate are a factor influencing this form of violence. Ruthchild (1997) for example, is particularly critical of the individual psychology/pathology explanation for anti-gay violence, and instead defines such violence as systemic. She contends that individual homophobic acts of violence are in response to ‘signals which exist throughout society and which are universally understood.’ As evidence, she cites the views that gay men become legitimate targets of violence by other males in their ‘quest of proving their manhood,’ the justification for the ‘homosexual panic defence,’ and the threat to ‘male hegemony and control of women’ that lesbian sexual autonomy and independence implies. Tomsen (1994; 1997) considers how a cultural stereotype of gay men as sexually predatory is embedded in the concept of homosexual panic defence, along with conventional notions of masculinity and male honour.

The civic inferiority afforded gay men and lesbians and their lack of equal status and rights compared to heterosexuals across a range of areas, despite anti-discrimination statutes, sends a powerful message to the community (Agnew et al, 1993; Chapman, 1997; Mason, 1997). Winter (1992) outlines the range of areas where a lack of legal status in New South Wales results in gay and lesbian couples being disadvantaged in comparison to heterosexual couples. Other researchers (Harry, 1990; Van de Ven, 1995) comment that the ‘visibility’ of homosexuality is threatening to dominant cultural norms and contributes to lesbians and gay men becoming likely victims of violence. For example, Van de Ven’s research with juvenile offenders highlighted the views of these young people that homosexuals don’t have the right to be visible. Similarly, the resistance and backlash that usually has accompanied any moves to legalise homosexuality or outlaw discrimination and vilification of homosexuality can be interpreted as giving legitimacy to homophobic behaviour. Of particular concern is the evidence from the United States of dramatic increases in anti-gay violence pursuant to moves from the Christian Right to revoke anti-discrimination legislation. Ruthchild (1997) cites evidence of a 275 percent increase in anti-gay violence in Colorado within a month of the referendum on revoking anti-discrimination laws.

Australian and U.S. survey data also strongly suggest that AIDS has contributed to anti-gay violence. Studies from as early as 1988 reveal that gay men and lesbians had experienced violence or harassment that was AIDS related (cited in Berrill and Herek 1990:289), and that this has been responsible for increasing the fear of victimisation among gay men (Sarre 1997). While AIDS may not be a cause of the violence it has been used as a
focus or justification for violence based on previous anti-gay prejudice (Berrill and Herek 1990).

Media

The mass media's stereotypical portrayals of minority group members plays an important role in the development and maintenance of stereotypes and prejudices in the community (various studies cited in Riggle, Ellis and Crawford, 1996). Criticism of media portrayals include the misrepresentation and under representation of minority group members, as well as the 'stock ways' or 'standard frames' for telling stories about members of these groups. For example, Hallett and Canella (1994) found that the 'overwhelming majority of media portrayals of lesbians and gay men are negative.' Media coverage often focuses on lesbians and gay men as the perpetrators of crime and ignores them as victims of crime (Berrill and Herek, 1990). Negative media coverage of HIV/AIDS, especially in relation to homosexuals, may contribute to homophobic attitudes and be interpreted as condoning anti-homophobic violence.

The portrayal of violence generally in the media is also an issue. While there is still some debate about the influence of the media portrayal of violence on the community, the current consensus in the literature is that there is an association between exposure to violence in entertainment and violent behaviour (numerous studies cited in Brown, 1996; National Committee on Violence, 1990). While it is not proven that exposure to media violence causes violent behaviour, extensive research indicates that 'exposure to media violence will increase the likelihood of subsequent aggressive behaviour' (Brown, 1996).

Alcohol, drugs and violence

The contribution of alcohol or drugs to attacks of violence against lesbians and gay men has received little attention in the literature. Some studies note that a number of violent incidents occur in close proximity to licensed venues, but no studies that specifically consider the prevalence and influence of alcohol or drugs on perpetrators of violence against lesbians and gay men have been found.

However, as noted in Chapter 1 (and also in Chapter 6), the general violence literature strongly supports the view that alcohol is a major risk factor in aggression. While alcohol may not be considered to cause aggression in any direct pharmacological fashion, numerous researchers have concluded that alcohol does facilitate aggressive behaviour and is a major antecedent of violent crimes, including assault, domestic violence, rape and homicide (see Bushman and Cooper, 1990; Gayford, 1975; Johnson, Gibson and Linden 1978; Myers, 1982; all cited in Goldstein, 1994; Homel, Tomsen, and Thrommeny, 1992; National Committee on Violence, 1990; Polk, 1992).
The 1996 British Crime Survey confirmed that incidents of violence from strangers and acquaintances involved alcohol or drugs in a high proportion of cases (57 percent for stranger violence and 53 percent for acquaintance violence). It is known that alcohol induces cognitive, perceptual and other changes in individuals and that these may heighten the individual’s concern with power, while at the same time decreasing their ability to assess accurately the intentions of others, to evaluate risk, and to consider alternative ways of responding (Goldstein, 1994; Toch, 1984 cited in National Committee on Violence, 1990).

**Programs and Approaches to Reduce Violence against Lesbians and gay men**

An understanding of anti-gay violence and violence prevention is still emerging. The indication from the literature that the factors influencing this form of violence and other hate related crimes are endemic to society calls for a range of prevention approaches, including changes that address the Australian cultural and social climate.

Wolfe et. al. (1997) outlines some of the current difficulties with prevention approaches to youth violence, including violence against lesbians and gay men, and these are also echoed by other researchers. The difficulties include the fact that most prevention efforts by the time they are implemented must overcome the effects of years of socialisation or ‘prior training.’ It can also be very difficult to demonstrate adequately a long-term benefit from preventive approaches because of a lack of evaluation studies, often due to funding limitations. There is in addition extensive debate about the best location for prevention efforts. Some, for example, advocate legislation or use of the criminal justice system, while others argue that prevention is most effective when directed through schools, peer groups, communities, families or individuals.

**Data collection, documentation and monitoring programs**

Several authors stress the need to improve data systems in order to ascertain fully the prevalence of hate crimes against lesbians and gay men and to understand better the nature of this violence and the factors involved. This includes better survey methodologies, data collection and cross checking with a range of sources, such as police, hospitals and advocacy and lobby groups, and the establishment of official and uniform data collection systems for hate crimes within the police service and criminal justice system.

The absence of appropriate data inhibits responses to the problem, including the development and evaluation of different prevention strategies (Cunneen and de Rome, 1993; Herek and Berrill 1990; Jenness, 1995). Furthermore, analysts endorse the need for this data collection and documentation to occur at two levels: at a community level by gay or lesbian groups; and at an official police and governmental level through uniform reporting methods.
On the other hand, it needs to be recognised that there may be difficulties in collecting data given that information on sexuality may be an area of concern for privacy reasons. The continuing discrimination and harassment against lesbians and gay men may make individuals understandably reluctant to provide information on their sexuality unless privacy concerns can be met. Improved data systems will need to take this concern into account.

**Community level documentation by gay advocacy and community groups**

Documentation by gay community and advocacy groups of violence and discrimination has occurred through anti-violence projects, surveys and 'hot lines'. In Australia, the **NSW Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project** has produced various reports (The Count and Counter Report, 1994; The Off Our Backs Report, 1992) as have **Victorian Gay Men and Lesbians Against Discrimination** (GLAD) (Not a Day Goes By, 1994). In the U.S. this also occurs at a national level as the **National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce Anti-Violence Project** compiles statistics gathered from different programs and communities across the United States and produces a national report on anti-gay violence that is widely distributed to the public, law enforcement agencies, and government. Jenness' (1995:157) analysis of anti-violence projects’ data collection and documentation programs identified that their impact was to:

- encourage victims to go public and to report incidents of violence;
- enable more categories of anti-gay crime and non-criminal victimisation to be revealed;
- provide visibility and 'empirical credibility', which is often necessary in order for the problem to be addressed; and
- provide a reliability cross check and/or challenge to any official statistics on anti-gay violence, which is important given under-reporting to police and discrepancies in perceptions of what constitutes hate crimes and homophobic violence.

In addition, documentation of and publicising anti-gay violence has often served as the impetus for the establishment of prevention measures and services, such as victim assistance, crisis intervention, risk reduction, and education programs within the gay community (see Jenness, 1995, for overview of U.S. projects; and the section below on Anti-Violence Projects).

**Official police and governmental uniform data collection and reports**

Australia lacks a nationally co-ordinated system for uniform data collection and reporting on prejudice-related crimes. The literature and U.S. experience suggest that such systems are central to providing the necessary information to institute both policy and operational-level prevention measures and an evaluation of their outcomes (Cunneen and de Rome, 1993; Jenness, 1995). Problem-oriented police approaches increasingly rely on
such information for ‘the systematic analysis of patterns and incidents, and the development of actions required to solve the underlying problems which precipitate them’ (Cunneen and de Rome, 1993:172).

The U.S. has adopted a legislatively mandated approach to documentation, with the introduction of the *Hate Crimes Statistics Act 1990*. This Act requires all law enforcement agencies, via the *U.S. Department of Justice*, to collect data and report on all hate- or prejudice-motivated crimes in relation to race, religion and sexual preference. The *Community Relations Service* of the Department of Justice operates a national toll-free hotline for reporting such crimes. The system involves uniform data recording, according to FBI methodology and a two tier police decision process to determine whether the incident fits hate crime criteria. The victim’s perceptions are taken into account in this process but the final decision rests with police. Outcome reports are produced regularly by the Department of Justice and are used by police, other government agencies, and community and advocacy groups (see Table 8.2).

**Table 8.2  Programs and Approaches for Preventing Violence Against Lesbians and gay men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description and Reference</th>
<th>Target Factors</th>
<th>Outcomes and Evaluation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Dept. of Justice, FBI</td>
<td>Uniform data and crime reports from all States on all hate and prejudice-motivated crimes in relation to race, religion or sexual preference.</td>
<td>By 1995, 9500 law enforcement agencies covering 75 percent of U.S. population were making reports. 13 percent of a total of 7947 hate crime incidents reported to the Dept. by law enforcement agencies in 1995 were for sexual orientation bias. Information and data reports used by police, govt agencies and community groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW Community Relations Data Project (Cunneen and de Rome,1993) Pilot project data collection in three Sydney police patrols on hate crimes. Used British model for recording whereby the perceptions of the victim as to the motivation for the crime are given equal weighting to that of the police.</td>
<td>Test of a model for police uniform data collection and reporting on hate crimes in relation to: race, ethnicity or cultural background; religion; sexual preference; and specified other.</td>
<td>Procedurally possible to collect, collate and analyse hate crime data at police patrol level and to incorporate into operational intelligence data for preventive policing. Appropriate training and supervision required.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description and Reference</td>
<td>Target Factors</td>
<td>Outcomes and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NSW Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS)</strong> (Thompson, 1997) System upgraded to include a specific category for hate crimes. System also gives access to non-identifying data collected by community groups, e.g. Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project.</td>
<td>Uniform data collection on hate crime by NSW Police Service. Information used to improve police responses to violence and harassment.</td>
<td>No evaluations reported in literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Colorado Anti-Violence Project USA</strong> (Jenness, 1995). Started in 1986 as Datacall to collect data and monitor hate crimes, now also operates 24 hr crisis line, intervention and referral, community education programs, counselling and support groups for survivors, including of domestic violence.</td>
<td>Targets community prevention through education, reducing the impact of violence on survivors, reporting of violence, public awareness, and ongoing monitoring of anti-gay violence.</td>
<td>Reportedly successful project and one of first to address domestic violence. Dramatic increase in violence against lesbians and gay men in recent years however with removal of anti-discrimination legislation in Colorado.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description and Reference</td>
<td>Target Factors</td>
<td>Outcomes and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>The NSW Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project (AVP) (Count and Counter Report, 1994; Herlihy, 1995; Thompson, 1997) NSW statewide community prevention project, commenced 1990. Range of programs: self-defence, streetsmart campaign, community awareness, encouraging reporting of attacks, support for survivors including referrals and assistance with police and criminal justice system. Consultation and liaison with community policing project in relation to violence against lesbians and gay men.</td>
<td>Targets community prevention, including risk reduction for lesbians and gay men, blocking of opportunities for violence, reducing the impact of violence on survivors, reporting of violence, public awareness, and ongoing monitoring of anti-gay violence.</td>
<td>Effective program with 58 percent reduction in reported physical assaults between 1991-92 and 1992-93; gay men/lesbians who had experienced an assault in previous 12 mths halved from 15 percent in 1993 to 7.5 percent in 1994. Improved community policing strategies and a Voluntary Community Street Patrol also contributed to success. Project effectively reaching grassroots of the lesbian/gay community with upwards of 75 percent of respondents (n=221) aware of Project and risk reduction strategies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australian Police Service (Baird, 1997; Sarre and Tomsen, 1997). Some policing reforms introduced post 1994 ‘The Police and You’ Report, including police policy on beats, meetings between existing police-victim contact officers and gay action group, victim contact officer training, and some increased police efforts to prevent violence.</td>
<td>Improved relations between police and lesbian/gay community and prevention of anti-gay violence through a minimalist reform approach within existing policing practices and structures. No comprehensive strategic approach or community policing model adopted.</td>
<td>No evaluation post-1994 introduction of changes. 1994 survey found 50 percent of hate crime victims delayed or didn’t report matters to police, and police perceived as reluctant to assist or homophobic. Suggested insufficient victim contact officers and coverage, need for specialist gay/lesbian police liaison officers, officer training, and community policing model similar to NSW.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales Police Service (Thompson, 1997; Herlihy, 1995; Silva, 1996; Out of the Blue Report, 1995; Thomsen, 1993). Post-1990 program of organisational/community based policing reforms and development of Strategic Plan. Includes Police Gay/Lesbian Client Group Consultant and Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers across the State, community consultation and joint strategies with Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project, community education campaigns, police training, policy development (eg beats), improved data on hate crimes, and research.</td>
<td>Targets prevention and reduction of anti-gay violence, community consultation and liaison, more accountable, professional and problem-oriented police responses, blocking opportunities for violence, increased reporting of violence, community education, data collection on hate crimes and ongoing monitoring of anti-gay violence.</td>
<td>Police and community research indicate reforms effective in improving police relations with and reducing assaults on gay men and lesbians, in conjunction with the Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project (see above NSW entry re: reduction in physical assaults). 1994 Australian Violence Prevention Award winner. Interest from other states and overseas in replicating NSW approach. However, 1995 report revealed still higher levels of assault for gay men (4 times) and lesbians (6 times) cf. heterosexuals, and less positive than general public about reporting to police.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In contrast Australia is only beginning to address the problem of uniform hate crime reporting. Cunneen and de Rome (1993) report on the NSW Community Relations Data Project, a pilot project involving the NSW Police and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, which collected data in three patrols in relation to four categories of prejudice: race-ethnicity or cultural background; religion; sexual preference; and specified other factors. This project adopted the British model for recording hate crimes whereby the perceptions of the victim as to the motivation for the crime are given equal weighting to that of the police. Cunneen and de Rome conclude that collecting information on the incidence of prejudice related crimes:

- is a relatively simple procedural matter that can be instituted;
- needs to be incorporated into operational intelligence data for preventive policing strategies;
- is necessary to a problem-oriented approach to policing; and
- is more useful where the perceptions of the victim are given equal weighting to that of the police.

Contrary to what occurred in practice with the pilot project, Cunneen and de Rome (1993) also argue that it is important for all incidents to be recorded (e.g., neighbourhood disputes, verbal abuse, and situations where the problem is resolved or referred elsewhere by police) and not just those that constitute actual offences, as this is useful for the development of both community and problem-oriented policing approaches. In particular, more data is required on risk factors for victimisation, such as age, location etc.

Further to this project the NSW Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS) has been refined to include a specific category for hate crimes. There is mandatory collection of this hate crime data, but no literature was found on the outcomes of this initiative to date.

Community prevention: Anti-violence projects within gay and lesbian communities

The Anti-Violence Projects referred to in this section are projects that have implemented an organised response to anti-gay and/or lesbian violence in their communities and are constituted by and represent gay men and lesbians, or both. These
projects represent a community prevention approach to the problems of violence against lesbians and gay men. According to the literature on U.S. anti-violence projects and one New South Wales project, the following range of activities are usually undertaken:

- documenting and monitoring incidents of anti-gay violence via hotlines, surveys etc;
- assistance to survivors of violence, including crisis intervention, counselling and referrals;
- peer support and support groups;
- advocacy and support to individuals dealing with the police and criminal justice system, e.g., police station and court accompaniment, liaison, court monitoring;
- education and awareness campaigns for gay men and lesbians about hate related violence;
- education efforts and awareness campaigns directed at the general public and targeted groups such as school students, professional groups, police, lawyers, and health professionals.
- self-defence and protective behaviour strategy training;
- street patrols and enhanced surveillance - usually involving volunteers who aim to prevent violence by their surveillance and liaison with police, rather than through direct confrontation.

Overall, the current literature suggests that Anti-Violence Projects are a successful community prevention approach to violence against lesbians and gay men. What is not so obvious from the reported literature is the relative effectiveness of the different strategies employed in these Projects, and (as is so often the case) further research and evaluation in this area is recommended. The literature also identifies some other areas where research and prevention programs are under-developed, including: violence against gay men and lesbians in rural and in suburban locations that are not identified as gay business or residential areas; anti-gay violence against racial and ethnic minority groups and Jewish people, and violence in gay and lesbian relationships, including domestic violence, sexual assault and child abuse.

United States Anti-Violence Projects

In the U.S. there are well over 100 gay or lesbian sponsored Anti-Violence Projects operating. Jenness (1995) provides an empirical analysis of the emergence and activities of 32 of these projects. Her research indicates that Anti-Violence Projects and other gay and lesbian community activities have been responsible for defining anti-gay/lesbian violence as a 'social problem' in the United States and bringing attention to the scope and consequences of this violence. Most of these projects began from the mid to late 1980’s, often in response to serious incidents of homophobic violence, including murder, occurring in major U.S. cities. Projects include the New York City Anti-Violence Project; San Francisco Community United Against Violence, the Connecticut Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence
Project, and the MaryAnn Finnegan Project in Cleveland. Other projects arose out of a more
generalised awareness of violence against lesbians and gay men and the connection between
this violence and the status of lesbians and gay men in the community, as well as the
negative impact of violence on the health of gay men and lesbians.

A primary activity of these projects has been documenting the incidence and
prevalence of anti-gay and lesbian violence using the various methodologies described
earlier. Community prevention programs developed in response to identified problems
have included: crisis intervention and victim assistance programs; education programs
directed at the general public and professionals groups such as counsellors, attorneys and
the police, as well as at the gay and lesbian communities in the form of 'awareness' and
'safety 'training'; and surveillance efforts in the form of street patrols (Jenness, 1995). The
literature indicates that these programs are successful in preventing violence against
lesbians and gay men and increasing the reporting of violence, although few formal
program evaluations were cited in the literature reviewed (see Table 8.2).

New South Wales Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project

The Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project (AVP), established by the NSW Gay and
Lesbian Rights Lobby in 1990, is a statewide community prevention project, funded largely
by the NSW Health Department, in conjunction with a City Council rental subsidy, other
one-off grants, and by private fundraising. The Crime Prevention Division in the NSW
Attorney General’s Department has provided funding to the AVP for specific education
campaigns on homophobia and violence towards lesbians and gay men. The Project
employs a mix of strategies targeting risk reduction for lesbians and gay men, blocking
opportunities for violence, reducing the impact of violence on victims, reporting of
violence, public awareness, and ongoing monitoring of anti-gay violence. This has involved
a range of activities and programs including: self-defence courses and a 'Be Streetsmart'
education and awareness campaign directed at gay men and lesbians, community
awareness seminars and workshops about hate crimes, encouraging the reporting of attacks
and threats to AVP and the police, and support and advocacy for survivors of violence
including appropriate referrals and assistance to negotiate the health, legal and criminal
justice systems. A Voluntary Community Street Patrol also operated over this time. The
Anti-Violence Project coincided with a multi-faceted community policing project initiated
by the NSW Police Service in 1990 in relation to violence against gay men (see the following
section). A number of authors (Herlihy, 1995; National Committee on Violence, 1990;
Thompson, 1997) note that the success of both these projects is due in part to the
consultation, liaison, and cooperation on strategies that occurred between the two
organisations.

Research findings suggest that the Project has been effective in reaching the grassroots
of the lesbian and gay community and in reducing reported assaults. A 1993 survey (n=211)
of lesbians and gay men revealed that 92 percent had heard of the Project, 71 percent had
seen community education material, 76 percent were aware of 'Be Streetsmart' and 98 percent knew about use of whistles. The Count and Counter Report (1994) by the Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby found a 58 percent reduction in reported physical assaults between the periods 1991-92 and 1992-93. A newspaper reader sample survey reported similar findings with the percentage of gay men and lesbians who had experienced an assault in the previous 12 months halving from 15 percent in 1993 to 7.5 percent in 1994 (Herlihy, 1995). These results are most likely attributable to the various community prevention strategies of the Anti-Violence Project and the Community Street Patrol, as well as improved community policing strategies operating at the time.

**Police programs and strategies**

Within Australia, the NSW Police Service is the only police service to date to have addressed violence against gay men and lesbians in any comprehensive or systematic way. Several other States and Territories have sought to replicate aspects of the NSW model and there has also been interest from overseas police forces in the approaches adopted by NSW.

The NSW model, described in detail below, employs both community policing and problem-oriented policing strategies. The success of this approach and other evidence from the literature suggests that linking community policing to a problem oriented approach, that takes account of problem hot spots and high risk factors is more effective (University of Maryland, 1997:8-33). Problem-oriented policing reduces the likelihood of converging offenders and victims, whereas community policing has been shown to increase police legitimacy which influences the willingness of people to report crime and obey the law.

Other strategies reported as useful by overseas police services include U.S. police recruitment efforts within gay communities (Berrill and Herek, 1990), specialist Bias Crime Investigation Units that work closely with anti-violence projects (Wertheimer, 1990), and Charters for Policing the Lesbian and Gay Community, that illustrate best practice and are developed jointly by the police and gay men and lesbians.

**New South Wales Police Service**

Since 1990 the NSW Police Service has embarked on a program of reforms aimed at reducing anti-gay violence. These reforms, introduced in three main stages, have involved a corporate strategic approach and a local police operational response to the problem. Community based policing and problem-oriented policing methods are integral to the reforms, with community consultation and liaison with gay and lesbian communities a central strategy (Herlihy, 1995; Silva, 1996; Thompson, 1997; Tomsen, 1993; also see Table 8.2).

Phase 1 reforms (1990-92) aimed to use a joint problem-solving approach to increase the intolerance of violence in gay, lesbian and heterosexual communities and to increase
lesbians and gay men’ access to professional police services that were accountable at senior and operational levels for addressing anti-gay violence. Initiatives included:

- appointment of a Police Gay/Lesbian Client Group Consultant and Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (PGLLOs) across the State;
- establishment of anti-violence consultative groups in critical locations;
- establishment of the Streetwatch Implementation Committee, a ministerial advisory committee with government and community representatives;
- a wide ranging information and community education campaign about hate violence using various media;
- joint strategies with the NSW Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project aimed at encouraging the reporting of, and the prevention of, violence;
- homophobia workshops in State high schools, input to the development of a homophobia education module for schools, and work with the Catholic Education Office.

Phase 2 (1992-1994) focused on organisational change within the police service, and included:

- training for PGLLOs, patrol commanders and patrol police, and the development of a training package on ‘Police Relations with the Homosexual Community’;
- development of formal policy positions to improve service delivery (e.g., more accountable policy on policing beats);
- changes to the Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS) to include hate crime data.

Phase 3 (1995-1997) has focused on further community consultation, police research and evaluation (Out of the Blue Report, 1995), and the development of a formal Police Policy and Strategic Plan to reduce violence. Results from police research and other research undertaken by the Gay and Lesbian Rights Lobby suggest that these police reforms, in conjunction with the community-based prevention strategies of the Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project, are having an impact on violence against lesbians and gay men (see Table 8.2).

**Other Australian States**

In South Australia, a 1994 Report *The Police and You: A Survey of Lesbians and Gay Men in South Australia*, contained recommendations for the establishment of a policing model similar to that successfully operating in NSW, including gay and lesbian liaison contact officers, police recruit training in gay and lesbian issues, and City of Adelaide community policing initiatives co-ordinated by a full-time co-ordinator. The authors of this report identified problems of low reporting to police by lesbian and gay crime victims (50 percent of hate crime victims either delayed or didn't report matters to police), poor police image,
homophobic behaviour by some police, and police entrapment (Baird, 1997; Sarre and Tomsen, 1997). The South Australian police have victim contact officers who are available as a first point of call for any victims of violence, but they are not necessarily aware of lesbian/gay issues and hate crimes, and the scheme had not been promoted to the gay and lesbian community.

Some minimal reforms have since been introduced in South Australia, including a formal police policy on beats similar to NSW, meetings between police-victim contact officers and Lesbian and Gay Community Action (LCGA), some training for victim contact officers on homosexuality, and some increased police efforts to prevent violence. However there has been no evaluation of any of these changes, and Baird (1997) suggests that resistance from within the police service to change has made the introduction of a more comprehensive community policing model with the gay and lesbian community, akin to that in NSW, difficult to achieve (see Table 8.2).

**Legislative reform programs and the criminal justice system**

Numerous authors point to the need for legislation to give the clear message that gay people are equal citizens and legitimate members of the community and are entitled to the same rights and protection as other citizens. It is argued that anti-discrimination and anti-vilification legislation must be retained and strengthened in order to achieve this, and to reduce community tolerance of violence against lesbians and gay men (Tomsen, 1997; Mason, 1997). Examples of criminal and civil law (such as the age of consent for male homosexuals, and street offences legislation) that send ambiguous messages to the community and lead to contradictory policing practices, are also cited as problematic (Buchanan, cited in James 1996; Tomsen, 1997). Increased moral condemnation of violence against lesbians and gay men by government and community leaders and criminal justice personnel is seen as effective in combating homophobic violence.5

A range of specific legislative and criminal justice reforms are suggested by several authors to signal clearly that hate-related violence is not tolerated (Berrill and Herek, 1990; Off Our Backs Report, 1992; Tomsen, 1997). These include facilitating arrest and prosecution, increased penalties, civil suits against assailants, removal of the homosexual advance or homosexual panic defence, court orders for convicted perpetrators to receive anti-homophobia education, and the education of judges and magistrates about discrimination, vilification and violence against lesbians and gay men. However no programs or evaluation studies addressing these issues were found in the literature.

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5 In 1999 both the Queensland and NSW Government amended legislation so that same sex couples would enjoy equal rights in a number of areas of relationships as those currently provided to heterosexual couples. In addition the NSW Government has appointed a Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer to its Crime Prevention Division. This Officer will also have a responsibility to promote equal access to and treatment by the legal and criminal justice systems for lesbians, gay men and transgender people.
Finn (1988) describes one successful initiative in services to gay men and lesbians that is implemented through the criminal justice system. The aim is to reduce the impact of the secondary victimisation of gay men during police, court and other criminal justice processes, and provide more accountable outcomes. The Manhattan, NY District Attorney’s Office has appointed a community liaison officer to the gay and lesbian community and a senior trial assistant with experience in sexual assault cases to supervise cases involving violence against homosexuals (Table 8.2).

**Prevention through education and use of the media**

The literature supports the notion that stereotypes and prejudices held by individuals are amenable to change to varying degrees. Wolfe et al. (1997) suggest that ‘research on stereotypes and prejudice informs us that adolescence may be a particularly opportune time to prevent the rigid formation of biases that become the future basis for sexist, racist, homophobic and similar behaviours.’ The delivery of accurate information is justified in an attempt to negate or alter cognitive sources of bias against homosexuals, whereas affectively based attitudes (negative feelings, hostility) can be influenced positively by increasing the contact between the in and out group members.

*Contact theory*, originally developed by Allport (1954), postulates that prejudices and stereotypes are diminished through close and sustained contact between members of different groups. This is particularly so where the contact involves ‘co-operative interdependence and the participants are of equal status’ (Riggle, Ellis and Crawford 1996). Contact enables members to correct inaccurate information that contributes to negative stereotypes and prejudice. Research in this area has largely focused on contact between different cultural groups, with various studies indicating that individuals with friends of another race hold fewer stereotypes and more positive views about race. A number of authors also recommend education approaches to homophobia based on contact theory, by suggesting that information about and contact with gay men and lesbians will reduce homophobia (Agnew et al., 1993; various studies cited in Schwanberg, 1993).

Critiques of approaches based on contact theory point out that empirical support for its tenets is equivocal. While there is strong evidence that prior contact with gay men and lesbians and with people with HIV/AIDS is associated with less prejudice towards those groups (Ellis and Vasseur, 1993; Herek, 1984) much of this research has been correlational rather than causal. Therefore it may be that less prejudiced individuals are simply more likely to have contact with gay men and lesbians. Most of the studies reported in the literature are based on attitude research restricted to predictions of attitude change, as opposed to studies that have produced attitude or behavioural change as a result of implementation of an actual program.

Chapter 4 *(School Violence)* contains a discussion of curriculum-based education programs for school students aimed at changing attitudes and behaviours towards gay men and lesbians. Indications are that such programs do have some effect, although short term,
and require reinforcement as well as additional strategies in order to have longer term effects.

Wolfe (1997) describes the Youth Relationships Project, an innovative and successful program run in Canada with high-risk youth aimed at preventing a cycle of violence developing, including violence against gay men and lesbians. Drawing on the Prochaska et al. (1992) spiral of change model, Wolfe considers that the core ingredients of successful violence prevention programs with youth include:

- education (e.g. technical, normative and personalised information);
- skills (e.g. self-concept, assertiveness, social competence, resistance and refusal training, problem solving, decision making, self-management and self-control);
- and social action (e.g. casting at-risk individuals in a helping role, providing for responsibility and reciprocity in services and programs, and involvement in social action and community activities).

The review of the literature revealed limited research into the role of the mass media in education approaches to homophobia and anti-gay and lesbian violence. In recent years there has been an increasing body of research and literature on the use of the media in areas such as health promotion, social advocacy, public education campaigns and social marketing (Egger, Donovan and Spark, 1993; Kotler and Roberto, 1989). Thompson (1997) outlines the importance of the media to public education campaigns against gay violence initiated by the NSW Police Service.

The study by Riggle, Ellis and Crawford (1996) on the use of media (a film) supports the value of the media for reducing the prejudices of participants against gay men, regardless of their prior level of prejudice. The value of contact theory for changing attitudes and stereotypes is enhanced through the use of the media, which provides a means of ‘indirect’ contact between members of two different groups. However, the study only measured short term effects. In addition, health promotion research indicates that the use of the media is most effective in changing attitudes when integrated with other strategies, such as community development and interpersonal contact (various studies cited in Egger et al., 1993).

**Conclusion**

It is not always easy to divide violence prevention programs and approaches into clear categories of those that are known to work and those that might possibly influence risk factors. This is partly because of the lack of strong evaluations of many violence prevention programs, especially directed at longer term effects, and also the lack of clear theoretical underpinnings in many programs. More longitudinal research as well as replications of studies to determine the degree of generalisability to other times and places is required.
Similarly, in instances where violence reduction has occurred, it is not always possible to isolate which strategies have worked or the varying effects of the different strategies. It may well be the interrelationship of strategies that is critical, but this methodological challenge has not received a lot of attention in the research literature (University of Maryland, 1997). For example, cooperative crime prevention efforts, such as have occurred in New South Wales, that simultaneously intervene in schools, the police service, and in the gay community, may be effective because of this simultaneous intervention. Any one of these strategies on their own may be far less effective.

To facilitate an overview of many of the themes in this chapter, Table 8.3 lists factors that have been demonstrated to influence violence against lesbians and gay men, as well as factors which may plausibly be argued to influence these forms of violence, based on current research knowledge.

**Table 8.3  Summary of Factors that Influence Interpersonal Violence Against Lesbians and gay men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrated factors that influence violence</th>
<th>Plausible factors that influence violence</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· the same factors that influence homophobic attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may also contribute towards violence against lesbians and gay men, with current beliefs and attitudes the best predictor of homophobia</td>
<td>· alcohol - insufficient evidence at this stage of the involvement of alcohol and drugs in violence against lesbians and gay men. However the general evidence that alcohol facilitates aggressive behaviour, including assault, points to the possible contribution of this factor in violence against lesbians and gay men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· societal discrimination against lesbians and gay men</td>
<td>· media representation - both of lesbians and gay men and of violence in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· legislation and policies which are inconsistent and discriminatory</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

To summarise the main findings of the literature concerning ‘what works’, prevention approaches that have demonstrated effectiveness as well as approaches for which plausible arguments for effectiveness can be made, are listed in Table 8.4. The approaches are described in a generic fashion, without referring to specific programs, although examples of each approach can be readily identified in the literature reviewed in this chapter.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs and approaches shown to reduce violence</th>
<th>Promising programs and approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· documenting and publicising anti-gay violence by official reporting agencies, the police, and the gay community</td>
<td>· use of the media to portray more positive images and stories of gay men and lesbians and non-discriminatory reporting about gay men and lesbians in the media to lessen community prejudice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· uniform hate crime data collection and analysis by police to assist with problem-oriented policing strategies</td>
<td>· use of targeted media public education campaigns against anti-gay violence, particularly if combined with other strategies such as increased moral condemnation of such violence by public officials, government and community leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Anti-Violence projects by gay and lesbian organisations utilising range of community prevention strategies</td>
<td>· opportunities for increased ‘equal’ interpersonal contact with lesbians and gay men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· community based policing framework combined with problem-oriented strategies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· increased public awareness of personal violence issues through multi-media campaigns successful in encouraging reporting of violence in gay community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· interagency collaborative programs, e.g. between gay community organisations, police, schools, and other health and youth services</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>· education and professionalisation of police to deal with complexities to improve policing practice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· school based education programs</td>
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Bibliography


Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


A proximal-distal theoretical framework was developed to examine the multivariate roots of homophobia. Using data from a sample of 288 undergraduates who had participated in a computer assisted panel study over a three-year period the effects on homophobia of distal and proximal family factors (e.g. parental education and family environment), distal and proximal individual factors (e.g. personality constructs and current beliefs), and proximal individual situational factors (e.g. acquaintance with homosexuals) were tested in regression analysis. Results of these analysis support the theoretical model set forth. Many types of variables contribute to negative attitudes towards homosexuals. However, predictiveness increases as the variables addressed become more proximal to the attitude in question. Variables classified as distal family factors (largely demographic factors) do predict in a separate regression analysis, but offer no significant contribution in hierarchical regressions, including these and increasingly proximal variables. Variables pertaining to underlying personality dimensions and family socialisation experiences do not predict as strongly as more proximal beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. This study suggests that attitude change efforts should aim to manipulate the most proximal variables, such as acquaintance with homosexuals and other outgroups. The authors suggest that ‘changes in societal norms and increasing contact with persons who have been perceived negatively are capable of facilitating the erosion of such negative attitudes.’


This chapter is an account of the political campaign by Lesbian and Gay Community Action (LGCA), a lesbian and gay coalition organisation in Adelaide, to improve relations between lesbians, gay men and the police in South Australia from 1989 onwards. ‘The Police and You: A Survey of Lesbians and Gay Men in South Australia’ (1994) identified three major issues of concern: low reporting to police by victims (50% had no police or delayed police contact); the generally reported poor image of police; and the homophobic behaviour of some police, particularly when hate crimes or domestic violence was reported. The report recommended establishing a model similar to that successfully operating in NSW, including gay and lesbian contact officers, police recruit training in gay and lesbian issues, and community policing initiatives co-ordinated by a full-time co-ordinator. Some changes to
policing have occurred, such as introduction of a formal police policy on beats similar to NSW, meetings between victim contact officers and LGCA and some increased police efforts to prevent violence. However there has been no evaluation of any of these changes, and the author suggests that resistance from within the police force to changes has made the introduction of a more comprehensive community policing model with the gay and lesbian community, akin to that in NSW, difficult to achieve.


Forensic pathologists often state that homosexual homicides are more violent than those with heterosexual victims. Overkill or wounding far beyond that required to cause death is a frequently used descriptor of these deaths. This case control study involving 67 homosexual homicides and 195 age, race, and gender matched heterosexual homicide victims, quantified the number and extent of injuries between the two groups to determine whether one group suffered more violence than the other. The study found that homosexual homicides are more violent than heterosexual homicides when one compares the mean number of injuries (fatal sharp, blunt, and total)/case and the extent of injuries on the body. The mean number of stab wounds/case and percentage of cases with multiple causes of death were also greater among the homosexual group, but the differences were not statistically significant. The study does not indicate whether or not the homosexual homicides were classified as bias or hate crimes.


This paper reports on the proceedings of a forum on homosexual panic defence and includes a summary of four papers and forum discussion issues. The papers considered Australian and overseas experiences with homosexual panic defence including: two recent NSW cases and their comparison with the battered wife syndrome; the difficulties for jurors with understanding the sexuality of homosexuals; the conventional notions of masculinity and male honour in relation to homosexual panic defence and the overall unsuitability of the term.


This article discusses a variety of problems related to the general conceptualisation
and nature of hate crimes, including: what attributes differentiate a hate-motivated crime from other types of crime, discerning time trends, the role of the AIDS epidemic, and the import of particular risk factors. The article identifies the symbolic and actuarial status of crime victims as the defining feature of hate crimes, and points out that such crimes may be both expressive and instrumental. A preliminary list of eight empirical attributes related to hate crimes is proposed. These include:
1. the number of perpetrators (eg. more than one)
2. ages of perpetrators (eg. late teens to early 20's)
3. ratio of perpetrators to victims in person crimes (eg 2 to 1)
4. relationship to victim ( eg stranger or distant acquaintance)
5. location (eg. outside of residences for person crimes)
6. when (eg. in the evenings and over weekends)
7. gender of perpetrator(s) (eg. male); and
8. other associated crimes (eg none)

The article briefly describes useful procedures for data collection and data analysis of time trends and risk factors associated with hate crimes. A parallel is drawn between current knowledge and hate-motivated crimes and the status of knowledge about family violence 15 years ago.


This article provides a general description of the nature and scope of violence and harassment against lesbians and gay men in the United States. It summarises the results of local, state, and national surveys, and discusses gender and racial/ethnic differences in types and incidences of victimisations. The article examines anti-gay violence and harassment in such contexts as the home, school, college and university campuses, and prisons and jails. There is a discussion of the perpetrators of anti-gay violence and the growing role of organised hate groups in such attacks. The article also examines time trends in anti-gay violence and the possible relationship between such violence and increasing public awareness about AIDS. It concludes with a discussion of the limitations of existing data and the need for greater attention to the issue.


Lesbian and gay male targets of hate crimes face multiple levels of victimization. In addition to suffering the effects of being a crime victim, they also face secondary victimization (i.e., additional victimization after a crime that results from societal heterosexism). Examples of secondary victimization include losing one's job, being
evicted from housing, or being denied public services or accommodation once one’s sexual orientation is disclosed as the result of an anti-gay attack. A number of cited studies reveal that fear of secondary victimisation by the police and the courts is a major reason for under reporting of anti-gay crimes and for failure to use the criminal justice system to seek redress. The authors propose a broad based government and public policy response to address both primary and secondary victimization. This includes: legislative reform that clearly signals that prejudice based violence is not tolerated (eg facilitate arrest and prosecution, enhance penalties, authorise civil suits against assailants, require convicted perpetrators to receive anti-homophobia education); removal of institutional discrimination through legislation; enhanced police responses to anti-gay violence through special units and deployment, co-ordination with community organisations, collaborative anti-violence programs, condemnation of anti-gay harassment and abuse by criminal justice personnel, including prompt investigation of any such allegations and any consequent disciplinary action, and the recruitment of gay men and lesbians to police services; community education programs focused on schools, colleges and universities, and the mass media. Although this article provides no evidence for the efficacy of these various approaches they are all broadly supported elsewhere in the research literature as having varying degrees of influence on violence against lesbians and gay men.


Numerous research studies indicate an association between exposure to violence in entertainment and violent behaviour, but do not prove that exposure causes violent behaviour. Rather, there is a risk that exposure to media violence will increase the likelihood of subsequent aggressive behaviour. This risk can be increased or decreased by a large number of factors. Appropriate policy responses fall into three general areas: (1) Policies that relate to the nature of material that is publicly available; classification issues, scheduling and regulatory enforcement. (2) Policies that focus on adult community education and early childhood education that sharpen consumers’ ability to discriminate between fantasy and reality, and to become informed and empowered consumers. (3) Policies which focus on health promotion and primary health care, and which treat violence as a public health issue.


A thorough analysis of Australian anti-discrimination legislation provides the basis for arguing that these statutes ‘lack the ability to disrupt and displace systemic heterosexism’ as messages of and provision for heterosexism are still embedded in much of this legislation. The
Commonwealth, States and Territories, except for Tasmania and Western Australia, have some degree of anti-discrimination legislation making discrimination on the grounds of sexual preference unlawful in specified areas of life. However, their impact for gay men and women has been disappointing to date. Chapman explains how the language used in the statutes (homosexual in preference to gay and lesbian) and the various exemptions/defences of discrimination (e.g. working with children, religious beliefs) reflect homophobic stereotypes of gay people (e.g. as child abuser, ‘recruiter to the gay lifestyle’) and suggest a sexual hierarchy that still ‘privileges heterosexuality over homosexuality’. By defining homosexuality in terms of a ‘sexual practice’ the statutes also offer no protection from discrimination for gay relationships.


Criminal Justice Abstracts.

This study describes and explains violence against homosexuals in the U.S.A. Data were obtained from a review of 20 surveys of violence against gay men and lesbians, including the author’s own nationwide survey (N=291). The rate of anti-gay/lesbian violence is several times higher than the rate of criminal violence experienced by the general population. Lesbians and gay men who are members of racial minorities are more frequently the victims of homophobic violence than are white lesbians and gay men. Perpetrators of anti-gay/lesbian violence are more likely to be strangers to the victims than assailants in all personal violent crimes. The findings are analysed in relation to the Western patriarchal tradition.


This article draws on a draft report prepared by Liz de Rome for the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission entitled ‘Monitoring Hate Crimes: A Report on the Community Relations Data Project, Feb 1993.’ The pilot project involved the NSW Police and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission collecting data in three patrols in relation to four categories of prejudice; race/ethnicity or cultural background, religion, sexual preference, and specified other. The project adopted the British model for recording hate crimes whereby the perceptions of the victim as to the motivation for the crime are given equal weighting to that of the police. Cunneen and de Rome conclude that collecting information on the incidence of prejudice related crimes is a relatively simple procedural matter that can be instituted, and needs to be incorporated into operational intelligence data for preventive policing strategies. Such data collection is necessary to a problem oriented approach to policing and is more useful when the perceptions of the victim are given equal weighting to those of the police.

This article discusses how prejudice and violence directed at lesbians and gay men are unique and how they are similar to other forms of prejudice and violence in American culture. The article discusses how children learn prejudice in general and speculates about the possible origins of anti-gay prejudice, including how it meets individual’s instrumental needs, such as control, power, affiliation and social conformity, as well as how the maintenance and expression of anti-gay prejudice is enabled by the structure of society and major social institutions - school, church, mass media and family. The concept of ‘ethnoviolence’ is used to refer to violence motivated by a desire to do harm to an ‘other’ who represents a group against which the attacker is prejudiced. The assumption that most anti-gay violence is perpetrated by young males is rejected as biased because it is based only on reported cases. The characteristics of the attacker often are not known and, where known, are likely to vary according to the site of the attack eg street, campus, workplace. The article concludes with a brief discussion on the psychological impact of ethno violence on victims, (who are more traumatised than victims of other crimes), on witnesses, and on researchers and service providers.


An exploratory review identifies effective or promising steps that law enforcement agencies and prosecutor offices have taken to combat bias crime. Data were collected from interviews with 21 representatives of the criminal justice system, 15 officials of constituency organisations and 4 researchers who have studied violence. Prosecutors' offices and police agencies in New York and Massachusetts have been particularly active in targeting bias crime. For example, the Manhattan, NY District Attorney’s Office has appointed a liaison to the gay and lesbian community and assigned a senior trial assistant with experience in sexual assault cases to supervise cases involving violence against homosexuals. The office typically has 15-25 pending cases involving gay and lesbian victims, with about half of the victims apparently targeted because of their sexual orientation.


This article traces the history of empowerment efforts in lesbian and gay communities. Despite considerable progress, lesbians and gay men remain marginalised in American
society. Their personal, family, and community development is hampered by social and institutional barriers to empowerment. Three significant disempowering problems of contemporary lesbian and gay communities are detailed: (1) stress related to coming out; (2) heterosexism; and, (3) difficulties identifying with a community. Four domains are suggested for future collaboration between community psychologists and lesbian/gay communities: (1) anti-lesbian/anti-gay prejudice, discrimination and violence; (2) mental health and health enhancement; (3) the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and (4) civil rights. Future collaborations must build on successful social change strategies already used by activists in lesbian and gay communities.


This report is the third survey of violence against lesbians and gay men conducted by the Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project and presents data covering the period Nov. 1991 to June 1993 in Sydney and NSW (184 incidents in total). The report provides information on the nature, time, location and reasons for attacks, the characteristics of survivors, characteristics of assailants, and post assault action, including reports to the police and health authorities, and awareness of Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers and the Victims Compensation Scheme. The report indicates a trend towards less violence over the timeframe of the survey, however this should be interpreted cautiously as ‘data needs to be collected and carefully compared over a number of years to be confident about trends in crime.’ Possible reasons for this reduction in reported incidents are forwarded. These include the success of various strategies of the Anti-Violence Project, such as Streetsmart behaviour, use of whistles, self defence classes and increased understanding of the importance of reporting.’ The Voluntary Community Street Patrol and community policing strategies are also believed to have contributed to violence reduction. A series of recommendations for changes in areas such as legislation, the police, education, health, community programs and local government action are outlined.


This report outlines the results of a survey questionnaire conducted in metropolitan Sydney in 1991. Substantial quantitative data on the nature of anti-lesbian violence was obtained from 42 self-selected respondents. The report provides information on the nature, time, location and reasons for attacks, the characteristics of survivors, characteristics of assailants, and post assault action, including reports to the police and awareness of Police Gay/Lesbian Liaison Officers. The report shows that ‘lesbians are almost equally at risk of an attack from an
individual as they are from larger groups’ and that a ‘third of survivors experience ongoing harassment and that this is often perpetrated by neighbours and co-workers.’ A series of recommendations for changes in areas such as legislation, the police, education, health, community programs and local government are outlined.


Gay Men and Lesbians against Discrimination (GLAD) is a community based organisation set up in 1990 by a group of lesbians and gay men concerned about discrimination. This report is based on the responses of 1002 people (492 women and 510 men) to a GLAD survey on discrimination experienced by gay men and lesbians living in Victoria. The survey found that 45% of lesbians and 45% of gay men reported some form of employment discrimination because of their sexuality; 29% of lesbians and 26% of gay men described discriminatory practices in educational institutions; medical services were reported to provide inadequate or inappropriate treatment, breach of confidentiality or refuse treatment by 17% of lesbians and 16% of gay men; and 70% of lesbians and 69% of gay men reported being verbally abused, threatened or bashed in a public place. The survey also reported on problems with police, housing and tenancy, custody of children, services, attitudes and invisibility.


This book examines the causes of aggression and the prevention and remediation of aggression from an interactionist perspective. Aggression is defined in terms of a ‘person-environment event or duet’ whereby both the person and their context (social and physical) are critically examined for their reciprocal influences leading to aggression. The author draws on an extensive range of literature and theories to examine violence at the microlevels of physical site and the individual victim, at the mesolevels of neighbourhood and the group, and at the macrolevels of the region and the mob. Violence intervention is discussed in terms of physical or environmental design interventions and social or interpersonal contact interventions. The book provides a very good overview of theory and research on interpersonal contact theories, which are often the basis of programs for changing attitudes to gay men and lesbians.

Case studies of the suicides of young homosexual men living in rural communities are provided as illustration of the problem of youth suicide in Australia, focusing particularly on rural youth. Suicide trends are analysed and the lack of acknowledgment by researchers that homosexuality may be an issue in the special circumstances of suicide among rural youth is examined. Statistics on urban/rural suicide trends among NSW youth are presented and discussed. The relationship between rural environment and causation of adolescent youth suicide is explored and the experience of violence by lesbians and gay men is described. Possible remedies which may bring about an improvement in societal attitudes and knowledge are highlighted, focusing on the importance of community education.


Anti-gay violence is viewed as being the result of immature males fulfilling sexual status needs. Through such violence they reaffirm their commitment to heterosexuality in a way visible to their peers. Anti-gay offenders are divided into activists, who seek out homosexual victims: opportunists, who victimise gay men and lesbians as occasions arise; and a large number who abandon any helping-citizen role when faced with such violence by others. Activists resort to gay-defined places to find victims; opportunists use other cues to identify victims. Chief among the cues used by offenders are behaviours and deportments that depart from traditional gender roles. Visibility of the victim as homosexual plays a dominant role in distinguishing gay men or lesbians who have been assaulted from those who have not.


Homophobia, a term often used to describe hostile reactions to lesbians and gay men, implies a unidimensional construct of attitudes as expression of irrational fears. This paper argues that a more complex view is needed of the psychology of positive and negative attitudes toward homosexual persons. Based upon review of previous empirical research, a model is proposed that distinguishes three types of attitudes according to the social psychological function they serve: (1) *experiential*, categorising social reality by one’s past interactions with homosexual persons; (2) *defensive*, coping with one’s own inner conflicts or anxieties by projecting them onto homosexual persons; and (3) *symbolic*, expressing abstract ideological concepts that are closely linked to one’s notion of self and to one’s social network and reference groups. Strategies are proposed for changing attitudes serving each of the functions. The
importance of distinguishing attitudes towards lesbians from those focused on gay men is also discussed.


Hate crimes against lesbians and gay men occur within a broader cultural context that is permeated by heterosexism. Heterosexism is defined here as an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatises any non-heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship, or community. It operates principally by rendering homosexuality invisible, and, when it fails, by trivialising, repressing, or stigmatising it. This article focuses upon the nexus between cultural heterosexism and individual prejudice against lesbians and gay men. Key components on the ideologies of sex and gender from which heterosexism derives are identified: (a) the personal-public dichotomy, (b) the stigmatisation of particular forms of sexuality, and (c) the linkage of heterosexuality to gender-role conformity. Supported by these ideological underpinnings, cultural heterosexism fosters individual anti-gay attitudes by providing a ready-made system of values and stereotypical beliefs that justify such prejudices as 'natural'. By imbuing homosexuality with a variety of symbolic meanings, cultural heterosexism enables expressions of individual prejudices to serve various psychological functions. Further, by discouraging lesbians and gay men from coming out to others, heterosexism perpetuates itself. Recent social trends that may affect the ideology of heterosexism, and potentially reduce anti-gay prejudice are identified. These include: the 'widespread emergence of lesbians and gay men from invisibility into public life', including as parents, domestic partners, carers of partners/friends with AIDS, and as members of a community; the association of the gay civil rights movement with other politically progressive causes such as racial and gender equality; and the breakdown of the equation of homosexuality with cross-gender behaviour and mannerisms. However, the increased visibility of gay relationships and families may also create greater pressure for heterosexuals, especially young males, to affirm their heterosexuality with violent and negative consequences for gay men and lesbians.


Documenting the extent of anti-gay hate crimes is of critical importance in responding effectively to them and preventing them. The task of documentation is difficult and time-consuming, but it is tremendously valuable if done correctly. Recognising that the bulk of information about hate crimes currently comes from small scale community surveys, this article describes some of the major methodological issues
involved in conducting such surveys. Issues of sampling, instrument design, data collection, and data analysis are discussed. Guidelines are offered for reporting the survey results. A sample victimization questionnaire is presented. Using the guidelines and resources provided in this article may yield survey results that will be more useful for researchers, service providers, policy-makers, and the lesbian and gay community.


Although violence based on sexual orientation is now widely recognised as a serious problem in the United States, social science data concerning the prevalence and consequences of such crimes are limited. In the present study, questionnaire data about victimization experiences were collected from 147 lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (74 females, 73 males) in the Sacramento CA area. In addition, 45 of the respondents participated in a follow-up interview. Forty-one percent reported experiencing a bias-related criminal victimization since age 16, with another 9.5% reporting an attempted bias crime against them. The distribution of bias-related victimization and harassment experiences in the sample resembled patterns reported in other U.S. surveys with similar samples. Compared to other respondents, bias-crime survivors manifested higher levels of depression, anxiety, anger, and symptoms of post-traumatic stress. Methodological and substantive issues in empirical research on hate crimes against lesbian and gay men are discussed.

Lesbian Lobby between 1988 and 1993 indicate a trend towards decreased street assaults on lesbians and gay men.


This article documents the incidence of violent assaults towards lesbian and gay male youths and those youth’s suicidal behaviour. Data were obtained by reviewing charts for the first 500 youths seeking services in 1988 at the Hetrick-Martin Institute, a community-based agency serving lesbian and gay male adolescents in New York City. The adolescents, who ranged in age from 14 to 21 years, were predominantly minority (35% Black, 46% Latino) and typically were referred by peers, media, schools, and emergency shelters. Of the youths, 41% in the sample reported having suffered violence from families, peers, or strangers; 46% of that violence was gay-related. These reports of violence occurred in conjunction with a high rate of suicide attempts: 41% of girls and 34% of boys who experienced violent assaults reported having attempted suicide. These alarming rates indicate the need for more systematic monitoring of violence towards and suicidal behaviour among lesbian and gay male youths.


This document reports on the findings of a study of the issues confronting young lesbians and gay males who are currently homeless or have experienced homelessness in the past. Interviews with 41 service providers and 27 young lesbians and gay men were conducted. Most of the young lesbians and gay men interviewed were living in the Sydney metropolitan area. The findings revealed that the majority had been homeless for over five years. Over half of those interviewed had left home when they were thirteen or fourteen years old. Many were involved in sex work in order to survive economically and were dependent on drugs. Many had left school. Involvement with the statutory child protection system and/or the juvenile justice system was common. The experience of violence, harassment or discrimination was common. The research findings demonstrate the need for early intervention and prevention programs in schools in particular, the critical shortage of supported and independent accommodation, the inadequate level of income support for homeless young people, and the crucial need to develop a coordinated approach to the issue of youth homelessness which involves both state and federal governments and non-government organisations.

This article provides a brief summary of some of the papers and workshops at the ‘Violence Against Gays and Lesbians’ Conference’ 27-28 October 1995, organised by the Australian Institute of Criminology. These cover a range of topics including: discrimination and legislative reform, homophobia, homosexual panic defence, the interaction between sex/gender and sexuality in hate crimes, and recent co-operative initiatives in violence prevention from the NSW Police Service, Education Department and Gay and Lesbian Lobby. The need for more research into the ‘small cohort of young men’ who perpetrate violence towards other sections of the community, and in particular towards gay men, was stressed by the President of the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board in his summing up to the conference. The ten recommendations to come out of the conference refer to; establishing a clearing house for findings, conducting a study of violence behaviour of young males/masculinity, a national strategy to prevent homophobic violence, continued support for Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Projects, stronger national laws and State and Territory Police Ministers consensus to combat homophobia, compulsory national curricula and commitment to eliminate homophobia in schools, the need for integrated policies, enforcement and adequate resources, funding for community supports, and the elimination of homophobia in public service provisions and the appointment of gay and lesbian people to government advisory boards.


This work offers an empirical analysis of 32 gay/lesbian sponsored anti violence projects in the United States and how gay and lesbian community activism has brought attention to the scope and consequences of anti gay and lesbian violence in the United States. This activism continues to include documenting the incidents and prevalence of anti-gay and lesbian violence; establishing crises intervention and victim assistance programs; sponsoring education programs directed at the general public, professionals groups such as counsellors, attorneys and the police, as well as at the gay and lesbian communities in the form of ’awareness’ and ’safety ’training’, and undertaking surveillance efforts in the form of street patrols. Jenness’ analysis of these activities brings together elements of the social problems and the social movements literature; it demonstrates that domain expansion (Best 1990) accompanies social movement growth and provides a necessary resource for framing select social conditions as a social problem.

The ubiquitous expression of anti-homosexual responses and the lack of consensus regarding the characterisation of such responses served as the impetus for this study. The purpose of this study was to investigate the nature of anti-homosexual responses as reported by male and female undergraduates. Participants in the study were asked to respond to both a lesbian and a gay target questionnaire. Responses were measured as either phobic or prejudicial. Findings indicated that there is little, if any, evidence to support the characterisation of anti-homosexual responses as a phobia. Responses to prejudicial items suggested that anti-homosexual responses lie primarily within the realm of prejudice. Results also indicated that males were less tolerant than females of gay and lesbians, and males and females respond differently according to same-sex target. The implications of using a more accurate term such as 'homoprejudice' to characterise anti-homosexual responses are discussed and avenues for future research are addressed.


This article outlines how ‘hostility and violence regulate the lives of lesbians and gay men in many different ways’. Mason describes what anti-lesbian and gay violence 'looks like' by considering data from some recent surveys and stories from lesbians in particular. She concludes that 'attitudes towards lesbian sexuality intermingle with attitudes towards women in general' and that 'hostility may represent a network of interrelated prejudices that cannot be automatically separated into disjunctive categories of gender or sexuality'. The interplay between heterosexism and racism has also not been adequately researched either in the USA, and to an even lesser extent in Australia. One of the major effects of homophobic violence is to regulate the public expression or visibility of lesbians and gay men.

Australian Criminology Database (CINCH).

Hate crimes against minority groups such as homosexuals present a particular challenge for the criminal justice system. This report discusses the prevalence of anti homosexual violence in Australia, its characteristics, and its impact on the victim. It also examines the cultural climate and social norms which encourage anti homosexual violence. Preventative measures are considered under the following headings: decriminalisation and anti discrimination legislation: education; the media; the criminal justice system; the police; research and statistics; and community prevention.
and education programs. This article provides a useful overview of the major issues and indicates where further efforts should be directed.


This book includes revised versions of papers presented to the National Conference on Violence Against Gays and Lesbians organised by the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1995. Chapters address a range of issues on homophobic violence in Australia and critically examine various legislative and criminal justice responses to this problem. Chapman’s analysis of Australian anti-discrimination legislation reveals the inability of current legislation to ‘displace systemic heterosexism’ as messages of and provision for heterosexism are still embedded in much of this legislation. Irwin, Gregoric and Winters’ study of homeless young lesbians describes their particular vulnerability to interpersonal and institutional violence and argues that systemic violence is a major factor in maintaining youth homelessness. Griffin details increasing evidence of anti-lesbian and gay violence in schools and the effects of stress, depression, dropping out and suicide on young victims. Policy and curriculum responses from government and schools are still considered to be very modest. Baird recounts the activists efforts of the South Australian Lesbian and Gay Community Action (LGCA) to address violence by improving relations between lesbians and gay men and the police. Comparisons are drawn with New South Wales where more successful models of cooperation between the police service and gay men are evident. Thompson provides a detailed overview of the major changes to NSW police policy and practice since the mid-1980’s with their move to a community policing approach to address hate crimes against gay men and lesbians. Also see entries for some chapters under individual authors names in the annotated bibliography.


see School Violence annotated bibliography for abstract.


In late 1991, a survey was made of HIV/AIDS related discrimination in the Australian community. Structured telephone interviews were conducted with a random sample of 2053 respondents. Twenty one questions provided an index of expressed discrimination. Social contact with HIV positive people was a significant predictor of low levels of discrimination. Other important predictors of (lower) levels of discrimination were: social contact with gay men, education, sex, age, sexual identity,
and sexual experience. Social contact with gay men was the single best predictor of positive attitudes towards people with HIV/AIDS.


The construct of homophobia and the psychometric properties of instruments purporting to measure homophobia are critically evaluated. The history of the term and its various definitions are briefly reviewed. *The author concludes that existing measures of homophobia have been inadequately psychometrically evaluated and therefore it is not clear whether currently this construct can be accurately measured. It is also concluded that the construct of homophobia, as it is usually used, makes an illegitimately pejorative evaluation of certain open and debatable value positions, much like the former disease construct of homosexuality. Finally, proposals for theory development and construct definition in the domain of reactions to homosexuals and homosexuality are provided.*


Previous researchers have used a modified version of the Index of Attitudes towards Homosexuals (IAH; Hudson and Ricketts, 1980) and have reported their own reliability coefficients but relied on the authors’ original validity data (Serdahely and Ziemba, 1984; Whitley, 1987; Ernulf, Innala and Whitam, 1989; Rudolf, 1989, 1990). In order to determine if the IAH was a reliable and valid instrument in Australia, the psychometrics of this test were examined using a student population of comparable size to Hudson and Ricketts’ sample. It was expected that the 150 students (92 males and 58 females) would respond in much the same way as their US counterparts. This research found the IAH to be reliable (r=.94) and valid for Australian populations and is a recommended instrument for measuring attitudes towards homosexual people.


This study examined the relationship between the emotional response of homophobia and selected personality and self report behavioural variables. Scales 4, 5, and 9 of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory were related to the affective components of homophobia as measured by the Index of Attitudes Towards Homosexuals (IAH;
formerly Index of Homophobia Modified) and self report of past aggressive behaviour towards homosexuals as measured by a Self Report of Behaviour Scale (SBS), specifically developed for this study. Data from 80 subjects were subjected to a canonical correlation analysis. The first canonical correlation showed that high SBS and high IAH are correlated with adherence to traditional masculine values, not faking good, impulsivity and social maladjustment. The second canonical correlation indicates that a combination of high scores on Scales 9 and 5 is associated with elevated SBS scores, but decreased IAH scores. These data suggest that among young men certain personality characteristics (Scale 9 and 5) compound homonegative affect and behaviour.

CINCH (Australian Criminology Database).

The article discusses the impact of homophobia on adolescent homosexuals and bisexuals, including consequences of homelessness, alcohol and substance abuse, leaving school early, violence, suicide and unsafe sex choices. The authors report on a series of training workshops for teachers and youth workers designed to reduce adolescent homophobia. The Second Story Youth Health Service ran the workshops, titled 'Block Out - Challenging Homophobia'. The workshops also prepared participants to run versions of the SSYHS's 'Work it Outside' program for adolescent homosexuals.

Available on internet at http://www.dircon.co.uk/lagpa/.

This Charter identifies 'good practice' for police forces to adopt to ensure that lesbian and gay communities are policed in a fair and equitable manner. The Charter was approved by the first national conference on policing the lesbian and gay community, ‘Policing Diversity’, attended by police and lesbian and gay community groups from across the United Kingdom. The Charter covers policy issues such as consultation with local gay and lesbian communities, appropriate training for police at all levels, hate crime prevention, detection and monitoring, complaint procedures, and elimination of homophobic attitudes. Equality issues cover equal opportunities policies, advertising for officers and selection and promotion procedures that don’t discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation, and creation of a work environment where officers are able to 'come out' without fear of prejudice. Operational issues cover developing effective community safety strategies, policing priorities that deal effectively with gay and lesbian victims of crime, don’t use entrapment techniques to criminalise lesbians and gay men, address the specific policing needs of lesbians and gay men in annual
policing plans, and use of lesbian and gay liaison officers for effective community liaison and contact.


This paper presents the results of a study of confrontational homicide in Victoria. Confrontational homicide is a form of male-to-male homicide which centres most typically around some form of status contest between males. The lethal violence flows out of an initial argument, followed by physical confrontation, and then by one or another of the parties involved becoming the victim of lethal violence. Other common features of this violence scenario are that it is: fundamentally an under or working class behaviour, most likely to occur in or close to leisure scenes (eg pubs or streets close to pubs) and involve an ‘audience of peers’ and alcohol. Polk discusses various theoretical perspectives of masculine violence (Luckenbill’s six stage model of conflict 1997; Daley and Wilson). Gang violence and involvement in homicides in Australia and the US are contrasted. Group violence in Australia does not involve formalised and ritualised gang conflict (over territory) as in the US. Polk concludes that ‘the major sources of violence appear to reside in behaviour patterns closely identified with masculinity and economic marginality ..... both deep and enduring features of social life in Australia’. Policy directions for preventing violence need to be directed at (1) educational approaches such as programs in schools aimed at reducing conflict and violence where students are taught to understand ‘violent scenario scripts’ and learn and practice how to deflect these, and retain their sense of honour in difficult situations; (2) structural change to address youth economic marginality, as youth unemployment with its concomitant problems of identity formation and transition to adulthood often sees youth move towards more marginal masculine cultures, supportive of violence; and (3) increasing and maintaining controls on guns. Although not directly addressed in this article, Polk’s work on masculinity, male honour and violence has relevance for understanding the context of youth violence against lesbians and gay men.


This United States study describes changes in attitudes towards homosexuality using 1986 and 1991 samples (N=180) drawn from the same population. It was found that men expressed significantly greater negative attitudes towards homosexuality than did women; participants in the 1986 assessment expressed more anti-homosexuality attitudes than did participants in 1991; and rural respondents expressed more negative attitudes than did participants sampled on a college campus. Greatest attitudinal change occurred in students over 25 and non-students 40 and over. Plausible
explanations for the favourable attitudinal change over the five year period may include a decrease in people’s mind of the causal link between homosexuality and AIDS, a more sympathetic media coverage of homosexuality, and more tolerant attitudes due to knowing someone with the AIDS virus.


In order to understand better the relation between 'media contact' and attitudes, college students were asked to view a documentary film depicting events surrounding the life and death of a prominent gay politician. The participants completed the Attitudes Towards Homosexuals Scale during the screening sessions and either prior to or after viewing the documentary. The film had a significant and positive effect on attitudes. In addition, data on the mood of the subjects were collected and analysed in light of Devine’s (1989) model of prejudice. The findings suggest possible extensions for Devine’s model. This study indicates that the ability of media presentations to influence attitudes towards various outgroups and to improve or deteriorate intergroup relations should not be ignored.


Critical of the individual psychology/pathology explanation for anti-gay violence, the author defines such violence as systemic and contends that individual homophobic acts of violence are in response to ‘signals which exist throughout society and which are universally understood’. As evidence, she examples the view that gay men become legitimate targets of violence by other males in their ‘quest of proving their manhood’, the justification for the ‘homosexual panic defence’, and the threat to ‘male hegemony and control of women’ that lesbian sexual autonomy and independence implies. The resistance and back lash that has accompanied any moves to legalise homosexuality or outlaw discrimination and vilification of homosexuality is discussed. Of particular concern is the evidence from the United States of increases in anti-gay violence pursuant to moves from the Christian Right to revoke anti-discrimination legislation (275% increase in anti-gay violence in Colorado within a month of the referendum on revoking anti-discrimination laws). The prominence of political and media personalities who adopt anti-gay stances bestows yet further respectability and legitimacy to homophobic behaviour.

This report provides information based on a 1994 survey of 259 gay men and lesbians in Sydney about the level of victimisation (actual assault) they experienced. Responses were compared with data from ABS and other community surveys. The survey revealed that 14% of gay men and 12% of lesbian respondents had experienced physical assault in the previous twelve months. Gay men were at least four times more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to be assaulted; lesbians were at least six times more likely to be assaulted. Only 18% of respondents reported incidents to the police. Gay men and lesbians surveyed also had a higher level of fear of victimisation than that reported by the general community (90% of respondents were ‘concerned’ or ‘very concerned’ that they or their friends might be assaulted). Feedback was obtained about improving police services and initiatives directed at anti-gay violence, although respondents were still less positive than the general community about reporting assaults to police. Homicide statistics presented in the report indicate that of a total of 617 homicides from 1990 to 1995, hate crime was the apparent motive in 22 cases.


This article explores the ‘likely link between AIDS and the heightening levels of reported and recorded homophobic violence’ in a number of countries, including Australia, in the last decade. While there is limited Australian research that deals directly with HIV-related violence, anecdotal evidence suggests that gay people living with HIV/AIDS face increased vulnerability because of their worsened health status and disability. The depiction, especially by the media, of moral panic and of AIDS as a ‘gay disease’, it is argued, provides many people with confirmation and excuses for their prejudices, and even justification for homophobic violence. Legislative and police reforms, especially vis-a-vis entrapment and contradictory directives in relation to ‘beat practices’, as well as expansion, better structure, co-ordination and promotion of the police/gay liaison program are suggested as means to both reduce homophobic violence and the spread of AIDS.


The purpose of this paper is to analyse the variety of instruments used to assess attitudes towards gay males and lesbian women. A total of 45 studies, from 1971 to 1987, were analysed that use homophobia instruments (N=10), cognitive assessments (N=11), affective instruments (N=7), and mixed cognitive and affective instruments (N=17) to assess attitudes towards homosexuality. Types of instruments used, number of subjects, reliability and validity estimates and major findings and limitations were
examined. The authors found that only a few of the instruments had been evaluated for validity and reliability. Other summary findings include: homophobia instruments indicate that personality characteristics and life experiences that may contribute to homophonic responses include authoritarian, status conscious, sexually rigid personalities (Smith 1971), less educated and younger persons (Hudson and Ricketts, 1980) and an investment in traditional sex roles (Thompson et al., 1985). Information about homosexuality and interactions with gay men and lesbians are cited as beneficial strategies to reduce negative reactions and homophobia (Lance, 1987; Pagtolun-An and Clair, 1986; Serdahely and Ziemba, 1984), although (Iyriboz and Carter, 1986) found no change in homophobia scores, but some changes in intensity of negative attitudes following information about homosexuality. Studies using cognitive instruments also reported decreases in negative attitudes with information about and interaction with gay men and lesbians (Larsen et al., 1983; Larsen et al., 1980; Morin, 1974). Cognitive instruments and affective instruments similarly found that negative attitudes are associated with sexual conservatism, antifeminist attitudes, religiosity and strong beliefs about appropriate and traditional sex role behaviours. San Miguel and Millham’s (1976) study of the role of several antecedents of aggression towards homosexuals concluded that this aggression ‘may result from a complex interaction of attitudinal and situational variables’.


This recent text, drawing on theory and program research provides a comprehensive overview of ideas and strategies for overcoming heterosexism and homophobia and for affirming diversity in our society. See annotated bibliography on schools for relevant programs aimed at changing homophobic attitudes and behaviours in the schools.


This brief article, based on interviews with two NSW Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (GLLO), gives a first hand account of the work of GLLO’s, and discusses the mixed reception within the police force to their role and other violence prevention initiatives with the gay and lesbian communities. Both GLLO’s example discrimination against homosexuals within the police force and stress their concerns about under reporting of anti-gay and lesbian violence because of police attitudes.

A survey of 181 students revealed that negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men were associated with being younger, having less education, being male, and having less educated parents. No ethnic differences were found. Regression analysis supported a meditational model in which low self esteem leads to less positive contact with lesbians and gay men, which in turn, leads to more heterosexist attitudes.


This report (based on an extensive inquiry involving written submissions, hearings in rural and metropolitan NSW and 10 school visits) examines a range of youth violence issues and makes key recommendations in relation to: police and community action, education and schools, alcohol, family support, young offenders, employment and leisure, and planning of built environments. The report begins with an overview of theoretical approaches to causation and prevention of violence and concludes that ‘programs that reduce the exposure of young people to violence; increase opportunities for them to contribute to their community and be financially secure; and provide appropriate recreation and leisure options can all contribute to reducing youth violence.’ Data on youth violence in NSW and particularly in schools is detailed, along with findings about the nature and characteristics of this violence eg issues of race, gender, ‘gangs’, violence against homosexuals and lesbians, bullying etc. The data on violence against homosexuals and lesbians suggest that assailants are overwhelmingly young males in groups. The report examines factors that impact on youth violence, such as, family violence, homelessness, employment and training, youth entertainment, sport, alcohol and drugs, and the media, and outlines various programs aimed at violence prevention. A major focus of the report is school violence. There is considerable descriptive and some evaluative information about anti-violence initiatives and curriculum eg staff development, whole school programs, and programs for targeted groups/at risk students. The report calls for the Dept of School Education to develop specific policies and strategies in the areas of anti-harassment, gender equity, bullying and antidiscrimination. The report is critical of many current policing practices with young people, including the use of violence by police. Some of the more promising community policing initiatives and juvenile justice programs for violent offenders are identified, although insufficient evaluations of these programs to date curtail claims of effectiveness.


The ‘beat’ is a place where homosexuals meet to organise sex. This article examines a number of issues related to ‘beats’ including the potential for violence, transmission of
HIV and AIDS, the criminality and morality of ‘beat’ sex, and police attitudes to ‘beats’. The author argues the need to humanise the ‘beat’.


Amid much criticism and public debate, enactment of the Anti-Discrimination (Homosexual Vilification) Act 1993 (NSW) makes unlawful the vilification of homosexual men and lesbian women. These provisions are modelled on the current Racial Vilification Act 1989 (NSW) and operate as an amendment to the existing Anti-Discrimination Act 1977 (NSW). Homosexual vilification would occur when a person, by a public act, incited hatred toward, serious contempt for, or severe ridicule of another person or group because of that person’s or group’s homosexual status. The Bill was unarguably prompted by the high level of violence directed against gay men and lesbian women because of their homosexuality.


This chapter comprehensively describes the three phases of the NSW Police Service strategic response to anti-gay violence and harassment from 1990 onwards. Thompson sees that the antecedents for these changes were provided by a general reorientation within the NSW Police Service towards improved community based policing, a politically well-organised gay and lesbian community and a legislative basis for protecting their rights with the 1982 amendment to the Anti-Discrimination Act(1977) to cover homosexuality and the decriminalisation of male homosexual relations in 1984. The police program of reforms has involved both a corporate strategic approach and a local operational response, with community consultation and liaison the essential strategy. The first phase, 1990-1992, aimed to use a joint problem-solving approach to increase the gay, lesbian and heterosexual communities’ intolerance of violence and to increase the access of lesbians and gay men to professional police services that were accountable at senior and operational levels for addressing anti-gay violence. This included the appointment of a Police Gay/Lesbian Client Group Consultant (the author), progressive appointment across the state of Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officers (PGLLOs), responsible for proactive consultation with local gay men and lesbians and the development of patrol initiatives to reduce anti-violence. Anti-violence consultative groups were also set up in critical locations. A wide ranging information and community education campaign about hate violence using various media occurred, while joint strategies with the Sydney Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project aimed at encouraging reporting of violence. Police conducted homophobia workshops in State high schools following the involvement of students in violence and murder of gay men. Phase 2
from 1992-1994, focused on organisational change within the police, including training for PGLLOs, patrol commanders and patrol police and the development of the first Australian training package on ‘Police Relations with the Homosexual Community’; the development of formal policy positions to improve service delivery (e.g. more accountable policy on policing beats); and changes to the Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS) to include hate crime data. Phase 3, 1995-1997 has focused on further community consultation and police research (Out of the Blue Report) to assess the satisfaction with and effectiveness of strategies to date for addressing anti-gay violence, and the development of formal Police Policy and a Strategic Plan to reduce violence. A Gay and Lesbian Police Employees Network (GALPEN) was also established. No other police force in Australia has targeted violence against gay men and lesbians in such a comprehensive and systemic way and several other States and Territories have sought to replicate the NSW model. There is also interest from overseas police forces in the approaches adopted by NSW.


This article overviews research on the prevalence of violence against gay men and recent gay and lesbian activism and positive developments in policing in response to this in NSW. The success of these new strategies is now being informally cited as ‘an international model for police-minority relations’. However there are also contradictory outcomes for community policing. The emphasis on law and order, introduction of harsher street offences legislation, new surveillance technologies, greater police control and regulation of public space, and public space design changes mean that groups and minorities whose public behaviour is seen as a ‘moral threat’ are subject to police ‘crackdown’, including arrest and prosecution. Ambiguities in the politics and status of gay victimhood are also explored.


There has been a marked increase in violence directed against lesbians and gay men since the late 1980s. This has led to some conjecture about the possible links between this violence and recent episodes of moral panic regarding the spread of AIDS. Public fears of disease and contagion have been linked to documented cases of discrimination in employment, housing and health service delivery. However, a direct causal link to this form of violence is difficult to demonstrate. It seems instead that an increased concern with this violence may be a result of the efforts of activists themselves, and their own actions in the form of community research and protest rallies that may have provided the catalyst for homophobic violence to become a public issue. This article looks at violence towards homosexuals and the attitudes of the courts, the media and
the public. The education and training of judges and police personnel is recommended.


The project sought data from the NSW Police Gay and Lesbian Liaison Unit on 31 fatal incidents regarded as gay killings and from court records and transcripts on 16 trials for solved killings. Research suggests that the ‘real number of gay killings that have occurred in NSW since 1980 is much larger than previously thought’. The author discusses the ‘conventional notions of masculinity’ and homophobia which condone violence, determine the motives behind these offences and also are translated into the courtroom with the homosexual panic defence, ‘the protection of male honour with fatal violence’.


Violence against gay males and lesbians, much of it perpetuated by young people, has emerged as a significant social problem. Thirty one juvenile offenders were asked a series of structured questions in order to elucidate the functions their attitudes towards homosexuals serve. In addition, responses were examined for evidence of social structural and cognitive variables which mediate offending behaviours. Juvenile offenders were found to hold attitudes towards homosexuals characterised by negativity, ambivalence, and defensiveness. These attitudes were maintained by particular myths and stereotypes about gay and lesbian culture, and were related to Opportunism, Impulsivity, Role Taking Inability, and Disabilities in Social Problem Solving. Specific recommendations for combating homophobic attitudes and behaviours in juvenile offender populations are discussed. These include countering myths and stereotypes about homosexuals to help reduce the defensiveness associated with anti-homosexual attitudes, coaching socially acceptable strategies for dealing with unwanted approaches, emphasising the potentially serious (legal) consequences of anti-homosexual violence, and facilitating young offenders to take the gay or lesbian perspective.


This article describes various treatment, advocacy and victim support services for lesbians and gay men provided by a New York Anti-Violence Project (AVP). These include peer and group counselling, police advocacy, local police liaison, and police specialised unit liaison, court monitoring, which includes advocacy with prosecutors and court accompaniment for gay and
lesbian victims of crime. Some anecdotal evidence of the effectiveness of these services is provided.


The lack of legal recognition of same sex relationships results in gay and lesbian couples being disadvantaged in comparison to heterosexual couples in a number of areas including, marriage or de facto relationships, death of a partner, wills and deceased estates, organ donation, inquests, serious illness or disability of a partner and guardianship, domestic violence provisions, definition of ‘close relative’, child custody, definition of parent, adoption, alternative means of conception, superannuation, family assistance and social security laws. Lack of legal recognition can likely cause financial disadvantage as well as aggravate emotional distress for homosexual couples. Legal reform options include same sex marriages, de facto relationships legislation, registration of relationships.


Current treatment approaches and punitive sanctions aimed at addressing personal violence are expensive, outdated and ineffectual. The authors advocate more proactive social policies aimed at preventing violence, in particular the building of healthy relationships in youth, through strategies of participation, education and empowerment. Adolescence is seen as a critical time to intervene as it provides ‘a window of opportunity to change historically reinforced pro-violence relationship themes.’ Violence is defined in terms of injury, harm, powerlessness and inequality and the spectrum of youth violence in schools and the community, including violence against gay men, lesbians and bisexuals, racial minorities, and women is described. The causes of relationship violence are analysed in terms of a developmental model ‘funnel of violence’ which considers the contribution of various contexts, such as culture, family, social circle and individual vulnerability, to interpersonal violence. Extensive literature is used to evidence this range of violence risk factors eg. normative expectations for violence, gender roles and gender rigidity, sexist and violent media, early attachment and maltreatment in the family, gender identification and peer groupings, problems in anger expression and control, borderline personality organisation, and post-traumatic stress, and depressive symptomatology. The final section of the book examines empowerment prevention strategies and the Youth Relationships Project, a program run in Canada with high-risk youth aimed at preventing a cycle of violence developing. Drawing on Prochaska et. al. (1992) spiral of change model, the core ingredients of successful violence prevention programs with youth are described. These include education (eg. technical, normative and personalised information); skills (eg. self-concept, assertiveness, social
competence, resistance and refusal training, problem solving and decision making, self-management and self-control); and social action (eg. casting at-risk individuals in a helping role, providing for responsibility and reciprocity in services/programs, involvement in social action and community activities).
Chapter 9: Violence in Institutions for People with Intellectual or Developmental Disabilities

This chapter focuses on violence in institutional settings, specifically violence experienced by patients in hospital and residential institutions. The primary concern is institutional violence involving people with disabilities as the victims of violence. Disability is defined as an inability to take equal part in the life of society due to either a physical or social barrier (Rose, 1998). In this chapter disability will refer to people with either a developmental or intellectual disability. These people are more likely to be the residents of institutions in an era when deinstitutionalisation has been a major influence. Institutions refer to any type of home or residential facility that people with developmental or intellectual disabilities may reside in. These include small residential facilities, which are now the norm in Australia. Although this review is confined to the institutional setting, it is recognised that violence involving people with disabilities in the community is an even bigger issue, and that there is considerable overlap in terms of risk factors and the policy and structural reforms required to reduce its incidence.

For the purpose of this review, violence includes non-physical abuse and physical assault against people with disabilities, perpetrated both by staff and by other residents. Interpersonal violence in the institutional context includes criminal violence (in the accepted legal sense), as well as other forms of coercion related to the institutional context and the need to ‘control’ residents, such as the use of drugs, seclusion and restraint. An often overlooked aspect of institutional violence is also ‘neglect’ (e.g., denial of food or access to toilet facilities). Very often these latter types of violence are not officially defined as criminal, and are referred to as the ‘grey area’ of abuse and neglect (Chenoweth, 1995). The long-held assumptions that many of these human service abuses do not constitute criminal acts is gradually being challenged in the literature (Hauritz et al., 1998; Sobsey, 1994).

Research into the abuse and neglect of people with disabilities began in the 1960s. Since then quite a few studies have investigated the problem, with the main focus being on children with disabilities. Even so, research in this area remains fragmentary. Most of the literature focuses on the institutional setting and its impact, rather than on the characteristics of individual residents that may make them more vulnerable. Important studies in the area are those by Sobsey (1994) and Hauritz, Sampford and Blencowe (1998). Sobsey (1994) provides a comprehensive and in-depth investigation of the abuse and general treatment of people with disabilities. Hauritz et al. (1998) provide a comprehensive overview of the legal and institutional issues affecting the provision of justice for people with disabilities, with particular emphasis being placed on the areas of ‘rights’ and ‘ethics’. The Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions (1999) (The Ford Inquiry) into the institutional abuse of children is also very useful, although its main focus is not on children with disabilities. This inquiry identifies problems with the
institutional environment in general and recommends changes to improve it and is therefore useful for present purposes.

Only a small number of studies have investigated programs designed to reduce the abuse of people with disabilities in institutions, and even fewer have attempted an evaluation. Thus, in some circumstances it is necessary to ‘stray’ into allied fields, such as the child abuse literature, to determine what abuse prevention programs might work and what programs might not work in a more general setting. On the other hand, studies of people with disabilities in institutions have succeeded in identifying a large number of risk factors, and have suggested many potential strategies for the prevention of abuse. The challenge for the field is to take the next step: implement promising interventions and rigorously evaluate their impact over time, both at the individual and institutional levels.

Over the past twenty years there has been a shift away from a service-provider model of support for individuals with disabilities to a model that focuses on self-determination. This concept of self-determination was the driving force behind the deinstitutionalisation of people with disabilities and the corresponding new focus on integration into society (Banks and Kayess, 1998). Moreover, the nature of institutions has changed. For example, many of the remaining residential institutions have recently been privatised. Yet the abuse and neglect of people with disabilities in these institutions is still a common occurrence.

This chapter begins with a description of the major risk factors for violence involving people with disabilities. It then focuses on the vulnerability of these people in the specific setting of institutions. This is followed by brief descriptions of the criminal justice responses to violence (abuse and neglect) against people with disabilities, and the main community-based prevention initiatives.

**The Dimensions of the Problem**

Australian inquiries into the care and treatment of people with disabilities have for several years reported widespread abuse, neglect and ill-treatment (e.g; Chelmsford Hospital, 1986; National Inquiry into the Human Rights of People with Mental Illness, 1993; Victorian Official Visitors Annual Report, 1991; Ward 10B Townsville, 1991). A 1998 Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) report indicated that at that time 3.6 million people in Australia had a disability (19% of the total population). Disability was seen as a condition that creates a need for support or assistance, and includes the results of disease, disorder (including mental disorder) or injury. Most people with these characteristics (78%) were restricted in their abilities to care for themselves, in their mobility, and in their ability to communicate. The restriction in these core activities was profound for 3% of the total population, severe for 3%, moderate for 4%, and mild for 6%. Only 47% of these people suffered from an intellectual or developmental disorder.
In the ABS study, of all people with a disability, 158,200 were living in non-private accommodation that provided care (hospital, nursing home or aged care hostel, including hostels for people with disabilities, children’s homes, drug rehabilitation facilities and some ‘care’ sections of retirement villages). A further 61,800 were living in other non-private dwellings (hostels for the homeless, other hostels, motels, educational and religious institutions, construction camps, boarding houses, staff quarters, guest houses, short-stay caravan parks, youth camps and camping grounds, and self care units in a retirement village which has care facilities on-site). A total of 62,300 people were accommodated in retirement villages that included private and non-private dwellings (including cared accommodation) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998).

The Community Visitors Board of Victoria in 1991 identified common problems in institutions to be ‘child abuse, battery, sexual assault, illegal restraint or seclusion, violation of legal rights, degradation, denial of medical treatment, unsafe or unsanitary conditions, unusually high death rates, chemical restraint, missing or diverted resident funds, wrongful imprisonment, overcrowding, failure to attempt to prevent residents from assaulting each other, a lack of programs and general neglect’ (Hauritz et al., 1998: 197). Inquiries in other countries report similar findings. Yet in most cases formal inquiries have not stemmed the tide of violence against vulnerable people who live in institutional care, as these inquires are generally met with a lack of response from both the public and the government (Chenoweth, 1995).

Sobsey (1994) states that sexual offences are the most common type of abuse against people with disabilities. Shore (1982) claims that sexual activity, sexual acting out and sexual abuse are rampant in child-caring institutions. As noted above, Chenoweth (1995) argues that violence in institutions not only includes criminal violence (for example, assault and rape), but also the ‘grey areas’ of violence such as emotional abuse, neglect and certain common human service practices (such as the use of drugs, therapeutic programs, seclusion and restraint).

According to Powers, Mooney and Nunno (1990) there are three common forms of abuse against people in institutional settings. These are overt direct care abuse, program abuse and system abuse, with the latter two being unique to the out-of-home setting. The first type, overt direct care abuse, is the direct physical, sexual or emotional abuse committed by a worker or foster parent (Powers et al., 1990). The second type, program abuse, results from service standards being below the required minimum and the reliance by institutions on harsh or unfair techniques to modify behaviour (e.g., the misuse of medication as a form of restraint). The third type, system abuse, is the result of the entire system being stretched beyond its limits (Powers et al., 1990). This results in resident misplacement, misdiagnosis, prolonged treatment, unnecessary removal from home, and denial of proper emotional attachments.
An example of program abuse is the use of seclusion and restraint. Fisher (1994) reviewed the literature published since 1972 concerning restraint and seclusion. Contents of articles were synthesised using the categories of indications and contraindications; rates of seclusion and restraint; demographic, clinical and environmental factors that affect these rates; effects on patients and staff; implementation of alternative strategies; and training. This literature indicated that seclusion and restraint have long been treated as necessary means of preventing injury and paranoid agitation spurred on by interaction with others, and may have been seen as a way of reducing sensory overload (Gutheil 1978, in Fisher 1994). These practices are also typically used as forms of treatment for behavioural disturbances.

While it is difficult to gauge the extent to which people with disabilities in institutions are being abused, several studies (Corin, 1984-86; Crossmaker, 1991; Doucette, 1986; Sobsey, 1991, 1994; Sullivan et al., 1987) suggest that people with disabilities face a higher overall risk of abuse and violence. That is, they are more likely than the general population to be abused or to have been the victims of violence. Sullivan and Knuston (1998) examined the association between child maltreatment and disabilities in hospitals, and found that there were twice as many people with disabilities in the maltreatment group as in the non-maltreated group. It is difficult to make an exact estimate of how much being disabled increases the risk of maltreatment, as statistics in this area are usually restricted to abuse that has been discovered, disclosed or suspected (Turk and Brown, 1993 in Singer, 1996).

The abuse of people with disabilities is characteristically invisible, and when identified is typically underreported. Reports are usually limited to serious instances of physical and sexual abuse. Verbal and psychological abuse, and cases of restraint and control, are almost never reported (Marchetti and McCartney, 1990, in Sobsey, 1994; Rindfleish and Bean, 1988). Sundram (1984) argues that reporting minor abusive conduct is influenced by working conditions, and that reporting major abusive conduct is influenced by powerful factors in the administrative and disciplinary structures of state institutions.

Hauritz et al. (1998) suggest that the level of unreported crime is higher in institutions than in the general community because ‘the people living under institutional care would not identify that a crime had been committed against them, nor necessarily have the means to be able to bring offences to public notice’ (p. 200). Reporting abuse against people with disabilities is affected by the ‘nature and severity of the disability, the environment in which the abuse occurs, the type of abuse, and numerous other factors’ (Sobsey, 1994:46). Weak support systems available to people with disabilities, as well as their physical dependency, may also prevent them from reporting abuse. Reporting abuse against care givers, whom a person with a disability may be dependent on for many basic needs, may only render them more helpless (Corin, 1984).

A further factor affecting the reporting of the abuse and neglect of people with disabilities in institutions is the willingness of staff to report observed cases to superiors,
and the cover up of this abuse and neglect by supervisors and administrators. Rindfleish and Bean (1988) argue that there are four main barriers to reporting. The first stems from conflicts that exist between residents and care professionals. These conflicts are usually the result of power inequalities and issues of control. The second barrier is the lack of cultural or legislative consensus on what acts require protection and intervention. This creates confusion over what behaviours staff should report. The third type of barrier stems from the organisational structure of the residential facility. The policies and treatment procedures of institutions may make the reporting of abuse almost impossible. The final barrier is the difficulties involved in determining which particular member of staff is responsible for an act or omission involving a resident.

The Effects of Institutional Abuse

Research into the effects of the abuse of people with disabilities is minimal. A study in Toronto, investigating the effect of institutional abuse for the physically disabled, found its effects to be profound, long lasting and damaging to individuals’ ability to adjust to the world around them (Shore, 1982). The limited research suggests that people with disabilities suffer similar effects as those experienced by other victims of abuse and neglect.

In general, Finkelhor and Browne (1985, in Sobsey 1994) suggest the initial effects of child sexual abuse include fear, anxiety, depression, anger and inappropriate behaviour. The long term effects include depression, self-destructive behaviour, feelings of isolation and stigmatisation, poor self-esteem, tendencies toward revictimisation, substance abuse, sexual maladjustment and difficulty establishing trust.

The Ford Inquiry (1999) quoted findings by various studies that suggest the effects of physical abuse include aggressive and violent behaviour, emotional problems, interpersonal problems, long term emotional and psychological problems (e.g., anxiety, depression, hostility, paranoid thoughts, psychosis and dissociation disorders) and academic and vocational difficulties. Pinpointing the effects of emotional abuse is more difficult because it often coincides with sexual and physical abuse, and such abuse is typically invisible to the public. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that emotional maltreatment is a fundamental cause of negative developmental outcomes for children (Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions, 1999; Pathways to Prevention 1999).

Risk Factors

The General Community

Many studies have investigated the factors affecting the vulnerability of people with disabilities in institutions, and there is great variation in the critical variables identified. It is clear, however, that risk factors in institutions are critically influenced by the processes that
make people with disabilities in the general community more vulnerable to violence and assault.

Sullivan and Knuston (1998) suggest that in many cases a person's disability may have led to or contributed to their abuse. People with disabilities may make ideal victims for offenders who are motivated by a need for power and control, as they are typically seen as helpless, and as unlikely to resist or report such offences (Crossmaker, 1991). This point is supported by a report from the G. Allen-Roeher Institute (1989) that argues that people with disabilities are rendered more vulnerable not by their disabling condition, but by the manner in which they are regarded by the community. Because they are commonly seen to have little status, value or power, they are perceived by others as easy targets of abuse. Powerlessness of residents is one of the most common reasons advanced to explain why people with disabilities in institutions are abused and neglected.

A large body of research has investigated the vulnerability of children with disabilities to abuse and neglect. Shaman (1986) argues that children with disabilities are vulnerable to abuse because of their dependency on caretakers for their basic everyday needs. Other reasons advanced include: they are less able to defend themselves physically; they are less able to articulate the abuse that occurred; they are unable to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate physical contact, whether it be violent or sexual; they are more dependent on others for assistance, and hence are often more trusting, passive and compliant; they are reluctant to report abuse for fear of losing contact with care providers; and they are considered less credible than non-disabled children if and when they report abuse (Parent Advocacy Coalition for Educational Rights, 1986:19, in Kayjay, 1996).

Csapo (1988) identified several additional risk factors for abuse and neglect for children with disabilities. These include: the dependency of children with disabilities on the abusive caregiver; the need for attention and friendship; inability to disclose or understand the nature of the abusive situation; lack of credibility; and ease of manipulation with threat and tricks. In addition, Singer (1996: 54) argues that children with disabilities are vulnerable to verbal, sexual and physical abuse because of their lack of knowledge about sexual relationships based on mutual respect and understanding, limited communication skills, low self-esteem, dependence on others for meeting their most personal needs, and the presence of multiple care-givers in institutions.

Institutional Settings

The Victorian Visitors Board (1991) argued that abuse occurring in institutions against people with disabilities stemmed from the nature of these institutions (Hauritz 1998). These investigators suggested that the isolation of these institutions from the community creates an atmosphere and culture allowing such abuses to exist. Evidence gathered by the Ford Inquiry suggests that the child caring institutions’ ‘isolation from the wider community and the lack of external scrutiny places an institution at high risk of harbouring abusive
Another factor contributing to the continual abuse of children and people with disabilities in institutions is their hierarchical structure. This structure makes it difficult for staff to make complaints, which situation is compounded by the absence of complaint mechanisms, and the minimal monitoring and inspection of these mechanisms when they are in place. This allows the abusive practices within institutions to remain unnoticed (Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions, 1999). The hierarchical nature of institutions not only makes it difficult for staff to make complaints, it also encourages authoritarian structures that emphasise power and control, two fundamental components affecting the abuse of people in institutions (Sobsey, 1994).

Solomons, Abel and Epley (1981) argue that the isolation of institutions from the local community is related to the silence around the abuse and neglect of people in these residences, and is closely linked with child maltreatment. Isolation of institutionalised children from community programs and public facilities creates a context that facilitates child maltreatment.

Sobsey (1994) argues that four factors are common to all cases of institutional abuse. The first factor is the extreme power inequality experienced between staff and residents. Control of everyday aspects of residents’ lives (e.g., when they eat, sleep, go to the bathroom, exercise, rest and so on) is seen to constitute a form of abuse that ultimately leads to other kinds of abuse.

Second, institutional abuse is collective in nature, as there is typically more than one victim and more than one offender. Such institutions are usually characterised by abusive subcultures among staff members. In abusive subcultures the abuse inflicted by staff may not be perceived as deviant or unacceptable behaviour. Instead, it is typically seen as normal and thus encouraged by peers as the standard approach to deal with residents. Such a culture only further ensures that incidences of abuse do not reach the proper authorities (Chenoweth, 1995).

The third characteristic identified by Sobsey (1994) is the cover-up of institutional abuse. It is typical for staff to not report abuse to supervisors. When instances of abuse do come to the attention of supervisors and administrators they attempt to deal with it themselves in ways that will not lead to public recognition.

Finally, there are clearly defined patterns of environmental influence that are common to most institutions. The basic institutional environment that gives few resources to staff but a great deal of power over a large number of residents in an isolated environment may ensure similar patterns of abuse occur throughout institutions within the community (Sobsey, 1994).
Chenoweth (1995) discusses the factors that are precursors to or influences on the powerful ‘cultures of violence’ at the core of institutional violence. First is the capacity of institutions and human service systems to dehumanise people, weakening the usual constraints on abuse and violence. Secondly, organisational factors, such as absence of accountability, power imbalance, management failure and (according to Cocks, 1994) an over-reliance on formal methods to reduce violence, highlight the inherent paradox in the nature of ‘community care and ‘human services’. As noted previously, the power differential between staff and residents is particularly great because of residents’ reliance on staff for every day needs and requirements. This power differential serves ‘to reinforce compliance and reduces the likelihood of victims speaking out or asserting their rights’ (Crossmaker, 1991: 41).

Many institutions exhibit a complex collective ‘cloak of silence’, often extending over several years. This is attributed to three factors: the failure by staff to acknowledge such abuse; reluctance on the part of outsiders (e.g. police, community services) to follow up on complaints, preferring to see these as internal matters; and the induction of new staff into the institutional culture. The unprecedented use of drugs to control residents’ behaviour, other behaviour management techniques such as aversive therapies, electric shocks, physical restraint, and the control of women’s menstruation and fertility, become implements of institutional violence. Chenoweth (1995: 42) concludes that violence in institutions is characterised by ‘silence, invisibility, and concealment’ and that the ‘social construction of people with disabilities as devalued, deviant and less than human is central to the culture of violence that surrounds them.’

Wardhaugh and Wilding (1993; cited in Chenoweth, 1995) suggest that corruption of care depends on a number of organisational factors: the neutralisation of normal moral concerns, an imbalance of power, pressures on particular kinds of caring work, the failure of management, isolation and enclosure of the organisation and an absence of accountability.

Katz and Kirkland (1990) found that significant differences in the incidence and distribution of violent behaviour in mental hospital wards exist even when the diagnoses and other characteristics of patients are essentially the same. In an effort to compare the structure and predictability provided by organisational and interpersonal processes in violent and peaceful wards, the senior author spent 38 months in participant-observation and interviewing on six wards in three state mental hospitals.

Patterns emerged in ward social organisation and staff behaviour that were associated with varying levels of violence. These patterns reinforced previous observations that violence is a symptom of disorder not only in the biological and psychological field but also in the socio-cultural field (Katz and Kirkland 1990). Violence was more frequent and more extreme in wards in which staff functions were unclear, and in which events such as
activities, meetings or staff-patient encounters were unpredictable. Violence was less frequent and less extreme in wards characterised by strong psychiatric leadership, clearly structured staff roles, and events that were standardised and predictable. Ward social organisation characterised by standardised, repeated, predictable behavioural and procedural rituals provided stability and autonomy that supported efforts to develop a therapeutic milieu.

An organisational factor leading to the abuse of people with disabilities in institutions is the scant allocation of resources and limited support by government and society for staff and training. The challenging and difficult work involved in the provision of care for people with disabilities is only compounded by poor working conditions (Powers, Mooney and Nunno 1990). The Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions (1999) found that many institutions take on more residents than they can care for or accommodate and lack sufficient resources to meet their needs. Poor supervision and inadequate staff support also contribute to a high risk environment for children with disabilities.

**Children in Institutions**

It is also important to look at the risk factors affecting the vulnerability of the children without disabilities in institutions, as these risk factors also apply to other institutional contexts. Blatt (1990) explored the relationship between staff characteristics and aspects of supervision, and child abuse in residential or institutional facilities. He concluded that factors affecting the prevalence of institutional child abuse include environmental factors, values held by the supervisor, and training and emotional needs of staff. Powers et al. (1990) also explored these issues. They argued that child care workers are generally poorly trained, inadequately screened, and hired with little attention to their educational and social backgrounds. In addition they are given little or no ‘on the job’ training to ensure that they are capable of reaching organisational objectives. One problem this causes is that new workers, who lack experience and skills, do not know how to handle difficult and explosive situations they may encounter. Powers et al. (1990: 88) argue that ‘within both institutions and families, abuse often results from the combination of children who are difficult to manage and caretakers who lack sufficient skills and resources to manage them’. The combination of inexperience, lack of training and frustration experienced by staff can easily lead to incidents of abuse.

Stress experienced by staff also plays a major role in causing the maltreatment of children in institutions. Factors affecting stress levels include: staffing levels (staff to child ratio); seasonal changes in schedules (e.g., reports of abuse increase at the beginning and end of school); threatened staff layoffs; changes in physical location; and the physical and community isolation of institutions (Powers et al. 1990). As noted previously, organisational oversights such as the absence of clearly defined expectations in terms of staff behaviour

Rindfleish and Hull (1982) investigated the attitudes of direct care workers about the use of physical force with children in institutions. One hundred direct care workers were selected from 42 living units representing small public, small private, large public and large private institutions. There were 25 care workers surveyed in each of the four categories. A five part self administered questionnaire, which featured role playing techniques, was completed by each participant. The survey indicated that willingness to use force was associated with several factors: the degree of resentment towards children; management of routines within the organisation; degree of participation in decision making; the size of the community in which the caregiver was raised; and the age of the caregiver.

Shaughnessy (1984) concluded that abuse of children residing in institutions and residential care centres stems from human, bureaucratic, and fiscal problems. Organisational inadequacies are: (1) roadblocks to proper treatment (e.g. poor staff-administration relationships, little accountability in large institutions, lack of cooperation between departments, policies that require specialised staff, heavy paperwork duties for therapists); (2) incompetent staff; (3) staff turnover; (4) a remote location that isolates children from parents; (5) inappropriate placement of children as a stopgap measure; (6) the use of medication as a form of social control; (7) premature discharge; and (8) inadequate follow-up. The author considers inadequate follow-up a form of abuse.

**Summary of Risk Factors for Violence against People with Disabilities**

Table 9.1 provides a summary of all the major risk factors affecting the vulnerability of people with disabilities to instances of abuse, broken down by the general community and the institutional settings.
Table 9.1  Summary of Risk Factors

(a) The General Community Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals with Disabilities</th>
<th>Community Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· The disability itself.</td>
<td>· Community perceptions of disabilities (deviant, less than human).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Powerlessness.</td>
<td>· Invisible to the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Dependency on caretakers for assistance and everyday needs.</td>
<td>· Considered as non-credible witnesses when they report abuse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Physical defencelessness.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Inability to articulate that abuse has occurred.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Inability to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate physical contact (violent or sexual).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>· Need for attention and friendship.</td>
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<tr>
<td>· Inability to disclose or understand the nature of the abusive situation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>· Ease of manipulation with treats and tricks.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>· Limited communication skills.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>· Low self-esteem.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The Institutional Setting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional Organisation</th>
<th>Staff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>· Isolation of institutions from the community.</td>
<td>· ‘Cloak of silence’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Absence of accountability mechanisms.</td>
<td>· Use of seclusion and restraint, and drugs to control residents’ behaviour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Presence of multiple caregivers.</td>
<td>· Cover-up of all forms of abuse by staff at all levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Hierarchical structures, which affect staff complaint mechanisms, the visibility of abusive practices, and encourage authoritarian structures.</td>
<td>· Unclear staff functions and unpredictable events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Power inequalities between staff and residents.</td>
<td>· Poor working conditions for staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Basic institutional environment (few resources, low staff pay, large number of residents).</td>
<td>· Incompetent staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Capacity of institutions to dehumanise people.</td>
<td>· Staff turnover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Lack of cooperation between departments.</td>
<td>· Poor supervision of staff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Scant allocation of resources for both the provision of care and for staff training.</td>
<td>· Inadequate staff support (emotional and material).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>· Control of everyday aspect of residents’ lives.</td>
<td>· Selection of staff who are poorly trained, inadequately screened and hired with little attention to their educational and social backgrounds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>· Lack of clearly defined staff expectations.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>· Poor staff-administration relations.</td>
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Legal Protections and the Criminal Justice System

The importance of legal protections for people with disabilities is underlined by The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which states that all children have the right to be treated with humanity and respect. When abuse does occur the state should take steps to promote physical and psychological recovery and reintegration into the community (Sobsey, 1994). This convention also declares that children with disabilities have the ‘right to a full and decent life and to be free from all forms of discrimination’ (Sobsey, 1994: 2).

Two main pieces of legislation exist in Australia to protect and ensure the rights of people with disabilities, the Commonwealth Disability Discrimination Act 1992 and the Disability Services Act 1986. The Commonwealth Disability Discrimination Act 1992 was implemented to eliminate discrimination against those with disabilities, to ensure that they have the same fundamental rights as the rest of society, and to guarantee that they have the same right of equality before the law (Jones and Marks, 1998). The Disability Services Act 1986 addresses the specific right of people with disabilities to have access to the same services as everybody else in the community (Rose, 1998). The combination of these two Acts attempts to ensure that people with disabilities have the same opportunities as everybody else to be fully participating members of society.

Legal protections can further the rights of people with disabilities, provide administrative reviews that ensure these rights are upheld, and guarantee appropriate funds for these purposes (Hauritz 1998: xvii). Yet much of the legal response to disabilities is based on the identification of ‘blame’. That is, the amount of protection the legal system provides people with disabilities is largely monetary through the provision of compensation. Compensation is dependent upon whether or not the disability can be blamed upon a perpetrator. Unfortunately, the legal response to people with disabilities is uncoordinated, due to the large number of government departments that are involved.

It is the role of advocacy to ensure that the legal rights of people with disabilities are actually protected by the criminal justice system and the community in general. The aim is to ensure that people with disabilities are given the opportunity to be fully participating members of society by ensuring legal protections are upheld. Banks and Kayess (1998:162) argue that ‘the central goal of all advocacy should be the achievement of fundamental social and cultural change to eliminate disabling barriers and ensure the rights of people with impairments, particularly the right to equality of access to participation in all aspects of society.’ Thus, the advocacy process develops mechanisms that will ultimately lead to the reduction of the impact of barriers that inhibit the full participation of people with disabilities in society. The ultimate aim is the removal of these barriers.

When crimes against people with disabilities in institutions do come to the attention of the criminal justice system they are usually ‘decriminalised’. Sobsey (1994) catalogued the
euphemisms frequently used to reduce the criminality of offences committed against people with disabilities. These euphemisms misrepresent what actually occurs to these individuals and include: 1) detention, restraint or seclusion (for kidnapping or unlawful imprisonment); 2) infraction, administrative infraction or decriminalisation (for criminal offence or crime); 3) psychological abuse, threat, physical abuse, punishment procedure, aversive treatment, physical prompting, assistance or guidance (for assault); 4) euthanasia, neglect, medical discrimination, assisted suicide or allowing to die (for murder or manslaughter); 5) chemical restraint (for poisoning); 6) abuse or professional misconduct (for rape or sexual assault); exploitation of labor (for slavery); and 7) treatment (for torture) (Hauritz, 1998: 199-200). For example, in Germany the abuse of people with disabilities is decriminalised through the justification that people with disabilities either do not feel pain or they have a higher pain threshold (Sobsey, 1994). Such terms only act to moderate the effects of offences, dehumanise victims and displace responsibility.

Individuals with disabilities are also not seen as credible witnesses by the court system. Their disability leads people within the legal professional to assume that they are incapable of understanding in an adequate manner what has happened to them, even though they have been the ones abused (Sobsey, 1994). This assumption severely limits the power of the prosecution in cases of abuse against individuals with disabilities because they are usually the sole witnesses to these acts.

Services Environmental Standards

The Disability Services Act 1986 (Cth) attempts to ensure the protection and defence of the rights of people with disabilities (Rose, 1998). It addresses issues such as discrimination, the accountability of service providers, privacy and confidentiality, and the regulation of decision making on behalf of people with disabilities. As part of the Commonwealth/State Disability Agreement the objectives of the Disability Services Act 1986 were incorporated into state legislation. Despite the existence of this legislation the full implementation of services that reflect the rights of people with disabilities has been a difficult task. Rose (1998) emphasises ‘the need for new Commonwealth legislation based upon broad definitions of both disability and need (,), and the principles of accountability, fair and equal treatment in the provision of services and co-ordinated planning at all levels of government’ (Blencowe, Sampford and Hauritz 1998:xix). This new legislation should also highlight human rights, self-determination and the exercise of choice for individuals with disabilities.

There are few formal services available for people with disabilities who seek either assistance or justice. Basic services such as shelters, domestic violence support services and legal services are generally not accessible by people with disabilities. This inaccessibility of formal services is compounded by a lack of comprehension about how to meet the needs of those with disabilities (Boyle et al. 1988, in Chenoweth, 1993).
Preventive Programs

A great deal of attention has been devoted to the prevention of child sexual abuse for children with disabilities, yet there is little consensus among professionals and researchers in the field. On a general level, Sobsey (1994) argues that for institutional abuse to be remedied one must deal with both the individual occurrences and the environmental conditions that support and encourage such abuse. The majority of the recommended prevention programs focus on teaching children with disabilities how to protect themselves. However, the ability of these children to prevent their own abuse, especially when offenders are older and stronger, is debatable (Sobsey 1994). Unfortunately, many educational programs are based on theory rather than empirical research, due to the lack of longitudinal evaluations of such programs. Table 9.2 highlights the major prevention programs, and describes the target factors and outcomes of each program.

Table 9.2 Description of Prevention Programs, Risk Factors Targeted, and Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Description</th>
<th>Target Factors and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assault Prevention Training (APT) (Crossmaker, 1986; 1989) USA; Program with detailed handbook teaches range of personal safety and assertiveness skills (e.g. seeking help, asserting rights, drawing attention, escaping). Program focuses on individual risk reduction strategies but also considers more systemic changes re socialisation of people with disabilities to reduce risk of abuse.</td>
<td>Targets personal safety/ assertiveness skill development for people with developmental disabilities living in institutions or group homes. Specifically targets training to prevent abuse by people in authority, such as care givers/family carers. Reportedly successful with implementation across several sites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toward a Better Tomorrow (Sobsey, 1994) USA; Curriculum based program developed by the Medicine Hat Regional Association for Mentally Handicapped, addresses personal safety skills for a range of abuse situations (e.g. physical, sexual, emotional, financial). Includes lesson plans, materials and activities as basis for program development.</td>
<td>Targets personal safety skills development for people with developmental disabilities, and knowledge for families/carers to recognise and respond to abuse. No outcome data reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Woodrow Project Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum (Dreyer and Haseltine, 1987); USA; Comprehensive curriculum based personal safety and sexual abuse prevention program consisting of facilitators’ manual and 25 minute video. Program is presented in 8 sections (includes lesson plans, materials, activities), and uses small group instruction, role playing and reinforcement. Training to implement sexual abuse prevention programs provided by organisation that developed the project.</td>
<td>Targets personal safety skills and sexual abuse prevention for people with developmental disabilities. The curriculum has been distributed widely to organisations; however there are no program evaluation outcomes reported in the literature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Description</td>
<td>Target Factors and Outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia Treatment Centre for Children (VTCC) (Goren et al, 1996).</td>
<td>Targets the organisational structure within institutions in order to reduce levels of violence in institutions. No outcome data reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A planned organisational project aiming to reduce instances of institutional abuse. Uses eight specific strategies to help reduce levels of coercive intervention and staff conflict and instances of patient violence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-protection Group Program (Singer 1996) Britain;</td>
<td>Targets personal safety and social skill development for people with learning disabilities residing in institutions. Specifically targeted at people who had experienced verbal, physical and emotional abuse from institutional staff. Appears to have resulted in clients responding in a more assertive manner in role plays for targeted forms of abuse (verbal, physical and sexual).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This program utilises group sessions to help develop participants’ body awareness, teach them to say yes and no, develop their self-esteem, teach them the difference between good and bad touches, and uses role plays to exemplify inappropriate behaviour.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-institutional Development (CID) System (Solomons, Abel, Epley 1981) USA;</td>
<td>Targets child residential institutions and community-institution cooperation and coordination. Initial impressions are that it is practical, feasible and cost effective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This system emphasises the collaboration between institutions and the community through integrating community members into the institution review system, and institutional staff joining a community child abuse coalition. Includes education programs and periodic reviews of conditions contributing to institutional and societal maltreatment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternatives to Fear Program (Sobsey, 1994; 1995) USA;</td>
<td>Targets self-protection and rape prevention through self defence skills for women who are blind or visually impaired. Program originated in Seattle, with planned expansion for a trainers’ program. No outcome data reported.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A self-defence course for women with visual disabilities, developed by the Alternatives to Fear organisation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaman (1986) argues that prevention programs must emphasise the development of a positive nurturing relationship between caretakers and clients and must incorporate self-protection skills for situations involving caretakers, strangers and family members. Self-protection skills include being taught ways (skills) of identifying and telling people about problematic behaviours. Programs should also emphasise that children with disabilities are never at fault for being the subject of abuse and their disclosures of abuse must be believed. In addition, Shaman (1986) argues that children with disabilities should be taught self-protection and given sexual assault prevention education.
Community Development Approaches

Solomons, Abel and Epley (1981) argue that the reduction of child abuse in these institutions is achievable through the creation of community-based facilities. Abuse is seen as both a community and institutional problem and thus Solomons et al (1981) argue that a cooperative effort should be used in its solution. The community-institutional development (CID) system is aimed at the primary prevention of child maltreatment in institutions (whether or not for children with a disability). The system emphasises collaboration between institutions and the community. The CID team includes 20 to 30 people, half of whom are volunteers, and half of whom represent various disciplines related to the rights and care of residents in institutions. Although this prevention program does not look at the abuse of children with disabilities in institutions, the nature and recommendations of the CID program may also apply in these institutions.

Community-institution collaboration is achieved through community members being integrated into the institution review system, and through institutional staff joining community child abuse coalitions. Education programs are also incorporated to prevent child maltreatment. The team works with the institution to improve child treatment and performs periodic reviews assessing conditions contributing to institutional and societal maltreatment. Preliminary impressions suggest that the community-institution development system is practical, feasible and cost effective, and although it is not directed towards children with disabilities, it may also be adapted to the needs of this group.

Personal Risk Reduction and Protective Behaviour Programs

Programs aimed at empowering vulnerable individuals to resist abuse are often termed risk reduction or protective behaviour programs. Sobsey (1994) identifies several broad overlapping content or curriculum foci of such programs. These include: personal safety skills training, individual rights education, assertiveness and self-esteem training, communication skills training, social skills training, sex education and self-defence training.

In general, prevention education programs have been developed to teach people with disabilities about the risks of sexual and other forms of abuse. However, many of these programs were drawn from sexual education programs designed for mainstream populations, thus they may overlook the particular needs of special populations (Shore 1982). Even so, training can and does help to prevent the abuse of people with disabilities, although the effects are not yet able to be quantified. Sobsey (1994) recommends that the implementation of prevention education should not have as a sole focus the prevention of the abuse of people with disabilities, but should foster social responsibility for such incidents. Thus, education or risk reduction programs should be accompanied by an effort to change the administrative, legal, social and cultural conditions that foster abuse (Sobsey, 1994: 178).
Most education and risk reduction programs do not refer to the prevention of the abuse of children with disabilities in the specific environmental context of institutions. Programs exist which attempt to meet the individual and communication needs of specific disability populations in the community using a variety of approaches. These include the Disabilities Project, 1978 – for physical, developmental and sensory disabilities; Alternative to Fear, 1994 – for the visually impaired; and A Sexual Abuse Prevention Curriculum, 1986 – for the developmentally disabled.

By and large, these programs attempt to teach people with disabilities the essential skills needed to not only identify inappropriate behaviour and to say ‘no’ in inappropriate situations, but also those skills needed to communicate this abuse to someone. In addition, prevention education can increase their self-esteem and positive self-image; improve their communication skills; decrease isolation; increase peer support; enhance understanding of appropriate sexual behaviour; and improve the adequacy of the response from legal, medical and social service systems to the needs of people with disabilities (Shaman, 1986). The approaches used by education programs include the use of role-plays, computers, videos, group activities, small group instruction and puppets (Crossmaker, 1989; The G. Allan Roeher Institute, 1989; Shaman, 1986). Many risk reduction and education programs can be easily transferred to the institutional context, because of the essential nature of the skills taught. Even so, only a few prevention education programs are taught to people with disabilities in institutions.

Potential problems identified with this approach are that it places too much reliance on the victim being able to say no and resist the offender’s advances (Sobsey 1994). In many cases the offender is much stronger than the victim, so even if they are capable of identifying a potentially explosive situation they may find it hard to remove themselves from that situation. In addition, a reliance on education and risk prevention to reduce abuse and neglect overlooks the social issues that may lead to such abuse, and thus ignores other avenues for prevention.

Evaluations of education prevention programs have identified the following inefficiencies: vague and confusing curriculum; patronising tone; implied assumptions by the curriculum designers that people with disabilities are not or should not be allowed to be sexual; and the tendency for some programs to underestimate the capacity for people with certain types of disabilities to understand more than a limited notion of the behaviours associated with sexual abuse. Other criticisms are more problematic. The G. Allan Roeher Institute (1989) indicated that programs should be general enough so that they are capable of being implemented to more than the disabled population. Yet, others (Singer 1996; Sobsey 1994) argue that different disability populations have different needs, weaknesses and strengths. That is, education programs should take these differing levels of skill into consideration, as what may appear as helpful to one population may be taken as condescending by another.
Singer (1996) evaluates a Self-Protection Group program involving people with learning disabilities in institutions. He concluded that group work for people with learning disabilities can be effective in teaching social behaviours that provide social skills and increase feelings of value, and decrease feelings of powerlessness. He argues that these group education programs can be utilised as aids to prevent verbal, physical and sexual abuse by improving clients’ self-protection skills.

This approach of group education was administered to a group of seven people with learning disabilities in a residential group home. Program requirements were that participants had experienced verbal, physical and emotional abuse by previous members of staff. Training was provided for both residents and staff. Group sessions focused on developing participants’ body awareness, teaching them to say yes and no clearly, developing self esteem, teaching them the difference between good and bad touches, demonstration and participation in role plays exemplifying inappropriate behaviour, and application of skills through role playing with strangers.

The effectiveness of the group sessions was evaluated using both observation and rating scales. The main outcome of the group work was that clients responded in a more assertive manner in the role plays depicting situations involving verbal, physical and sexual abuse. Singer (1996) does suggest that there is a need to increase the range of educational games and role plays to be used for different client groups and purposes. Limitations of this approach include: 1) role plays used to exemplify unwanted behaviour do not necessarily correspond to the natural environment; 2) ratings of participant performance were completed by the person who managed the home, who also requested the training; 3) time restraints limited the number of scenarios that were introduced and practiced; and 4) long-term effects of the training are unknown. Singer (1996) argues that the success of group training is enhanced if staff have relevant education, and are accepting of clients’ needs and rights to assert and protect themselves.

Assault Prevention Training (APT) targets personal safety skills development for people with developmental disabilities living in institutions or group homes (Crossmaker, 1989). It emphasises training to reduce the personal risk for victimisation, but also recognises the need for reforming institutional practices that encourage abuse. The program provides detailed explanations of curriculum content, including role plays and evaluation. It specifically addresses training to prevent abuse by people in authority, such as care givers and family carers. Strategies include teaching participants how to seek help, assert their rights, draw attention to their situation (e.g. yell) and escape. The APT program is primarily concerned with redressing the risk factors in the socialisation of people with disabilities that contribute to their vulnerability for abuse and violence.
Advocacy Programs

From the literature, it appears that current methods of advocacy for individuals with disabilities in Australia are being reformulated (Banks and Kayess, 1998:153). Most of the energy is still being put into theorising about how it should be done and who should be allowed to do it. Current advocacy practice in Australia focuses not on the ‘social barriers model’ but the medical model of disability. Rather than attempting to integrate people into society, this model helps reinforce the stigma that individuals with disabilities are ‘different’. Banks and Kayess (1998:158) argue that advocacy should be about ‘addressing the fundamental social barriers that create disability’. This view reflects the philosophical position that physical and social barriers are the main obstacles inhibiting the ability of a person with disabilities to participate fully in the community. The main emphasis of this perspective is on the community’s inability to include people with disabilities. Hence, the advocate’s role is to ensure that they are given the opportunity to be, as far as possible, fully participating members of society (Banks and Kayess, 1998).

The NSW Community Visitors scheme is an advocacy group that has been operating for the past four years. The Community Visitors scheme is the response to the 1993 Community Services (Complaints, Appeals and Monitoring) Act. In the 1997 to 1998 period there were 35 Community Visitors who visited people in 863 eligible residential services in NSW. The aim of the community visitors is to ‘protect and advocate for the interests of children, young people and adults in residential care, including people with disabilities’ (Community Services Commission, 1998). They provide advice to the Minister and the Commissioner for Community Services on how to improve the quality of care for people in residential care. Priority is given to residents who are at greater risk. Objectives include the promotion of rights, identifying issues raised by residents, providing information to various groups, and helping to sort out complaints. They report by providing facilities with information about specific issues, identifying systemic issues for residents and referring serious issues that impact on residents to the Community Services Commission. All visitors are obligated to respect the privacy of residents, seek permission from individuals before inspecting any document belonging to them and ensure confidentiality of any information during the course of a visit (Community Services Commission, 1998).

In the United States protection and advocacy programs were initially developed as a response to public outcry over the abuse and neglect of people in institutions. Schauer (1995: 233) notes ‘these programs investigate allegations of abuse and neglect and pursue legal, administrative, and other appropriate remedies to protect rights of individuals with disabilities.’ Several prevention and advocacy programs have been created since the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act in 1975. These programs were implemented in all states in the United States, and aimed to provide legal, administrative and other appropriate remedies to protect the rights of individuals with disabilities. Some of the programs not only aimed to provide assistance to people with disabilities but also to investigate allegations of abuse and neglect of people with disabilities residing in...
residential care and treatment facilities (Protection and Advocacy for Individuals with Mental Illness – PAIMI). Over time the eligibility requirements for the programs were made more stringent and programs started to place more emphasis on technology assistance and devices (Schauer, 1995).

Schauer (1995) suggests a number of important roles that nurses can take to help prevent the abuse and neglect of people in institutions. Although she does not refer directly to people with disabilities, the functions of nursing staff suggested may carry over into institutions caring for people with disabilities. Schauer argues that nursing staff can play an important role in preventing abuse and bringing such incidents to the attention of Prevention and Advocacy organisations. It is suggested that nurses can play a central role in the development of policies and procedures impacting on the standard of care received by residents.

In addition, Schauer (1995) argues that nurses are in the ideal position to identify and bring instances of abuse and neglect to the attention of P and A organisations. Such instances would include: assault, failure to provide appropriate mental health or medical diagnostic evaluation or treatment, financial exploitation, involuntary treatment and failure to provide discharge planning. Unfortunately, the reporting of instances of abuse by nursing staff is inhibited by employer retaliations such as suspensions, unfavourable assignments, intimidation and ostracism. A further role nurses may play is in providing residents with private access to P and As, through the provision of the telephone numbers for such agencies next to the public phone, and through providing residents with access to long distance calls. The final suggestion put forward by Schauer (1995) is that nurses can affect the levels of medication administered in institutions, thereby ensuring that the amounts are both necessary and correct. Schauer (1995) argues that these roles can be enhanced through the education of nursing staff about their importance.

Staff Training Programs

Abrams, Neuhring and Zuckerman (1984) discuss a staff training program that teaches employees to improve their service to the developmentally disabled within institutions. This four part training program for direct care staff who work with persons with developmental disabilities presents instructions for identifying and reporting abuse and neglect. It explains normalisation and presents a bill of rights for persons with developmental disabilities. It also discusses behaviour management and aggression control techniques (ACT). Trainer tips include advice on preparation, delivery techniques and learning theory.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, seclusion and restraint appear to be common methods used by staff in residential facilities to help control resident behaviour (Fisher, 1994). The literature reviewed by Fisher (1994) appears to support a number of (sometimes contradictory) arguments for the use of seclusion and restraint. The following
points are made in the literature: (1) seclusion and restraint are basically efficacious in preventing injury and reducing agitation; (2) it is nearly impossible to operate a program for severely symptomatic individuals without some form of seclusion or physical or mechanical restraint; (3) restraint and seclusion have deleterious physical and psychological effects on patients and staff, effects which have been emphasised by the psychiatric consumer/survivor movement; (4) demographic and clinical factors have a limited influence on rates of restraint and seclusion; (5) local non-clinical factors, such as cultural biases, staff role perceptions and the attitudes of the hospital administration, have a great influence on rates of restraint and seclusion; (6) training in prediction and prevention of violence, in self-defence, and in implementation of restraint and/or seclusion is valuable in reducing rates of untoward effects; and (7) studies comparing well-defined programs have potential usefulness.

It is probably better to seek alternatives to seclusion and restraint, as there are many criticisms of their use. These include that they are forms of punishment, not treatment (they are always seen as aversive by patients); seclusion may act as a positive reinforcer for some patients; the effects of both seclusion and restraint are seen by some patients as equivalent to rape or physical abuse; and they are extremely degrading practices.

Goren et al., (1996) discovered that the use of restraint and seclusion can be markedly reduced in children's psychiatric hospitals without increasing medication use. Staff at the Virginia Treatment Centre for Children (VTCC), a 50 place public child psychiatric hospital, believed restraint and seclusion for aggressive patients to be both necessary and effective. The research literature suggested otherwise. A task force implemented change through education, improving intra-staff communication, challenging staff perceptions of the necessity and effectiveness of seclusion and restraint, through policy revision (using seclusion and restraint as last resort responses to aggression), and engaging patients’ families in care. Restraint is now almost never used in that institution, and the seclusion rate has halved while medication use is also down. This experience in reducing aggression within the hospital validates theory that suggests that violence within institutions is context-based, involving patients, staff and the institutional climate. The authors argue that the outcomes support the proposition that the use of coercion is determined more by traditions in practice and the mind-set of the staff than by clinical necessity, and that its use can be significantly reduced by organisational interventions, with training as an essential element.

Programs for Organisational Restructuring

Sobsey (1994) argues that the service system must incorporate a variety of safeguards and protections. These include the following strategies: design and organisation; policies and procedures; recruitment and screening; orientation and inservice training for staff; counselling and support programs; supervision and leadership. However, a study by Reyome (1990) suggests that the ability of institutions to prevent abuse is limited by their ability to attract professional staff. The fundamental problem is low salaries and benefits.
The VTCC project discussed above has important implications not only for staff training but for planned organisational change designed to reduce institutional violence (Goren et. al, 1996). As well as the reduction of coercive intervention (seclusion and restraint), the project’s objectives included reduction of conflict among staff members and a reduction in patient violence. These objectives were achieved through eight specific strategies, which included: practice-based nursing research, feedback to the staff, assessment of the agency climate, creation of an aggression-free task force, changing the mind-set about the use of seclusion and restraint, revision and standardisation of the behaviour modification program, and development of a family-focused approach. For example, the creation of an aggression-free task force emphasised a philosophy of valuing differences; resolving conflict; and the provisions of a safe environment for all patients, families and staff through teamwork and professionalism. That is, by working with nursing staff the task force helped to reduce the aggression in their work environment through the following: commitment of senior administrators to follow through on task force recommendations; improvements of staff to patient ratios; improvement of the physical environment; improved coordination regarding admissions; development of strategies to improve interdisciplinary communication; improved team problem solving; more pleasant meal times; and an agency-wide approach to behaviour management (Goren et al., 1996). The VTCC study suggests that although a lack of professionalism may be a problem that bedevils ‘the industry,’ significant progress can be made through organisational reform.

Sundram (1986) claims that institutions have chosen to give abuse problems a low priority. He recommends that: (1) eliminating abuse be placed as the highest priority for institutional administrators; (2) staff screening and staff training be treated as critical; (3) administrative and professional staff be actively present in all institutional venues; (4) staff and residents must have impressed on them the importance of reporting; (5) the code of silence be broken; (6) reporting staff and employees be protected from retribution; and (7) reporting and investigation procedures differentiate between serious and less serious complaints.

Bloom (1994) suggests furthermore that child care agencies should institute policies that explicitly prohibit sexual contact between staff and clients in institutions. Failure to report suspected or known child abuse should result in discharge and prosecution.

In summary, the prevention of violence against people with disabilities should consist of a balance of approaches and should not rely on one method to prevent this abuse and neglect. Prevention programs need to be implemented at the community, institutional and individual level. This means that the system needs the balance of advocacy programs and community development approaches (community level), programs for organisational restructuring and staff training programs (institutional level), personal risk reduction and protective behaviour education programs (individual level). Integrating these different
types of prevention programs will help ensure that the institution has the best chance at reducing and even eliminating violence within their walls.

**Conclusion: Recommendations from the Literature**

Rigorous evaluations of prevention programs are few in number. To conclude, this chapter will focus on the recommendations found in reviews and inquiries, which had a specific focus on prevention. These recommendations can be classified as community level, institutional level or program level recommendations.

**General community:**

- A positive public perception of people with disabilities should be promoted, and negative and stereotypical images of people with disabilities should be challenged (Ticoll, 1994).
- There is a need for values that encourage violence and the abuse of power to be challenged (The G. Allan Roeher Institute, 1989).

**Institutional Organisation:**

- Institutions should be less isolated from the community.
- Staff should be adequately trained.
- Clear standards for institutions should be created and made known to all members of staff.
- Adequate procedures and mechanisms for reporting and managing abuse should be created (Sobsey 1994).
- The focus should be on deinstitutionalisation or community placement for those individuals who need extra care, instead of institutionalisation (Sobsey 1994).
- The Commission of Inquiry into Child Abuse in Institutions (1999) suggested that government institutions should have adequate accountability systems in place to ensure the abuse is both prevented and appropriately dealt with.

**Prevention Programs:**

- These are all from Shaman (1986) who provides an in-depth reflection of designing and implementing sexual assault prevention programs and recommendations on the most effective strategies to use in the implementation of these programs.
- Prevention programs must emphasise the development of a positive nurturing relationship between caretakers and clients.
- They must incorporate self-protection skills for situations involving caretakers, strangers and family members.
- Self-protection skills include being taught ways (skills) of identifying and telling people about problematic behaviours.
• Programs should also emphasise that children are never at fault for being the subject of abuse and their disclosures of abuse must be believed.
• Children with disabilities should be taught self-protection education and sexual assault prevention education.

The Structure of Education Prevention Programs:

• All of these recommendation have been derived from an evaluation of education prevention programs written by the G. Allan Roeher Institute (1989). This is a comprehensive evaluation of nine prevention education programs and provides a number of important recommendations for the future. The following are a few of the more significant recommendations.
• The root causes of abuse should be addressed.
• The conventional attitudes towards people with disabilities should be challenged.
• Programs need to reflect the reality of the experience of a person with disabilities. If they live in institutions then the prevention program implemented should reflect this reality. In addition, these programs should acknowledge who the participant are. That is, the participants come from a range of age groups, have diverse skill levels, cognitive abilities, interests and needs.
• The concepts utilised in prevention programs should be kept simple. Program designers should keep in mind the attention span and range of abilities of the students that programs are aimed at.
• The prior information needed and the skills required to grasp the concepts should be geared to the level of understanding of the students involved.
• Repetition should be used to reinforce the concepts learnt.
• Programs should focus on the concrete rather than the abstract.
• Programs should use movement and attempt to keep activities active.
• Relevant role plays should be used to help participants build skills through practice.
• Programs should attempt to meet the range of thoughts, feelings, fears and experiences of individuals with mental handicaps.
• Prevention programs should focus on the empowerment of these individuals (Sobsey, 1994).
• They should encourage the involvement of the entire community, such as teachers, institutions, local professional, parents and families, so they become more aware and involved in prevention of institutional abuse (The G. Allan Roeher Institute, 1989).
• For programs to be effective they should not be an isolated, one-off occurrence. Instead, program concepts should be repeated and reinforced in all aspects of children’s lives (The G. Allan Roeher Institute, 1989).
• Program instructors should be given proper training, support and time in order for them to be confident working with the issue of abuse (The G. Allan Roeher Institute, 1989).
Bibliography


Annotated Bibliography

Note: Text in italics has been added by the reviewers, while plain text is the summary or abstract obtained from the source.


This four part training program for direct care staff who work with persons with developmental disabilities presents instructions for identifying and reporting abuse and neglect. It explains normalisation and presents a bill of rights for persons with developmental disabilities. It also discusses behaviour management and aggression control techniques (ACT). Trainer tips include advice on preparation, delivery techniques and learning theory. The first three modules provide instructions for presenting this training program, including planning notes, objectives checklists, outlines, lesson plans, handouts, visual aids, post-tests and evaluation forms. The last module, on ACT, contains an implementation plan, including a system of certification, retraining, monitoring, references, appendices re the ACT test and illustrations.

Alternatives to Fear. Self Defence for Visually Impaired Women. Seattle, WA: Alternatives to Fear, no date.


This paper describes a self-defence course for women with visual disabilities, developed by Alternatives to Fear, an organisation that teaches self-protection and rape prevention to women with visual impairments over 16 years of age. The paper examines problems encountered by women with visual disabilities and discusses teaching methods and self-defence techniques. This course is designed for women who use white canes and guide dogs and women who are legally blind or have enough vision to function without aids. According to this paper, Alternatives to Fear plans to institute region-wide or nationwide instruction for the trainers program.


This book presents guidelines for residential services for sexual abuse prevention, detection, reporting, investigation and treatment. The guidelines are based substantially on a 2 day workshop held in 1993, when about 30 participants identified basic content. Following this an editorial committee developed the draft and circulated it to workshop participants and other knowledgable individuals for refinement. This book includes an introduction to the topic, a discussion of legal issues, guidelines for interagency cooperation, risk-reduction strategies, staff hiring and training principles, guidelines for administrative responsibilities, and standards for support of victims and others who may be adversely affected.


This article investigates the reality of the social situation for people with disabilities in Australia. It reports the number of people with different types of disabilities, their age and sex, and the number who reside in each state and territory. In addition, it investigates the underlying health conditions that these individuals may suffer from and the types of assistance available to them. This report also looks at the situation for the older person and the forms of assistance available to them. Finally it looks at the types of carer and how they provide assistance.


Banks and Kayess provide an assessment of advocacy in Australia. They demonstrate the need for significant institutional change and in particular, for the entire sector to adopt common goals, values and frameworks to ensure that advocacy practices work for the rights and needs of people with disabilities. Current advocacy models are inadequate and are characterised by inflexible, bureaucratic and unaccountable practices. The authors argue that unless advocacy organisations ‘speak out for right’ through the use of shared methodologies and practices that empower people with disabilities, they will be unable to effectively challenge the social barriers that confront people.


This article explores the relationship between staff and supervision and child abuse in residential or institutional facilities. It outlines the issues related to the prevalence of institutional child abuse: for example, environmental factors, values held by the supervisor, and training and emotional needs of staff. The author acknowledges the
correlation between stressful working conditions and subsequent abuse patterns and suggests methods for arranging the conditions of the residence in order to reduce the causes of or opportunity for child abuse.


The introduction to this book provides a comprehensive summary of all the chapters that fall under the three main headings: values, legal responses or institutional responses. This supplies the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the main arguments within the book.


This paper argues that there are unique issues for women with disabilities who are abused or subjected to acts of violence. Being relegated to marginalised status by their disability and further discriminated against through their gender, these women score ‘two strikes’. One consequence of this is that they are rendered invisible in both disability and women’s movements. This invisibility of identity not only exposes women with disabilities to grave risks of physical, emotional and sexual abuse but also limits their chances of obtaining support from existing services for other victims of violence. Adopting a feminist critique of disability, this paper offers an analysis of violence committed against women with disabilities and explores some of the key issues fundamental to a societal response to such violence.


This article discusses the major issues in relation to institutional violence and people with disabilities. This includes criminal violence (eg. assault, rape, etc) as well as the ‘grey areas’ of violence such as emotional abuse, neglect and certain human service practices (eg. use of drugs, therapeutic programs, seclusion, restraint). While it is difficult to gauge the extent of the problem, several studies (Sobsey, 1991, 1994; Sullivan et al., 1987; Doucette, 1986; Crossmaker, 1991; Corin, 1984-86) suggest overall that people with disabilities face a higher risk of abuse and violence and are more likely than the general population to be abused or have been the victims of violence. Australian inquiries into the care and treatment of people with disabilities have for several years reported widespread abuse, neglect and ill-treatment (eg Ward 10B Townsville, 1991; Chelmsford Hospital, 1986; National Inquiry into the Human Rights of People with
Mental Illness, 1993; Victorian Official Visitors Annual Report, 1991). Similar inquiries in other countries report similar findings and recommendations. However, these formal inquiries have not stemmed the tide of violence against vulnerable people who live in institutional care, and research into this issue remains fragmentary. Chenoweth discusses the factors that are precursors to or influence the powerful 'cultures of violence' at the core of institutional violence. Firstly, the capacity of institutions and human service systems to dehumanise people weakens the usual constraints on abuse and violence. Secondly, organisational factors, such as absence of accountability, power imbalance, management failure, and according to Cocks (1994), an over reliance on formal methods to reduce violence highlight the inherent paradox in the nature of 'community care' and 'human services'. The power differential between staff and residents, particularly great because of residents' reliance on staff for every day needs and requirements, serves 'to reinforce compliance' and reduces the likelihood of victims speaking out or asserting their rights (Crossmaker1991). A complex collective 'cloak of silence' and cover up of violence, often over several years, is attributed to 3 factors. These include the failure by staff to acknowledge such abuse, reluctance on the part of outsiders (eg. police, community services) to follow up on complaints, preferring to see these as internal matters, and the induction of new staff into the institutional culture. The unprecedented use of drugs to control residents' behaviour, other behaviour management techniques such as aversive therapies, electric shocks, physical restraint, as well as the control of women's menstruation and fertility, become implements of institutional violence. Chenoweth concludes that violence in institutions is characterised by 'silence, invisibility, and concealment' and that the 'social construction of people with disabilities as devalued, deviant and less than human is central to the cultures of violence that surround them'.


This report discusses the Ford Inquiry's investigation into the abuse of children in institutions. This report investigates instances of reported abuse in Queensland community and correctional institutions over the past 100 years. The nature of abuse is discussed in terms of the period (past or present) in which it occurred, the institutional setting and the nature of the abuse performed. Recommendations are made throughout the report as to how practices should be modified in current institutions.


The 1998 Summary of the Lachlan report follows the Community Services Commission’s 1995 investigation into the use of exclusionary time-out (or solitary confinement). It investigates the degree to which the 1995 recommendations were implemented by the Lachlan Centre. This inquiry found that despite the efforts of staff and management at the Lachlan Centre, improving
the standard of care at this and other similar institutions has not been a priority of the Department of Community Services and has been hampered by a ‘cost neutral’ approach to service improvement. It also found that the changes made by the Lachlan Centre focused on institutional and management restructuring, and overlooked the other important area of improving the quality of life of people with disabilities.


The Community Visitors scheme is the response to the 1993 Community Services (Complaints, Appeals and Monitoring) Act. In the 1997 to 1998 period there were 35 Community Visitors who visited people in 863 eligible residential services in NSW. The aim of the community visitors is to ‘protect and advocate for the interests of children, young people and adults in residential care, including people with disabilities’ (Community Services Commission, 1998). They provide advice to the Minister and the Commissioner for Community Services on how to improve the quality of care for people in residential care. Priority is given to residents who are at greater risk. Objectives include the promotion of rights, identifying issues raised by residents, providing information to various groups, and helping to sort out complaints. They report by providing facilities with information about specific issues, identifying systemic issues for residents and referring serious issues that impact on residents to the Community Services Commission. All visitors are obligated to respect the privacy of residents, seek permission from individuals before inspecting any document belonging to them and ensure confidentiality of any information during the course of a visit (Community Services Commission, 1998).


This paper reports on an informal survey of human service providers in Boston that was conducted to uncover the depth of the problem of sexual abuse of disabled adults and children. The results indicate that estimates of the incidence of sexual abuse of the disabled could be as high as 50%. This finding resulted in a small group of health professionals petitioning the Massachusetts legislature for a law that would establish protective services for the adult disabled in abusive situations. The proposed bill would establish the Disabled Person’s Protection Commission as an independent agency with the authority to act quickly and effectively to protect disabled adults who are abused and neglected.

This article examines institutional abuse of people with developmental disabilities. It discusses the variables that contribute to victimisation: for example, personal attitudes, the dynamics of institutionalisation, and the dynamics of institutions. It describes the imbalance of power between residents and caregivers and discusses reporting and investigating instances of sexual abuse and the need for advocacy for institutionalised people with disabilities. The article offers suggestions for increasing safety for residents of institutions.


This handbook describes the Assault Prevention Training (APT) program, which targets personal safety skills development for people with developmental disabilities living in institutions or group homes. The handbook provides detailed explanations of curriculum content, including role plays and evaluation. The program specifically addresses training to prevent abuse by people in authority, such as caregivers/family carers. Strategies include teaching participants how to seek help, assert their rights, draw attention to their situation (e.g. yell) and escape. The APT program is concerned with redressing the risk factors in the socialisation of people with disabilities that contribute to their vulnerability for abuse and violence.


This book includes a wide range of information about institutional abuse and specific information on prevention. It describes APT (Assault Prevention Training), which is a systems approach to risk management. It emphasises training to reduce personal risk for victimisation, but also recognises the need for reforming institutional practices that encourage abuse.


This article reviews Canadian reports and legislation that emphasise the importance of school in the prevention and reporting of sexual abuse. The author lists the risk factors that lead to the vulnerability of children with disabilities: the dependency of children with disabilities on the abusive caregiver, the need for attention and friendship, inability to disclose or understand the nature of the abusive situation, lack of information about sexuality and abuse prevention, lack of credibility, and ease of manipulation with threats and tricks.

The aim of this research project was to assess the vacuum in the provision of services and in the practice of crime prevention in Australia. It explores the concepts of ‘developmental prevention’ and ‘early intervention’ at the theoretical level and provides a review of the literature on early intervention and developmental approaches to crime prevention. An evaluation of existing social and health services and interventions is also provided. This report concludes with (1) a policy framework for the improvement and evaluation of existing services and intervention; and (2) a framework for the development, implementation, management and evaluation of a pilot intervention that builds on or enhances existing services.


This article discusses the issue of sexual abuse of people with disabilities using an ecological model. This ecological model has four levels: a microsystem, which involves the relationship between abuser and victim; a macrosystem, the setting in which the abuse takes place; an exosystem of cultural and social beliefs, which allows the abuse to occur and continue; and a mesosystem, which describes the dynamics among the three systems. The article discusses the caregiver-victim phenomenon that can occur as a result of segregated school and residential placements. The author recommends a systematic comprehensive program at each level to ensure the safety of persons who are at risk for abuse.


This curriculum based personal safety skills and sexual abuse prevention program for people with developmental disabilities consists of a facilitators’ manual and 25 minute videotape. The target group for the program is young adults, aged 15 to 25 years with an approximate IQ range of 40-70. The curriculum is divided into 8 sections which comprehensively outline lesson plans, materials and activities. Reinforcement, small group instruction and role playing are emphasised in the program. The curriculum has been distributed widely to organisations. However no program evaluation outcomes were reported in the literature. The Red Flag Green Flag Resources, Rape and Abuse Crisis Centre that developed the program also provides

This conference paper discusses issues related to the prevention of sexual abuse in service environments catering to people with disabilities. The paper suggests that three areas that require greater attention are support for ‘whistle blowers’, better monitoring systems, and additional research into effective prevention measures.


The author reviewed the literature published since 1972 concerning restraint and seclusion. Contents of articles were synthesised using the categories of indications and contraindications; rates of seclusion and restraint as well as demographic, clinical and environmental factors that affect these rates; effects on patients and staff; implementation and training. The literature on restraint and seclusion supports the following: (1) Seclusion and restraint are basically efficacious in preventing injury and reducing agitation. (2) It is nearly impossible to operate a program for severely symptomatic individuals without some form of seclusion or physical or mechanical restraint. (3) Restraint and seclusion have deleterious physical and psychological effects on patients and staff, and the psychiatric consumer/survivor movement have emphasised these effects. (4) Demographic and clinical factors have limited influence on rates of restraint and seclusion. (5) Local non-clinical factors, such as cultural biases, staff role perceptions and the attitudes of the hospital administration, have a greater influence on rates of restraint and seclusion. (6) Training of prediction and prevention of violence, in self-defence, and in implementation of restraint and/or seclusion is valuable in reducing rates of untoward effects. (7) Studies comparing well-defined programs have potential usefulness.


This book presents an evaluation of nine prevention education programs implemented to help prevent the vulnerability of people with disabilities to sexual abuse. The goal of the project is to identify appropriate components for a prevention program to ensure that people with mental
disabilities are served from the perspective of prevention and when they have been victims of abuse. The projects evaluated include: Circles II: Stop Abuse (1986); A Sexual Abuse Prevention Program for the Developmentally Disabled (1986) The Woodrow Project; Preventing Sexual Abuse of Persons with Disabilities (1983); Sexual Abuse Prevention: Five Safety Rules (1987); No-Go-Tell (1986); Developmental Disabilities Project: Seattle Rape Relief (1979); Feeling Yes/Feeling No (1986); The Care Kit (1984); and Child Abuse Prevention Kit (1984). The authors observed each program, gave a description of how it operated, and provided an evaluation of its effectiveness. The evaluation criteria of the programs’ organisation are as follows: addressing values and the root causes of abuse; accuracy; appropriate language and concepts; presenting a balance of positive and negative messages, and exploration of the Touch Continuum; empowerment; and reduction of individual isolation, encouragement of community awareness and participation. The evaluation concludes that none of the nine programs are appropriate to adopt fully as they are, but certain characteristics of individual programs and additional recommendations can be integrated to create more effective prevention education programs. The authors recommend the following: prevention needs to address the root causes of abuse; need to challenge the social values that encourage violence and the attitudes towards people with disabilities; autonomous decision making for people at all levels of ability; programs should reflect the social reality of abuse (types of offenders, types of victims and types of settings and environments); programs should use examples and approaches that show people with disabilities that they belong to integrated environments; the language, concepts, images and other materials used by programs should be conceptually accessible to the given target audience; prevention concepts should be delivered at the range of abilities and ages within a given target population and not be too rigid; programs should explore a range of positive, negative and confusing touch; there is a need for programs that reflect the real range of thoughts, feelings, fears and experiences of people with intellectual disabilities; programs should not teach condescending and prohibitory images about sexuality to people with disabilities; teach strategies to help children deal with resistance and non-action by adults upon disclosure of abuse; programs should recognise that it is not always easy for people with disabilities to say no, get away and tell someone about their abuse; prevention skills need to be taught to children individually; programs are needed that promote community awareness and involvement; the responsibility of prevention must not be placed on the child; the prevention program should not be an isolated, single experience; instructors should be given the proper training, support, and time to become confident with working with issues of abuse; need to provide full integrated programs to disabled and non-disabled persons.


The use of restraint and seclusion can be markedly reduced in children’s psychiatric hospitals without increasing medication use. Staff at the Virginia Treatment Centre for Children, a 50 place public child psychiatric hospital, believed restraint and seclusion for aggressive patients to
be both necessary and effective. The research literature says otherwise. A task force implemented change through education improving intrastaff communication, persuasion, policy revision and engaging patients’ families in care. Now restraint is almost never used and the seclusion rate is halved while medication use is also down. This experience in reducing aggression within the hospital validates theory that suggests that violence within institutions is context-based, involving patients, staff and the institutional climate. The authors believe that the outcomes support the proposition that the use of coercion is determined more by traditions in practice and the mind-set of the staff than by clinical necessity, and that its use can be significantly reduced by organisation interventions.


The values underlying the delivery of services to people with disabilities have changed so that such people are now to be treated as full citizens with concomitant rights. This book deals with the nature of the change and its legal and institutional ramifications. It is argued that there are no simple solutions to the achievement of rights and citizenship for people with disabilities. Rather, meaningful reform must embrace three areas: the values underlying the provision of services for people with disabilities, legal responses and institutional responses. The contributors in the following pages explore particular aspects of these areas while acknowledging the need for simultaneous change in all three.


Strategies that may be utilised to prevent the abuse of people with disabilities in institutions are investigated within this chapter. Firstly, this chapter looks at the ‘depth and breadth’ of violence and abuse that is experienced by people with disabilities in the general community and within institutions. The author argues that the main impediments to institutional reforms are as follows: the reliance on bureaucratic solutions; the decriminalisation of instances of abuse and neglect within the criminal justice system; the level of unreported instances of crime; the insufficiency of relying on the legislative protection of rights; working with limited knowledge bases to deal with institutional culture and practice and the reduction of crime; and the standard reactionary rather than preventative approach to abuse and neglect. The third step incorporates a discussion of general crime-prevention theories and strategies that may be used in the prevention of institutional abuse. Theories discussed are developmental prevention, community-based prevention, situational crime prevention and the criminal justice response to crime prevention. Finally, the author speculates on the effectiveness of these prevention approaches in the reduction of institutional abuse. Hauritz argues that features that may play a strong part in crime reduction in institutional settings include: qualitative and quantitative research into the
patterns of crime within institutions (covert and overt); a trial solution which has multiple strategies; task groups to address specific areas; and intersectoral collaboration across government departments and the disability sector.


This chapter illustrates the limitations of the law in providing justice for individuals with disabilities. This Act is complaint driven and overlooks the fact that many people with disabilities are unaware of their rights under the Act. In addition the authors argue that individuals with disabilities may be unable or unwilling to enforce their rights because they may be dependent on the person mistreating them for all or some of their everyday needs. It is argued that the anti-discrimination law cannot change negative attitudes towards people with disabilities. Instead Jones and Marks argue that a more effective solution to discriminatory behaviour may be the use of other laws to uphold rights, making a formal complaint, or lodging an appeal to the institution’s code of conduct.


Significant differences in the incidence and distribution of violent behaviour in mental hospital wards exist even when the diagnoses and other characteristics of patients are essentially the same. In an effort to compare the structure and predictability provided by organisational and interpersonal processes in violent and peaceful wards, the senior author spent 38 months in participant-observation and interviewing on six wards in three state mental hospitals. Patterns emerged in ward social organisation and staff behaviour that were associated with varying levels of violence. These patterns reinforced previous observation that violence is a symptom of disorder not only in the biological and psychological field but also in the socio-cultural field. Violence was more frequent and more extreme in wards in which staff functions were unclear, and in which events such as activities, meetings or staff-patient encounters were unpredictable. Violence was less frequent and less extreme in wards characterised by strong psychiatric leadership, clearly structured staff roles, and events that were standardised and predictable. Ward social organisation characterised by standardised, repeated, predictable behavioural and procedural rituals provided stability and autonomy that supported efforts to develop a therapeutic milieu.

This web page gives information about the incidence and frequency of disabled people being physically, sexually, mentally and emotionally abused. Risk factors that contribute to the vulnerability of children with disabilities are as follows: they are less able to defend themselves physically; they are less able to articulate the fact of abuse; they are unable to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate physical contact, whether it be violent or sexual; they are more dependent on others for assistance or care and, therefore, more trusting, since dependency and trust often translate into compliance and passivity; they are reluctant to report instances of abuse for fear of losing vital linkage to major care providers; and they are considered less credible than the non-disabled child, when and if they report abuse (Parent Advocacy Coalition for Educational Rights 1986: 16). The author argues that a uniform data collection system is needed to aid the child protection system in its ability to accurately estimate the national incidence of abuse among children with disabilities. The strategies suggested to help reduce the risk are cited from Zantal-Wiener (#446) and include: reliable, nationwide data on abused disabled children is needed; proactive education of all children with disabilities; initiatives should include specific language that considers the disproportionate susceptibility of these children; training of personnel who work with these children should include knowledge about disabilities, skills to identify abuse, reporting requirements and the state laws concerning child abuse; and education, welfare, medicine and the protective service agencies need to establish an interactive network that assures the identification, assistance, and monitoring of these children.


This paper discusses the development of a personal safety prevention program for children with severe learning difficulties. Concepts such as the child’s understanding about authority figures and moral development have been integrated in the program, which utilises multi-media technology. This is essentially a computer-based program. This medium is used because the designers thought that it is the most easily accessible, it is capable of making concrete examples of abuse and neglect, and it does not rely on the creative and verbal capabilities of participants.


This paper discusses the Sexual Education program introduced in a special needs school in Buenos Aires. It involved thirteen parents and eight pupils between 12 and 15 years. It is based on the assumption that parents of children with special needs should be aware of issues concerning sexuality. Thus, the staff first worked with parents, with the aim of providing them
with a common vocabulary and insight into healthy and private sexual behaviours. Parents were required to reflect on their own sexuality to help them gain an understanding of the sexuality of young children and adolescents. The main focus of this program was on teaching both children and their parents issues concerning sexuality. Methods used within workshops included group discussions, printed materials, videos and articles. The workshops helped parents not only understand their children’s sexuality but also challenged their perceptions that their children should not be sexual. The outcome of workshops for children included the greater understanding of their sexuality.


The author evaluated characteristics of patients whom clinicians accurately assessed as being at high or low risk of violence and patients for whom clinicians overestimated or underestimated the risk. At admission, physicians estimated the probability that each of 226 psychiatric inpatients would physically attack someone during the first week of hospitalisation. Nurses rated assaultive behaviour in the hospital with the Overt Aggression Scale. Acute symptoms were rated with the Brief Psychiatric Rating Scale. For the group as a whole, assessed levels of risk were substantially related to later physical aggression (sensitivity=67%, specificity=69%). Multinomial logit analysis showed that patients with psychotic disorders such as schizophrenia, organic psychotic conditions and mania were more likely to be accurately assessed by clinicians as being at high risk (true positives) than to be true negatives or false positives. A recent history of violence was associated with higher estimated risk but did not distinguish true positives from false positives. An admission mental status characterised by low levels of hostility, unco-operativeness and suspiciousness and high levels of depression, guilt, and anxiety differentiated true negative patients from others, but symptom profiles did not differ among true positives, false positives, and false negatives. Clinical judgements emphasising gender and race/ethnicity were associated with predictive errors: non-white and male patients tended to be false positives. While clinicians can accurately classify the potential for violence in the majority of patients at admission, systematic errors characterise inaccurate assessments of the risk. Awareness of these patterns may help improve assessment of the risk of violence in clinical practice.


The authors examined associations between patient-related characteristics and
assaultiveness on six different psychiatric wards to determine (1) the relative contributions of demographic, disorder-related and diagnostic variables to prediction of assaultiveness and (2) how ward composition and type of victim affect prediction of assaultiveness. Hospital records of 1205 inpatients residing in psychiatric wards within a 6 month time frame were reviewed for evidence of assaultiveness. Data on all 260 assaultive patients and a sample of 136 of the non-assaultive patients were analysed with multiple regression to predict assaultiveness scores for each ward and each victim category. The findings indicated high rates of assaultive patients and assaults on fellow patients. Multiple regression results produced different predictors of assaultiveness for different wards but not for different categories of assault victim within each ward. Overall, age and sex consistently failed to predict assaultiveness, whereas greater assaultiveness was significantly associated with a greater proportion of time hospitalised since first admission. The most powerful unique predictors of assaultiveness scores were diagnostic distinctions derived from data on coexistent diagnoses. The most assaults were by acute patients whose diagnoses excluded organic mental disorder but included either bipolar disorder or personality disorder and longer-stay patients whose exclusive diagnosis was organic mental disorder. This identification, albeit modest, of risk factors for assaultiveness on different wards nevertheless provides information fundamental to the management policies of psychiatric institutions. The findings caution against aggregating different ward populations for research on assaultiveness and endorse the usefulness of coexistent diagnoses for predicting assaultiveness.


This article reviews the literature pertaining to institutional child abuse. It suggests that the maintenance of abuse may be related to lack of an operational definition of abuse, which leads to severe under-reporting. The authors state that abuse may operate on three levels: overt direct care abuse, program abuse and system abuse. They claim that staff morale, working conditions and proximity of children to society should be considered contributing factors to institutional abuse. The authors include recommendations for investigating institutional maltreatment.


This article describes a study that examined executive directors’ perceptions of factors that are most important in the prevention of institutional child abuse and maltreatment. Using information from recent literature, the author developed a survey that targeted 107 agencies in the New York state area. The findings of this survey indicate the following: staff supervision was
deemed most important in the prevention of child abuse, followed by professionalism in child care, organisational issues, staff recruitment, treatment services, staff retention and environmental issues. Executive directors also indicated that the use of a team approach and the inclusion of families were effective protectors against abuse. The author notes that low salaries were consistently cited as an obstacle for adequate staffing and subsequent quality of care.


This chapter describes a survey conducted to investigate the attitudes of direct care workers about the use of physical force with children in institutions. One hundred direct care workers were selected from 42 living units representing small public, small private, large public and large private institutions. There were 25 care workers surveyed in each of the four categories. A five part self administered questionnaire, which featured role playing techniques, was completed by each participant. The results of the survey indicate that willingness to use force was associated with several factors: the degree of resentment towards children, management of routines within the organisation, degree of participation in decision making, size of the community in which the caregiver was raised, and the age of the caregiver.


This article discusses a study conducted to identify factors that characterise residential care workers who would willingly report cases of abuse or maltreatment and those workers who would not report these types of cases. This study gathered information from 598 individuals working in 24-hour residential care facilities. Sixty-two facilities in 33 counties in five states were involved in the study. It used a factorial survey approach, incorporating two vignettes illustrating hypothetical situations, and it analysed seven variables using a hierarchical regression model. The results of this study indicate that staff were more willing to report cases of sexual and physical abuse and more reluctant to report cases involving restraint or control, moral behaviour of the staff, and cases of neglect. The authors note that the position of the staff perpetrator, support for reporting incidences of abuse, and assessment of the severity of the incident were less important factors influencing a staff member’s willingness to report.

This review found that there was a large disparity between the objectives of the Disability Services Act 1986 (Cth) and the way in which this legislation was administered. The main focus of this legislation was not on the implementation of legal, social justice and human rights policies for people with disabilities but on the funding mechanisms for service providers. As such, its effect on providing equal opportunities to people with disabilities to services is severely limited. Rose argues that there is a ‘need for new Commonwealth legislation based upon broad definitions of both disability and need and the principles of accountability, fair and equal treatment in the provision of services and co-ordinated planning at all levels of government’ (p. xix). The assumption of the current legislation that it is all right for the government and service providers to determine the ‘best interests’ of people with disabilities is no longer acceptable. They conclude by stating that legislation is needed that emphasises human rights, self-determination and the exercise of choice.


This paper summarises the emergence and role of the national system of protection and advocacy (P and A) programs for people with mental illness, developmental disabilities and other disabilities, and discusses the role nurses can play in aiding the effectiveness of protection and advocacy programs. These programs investigate allegations of abuse and neglect and pursue legal, administrative and other appropriate remedies to protect the rights of individuals with disabilities. Schauer (1995) argues that nurses have a critical role in advocating and protecting rights of consumers with psychiatric disabilities and identifying and reporting incidents of abuse and neglect. Nurses can play an important role in the following: the development of policies and procedures impacting on the standard of care received by patients; identify and bring instances of abuse and neglect to the attention of P and A organisations; providing residents with private access to P and As, through the provision of the telephone number for such agencies next to the public phone, and providing residents with access to long distance calls; and they can affect the level of medication administered in institutions, ensuring that the amounts administered are both necessary and correct. Unfortunately, the reporting of instances of abuse by nursing staff may be inhibited by employer retaliations such as suspensions, unfavourable assignments, intimidation and ostracism. The importance of these roles can be emphasised through the education of nursing staff.


This chapter describes the resources, services and staff training activities that were provided by the Disabilities Project of the Seattle Rape Crisis Centre. It also makes recommendations relevant to prevention programs and includes some data (eg. compared to the 65% to 85% of victims without disabilities, people with disabilities that experience sexual assault know the offender in 99% of cases). It discusses problems with over emphasis on teaching children to obey authority, isolation and the myth of the asexuality of people with disabilities, and there is a brief description of training programs. The author stresses the importance of clarifying the values and perceptions of those who will provide sex education, the necessity of a team approach, the recognition and accommodation of differences across individuals and cultures, and the cooperation and coordination of parents.


The abuse of children residing in institutions and residential care centres and its causes are discussed in the article. It examines various types of abuse and their effects on treatment: for example, misdiagnosis, lack of treatment, medication and frequent transferrals. The article claims that abuse stems from human, bureaucratic and fiscal problems. It discusses the following problems: (1) organisational roadblocks to proper treatment (eg. poor staff-administration relations, little accountability in large institutions, lack of cooperation between departments, policies that require specialised staff, heavy paperwork duties for therapists), (2) incompetent staff, (3) staff turnover, (4) a remote location that isolates children from parents, (5) inappropriate placement of children as a stopgap measure, (6) the use of medication as a form of social control, (7) premature discharge, and (8) inadequate follow-up. The author considers inadequate follow-up a form of abuse.


This chapter considers the paucity of research to date on the problem of sexual neglect and sexual abuse in institutions for children and youth. Sexual neglect is defined as the failure to provide appropriate role models, adequate sex education, or opportunities for appropriate sexual expression. Sexual neglect heightens the vulnerability of children and youth with disabilities and is both directly harmful as well as a contributing factor to the risk of sexual abuse.

This paper provides an evaluation of a Self-Protection Group for seven people with learning disabilities residing in a residential group home. These seven participants were referred for skills training by the home manager and they had been the victims of verbal, physical and emotional abuse by a previous staff member over the past year. The purpose of this study was to teach a group of clients to respond appropriately and assertively in situations of verbal, physical and sexual abuse, and to evaluate the impact of this kind of intervention on clients’ behaviour. Singer argues that children with disabilities are vulnerable and subject to verbal, sexual and physical abuse because of their lack of sexual knowledge about relationships based on mutual respect and understanding, limited communication, low self-esteem, dependence on others for meeting their most personal needs, and the presence of multiple care giving in institutions. Training was provided for both participants and staff. Group work is the main method used to prevent verbal, physical and sexual abuse through teaching participants the social behaviours that provide social skills and increase feelings of value and decrease feelings of powerlessness. The main focus of group sessions was on developing participants’ body awareness, teaching them the difference between good and bad touches, demonstration and participation in role-plays exemplifying inappropriate behaviour and application of skills through role playing with strangers. Effectiveness of group sessions was evaluated using both observation and rating scales. The main outcome of this group work was that clients responded in a more assertive manner in the role plays of situations involving verbal, physical and sexual abuse.


This annotated bibliography brings together literature from a wide range of disciplines and perspectives relevant to sexual abuse, sexual assault and exploitation of persons with disabilities. This authoritative bibliography includes a vast array of research studies, position papers, program descriptions, clinical reports and media accounts relating to sex education; sexual abuse, sexual assault, and exploitation; physical and psychological abuse; and developmental disabilities. The entries, more than 1,100, are listed in alphabetical order and are cross-referenced by subject and author.


This book focuses on the abuse of people with disabilities and looks at the nature of this abuse, why it occurs, and provides suggestions for how to prevent it. A thorough investigation into and a comprehensive description of abuse, violence, neglect and disability are provided. Individual areas of institutional abuse, sexual abuse and assault,
and abuse by caregivers are also described in much detail. The ecological model is put forward to explore some of the myriad explanations for why people with disabilities are more likely to be victimised. This model claims that much of the vulnerability attributed to and experienced by people with disabilities appears to be a socially constructed phenomenon. Thus, only a model grounded in social and cultural ecology can be expected to control that vulnerability. The second half of the book looks at the variety of approaches available to assist in the prevention of abuse of people with disabilities. Prevention approaches include the empowerment of individuals to resist abuse, the provision of family and caregiver support, methods of caregiver selection, building safer environments, law and law enforcement approaches, and changing attitudes that disinhibit violence. An additional area discussed by this book is the treatment approaches available to assist in the healing of the consequences of abuse.


This article describes a community-institutional development (CID) system aimed at primary prevention of child maltreatment in institutions. The system emphasises collaboration between the institution and the community. The CID team includes 20 to 30 people, half of whom are lay volunteers, and half of whom represent various disciplines related to the rights and care of residents in institutions. The team works with the institution to improve child treatment and performs periodic reviews assessing conditions contributing to institutional and societal maltreatment.


This article describes a treatment program for sexually abused children and youth with disabilities, operated by the Centre for Abused Handicapped Children at the Boys Town National Research Hospital, Omaha. The program, Therapeutic Education for Abused Children with Handicaps (TEACH), provides an individualised, structured psychotherapeutic program for children/youth with a range of disabilities, and may also include their non-offending parents and siblings in the program. The program uses a range of therapeutic modalities including cognitive-behavioural psychotherapy, art and play therapies, behavioural desensitisation techniques, communication training and gentle teaching.

This paper investigates the association between child maltreatment and disabilities in hospital-based institutions. A sample population of children both with and without records of maltreatment was used. Common disabilities were identified as behaviour disorders, speech/language disabilities, learning disabilities, mental retardation, and hearing impairments, with the most prevalent form of abuse being neglect, followed by physical and sexual abuse. The main finding was that the incidence of maltreatment among children with disabilities was estimated to be 1.7 times greater than the incidence in children without disabilities. This finding does not indicate whether disability increases the risk of maltreatment or whether maltreatment contributes to disability. Thus, the finding is consistent with the both the hypothesis that disabilities increase risk for maltreatment and the hypothesis that maltreatment contributes to disabilities.


This paper addresses the scope, nature and incidence of sexual abuse of deaf children and the behavioural and emotional characteristics of sexually abused children and adolescents. Physical indicators of sexual abuse include itching or scratching of genitals and apparent pain in sitting or walking. Behavioural or emotional indicators of sexual abuse include direct reports, seductive behaviour, low self-esteem and clinging behaviour. This paper also addresses issues pertaining to the prevention, intervention and reporting of abuse. Interview in interventions should be arranged in a setting that respects the individual’s privacy. A number of specific resources are described that can be contacted for assistance, consultation or diagnostic treatment services for suspected or identified victims of child sexual abuse.


This article examines the problems that hinder the reporting, investigation, and prevention of patient abuse in public facilities. It claims that reporting of minor abusive conduct is influenced by working conditions and that the reporting of major abusive conduct is influenced by powerful factors in the administrative and disciplinary structures of state institutions. The author suggests measures designed to decrease the incidence of abuse and to ensure the reporting of any such incidences. See Sundram (1986) for a fuller discussion of these measures.

Although United States law requires an advocacy system and prosecutor in every state, this article suggests that advocacy systems must be independent of all service providers. It claims that institutions have chosen to neglect abuse problems, and abuse problems have not been high priorities for institutional administrations. Consequently, the author offers several recommendations: (1) eliminating abuse must be placed as the highest priority for institutional administrations, (2) staff screening and staff training are critical, (3) administrative and professional staff must be actively present in all institutional venues, (4) staff and residents must be impressed with the importance of reporting, (5) the code of silence must be broken, (6) reporting staff and employees must be protected from retribution, and (7) reporting and investigation procedures must differentiate between serious and less serious complaints.