Original Article

A recent history of Australian crime prevention

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Abstract   Australia has three tiers of government – Federal, State (or Territory), and Local. A document study of crime prevention arrangements in Australia was undertaken to take stock of some recent crime prevention developments within these three tiers of government. This review revealed that in recent years State and Territory crime prevention bureaux have been folded into policing agencies in some jurisdictions (Western Australia and South Australia), while in others they have had a resurgence (Victoria). All States and Territories have embraced crime prevention through environmental design ('CPTED') in some form, mostly through the development of specific planning guidelines. All Australian capital city councils (local government) actively pursue crime prevention, with diverse situational and social initiatives routinely operating in these locations. Together, these findings suggest that commitment to crime prevention remains strong among Australian capital city governments, while State and Territory crime prevention bureaux have suffered mixed fates in recent years.

Introduction

Australia has three levels of government – a single Federal government; six State (Tasmania, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia) and two Territory (Northern Territory, Australian Capital Territory) governments,
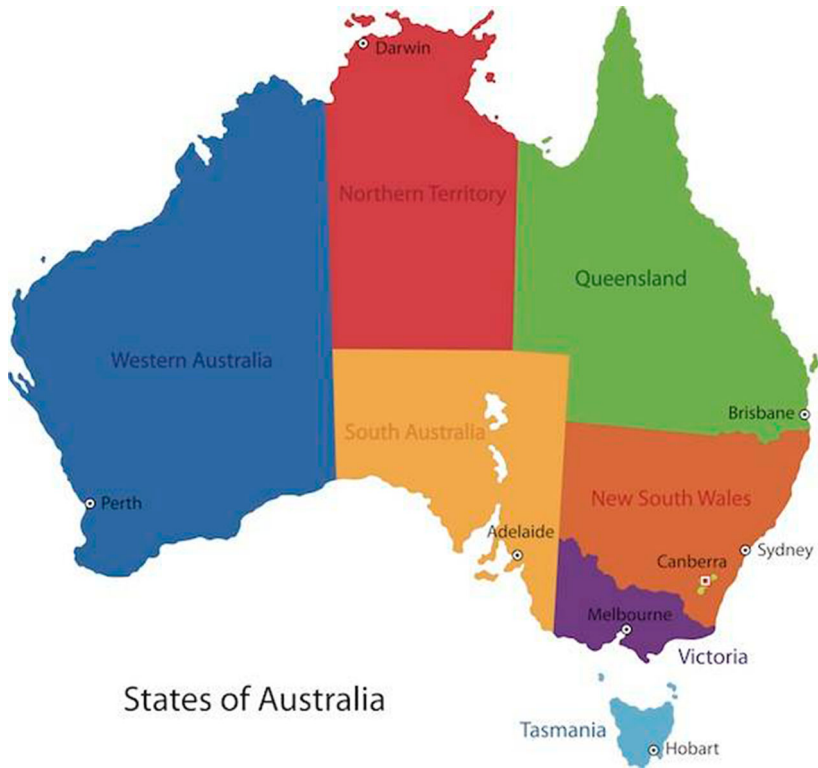
Figure 1:   Australian States and Territories.
Source: http://pyxplot.org.uk/examples/05ap/01map/index.html.

and approximately 560 Local government bodies (including one for each State and Territory capital city). Figure 1 depicts the State and Territory government regions and the associated capital cities.

Similar to other jurisdictions, each tier of government in Australia assumes some responsibility for crime prevention (see Weatherburn, 2004). Quantifying the collective crime prevention activity of all tiers of government across the country is a task of considerable complexity, especially given the debates regarding the definition of the term 'crime prevention' and what can rightly be considered to be 'crime prevention' (see Brantingham and Faust, 1976; O'Malley and Sutton, 1997; Homel, 2007). Consequently, much previous research has tended to focus on the crime prevention activities operating in a single jurisdiction or managed by a single tier of government. For example, the Australian Institute of Criminology ('AIC') has evaluated numerous State-based crime prevention policies and approaches. As part of these AIC reviews, Anderson and Homel (2005) reviewed the New South Wales local crime prevention planning process; Anderson and Tresidder (2008) reviewed the Western Australian community safety and crime prevention partnership planning process; and Hulme and Homel

(2015) evaluated the Victorian Community Crime Prevention Program. Further to these AIC reviews and evaluations, there have been a number of recent State Parliamentary Inquiries into crime prevention, such as the Victorian Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee's (2012) inquiry into locally based approaches to community safety and crime prevention, and the Queensland Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee's (2014) inquiry into strategies to prevent and reduce criminal activity in Queensland. These important and comprehensive reviews have been augmented by legislative reviews (see Masters *et al*, 2001) and analyses of the local governance arrangements associated with a state-based policy (see Cherney, 2004a; 2004b).

Although these evaluations and reviews have yielded important insights into how (predominantly State and Territory) governments have adopted and implemented crime prevention strategies, the focus on single jurisdictions speaks little to crime prevention policy trends and practices across Australia. To address this gap in the extant crime prevention literature, a comprehensive document study (Sarantakos, 2013) was undertaken to (1) identify the status of central government crime prevention bureaux operating in each of the six Australian States and two Territories, (2) identify the existence of crime prevention through environmental design guidelines ('CPTED') in each State and Territory, and (3) identify the crime prevention activities of capital city governments around Australia.

While the findings of this review highlight some important trends across Australia and reveal the diversity of approaches to the governance of crime prevention, it is acknowledged that there are limitations to what can be known from publicly available information and therefore what is included here. The plethora of policy areas impacting on the prevention of crime at the Federal level have not been interrogated as part of this review. At the State and Territory level, the absence of a policy or a centralised crime prevention agency does not infer that there is no crime prevention activity in a particular jurisdiction. Conversely, the mere existence of a policy does not infer effective implementation or positive outcomes. At the local government level, it was not possible to review the crime prevention efforts of more than 560 local governments across the country – capital city councils were selected for analysis. Moreover, more detailed and intricate understanding of policies and practices in each jurisdiction would be garnered from fieldwork and qualitative research methods, which were beyond the resources of this current project. As such, this article primarily aims to identify broader policy trends regarding crime prevention across each Australian State and Territory and their capital cities.

State and Territory Crime Prevention Bureaux

As Cameron and Laycock (2002, p. 314) observed: 'From the late 1980s, several Australian states began to take an interest in the potential of crime

prevention as an official public policy response to the growing crime problem, and began looking for ways to develop such an approach'. It has now been over 25 years since Australian State and Territory governments, led by South Australia and Victoria, began looking to crime prevention as a prominent strategy to reduce crime rates (Cherney and Sutton, 2007). Over this 25-year period, each Australian State and Territory developed separate crime prevention agencies and strategies. In line with the first aim of this paper, this section charts the development of State and Territory government crime prevention bureaux and how they have changed over this period.

In Victoria, there has been a succession of initiatives: the 'Good Neighbourhood' program commenced in 1988, followed by the 'Safer Communities Pilot Programme' in 1991, and the 'Safer Cities and Shires' program in 1997 (Sutton and Cherney, 2002). The Victorian Crime Prevention Unit was established in 2000 and operated until 2007, when it was downgraded from a Division to a business unit within the Victorian Department of Justice (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2012). An inaugural Minister for Crime Prevention was appointed (which has since been replaced by a Minister for the Prevention of Family Violence) and a Ministry for Crime Prevention was established in 2010. Since then, there have been two Parliamentary Inquiries into crime prevention (2012, 2013), a Community Crime Prevention Unit has been established and a Community Crime Prevention Framework published (Hulme and Homel, 2015). More recently, there has been a significant commitment of funding (AUD$572 million) to address the recommendations from the Royal Commission into Family Violence (Andrews, 2016). Based on these observations, it appears that the 'cyclical progress of crime prevention' in Victoria (Sutton and Cherney, 2002) continues.

In South Australia, the 'Together against Crime' strategy was launched in 1989, along with a targeted Crime Prevention Unit (Sutton, 1997; Sutton *et al*, 2008). These programs, in one form or another, lasted until 2007, when the South Australian Crime Prevention Unit was closed (Paterson, 2007). At the time of writing this article, there was no centralised government agency for crime prevention in South Australia; the general responsibility for crime prevention is shared between the South Australian Attorney-General's Office (which continues to provide Crime Prevention and Community Safety Grants) and the South Australian Police.

In New South Wales, the Juvenile Crime Prevention Division was established in 1995 and was established within the New South Wales Attorney-General's Department (Homel, 2005). This became the Crime Prevention Division in 1996, which has operated in one form or another until it was recently incorporated into the establishment of Crime Prevention Programs in the New South Wales Department of Justice. This unit is focused on developing evidence-based policies and programs to prevent crime (New

South Wales Department of Justice, 2016) and remains the primary crime prevention agency in New South Wales.

Queensland and Western Australia have seen central crime prevention units moved into policing agencies. The Queensland Crime Prevention Partnerships in 1998 were superseded in 1999 when the 'Queensland Crime Prevention Strategy – Building Safer Communities' was launched (Friedman, 2001). Originally managed by the Crime Prevention Unit within the Community Engagement Division of the Department of Premier and Cabinet, the functions of this unit have now been folded into the Queensland Police Service (Queensland Police, 2016). Similarly, the Western Australian Office of Crime Prevention that originally developed the 'Western Australian Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy' in 2004 has since become part of the Western Australia Police Service (Legal Affairs and Community Safety Committee, 2014). Both the Western Australian and Queensland police-led crime prevention programs have listed their primary strategies as supporting frontline police to identify and prevent the causes of crime by working closely with the community (Western Australia Police, 2016; Queensland Police, 2016).

The Australian Capital Territory is an unusual jurisdiction due to its small size (2,358 km^2) and relationship with the Federal Government which is seated within this Territory (see Figure 1). Previously, crime prevention initiatives, such as the Property Crime Reduction Strategy 2012–2015 (Australian Capital Territory Government, 2012), were instigated under the banner of the Australian Capital Territory Department of Justice and Community Safety Directorate (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2016). In more recent years, crime prevention in the Australian Capital Territory has also moved to become police centric, with the Australian Capital Territory Policing Crime Prevention Team taking over as a centralised agency housed within the Australian Federal Police Force (Australian Federal Police, 2016).

No stand-alone crime prevention bureaux currently exist in the Northern Territory and Tasmania. In the Northern Territory, the Office of Crime Prevention was previously housed within the Department of Attorney-General and Justice (Australian Institute of Criminology, 2016). All that remains within the Attorney-General and Justice Department is the Department of Correctional Services (Northern Territory Department of the Attorney-General and Justice, 2016). Similarly, Tasmania's broad, developmental approach to crime prevention in the 1990s (Brown and Polk, 1996) no longer appears to have central government support. The previously established Tasmanian Crime Prevention and Community Safety Council, which received funding from the Tasmanian Government in 2003 to employ Community Safety Project Officers (Heath, no date), also now appears to be defunct.

It is evident from this review that crime prevention in Australia, at least at the State and Territory level, continues to be a 'stop-and-start affair' (Homel, 2005, p. 36). The launch, demise, and possible relaunch (in some jurisdictions)

of crime prevention agencies and policies has been a recurring pattern. Overall, crime prevention bureaux in Australian States and Territories have exhibited a general decline as stand-alone central government agencies across Australia in recent years.

This is despite the introduction of a National Crime Prevention Framework in 2012. The AIC prepared the National Crime Prevention Framework ('the Framework') on behalf of the Australian and New Zealand Crime Prevention Senior Officers' Group. 'The Framework' outlines, among other things, principles of good crime prevention practice. These principles of good practice, reflecting dimensions common in much crime prevention planning literature (see Gilling, 2005; Ekblom, 2011), include reference to leadership, collaboration, use of research and evaluation, a focus on outcomes, capacity, community engagement, long-term commitment, and coordination across sectors and agencies (AIC, 2012, pp. 4–5). The impact of this Framework since its introduction is difficult to assess, but the decline in some central State and Territory government crime prevention bureaux might suggest that its impact has been minimal.

The picture of State and Territory responses to crime prevention has further been complicated by numerous (almost perpetual in some cases) State and Territory agency restructures and the renaming and realignment of crime prevention bureaux. These agencies, where they continue to exist, have been shuffled between various ministerial portfolios and government departments. Increasingly, this has meant placing former central government crime prevention agencies in policing agencies. This is most clearly demonstrated by the changes in Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia, and to a lesser extent, Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory. This movement to 'fold' crime prevention agencies into policing agencies presents a potential problem, as it may narrow the approach to crime prevention.

Weatherburn (2004) previously suggested where stand-alone crime prevention agencies might be best located. He noted:

> The key responsibility of a crime prevention agency in government should be to oversee the development and implementation of crime prevention policies and programs in other government agencies, rather than to administer those policies and programs itself. At State level, the proper location for such a function is in the office of a Premier or the Chief Minister, rather than in the office of the Attorney General or Minister for Police (2004, p. 211).

Recent developments across Australian States and Territories largely go against Weatherburn's recommendation. While the consequences of this broad movement are not yet known, it would appear to mark a shift in thinking about the administration of crime prevention in Australia – one that places greater power with policing agencies.

State and Territory Crime Prevention through Environmental Design Guidelines

Another prominent policy feature of Australian crime prevention has been the creation of CPTED guidelines. Indeed, all Australian State and Territory governments have developed publicly available CPTED guidelines. While the nature of these guidelines varies, as would be expected in a federal planning context (see Williams, 2007), the production of design guidelines overtly addressing CPTED exhibits the prominent role played by this approach to preventing crime in Australia.

Table 1 below provides a brief summary of some of the key features of the CPTED design guidelines from each Australian State and Territory.

It is clear from Table 1 that these guidelines vary in size, ranging from 8 to 80 pages. This variation reflects the depth of information contained within these documents. Table 1 also demonstrates that these documents were published by individual jurisdictions at different times over the last 16 years and are the responsibility of government agencies with an array of titles (though largely responsible for planning), and that five of the eight jurisdictions have produced a supplementary guideline to augment their original guidelines.

Each of the State and Territory CPTED guidelines is nestled within the relevant planning regime. Many of the guidelines provide detailed design advice on how CPTED can be integrated into various developments (e.g., Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia), while others simply list a series of general considerations that should be included in the design process (e.g., New South Wales). The majority of the guidelines carry no statutory obligations, but rather seek to encourage safer design through the examples provided of different designs. The NSW guidelines have some statutory basis, through the identification of trigger conditions for when a crime risk assessment might be required for a particular development. However, previous examination of these guidelines has identified that this is a somewhat blunt instrument (see Clancey et al, 2012). In this lack of enforceability, Australia is similar to European countries and the United States (Stummvoll, 2012).

To date, there has been little analysis of the impact or effectiveness of these CPTED design guidelines (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2013) and no attempt to conduct any form of comparative analysis between these different approaches. Individual analyses of crime risk assessment reports in NSW have highlighted limitations in the NSW guidelines (see Clancey et al, 2012), including the absence of diagrams and pictures to demonstrate design suggestions (in contrast to all other Australian CPTED design guidelines); broad definitions of CPTED concepts, which make it very difficult to assess the legitimacy of the claims regarding CPTED design compliance (also highlighted in Clancey et al, 2014); and limited guidance for those responsible

Table 1: State and territory CPTED guidelines

State/territory	CPTED guidelines title	Year	Pages	Govt department	URL	Supplementary guidelines
Australian Capital Territory	*ACT Crime Prevention and Urban Design Resource Manual*	2000	66	Department of Territory and Municipal Services (previously called ACT Department of Urban Services)	http://www.actpla.act.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/9316/crimemanual.pdf	Title: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design: General Code; Department: ACT Planning & Land Authority; Year & Pages: 2011, pages 17; URL: http://www.legislation.act.gov.au/ni/2008-27/copy/82873/pdf/2008-27.pdf
Northern Territory	*Community Safety Design Guide*	2010	32	Department of Lands and Planning	http://lands.nt.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0014/25205/CommunitySafetyDesignGuide_April2010_sml.pdf	
New South Wales	*Crime prevention and the assessment of development applications: Guidelines under Sect. 79C of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*	2001	8	Department of Planning and Infrastructure (previously called NSW Department of Urban Affairs and Planning)	http://www.police.nsw.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/93903/duapguide_s79c.pdf	Title: NSW Car Park Guidelines for Crime Prevention; Department: NSW Justice Department; Year & Pages: No year given, pages 10; URL: http://www.crimeprevention.nsw.gov.au/Documents/car_park_guidelines.pdf
Queensland	*Crime Prevention through Environmental Design: Guidelines for Queensland (Part A: Essential Features for Safer Places; Part B: Implementation Guide)*	2007	80	Queensland Government	http://www.police.qld.gov.au/programs/cscp/safetyPublic/	Title: Towards Best Practice for Safety in Licensed Venues; Year & Pages: 2012, pages 49; URL: https://publications.qld.gov.au/storage/f/2014-10-07T01%3A16.223Z/towards-best-practice-for-safety-in-licensed-venues.pdf

State	Guideline	Year	Pages	Department	URL	Replacement
South Australia	No current guideline Previously: *Designing Out Crime: Design Solutions for Safer Neighborhoods*	2004	37	Department of Planning, Transport and Infrastructure (previously called Department of Transport and Urban Planning)	http://dataserver.planning.sa.gov.au/publications/1049p.pdf	No replacement guideline
Tasmania	No current guideline Previously: *Designing Out Crime, Designing in People: A Guide for Safer Design*	2003	36	Department of Primary Industries, Parks, Water and Environment (previously called Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment)	http://aicstaging.aic.gov.au/library_content/displayRecord.asp?id=276679	No replacement guideline
Victoria	*Safer Design Guides for Victoria*	2005	68	Department of Sustainability and Environment	http://www.dtpli.vic.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/231619/Safer_Design_Guidelines.pdf	Title: Design Guidelines for Licensed venues Year & Pages: 2009, pages 48 URL: https://assets.justice.vic.gov.au/vcglr/resources/c349afdc-3b71-4caa-8b53-74376993511f/designguideforlicensedvenues.pdf
Western Australia	*Designing Out Crime: Planning Guidelines*	2006	64	Western Australia Planning Commission	http://www.planning.wa.gov.au/dop_pub_pdf/docguidelines.pdf	Title: Reducing Crime and Anti-Social Behavior in Pedestrian Access Ways: Planning Guidelines Year & Pages: Oct 2009, pages 21 URL: http://www.planning.wa.gov.au/dop_pub_pdf/crime_guidelines_October09.pdf

for generating crime risk assessment reports (also highlighted in Clancey *et al*, 2015).

The Victorian Parliamentary Inquiry into the Application of Safer Design Principles and Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2013) found that while many local government authorities were aware of the Victorian guidelines, they 'were not applying them to either assess development applications that came before them or using them in developing their own local projects' (2013, p. viii). Moreover, the Inquiry found a lack of awareness of the guidelines among developers and relevant design and planning professional groups (2013, p. viii). Consequently, the overall impact of the Victorian guidelines has been hampered by awareness and enforcement.

While specific CPTED planning guidelines at the State and Territory level perhaps provide the best demonstration of the increasing recognition that CPTED enjoys in Australia, it should be noted that the adoption of CPTED is not just reflected by these planning guidelines. CPTED concepts and language have increasingly crept into other planning instruments (see Cozens *et al*, 2008, for a discussion of how this has been attempted in Western Australia). Moreover, many local governments across Australia have integrated CPTED principles into their planning instruments and practices, creating a multitiered policy structure guiding the incorporation of crime prevention principles into the built environment within Australia.

Crime Prevention Policies of Australian Capital City Councils

Despite the fact that local governments have traditionally been closely involved in crime prevention (Hastings and Melchers, 1990; Liddle and Gelsthorpe, 1994; Crawford, 1998; Shaw, 2001; Sutton and Cherney, 2002; Cherney, 2006; Homel, 2009; Shaw, 2009; UNODC, 2010; Homel and Fuller, 2015), less attention has generally been given to the roles assumed by Australian capital city councils in seeking to prevent crime.[1] This section seeks to address this gap in knowledge by providing an overview of some of the key policies and practices of Australian capital city councils in preventing crime. Table 2 sets out an overview of the centralised crime prevention and/or safety policy of each Australian State and Territory capital city.[2]

Table 2 demonstrates that two Australian capital cities (City of Melbourne and Adelaide City) currently have a central crime prevention policy. Two other capital city councils (City of Sydney and City of Perth) have recently had comprehensive crime prevention policies, but currently do not have a single centralised crime prevention policy. This does not, however, suggest that there is no crime prevention activity in these or the other capital city local

Table 2: Australian capital city crime prevention policies

City	Crime prevention or 'Safety' document	Themes and/or commentary
Adelaide City Council (South Australia)	*Safer City Strategy 2013–2017* http://www.adelaidecitycouncil.com/assets/Policies-Papers/docs/STRATEGY-safer-city-2013-17.pdf	The *Safer City Strategy 2013–2017* was created in order to identify important community safety, health and emergency management outcomes for the city Adelaide City Council identifies four main outcomes, including: Outcome 1: A City of Safer Places Outcome 2: People Feel Safer in Our City Under their outcome, A City of Safer Places, the Council is committed to implementing CPTED principles and to embed safety into major projects and developments in significant places, improving public transport, using safety audits to create lighting plans, and implement city-wide CCTV coverage Under the outcome People Feel Safer in Our City, the council is focused on creating a vibrant city that 'activates' city places, i.e., increase foot traffic in order to reduce the opportunity for crime
Brisbane City Council (Queensland)	No current centralised crime prevention or safety policy	While there is no centralised policy document, the Brisbane City Council website has a page dedicated to 'Our friendly, safe city' http://www.brisbane.qld.gov.au/about-council/governance-strategy/vision-strategy/brisbane-vision/our-friendly-safe-city, which provides the targets that they aim to reach by 2031 The Council provides a number of strategies in relation to community safety, including an Indigenous Aspirations Strategy, Homeless Strategy, One Brisbane Many Cultures Strategy, and Youth Strategy and Seniors' Strategy, but it must be noted that none of these directly mention crime prevention
City of Melbourne (Victoria)	*Beyond the Safe City Strategy 2014–2017* https://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/SiteCollectionDocuments/beyond-safe-city-strategy-2014.pdf	The *Beyond Safe City Strategy 2014–2017* outlines an Action Plan with five key themes: 1) a prosperous and creative 24-hour city, 2) a safe and inclusive city, 3) resilient young children and adolescents, 4) reduction in alcohol- and drug-related harm, and 5) a safe and welcoming environment The main principles that the Melbourne City Council have based their policy on are:

Table 2: (Continued)

City	Crime prevention or 'Safety' document	Themes and/or commentary
		Integrated and evidence-based solutions that are strengthened through research in order to best understand the population and ensure that any approaches are relevant and effective,
		Proactive partnerships focusing on a community building approach and promoting social capital,
		Strong communities with a focus on social cohesion and inclusion,
		Harm minimisation targeting drug and alcohol use,
		Prevention that aims to tackle the risk factors that cause crime and violence,
		A gendered response that recognises and considers gender equality, and
		Safer by design that incorporates CPTED ideas
City of Perth (Western Australia)	No current centralised crime prevention or safety policy	This strategy is now out of date, but remains the only available crime prevention strategy that is available on the City of Perth website http://www.perth.wa.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/SafeCity%20Community%20Safety.pdf
	Previously had the *SafeCity Community Safety and Crime Prevention Plan 2010–2013*	The strategy recognises four key priority issues, namely:
		Lack of Activity in City of Perth Outside Business Hours
		Excessive Use of Alcohol and Other Drugs
		Anti-Social Behaviour
		Environments where People feel Welcome and Safe
City of Sydney (New South Wales)	No current centralised crime prevention or safety policy	The *Safe City Strategy 2007–2012* has lapsed and has not been replaced by a new strategy
	Previously had the *Safe City Strategy 2007–2012*	City of Sydney Council held its first 'safety summit' on December 5, 2013, involving over 100 representatives from a range of different organisations
		It was intended that a full report would be prepared after the summit, and the results would be incorporated into a replacement Safe City Strategy; however, no such strategy has been published yet

Darwin City Council (Northern Territory)	No current centralised crime prevention or safety policy	Darwin City Council has a 'Safer City Program' as outlined on their website which is a three-year program that includes five main actions, including: Action 1: Safer City Plan, which looks to create a centralised crime and safety plan after hearing from stakeholders and the broader community Action 2: Safer Community Support Service is a service created to manage and respond to local community issues – it underpins crime prevention issues such as CPTED, community engagement and education
Hobart City Council (Tasmania)	No current centralised crime prevention or safety policy	While there is no centralised crime prevention plan, the Safer Hobart Community Partnership (SHCP) was formed in 2009, and is a strategic partnership with goals to improve safety and the perception of safety in Hobart, achieved by bringing together key stakeholders responsible in crime prevention initiatives – a few key members include: Hobart City Council, Tasmania Police and Department of Education The *Social Inclusion Strategy 2014 -2019* also pertains to the Framework outcome 3 regarding social strengthening social cohesion http://www.hobartcity.com.au/files/aae7f285-a78d-4c13-b972-a3e000d3a9fe/City_of_Hobart_Social_Inclusion_Strategy_2014-2019.pdf

government areas. As Table 3 demonstrates, each capital city council is actively engaged in a variety of crime prevention activities.

Table 3 displays the diverse and significant direct engagement in crime prevention by each of the Australian capital city councils.[3] Numerous forms of situational crime prevention are now routinely adopted by Australian Capital City Councils. Out of the 12 different crime prevention initiatives assessed here, every capital city council was observed to currently engage in at least six of these practices, with the City of Melbourne having active involvement in 11 of these crime prevention domains. Each Capital City Council operates some form of public space closed circuit television ('CCTV') system, have areas gazetted as alcohol-free zones, and operate safe taxi stands. The majority have formal policies of graffiti removal and street lighting policies, and some have formalised CPTED policies. Consequently, it is clear that situational crime prevention techniques have been widely embraced by every Australian capital city council.

There is also evidence that social crime prevention policies (broadly stated) are also frequently adopted by Australian capital city councils. The majority of Australian capital city councils have adopted policies focused on reducing and managing homelessness, illicit drug use, and domestic violence, and have policies focussing upon specific populations such as young people and Indigenous people. Many of these policies have direct (and indirect) crime prevention consequences.

This suggests that Australian capital city councils are actively engaged in both situational and social crime prevention activities, which is consistent with international developments. For example, the Global Network on Safer Cities, an initiative of UN-Habitat, seeks to encourage engagement of city councils in leading crime prevention initiatives. Similarly, the World Health Organisation's Safe Communities model advocates local leadership in promoting safety and injury prevention. While the efficacy of these broad holistic approaches remains unknown (Spinks *et al*, 2009), there is clear evidence of considerable uptake of crime prevention by all Australian capital city councils.

Discussion and Conclusions

Through the review and analysis of publically available documents and policies, this paper has provided an overview of recent crime prevention efforts in Australia. Following the 'preventive turn' in the late 1980s (Hughes, 2007), State and Territory governments established various crime prevention bureaux and policies. All State and Territory governments developed some form of centralised crime prevention bureau in the late 1980s and through the 1990s. Few of these agencies now remain in their original form.

Table 3: Australian capital city crime prevention activities

Capital City Council	Crime/ Safety Policy	CCTV System + No.	Alcohol- Free Zones	Graffiti Removal Policy	CPTED + Community Safety Audits	Safe Taxi Stands	Street Lighting Policy	Homeless Policy	Drug Use Measures	Youth Policy	Indigenous Policy	Domestic Violence Policy
Adelaide City Council	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
Brisbane City Council	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗
City of Melbourne	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
City of Perth	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗
City of Sydney	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓
Darwin City Council	✗	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗	✗
Hobart City Council	✗	✓	✓	✗		✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗

Many crime prevention initiatives have shifted away from being located in central government agencies and are now in policing agencies. This is important to note, as a move toward police-led crime prevention may indicate that efforts have narrowed in scope. This change may have the unwanted consequence of reducing focus on developmental and social crime prevention that may fall beyond the purview of policing agencies.

CPTED has found considerable traction in Australia, as demonstrated by the proliferation of CPTED guidelines. However, very little research has been conducted with regard to the effectiveness of CPTED design guidelines in Australia (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee, 2013) as well as the translation between policies and the practical implementation of them (Homel, 2009). Consequently, it is not known how effective these CPTED guidelines and associated developments have been in preventing crime.

Consistent with international movements (such as the UN-Habitat Global Safer Cities Network and the WHO Safe Communities program), considerable crime prevention efforts are managed and delivered by Australian capital city councils. The City of Melbourne and Adelaide City currently have an overarching crime prevention policy, and all Australian capital cities have excelled in implementing situational crime prevention measures such as public space CCTV systems, alcohol-free zones, and safe taxi stands. Local governments have also demonstrated a strong commitment to social crime prevention. Many capital city councils have policies that aim to address groups that may be marginalised in society such as homeless people, Indigenous peoples, and young people. Overall, this review suggests that capital city councils are actively engaged in attempts to prevent crime, which is consistent with Homel and Fuller's (2015) observation that local government is a key driver of crime prevention in Australia.

In identifying the location of crime prevention responsibilities with the six Australian States and two Territories, this article presents clear evidence of the widespread and explicit adoption of crime prevention strategies across Australia. However, this study also echoes the previous observations that crime prevention continues to be a 'stop-and-start affair' (Homel, 2005, p. 36), and that its widespread adoption has progressed in the absence of evaluations necessary to provide evidence of its benefits in Australia (Homel, 2009).

Despite the importance of these observations and findings, more detailed analysis is required to augment this review. Analysis of Federal government policies relevant to crime prevention is a critical gap of this current review. Given the substantially larger financial resources of the Federal government (as compared to State and Territory, and local governments), and the influence of the Federal government over welfare, education, health, and border security policy areas, greater analysis is required to understand the role of the Federal government in crime prevention. Similarly, this review has only focused on the activities of capital city councils. While these council areas are home to a

significant proportion of the Australian population, they are not representative of the crime prevention work carried out by local government more broadly. Consequently, a more comprehensive review would involve evaluating the nature of crime prevention delivered by local governments across Australia.

Notes

1 Approximately 65% of Australians live in capital cities (http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/products/AC53A071B4B231A6CA257CAE000ECCE5?OpenDocument), making capital city councils important players in various policy debates.

2 Canberra, the capital of Australia, is located in the Australian Capital Territory ('ACT'). The ACT has no separate local government. The usual functions of a local government are performed by the territorial government. For this reason, an analysis of Canberra is not possible for the purposes of this study.

3 It should be noted that the absence of a policy in a particular area of crime prevention does not mean that the council in question is not active in this area. For example, street lighting has been demonstrated to be an effective crime prevention tool (see Welsh and Farrington, 2008). Not all Australian capital city councils have a separate policy on street lighting, but all routinely provide street lighting. Consequently, this snapshot of available policies underestimates the overall crime prevention activity of each capital city council.

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