

**QUEENSLAND GOVERNMENT SUBMISSION
TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STANDING
COMMITTEE ON
LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS**

**INQUIRY INTO CRIME IN THE COMMUNITY: VICTIMS,
OFFENDERS,
AND FEAR OF CRIME**

AUGUST 2002



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Introduction

The Queensland Government has established five key priorities that reflect the areas requiring sustained commitment within the State, namely:

- more jobs for Queenslanders;
- safer and more supportive communities;
- community engagement and a better quality of life;
- valuing the environment; and
- building Queensland's regions.

The second priority reflects the Government's commitment to the issues being addressed in this Inquiry. All Queenslanders want to live in communities where they are protected from harm, where the differences between people are respected, and where everyone is treated with fairness and dignity. The State Government is building safer and more supportive communities by:

- addressing the social and economic causes of crime;
- promoting individual, family and community vitality that respects diversity;
- minimising the risk and impact of emergencies and disasters; and
- improving personal and public safety.

The Queensland Governments' 2000-01 Priorities in Progress report describes the outcomes being achieved under the *Charter of Social and Fiscal Responsibility*. This Charter outlines the broad objectives and priorities of the Government and establishes a framework for assessing the overall performance of the Government in achieving progress towards its objectives. A summary of some of the key indicators for the 'Safer and More Supportive Communities' priority follows:

- Crime rates in Queensland are significantly lower than national averages, remaining stable or increasing less than nationally in the last year. Queensland also continues to compare favourably on timeliness of court processes. Access to the justice system has been enhanced through the provision of alternative dispute resolution processes and legal aid services.
- Imprisonment rates fell during 2000-01. This decline needs to continue to bring Queensland's rate into line with the national rate. Imprisonment rates should also continue to fall as a consequence of the establishment of the State Penalties Enforcement Registry [in November 2000]. The Registry aims to keep fine defaulters out of prison by proactively collecting their debts.
- Imprisonment rates for Indigenous Queenslanders also decreased in 2000. However, Indigenous people remain significantly over-represented in the justice and corrections systems.
- Fewer youths were in detention during 2000-01 than the previous year and there has been a continued decline in the over-representation of Indigenous young people in detention, although they are still disproportionately over-represented.
- Overall, the rate of detected repeat offending has continued to rise slowly over recent years.

The full Priorities in Progress report that provides information to the community about the impact of Queensland Government policies and initiatives can be accessed at www.treasury.qld.gov.au/priorities2000/pdfs/pip_full.pdf.

The following pages provide a response to each of the Terms of Reference for the Inquiry, as summarised below.

The Queensland Government's response to part (a) *the types of crimes committed against Australians* draws on both national and state level data to reveal that Queensland is a comparatively safe state. Whilst the overall rate of recorded offences has increased during the last decade, the rate of increase for offences against the person, and for 'other' offences, has either slowed or remained relatively stable in the last five years. The rate of recorded property offences has increased at an annual average of two per cent. Data reveal

that for offences against the person, females aged 15 to 19 years were the most frequent victims and females aged 55 and over the least victimised, on a per capita basis. Males experience a greater likelihood of assault victimisation than females and Indigenous people are more likely to be the victim of an assault or threatened assault, compared to non-Indigenous people.

In part (b) of the submission, information is included on *perpetrators of crime and motives*. The response draws on police data and reveals that at every age males were more likely to commit offences against the person than females, and that males aged 15 to 19 years were the group most likely to offend. Males in this age group were also over four times more likely to commit offences against property than females in the same age group, and comprised over one-quarter of the total offending population.

Information relating to the *fear of crime in the community*, found in part (c), indicates that around four in ten respondents perceived no change in the level of crime in their community. Further, it highlights the positive steps the Queensland Government has taken towards addressing the disproportionately high level of fear regarding safety on public transport. In particular, the importance of increased awareness of security issues is raised, as this translates into increased confidence, and ultimately increased usage of the public transport system. An increase in usage, in turn, brings about an increase in safety and security.

Part (d) addresses Queensland Government responses to *victims* and describes a number of Government Inquiries that have addressed the impact of being a victim. Strategies such as the introduction of the *Criminal Offence Victim Act 1995* are then discussed. Restorative justice, which has been incorporated into Queensland legislation, provides support for victims of young offenders and assists in reducing the fear of repeat victimisation. Data show that nine in ten victims who participate in community conferences are satisfied with the process.

Strategies to support victims and reduce crime are documented in part (e) and illustrate that the Queensland Government has done much to address the real and perceived extent, impact and fear of crime in communities. The Crime Prevention Strategy, for example, links 44 programs across 13 government agencies in a whole-of-government approach to the issue of crime prevention.

Information from two Queensland surveys is utilised to provide indications of *apprehension rates* in part (f). Administrative data show, for example, that apprehension rates are higher for offences against the person than for those involving property. Survey data indicate that property offences are much more likely to be reported than personal offences and that the reasons for not reporting generally relate to the fact that the matter was considered personal or too trivial.

Part (g) examines the *effectiveness of sentencing* and describes the sentences that may be imposed on both juvenile and adult offenders. Initiatives that are currently being trialed to address recidivism are also described and include electronic monitoring, drug courts, intensive drug rehabilitation orders, court diversion and the State Penalties Enforcement Register. Youth justice initiatives that have contributed to a decrease in the number of young people on supervised orders made by the court are also discussed.

Community safety and policing is addressed in part (h) of the submission. Under the *Building Safer and More Supportive Communities* priority of the Government, a number of initiatives designed to facilitate community capacity to respond to local issues have been developed. This includes the provision of support for local Councils and communities to identify and effectively address local crime issues and problems as well as Community Policing and Problem Oriented and Partnership Policing initiatives.

(a) The types of crimes committed against Australians

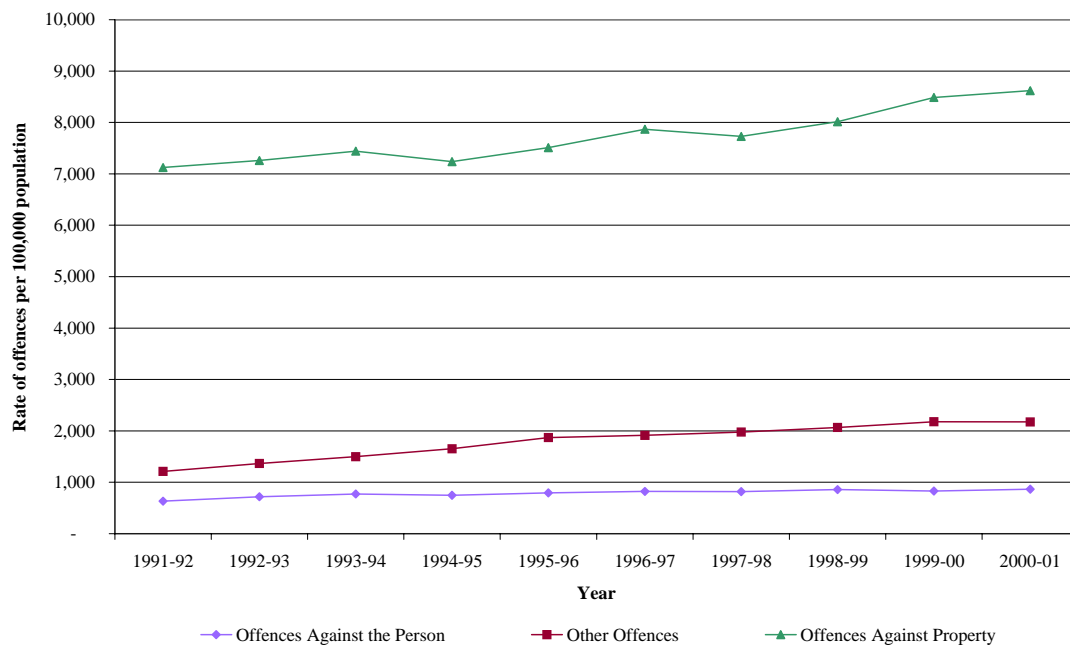
Queensland in the National Context

- 1.1 The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) *Recorded Crime* publication (catalogue number 4510.0) indicates that Queensland is a comparatively safe State. For example, the data for 2001 show that Queensland has:
- an assault rate close to 30 per cent less than the national average;
 - a robbery rate that is 49 per cent below the national average;
 - a kidnapping/abduction rate that fell by 21 per cent, to be 46 per cent below the national average;
 - a death caused by driving rate that fell by 12 per cent, to be 23 per cent below the national average;
 - a motor vehicle theft rate that decreased by eight per cent, to be 33 per cent below the national average; and
 - a rate of other theft that is 11 per cent below the national average.

Types of Crime

- 1.2 In Queensland, information on the types of crimes committed and victims of those crimes is drawn from databases maintained by the Queensland Police Service (QPS) and is dependent on crimes being reported to or detected by police. Crime Victimization and Household Surveys provide additional information.
- 1.3 Figure 1 shows the trends in the rate of ‘offences against the person’, ‘offences against property’ and ‘other offences’ recorded for the period 1991-92 to 2000-01. More detailed information is available at: www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/services/statsnet/index.htm.

FIGURE 1: RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION: RECORDED OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON, OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY AND OTHER OFFENCES (1991-92 TO 2000-01, QLD)



Source: QPS Annual Statistical Reviews 1991-92 to 2000-01.

Levels of Victimization

1.4 Recent information regarding levels of victimisation in Queensland can be found in the:

- QPS Annual Statistical Review 2000-2001 - www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/services/statsnet/index.htm.)
- Queensland Crime Victimization Survey 2000 – www.oesr.qld.gov.au/data/publications/crime_pub/cvs2000/cvs2000.pdf.
- ‘Children and Young People in Queensland: A Snap Shot’ – www.childcomm.qld.gov.au/publications/Snapshot2002

1.5 With respect to the Queensland Police Service Annual Statistical Review 2000- 2001, the data refer only to those persons who were reported as victims of offences against the person. A person may be the victim of a number of offences and is counted each time, therefore the figures do not reflect a unique victim count.

1.6 The data show that for offences against the person in Queensland in 2000-01:

- females aged 15 to 19 years were the most frequent victims on a per capita basis;
- the most common age group for male victims on a per capita basis was 25 to 29 years;
- females aged 55 and over are the least victimised;
- in some offence categories, namely sexual assault, females far outweighed males while in others, males were more likely to be victims, ie. homicide, assault, robbery;
- overall, there were slightly more male than female victims;
- the offender was known to the victim in a little more than one-half of the cases where the relationship was identified; and

- most offences took place in residential locations, with the next three most common locations being street /footpath, retail locations and recreational locations.

1.7 Although these trends are, in the main, consistent with previous years, variation has been seen for male victims of offences against the person. The most common age group of male victims was 15 to 19 years in 1996-97, 1997-98 and 1999-00, and was 25 to 29 years in 1998-99 and 2000-01.

1.8 The results of the Queensland Crime Victimization Survey 2000 (the Survey) complement crime statistics collected by Queensland Police as they provide some indication of levels of unreported crime and the associated reasons. The Survey asked respondents whether they had been victims of selected crimes, irrespective of whether they had reported the offences to police. Responses were weighted to produce estimates that reflect the overall population of Queensland and results should be considered as estimates of levels of victimisation. These data show that:

- persons aged 15 to 24 years were at a greater risk of robbery victimisation compared to persons aged 25 and above;
- males experienced a greater likelihood of assault victimisation than females;
- people aged 15 to 19 years experienced a significantly greater risk of assault victimisation than any other age group;
- people living in close proximity to parks, pubs, schools, shops and public transport were more likely to be a victim of a break and enter and attempted break and enter than those who did not live near these places;
- households with a combined annual income greater than \$104,000 experienced the greatest likelihood of being the victim of a break and enter;
- people who had moved in the last 12 months were more likely to have their houses broken into compared to people who had not moved; and
- the victimisation rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons was more than double that for non-Indigenous persons. Likewise for threatened assault, the victimisation rate was almost three times greater for Indigenous persons compared with non-Indigenous persons.¹

1.9 'Children and Young People in Queensland: A Snap Shot' provides recent data specific to young people. Of note -

- 24 per cent of respondents report being the victim of unfortunate events² (roughly two-thirds of which are criminal offences);
- the rate of sexual offences against children and young people was comparatively high with those aged 13 to 15 years at greatest risk;
- the risk of experiencing a crime of assault was reported to increase steadily with age, with the highest risk for those aged 16 to 18 years;

¹ These differences cannot be described as significant due to the low respondent numbers.

² Unfortunate events includes sexual assault, sexual abuse, physical assault, attempted murder, attempted sexual assault, attempted physical assault, maltreatment, robbery, stalking, police harassment, abduction/attempted abduction, threats of violence, theft, break and enter, car theft/vandalism, racial harassment, sexual harassment, death of a family member, death of a significant other, suicide attempt by significant other, separated from parents, fostered/adopted out, health problems, family alcohol use, family member arrested, being bullied.

- children under one year of age were most likely to be subject to a child protection notification and were most likely to be admitted to a child protection order;
- Indigenous children were far more likely than non-Indigenous children to be admitted to child protection orders;
- for the category of neglect, those aged 0 to 4 years were the most at risk; and
- children aged 0 to 4 years were the most at risk of being the victim of emotional harm, whilst the risk of physical harm was seen to increase with age.

(b) Perpetrators of crime and motives

Perpetrators of Crime

- 2.1 The *QPS Annual Statistical Review* for 2000-01 (the Review) provides some information on persons responsible for offences. These offender statistics are based on offence counts and refer to the number of offences cleared or solved through an action against an offender. As such, offender data do not equate to a unique offender count, nor to the number of offences cleared. The Review notes the following:
- At every age group, males are more likely than females to commit offences against the person with males aged 15 to 19 years most likely to offend. The likelihood of offending decreased significantly with increasing age for both males and females.
 - Males aged 15 to 19 years comprised one in three of the property offending population and were over four times more likely to commit offences against property than females in the same age group.
 - Females, the majority of whom are under 25 years of age, comprise a substantial proportion of offenders in the other theft category which includes shoplifting. Similarly, fraud is another offence which involves a relatively high proportion of females.
 - For drug offences, the majority were male, mainly aged between 15 and 24 years, inclusive. Females in this age category were also more likely to offend compared to other age groups. Unlike other offence categories, a sizeable proportion of offenders were aged over 40 years.
- 2.2 Property offences are the most common offences committed by both male and female children and the number of offences committed by children, regardless of type, increases with age. Male young people are significantly more likely than females to appear in court for offences and Indigenous young people are almost eight times as likely to appear in court than their non-Indigenous counterparts.
- 2.2 Self-report data show that the most common misbehaviours engaged in by young people aged 12 to 19 years included telephone pranks, buying alcohol, using cannabis, skipping class/school, getting into group fights, drinking alcohol in a public place, driving without a licence and shop-lifting. (www.childcomm.qld.gov.au/publications/Snapshot2002).

Offender / Victim Relationships

- 2.3 The Review also provides some information on relationships between offenders and victims:
- In most homicide offences, the victim knew the offender, and often the offender was from the same family as the victim, which includes partners, spouses, children, siblings and other lineal relationships.
 - Of those offenders proceeded against for assault, most knew their victim, either as a family member or as friends, acquaintances, neighbours or colleagues.

- In the majority of sexual offences the victim also knew the offender. A large proportion of victims were from the same family as the offender while a similarly large proportion were either acquaintances, friends, neighbours or colleagues.

2.4 Further detailed information about the perpetrators of crime can be obtained at www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/services/statsnet/index.htm.

(c) Fear of crime in the community

- 3.1 Those who report being the most fearful of crime are often the least likely to be victims of crime (eg. elderly people).³ As detailed in paragraph 1.7, for example, females aged 55 and over are the least victimised group according to official statistics, yet reportedly are most afraid.⁴
- 3.2 The Queensland Household Survey 2000 asked 3,000 respondents aged 18 and over questions relevant to the perception of crime in the community.⁵ Around four in ten respondents perceived no change in the amount of crime in their suburb or area, compared to two years ago. Fewer than one in ten of the survey respondents indicated that they believed crime had decreased in their suburb or area compared to 1998, and those most likely to have perceived an increase of crime were the younger and older age groups.
- 3.3 In relation to public transport crime, survey data indicate a disproportionately high level of fear in the community, both at a State and National level. These perceptions exist despite empirical evidence suggesting that crime on public transport is low when placed in context. A number of factors influence these negative perceptions including:
- constant negative media attention and sensationalism;
 - second-hand accounts of experiences of public transport crime;
 - actual experiences of public transport crime; and
 - low awareness of public transport security measures and personnel.
- 3.4 Furthermore, Queensland Government customer surveys and other studies conducted by Queensland Rail suggest:
- older people have a greater fear of being a victim of crime on public transport;
 - female teenagers have a greater fear of physical assault and other crimes against the person;
 - parents fear transport crime as teenagers travel a lot at night for their leisure activities;
 - higher income earners demonstrate higher levels of fear than low income earners; and
 - white collar workers demonstrate higher levels of fear than blue collar workers.
- 3.5 These findings come despite the fact that young males are most likely to be victims of assault and robbery crimes, and elderly women the least likely to be the victims of any offence against the person. These findings also highlight the importance of increasing awareness of security initiatives, such as those outlined in part (e) of this submission. An increased awareness translates to increased confidence and, in the case of public transport,

³ It is worthy to note that statements about fear of crime often fail to distinguish between perception of general risk, fear of personal victimisation, concern about crime as a public policy issue, and anxiety about life in general.

⁴ The AIC, for example, report that the elderly believe themselves to be the easiest and most frequent target for criminals.

⁵ The Crime Research Centre from the University of Western Australia funded the inclusion of these questions, and the results to these questions were utilised in comparative analyses involving similar data from a Western Australian sample.

increased usage subsequently translates to an increase in safety and security through the 'safety in numbers' effect (Carr & Spring, 1993).

- 3.6 A broad range of initiatives has been introduced by the Queensland Government to reduce crime and the fear of crime in the community. These are addressed in part (e) of this submission.
- 3.7 The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has published information about the concerns that people have about crime and other public nuisance problems in their neighbourhood. See *Crime and Safety, Australia* (cat. no. 4509.0), *Crime and Safety, Queensland* (cat. no. 4509.3) and *Population Survey Monitor* (cat. no. 4103.0).
- 3.8 Similarly, the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) has produced papers on this topic. See www.aic.gov.au/publications/tandi.
- 3.9 In addition, the National Campaign Against Violence and Crime Unit (NCAVAC) has produced much work on the fear of crime, including: Fear of Crime – Summary Volume at www.ncp.gov.au/ncp/publicationentry.asp?PUBID=8&XMENU=2
Fear of Crime – Volume 1 at www.ncp.gov.au/ncp/publicationentry.asp?PUBID=7&XMENU=2
Fear of Crime – Volume 2 at www.ncp.gov.au/ncp/publicationentry.asp?PUBID=6&XMENU=2

(d) The impact of being a victim and the fear of crime

- 4.1 The Queensland Government recognises the significant impact of crime upon victims and has initiated a range of strategies in response. It is noted that several Queensland Inquiries have addressed the issue of victimisation in specific circumstances and a common theme is the effect of repeat victimisation. Repeat victimisation exerts a disproportionate financial, psychological and emotional impact on victims. Data obtained from the Queensland Victimisation Survey 2000 revealed that:
- 40 per cent of assault victims were the victims of more than one incident of assault.
 - Females aged between 35 and 44 were the group most likely to be victims of repeated assault (75 per cent), a considerable amount of which may be attributed to domestic and family violence, and related incidents.
 - Seventeen per cent of break and enter victims and 14 per cent of motor vehicle theft victims also reported being similarly victimised during the previous 12 months.
- 4.2 In 1998, the Forde Inquiry into the treatment of children in Queensland institutions, reported that the outcomes of abuse in institutions are often profoundly negative, with victims describing a number of enduring effects including a lack of self-esteem and self-worth, an inability to trust others, and relationship problems exacerbated by anger and aggression. For a number of witnesses, admission to an institution started a process of institutionalisation that ended in prison. There is little doubt that children who have been exposed to severe or prolonged abuse face long-term problems that will disrupt or damage the rest of their lives, and affect significant others around them.
- 4.3 The full report is at www.qld.gov.au/html/fordeinquiry/inquiryreport.html. The Government response is at www.qld.gov.au/html/fordeinquiry/response/table_of_contents.html.
- 4.4 Additionally, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence reported that cycles of violence can occur when people who have been hurt are unable to express the pain of that hurt safely to themselves and others. They report that the cycle commences in childhood and that ultimately the children of the next generation may become the next victims and potential victimisers. The full report is at www.indigenous.qld.gov.au/publications/task_force.htm. The Government's response is at www.indigenous.qld.gov.au/pdf/thefirststep.pdf.
- 4.5 More recently Justice Tony Fitzgerald undertook a study of community justice issues in Cape York communities. The report examined the effect of substance abuse, violence and family dysfunction. The report and the Government's response can be viewed at www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about/community/capeyorkreport.htm and www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about/community/pdf/justice_study_response.pdf respectively.

(e) Strategies to support victims and reduce crime

Victim Support Strategies

- 5.1 The Queensland Government recognises that the impact of crime upon victims is significant and in response has initiated a range of strategies as described below. The information provided here, however, is not intended to represent a comprehensive inventory of victim support or crime prevention strategies in Queensland.
- 5.2 The *Criminal Offence Victim Act 1995* (COVA) provides a declaration of Fundamental Principles of justice for victims of crime, in a genuine attempt to advance the interests of victims of crime in the justice system. The principles, in effect, provide a code or charter of the treatment victims can expect to receive from public officials in connection with the apprehension, trial, sentencing, incarceration and parole of offenders. The principles also provide a commitment to providing the victims of violent crimes with sufficient support to deal with the trauma of the crime.
- 5.3 A Concerned Persons Register has been established in response to COVA and enables staff of the relevant departments to provide timely and accurate information to victims of crime regarding the offender who committed the offences/s against them. Currently, there are approximately 1,200 people registered.⁶ Anecdotal information has indicated that the existence of the register enhances individuals' understanding of the sentence management process and enables them to regain a degree of control over their lives as they begin the recovery process from the offence committed against them.
- 5.4 Restorative justice is one strategy that recognises and addresses the impact of being a victim of crime. Community conferencing, which brings young offenders aged 10 to 17 years face to face with the victims of their offence to make reparation, was introduced into legislation in Queensland as part of the 1996 amendments to the *Juvenile Justice Act 1992*. Victims will have often experienced significant harm as a result of criminal offences. The process provides the victim of crime with an opportunity to discuss the offence and negotiate an agreement about how the matter should be dealt with, outside of the formal court process. Community conferences can also assist in reducing the fear of re-victimisation. Data relating to conference participants for the year 2001-02 has revealed that 75 per cent of the victims viewed things differently after attending the conference, and 97 per cent felt that people seemed to understand their side of things and that the conference was fair. Further, 83 per cent of responding victims indicated the conference was what they needed to sort things out, and 94 per cent indicated they were satisfied with the agreement made in the conference.
- 5.5 Recent amendments to legislation concerning court processes that also reflect the Government's commitment to the needs of victims are:
- Limiting the cross-examination of sexual abuse victims with regard to their sexual activity;

⁶ Persons eligible to be listed as a concerned person are: the actual victim of an offence of violence; an immediate family member or partner of an actual victim of an offence of violence, including a deceased victim; the guardian of a child victim, or of another victim with a legal incapacity, of an offence of violence.

- Prohibiting the cross-examination of certain witnesses by a self-represented accused;
 - Victim protection non-contact orders as part of a sentence imposed on offenders convicted of serious offences; and
 - Penalties of up to seven years jail for offenders who take reprisals against witnesses, often the victims of crimes, after a court hearing has ended.
- 5.6 The recently introduced Client Service Charter (the Charter) for the Queensland Police Service provides a statement of what clients can expect by way of services provided by the QPS. The Charter has been developed following consultation with key stakeholders, including Victims of Crime organisations and seeks to ensure that members of the community whose lives are affected, either directly or indirectly by criminal activity, are afforded due consideration to assist them in overcoming the effects of physical or psychological injury, trauma and financial disadvantage. The Client Service Charter can be viewed at www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/about/charter/intro.htm .
- 5.7 Advice regarding safety and security is also provided through a range of proactive policing initiatives and as part of investigative and follow-up processes. These initiatives encourage victims to take precautions to minimise the likelihood of repeat incidents. Comprehensive support is provided to operational police on problem solving and community policing issues to assist the community.
- 5.8 The Queensland Government has taken significant steps to address long standing deficits in the protection and care of Queensland's children. In particular, Queensland's Child Protection legislation was reformed with the introduction of the *Child Protection Act 1999*. This Act establishes clear standards for the care of children who are unable to live with their families and addresses many of the issues raised by the Forde inquiry (paragraph 4.2). The Government provides a range of services to young people leaving State care, with an emphasis on assistance to gain employment, education and housing, thereby smoothing the transition from care to independent living.
- 5.9 A long-term vision for the protection and care of children was created through the *Child Protection Reform Strategy*. This close partnership with the community services sector addresses, via a planned approach, the prevention of harm to children, the support of families who are at risk of harming their children, and the safety and care of children who have been harmed within their families.
- 5.10 The *Child Protection Council*, comprised of Government and community representatives, was formed to advise the Minister on how to coordinate efforts to ensure the safety of children. Establishment of the Council recognises that the protection and care of children is a shared responsibility of the community and a range of government agencies.
- 5.11 *Child Protection Policy in Education*. All students have a right to protection from harm, and the Queensland Government provides safe and supportive learning environments for all students to maximise each student's potential. This policy can be viewed at http://education.qld.gov.au/corporate/doem/healthsa/hs-17000/sections/preface_.htm.

- 5.12 The Coordinating Efforts to Address Violence Against Women (CAEVAW) Project is a whole-of-government exercise aiming to promote coordination and collaboration in strategic directions and policy frameworks, to enhance the responses to women who have been subjected to violence. Community-based organisations have led the way in forming special working groups to progress the various strategies. More details are available at www.qldwoman.qld.gov.au.

Crime Prevention Strategies

- 5.13 The Queensland Government has done much to address the real and perceived extent, impact and fear of crime within Queensland communities, and has initiated numerous measures to counter and prevent crime.⁷ The Government's commitment to crime prevention is articulated in its policy document *Queensland Crime Prevention Strategy—Building Safer Communities*, available at www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about/crimeprevention/pdf/build.pdf. This Strategy represents a commitment by the Queensland Government to target the identified risk factors contributing to the causes of crime and to act comprehensively against conditions and circumstances that can lead to crime and victimisation.
- 5.14 The Strategy links 44 programs across 13 government agencies in a whole-of-Government approach to the issue of crime prevention, utilising community, criminal justice system, developmental and situational approaches. The Strategy also encourages community involvement in crime prevention and community capacity building.
- 5.15 The *Community Renewal* strategy is an innovative and complex initiative for responding to the multi-dimensional nature of disadvantage in a number of communities throughout Queensland. This program has a strong whole-of-government focus and actively seeks to engage a number of government departments in the planning and delivery of improved outcomes for identified communities. It is a clear example of a place-based program that recognises that a range of social problems such as social and economic disadvantage, unemployment etc. tends to be concentrated in particular areas and requires coordinated action across a number of relevant agencies. A unique feature of the program is the availability of a flexible funding source to meet identified community needs within each renewal area, across the following categories:
- employment and training;
 - community services;
 - neighbourhood amenity;
 - community facilities;
 - sport and recreation;
 - community safety;
 - community engagement; and
 - arts and cultural development.

Further information can be obtained at www.communityrenewal.qld.gov.au/default1.htm.

⁷ For more detailed information on Queensland Government Crime Prevention Programs please see www.premiers.qld.gov.au/crimeprevention.

- 5.16 A *Pathways to Prevention* early intervention demonstration project has been developed, and has been operating in Inala, a disadvantaged area outside Brisbane, since July 2000. This is a practical application of the principles of the 1999 National Anti-Crime Strategy research project *Pathways to Prevention - Development and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime in Australia*, and is the first project of its kind in Australia. The project is based on the concept of intervention at crucial transition points that mark new life experiences, and is targeted at three to six year olds, their families, schools and communities. The first part of the project is run through two programs: the Communication Program and the Family Independence Program, with priority given initially to Indigenous families. The process will be repeated for the Vietnamese and Samoan communities. As the project progresses, a broader range of programs will be developed. More information can be found at www.ncp.gov.au/ncp/Publications/80918_Pathways_Summary/.
- 5.17 The Government has also produced three crime prevention manuals to inform Queenslanders about opportunity reduction approaches:
- *Building Safer Communities: A Crime Prevention Manual for Queensland*;⁸
 - *Yaldilda: Standing Strong* – a crime prevention manual for Indigenous communities;⁹ and
 - *Kainedbiipitli* - a Torres Strait Islander specific crime prevention manual, that will be published shortly.
- 5.18 While many of these initiatives are yet to be fully evaluated, those evaluations which have been undertaken provide an indication of their effectiveness. The establishment of Youth Justice Services, for example, has reduced recidivism (see paragraph 7.8). Additionally QPS data show that the four per cent increase in the number of offences reported during 2000-01 was much less than that experienced in the previous year (nine per cent), and over this period Queensland's population increased by almost two per cent. Further, and as reported in part (g), the number of young people who are on supervised orders as a result of offending has decreased substantially over recent years.
- 5.19 The expansion of initiatives such as police beats, Youth Justice Services, and community conferencing, as well as the national recognition of a number of crime prevention activities through the Australian Violence Prevention Awards further attest to the effectiveness of crime prevention initiatives in Queensland.

Specific Problem Areas and At Risk Groups

- 5.20 There are a number of initiatives that target specific problem areas and at risk groups, as discussed below.

Drugs

- 5.21 The Government has established a trial of three drug courts. The Queensland Government works with both drug users and their families, and has enhanced the Alcohol and Drug Information Service (ADIS), which provides 24 hour, seven-day-a-week advice and support. In addition, alternative treatments are being trialed, and the methadone treatment

⁸ This publication can be accessed at http://www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about/crimeprevention/pdf/cp_manual.pdf.

⁹ Yaldilda: Standing Strong is available on-line at <http://www.indigenous.qld.gov.au/pdf/yaldch/yaldintr.pdf>.

program has been extended. Specific initiatives have been developed and introduced to target young people who are using or are at risk of using illicit drugs.

- 5.22 The Queensland Illicit Drug Diversion Initiative, also sponsored by the Commonwealth, is targeted at people apprehended for using small amounts of cannabis, recognised as the most widely used illicit drug across Australia. Drug diversion gives individuals the option of undertaking treatment and/or education aimed at helping them to stop using drugs, rather than getting caught up in the criminal justice system.

Protecting Children

- 5.23 In 2001, the Queensland Government, through the Commission for Children and Young People, commenced a major employment screening initiative for the protection of children and young people, known as the 'Working with Children Check'. The Commission is able to access and make a detailed assessment of a person's complete criminal history, including charges and convictions, regardless of when or where they occurred.

- 5.24 The Queensland Government has implemented various measures to discourage the commission of crime by school aged children. These programs and policies operate in some or all Queensland state schools, and include for example:

- The *Adopt a Cop* program which aims to reduce crime through education; improve the attitude of students to the community, police and the law; and demonstrate the values, responsibilities and obligations current society deems valuable. Information about the program can be viewed at <http://www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/program/adoptcop/intro.htm>
- The *School Based Policing Program*, aiming to assist school communities achieve educational, developmental and preventative outcomes to locally identified policing issues through the provision of a police officer to that community. Information about this initiative is available at <http://www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/program/school/intro.htm>.
- *Closed Circuit Televisions (CCTV)*. CCTV has been recognised as an effective crime prevention tool, and is utilised in various high-risk areas throughout Queensland, including public transport networks, and more recently, some schools. Initial results have indicated a reduction in the number of vandalism and graffiti incidents in the monitored schools.

- 5.25 Young people are also provided with a range of programs offering information enabling them to make informed choices about criminal activities such as arson, drug use, negligence on the roads and the socially irresponsible use of public transport.

Assisting Indigenous People

- 5.26 The *Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Justice Agreement* demonstrates the Government's strong commitment to reducing the impact of crime in all Indigenous communities.¹⁰ This agreement seeks a reduction by 50 per cent in the rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander incarceration in Queensland by 2011. The Government is

¹⁰ The *Justice Agreement* can be viewed at www.indigenous.qld.gov.au/publications/justice.htm .

seeking to address the current high rate of Indigenous incarceration through enhanced coordination of justice policies, programs and services.

5.27 The *Ending Family Violence Program* is one initiative, aimed at reducing the rate of Indigenous incarceration, which offers culturally appropriate education about the impact of violence and substance abuse that has led to the breakdown of relationships in partnerships and family groups in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community.

5.28 In addition, a range of special programs to assist Indigenous communities address their local crime problems exists under the *Crime Prevention Strategy*. The Queensland Government recognises it is particularly important when designing programs for Indigenous communities that responses to offending are culturally relevant, draw on traditional authority and sanctions, and address underlying causes of offending behaviour. Examples of existing strategies include:

- *Specialist Drug and Alcohol Workers for Indigenous Communities*.
- *Indigenous Police Liaison Officers*.
- *Local Justice Initiatives Program*, established as a response to the recommendations of RCIADIC, which provides funding and support to Indigenous people and communities across Queensland, to develop and implement local strategies to address justice issues.
- *Diversion from Custody Program*, that seeks to reduce Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander deaths in custody by reducing the number of Indigenous people detained in watchhouses for offences relating to drunkenness through such means as funding community organisations to operate Diversionary Centres and Watchhouse Cell Visitor Services.

Focus on Cape York Communities

5.29 In response to the Cape York Justice Study (see paragraph 4.5), the Queensland Government has developed *Meeting Challenges, Making Choices*.¹¹ This document articulates the Government's commitment to improving the overall well-being of Indigenous communities and reducing risk factors associated with criminal behaviour. Government actions will be multi-faceted, involving partnerships at all levels of Government and in collaboration with local communities and Indigenous organisations, and will focus upon:

- alcohol intervention;
- children, youth and families;
- crime and justice;
- economic development;
- healthier people; and
- education and training.

¹¹ This report can be viewed at www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about/community/pdf/justice_study_response.pdf.

5.30 Also in response to the Cape York Justice Study, the Queensland Government is developing the *Cape York Youth Development Strategy*. This will provide a framework for engagement between the Queensland Government and Cape York communities for enhancing access to youth development opportunities for Indigenous young people, and to increase their capacity to positively shape the life of their communities.

Providing Prisoner Services

5.31 The Government is also committed to pursuing the objectives of community safety and crime prevention through the humane containment, supervision and rehabilitation of offenders. Numerous programs and services are provided to adult prisoners and juvenile detainees that are designed to confront offenders with the consequences of their offending behaviour, but at the same time provide opportunities for self-directed rehabilitation and reintegration into the community. In particular, the Government seeks to provide all prisoners with the necessary skills to help them obtain employment in the community upon their release as well as assisting them to develop and strengthen their family relationships. The Productivity Commission Report on Government Services 2002, reports Queensland achieved the third lowest proportion (30 per cent) of prisoners and offenders released returning to prison within two years, comparing favourably with the Australian average of 36 per cent.

(f) Apprehension rates

- 6.1 Official police data show clearance rates for reported crime. As elsewhere, these clearance rates are higher for offences against the person than for those involving property. The QPS Crime Victim Survey 2000 reported that the majority of complainants reported offences because they wanted property returned, because a crime was committed, for insurance purposes or that they wanted the offender caught.
- 6.2 For offences against the person, the most common reasons for reporting offences were for protection purposes, because a crime was committed or because the victim wanted the offender caught. For property offences, most victims reported the offence because they wanted the property returned, because a crime was committed or for insurance purposes.
- 6.3 A Queensland Crime Victimization Survey 2000 asked respondents who indicated that they had been victims of certain personal or household offences if they had reported the most recent incident to police. For those personal offences surveyed:
- Robbery was more likely to be reported to police than assault or sexual assault.
 - Assaults were most likely to be reported when they occurred in shops or in a public vehicle and very unlikely if they occurred in a place of entertainment.
 - Most assaults that occurred in the home were not reported to police.
- 6.4 For offences against property:
- Household offences such as motor vehicle theft and break and enter showed a much higher rate of reporting than personal offences.
 - Motor vehicle theft was almost always reported and break and enter was also most likely to be reported.
- 6.5 The main reasons that victims did not report robbery incidents were that the incident was a personal matter or was too trivial. Similarly, the most frequent reason for not reporting assaults was that the incident was too trivial followed by a perception that the incident was a personal matter. The main reasons why break and enter offences were not reported included the perception that the offence was too trivial, that nothing was stolen, a perception there was nothing the police could do and that the offence was a personal matter. Similar to break and enter, the most common reasons given for not reporting incidents of attempted break and enter, were a perception that the offence was too trivial, that nothing was stolen and a perception that there was nothing the police could do.
- 6.6 There has been a reluctance among Indigenous people to report some types of crime in both discrete Indigenous communities and across the State, partly due to mistrust of the mainstream criminal justice system, and the perceptions of institutionalised racism, or fear of payback to themselves and/or their families. Across Queensland the extent of violence, particularly against women and children, is believed to be higher than that officially reported.¹²

¹² This issue is examined in detail in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence Report of 1999, available at www.indigenous.qld.gov.au/publications/task_force.htm.

(g) Effectiveness of sentencing

7.1 Queensland legislation provides numerous sentencing options for the judiciary to apply at its discretion, depending on the seriousness of the crime. The options range from community-based orders to life imprisonment and are summarised below:

- Reprimand order (juveniles).
- Good behaviour bond (adult) or order (juvenile) under which the offender must guarantee not to re-offend for a stated period.
- Fine. The court may make a fine option order if the adult offender can't afford to pay the fine. The 'option' is to do community service to pay out the fine.
- Community service order involving free work with a community organisation.
- Probation order, the basic conditions of which are that, for a set period, the offender will not re-offend, will report regularly and will not change address without notification.
- An adult who has received a sentence of up to 12 months' imprisonment may receive an intensive correction order; where the offender performs community service and is under probation for the period.
- A suspended sentence of imprisonment, which allows the adult offender to go back into the community for a second chance without imprisonment. Anyone committing a crime while on a suspended sentence must serve the rest of the original sentence in prison, as well as the penalty for the new crime.
- Juvenile offenders may be placed on an immediate release order (made in conjunction with a detention order which is suspended) for a maximum period of three months. If the juvenile re-offends in the period, it may result in them being placed in detention on the detention order.
- An adult may be sentenced to imprisonment, while juveniles can be sentenced to detention in a juvenile detention centre.
- Combination orders may be used when sentencing juveniles for a single offence (probation and community service or detention and probation).

7.3 While passing sentence, the magistrate or judge may also order the offender to pay for any harm or injury they have caused, or for the damage they caused to property, ie. compensation or restitution. An offender may also have his/her licence disqualified for a period. In the Drug Courts there is also the option of receiving an Intensive Drug Rehabilitation Order, as discussed at paragraph 7.5.

7.4 Relevant legislation is monitored and refined by the Department of Justice and Attorney-General (JAG). For example:

- The *Penalties and Sentences Act 1992* was amended in 2000 so that in sentencing an Indigenous offender, a court must give regard to any submissions made by a representative of the community justice group in that offender's community that may assist in the sentencing of the offender. The recently established Murri Court in Brisbane is a further development of the principles under this legislation.

- Further, a recent amendment to the *Criminal Law Amendment Act 1945* enables a court to require an offender convicted of a child sex offence, to regularly report to the offender's local police station upon release from prison.

7.5 Initiatives currently being trialed by the Government that seek to address recidivism include:

- *Electronic monitoring*, whereby inmates, as part of their post-release orders, serve the final phase of their sentences under home detention.
- *Drug Court Pilot*: This program gives offenders, who meet strict criteria, a chance to beat their drug addiction by taking part in an Intensive Drug Rehabilitation Order, instead of going to prison.¹³ (See paragraph 5.21 for additional information).
- *Court Diversion*: The program aims to divert offenders charged with possessing small amounts of illicit drugs from the courtroom to counselling. (Please see paragraph 5.22 for more information).
- *State Penalties Enforcement Register*: SPER started operating in November 2000 under the *State Penalties Enforcement Act 1999* and the *State Penalties Enforcement Regulation 2000*. SPER collects overdue fines for offences such as speeding, failure to wear a seatbelt, and running a red light. It also collects unpaid fines for parking infringements mainly from local councils, money owed for court orders for failure to pay fines, forfeited bails and bonds, and compensation awarded to victims of less serious crimes.

7.6 The Government will also introduce a civil confiscation scheme in an effort to combat major and organised crime. Depriving criminals of their assets reduces the incentive for committing crime and removes the source of finance for the continued operation of criminal enterprises.

7.7 Queensland legislation defines juveniles as young people who commit, or allegedly commit, offences between the age of 10 and 16 years. This group has consistently comprised around 20 per cent of all offenders, as reported by the QPS. The administration of youth justice ranges from youth crime prevention through to court support, youth community corrections, detention centre services and the promotion of reintegration strategies with young people either on orders in the community or in custody. This continuum of responses ensures an holistic approach to the issues of youth crime and youth justice in Queensland.

7.8 The implementation of a number of youth justice initiatives has resulted in decreases in the number of young people appearing in court, placed on supervised orders and sentenced to detention. Data show, for example, that at 31 May 2002, there were more than 500 fewer young people on court orders being supervised in the community, than two-and-a-half years earlier. Similarly, during 2001, Queensland's youth detention centres accommodated an average of 30 fewer young people, per day than in the previous year.

- *Youth Justice Services* have been established in five local areas to provide specialist services to young people on community based court orders. In addition to administering community based court order requirements, each service provides a wide range of

¹³ Intensive Drug Rehabilitation Orders are made available under the *Drug Rehabilitation (Court Diversion) Act 2000*.

programs to young offenders. Particular attention is given to ensure the services are culturally relevant to Indigenous young people to maximise the impact on the prevention of re-offending. An evaluation of the three initial pilot *Youth Justice Services* found apparent reductions in the rate of recidivism and reduced likelihood of re-admission to detention among young people who had contact with the Youth Justice Services. Stakeholders also report that very sound progress has been made towards the effective reintegration of young people into the communities. For example, there has been a significant improvement in the provision of vocation and employment programs as provided by and facilitated through the Services. In the first 18 months of operation, over 90 young offenders were placed in employment and over 60 returned to formal education.

- The *Conditional Bail Program* has proved highly effective in diverting young people from custody, with some 100 young people participating in the program at any point in time. In addition, the *Bail Support Service* has been introduced to assist young people who would otherwise be remanded in custody, to remain in the community and comply with the conditions of their bail undertaking.
- *Community Conferencing* was introduced for young offenders into the legislation in Queensland as part of the 1996 amendments to the *Juvenile Justice Act*. A community conference provides an alternative to a Childrens Court – bringing young offenders aged 10 to 16, face to face with the victims of their offence to make reparation. The program commenced operation in three areas of Queensland and Statewide expansion has commenced.

Perception of Sentencing

- 7.9 In the Queensland Household Survey conducted in November 2000, respondents aged 18 and above were asked two questions relevant to the perception of sentencing. In particular, respondents were asked to compare the sentencing of offenders by the courts in 2000 with the sentencing two years earlier, in terms of severity. The general perception of sentencing was that it had become less severe or had stayed the same. This belief was especially prominent amongst the older respondents. Respondents were also asked to indicate if they believed sending a greater proportion of offenders to prison would reduce crime rates in the community. Many respondents indicated such sentencing practices would make no difference to the level of crime in the community, although one in three respondents believed such practices would make a difference to ‘some crimes’. Very few respondents indicated a belief that sending more offenders to prison would increase the amount of crime in the community.

(h) Community safety and policing

- 8.1 Community safety and policing form part of the Crime Prevention initiative that sits under the *Building Safer and More Supportive Communities* priority of the Queensland Government, as previously mentioned in paragraph 5.14. Specifically, the following initiatives are designed to facilitate community capacity to address localised crime concerns:
- The *Strategic Framework for Community Crime Prevention* to support local Councils and communities through regionally based Crime Prevention Resource Officers, provision of information, advice and training, and support to assist planning and collaborative efforts.
 - *Local Building Safer Communities Action Teams* (BSCATS) which bring together people who live and work in a community, with local Councils, businesses, community services and government departments, to identify and respond more effectively to local crime issues and problems.

Community Policing

- 8.2 The Government is committed to policing in partnership with the community and this is reflected in the Vision Statement contained in the *Police Service Administration Act 1990*.

We are determined to be a professional police service, dedicated to excellence and committed to working in partnership with the people of Queensland to enhance the safety and security of our community.

- 8.3 One of the Guiding Principles that support the Vision Statement also reflects both the importance of forming partnerships with the community and adopting a problem-solving approach to address crime and community safety problems.

...in partnership with the Queensland community as well as with other law enforcement agencies, provide responsive policing services to meet the Service's statutory responsibility to preserve peace and good order and to prevent, detect and investigate breaches of the law by the use of problem-solving approaches.

- 8.4 Some examples of police partnerships with the community include:
- *Adopt-a-Cop* and *School-Based Police Officers* programs, as mentioned in paragraph 5.24.
 - *Personal Safety and Protective Behaviours Courses*.
 - *Police Liaison Officers*. (Officers from Indigenous and ethnic communities).
 - *District Domestic Violence Coordinators*.
 - *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community Liaison Officers*.
 - *Neighbourhood Watch*.
 - *Community Consultative Committees*.
 - *Police Beats and Police Shopfronts*.
 - *Home Assist Secure*.
 - *Police Citizen Youth Welfare Association and the Blue Light Association*.
 - *Localised Crime Prevention Partnerships*

- *Problem-Oriented and Partnership Policing* (described below in paragraphs 8.6 to 8.8, and also in Appendix A).
- *Safety Audits Program*.
- *Volunteers in Policing Program*.

More detailed information about these community policing partnerships is available at www.police.qld.gov.au/pr/program/default.htm.

- 8.5 The Queensland Household Survey 2000 included a question on the level of satisfaction with the quality of service provided by the QPS in 'working with the community to address problems and crime related issues'. Nearly seven in ten respondents stated they were either 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied' while one-quarter stated that they were 'very dissatisfied' or 'dissatisfied'.

Problem Oriented and Partnership Policing

- 8.6 Over the last decade a number of external reviews of the Queensland Police Service have recommended organisational and operational changes. This external interest in the functioning of the Service reflects changing conditions in the Service's environment, changing community expectations and developments in criminal justice research.
- 8.7 In response to these reviews, the Service has adopted policing strategies that will increase its effectiveness. One of the policing strategies being extensively used overseas, as well as in Australia (including Queensland) is problem-oriented policing. The relatively recent international and national shift towards problem-solving and partnership policing acknowledges that traditional policing responses may not necessarily tackle the causes of crime and that police cannot 'solve' crime independent of the community.
- 8.8 This problem solving and partnership policing approach has produced positive outcomes in respect of many issues/problems including:
- armed hold-ups;
 - repeat calls for service;
 - youth issues;
 - break and enter offences, both of residential and commercial premises;
 - thefts of and from motor vehicles; and
 - drug and alcohol issues.

An example of a successful community policing initiative is shown in Appendix A.

A Problem Oriented and Partnership Policing Example

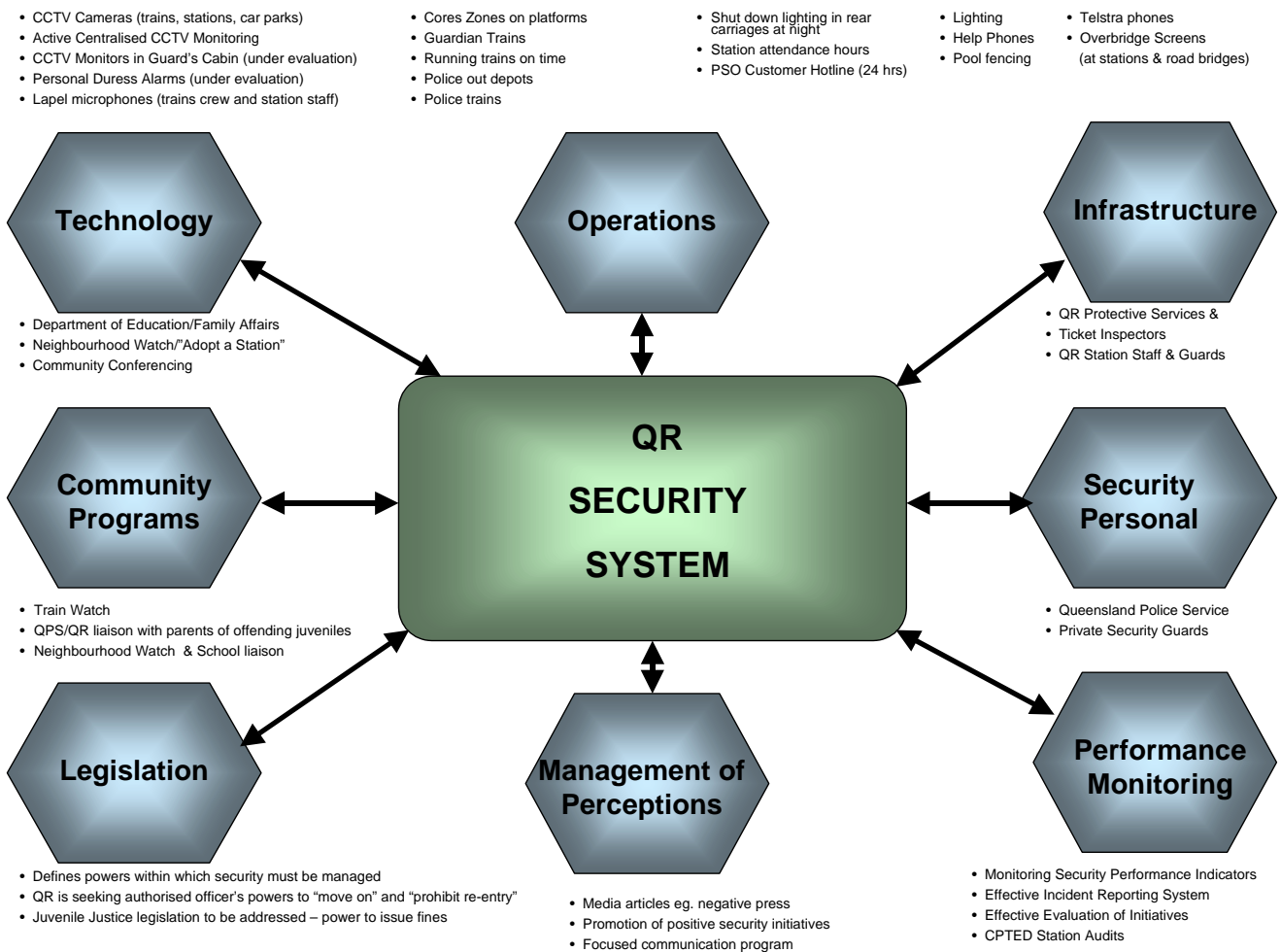
A good example of community policing is the Queensland Rail and Queensland Police Service (QPS) partnership in railway security management. This partnership is well established, extending over 20 years. Since 1992, Queensland Rail and QPS have been signatories to a formal memorandum of understanding that places emphasis on proactive uniformed policing as part of the established Police Railway Squad. Initially in 1992 seventeen (17) Police Officers comprised the QPS Railway Squad. In 2002 there were 50 officers in the Squad.

The partnership represents a strategic alliance designed to manage both the real and perceived levels of antisocial behaviour across the Queensland Rail statewide network. Priority is placed on the urban passenger network namely the Citytrain network servicing Brisbane and adjoining communities in the greater south-eastern corner of Queensland. The security model developed for managing rail security, containing eight key elements, is provided in Figure 2 below.

A comprehensive range of strategies collectively contribute to the reduction of antisocial behaviour. Key aspects include:

1. Strategic Planning/ Strategy Development – Queensland Rail and QPS share a common vision and have developed a Strategic Plan to drive the security agenda.
2. High Visible Presence – This is achieved through the coordination of security resources in an effective manner involving police (both regional police and Railway Squad), Queensland Rail and contracted private security provider personnel. It is achieved through the use of intelligence, problem orientated strategy development, coordinated implementation and evaluation.
3. Technology/Infrastructure Investment – Queensland Rail has secured in excess of \$50M from the Government over the past decade, through a Rail Services Agreement with Queensland Transport, to enhance security across the Citytrain network. The investment program continues and currently has delivered CCTV cameras at all Citytrain railway stations, in the larger portion of the urban rollingstock fleet, and in approximately 85 per cent of railway station car parks. Other works include railway station platform lighting upgrades, help telephone installations and fencing.
4. Train operations – Involving running trains on time (currently Australian best practice/performance), closing carriages during evening period, core-waiting areas for evening trains and Guardian Train Services.
5. Management of Perceptions – Adopting proactive strategies to advise the community, passengers and staff of the range of strategies employed and to counter any negative publicity that may generate from time to time.
6. Community Engagement – Actively involved in Neighbourhood Watch and other community groups. This work aims to enhance communities' capacity to take ownership of their local railway stations and services provided, and accordingly enhance community safety.
7. Legislation – Both Queensland Rail, QPS and Queensland Transport are working together to review legislative issues concerning related matters and through the collective work enable effective legislative change processes to occur.

FIGURE 2: KEY ELEMENTS OF THE SECURITY RAIL SYSTEM, QLD



This strategic partnership represents a multi-agency approach to crime prevention with a number of unique features. The key to success resides with a commitment on behalf of both departments to interagency co-operation and consultation. There is a management commitment at the highest level from both organisations and through this leadership, organisational support and alignment has been successfully maintained. Other innovative characteristics include:

- The central office is responsible for collating various information and intelligence generated from the Citytrain network. This enables the targeted allocation of resources to specific crime and antisocial-related issues as they arise. This information also contributes to strategic planning.
- The formation of the specialist graffiti cell represents a unique investigative unit operating within QPS. The unit has been successful in the identification and apprehension of several prolific graffiti offenders and the implementation of proactive covert operations at heavily vandalised sites.
- The provision of a duty officer at the central Train Control Centre seeks to provide a co-ordinated response to incidents as they occur across the network. This allows open communication between Queensland Rail staff (train drivers, guards, station staff and train controllers), contracted security personnel, railway squad police officers, regional police, and other emergency service personnel.
- Police outposts have been established, or are being constructed on each of the major rail corridors on the Citytrain network. These establishments are strategically located to enable increased response capability and visible presence of outerlying areas of the Citytrain network. These facilities are not operated as community police stations but are specifically used by Police Railway Squad to more effectively target specific problem areas as they arise.