

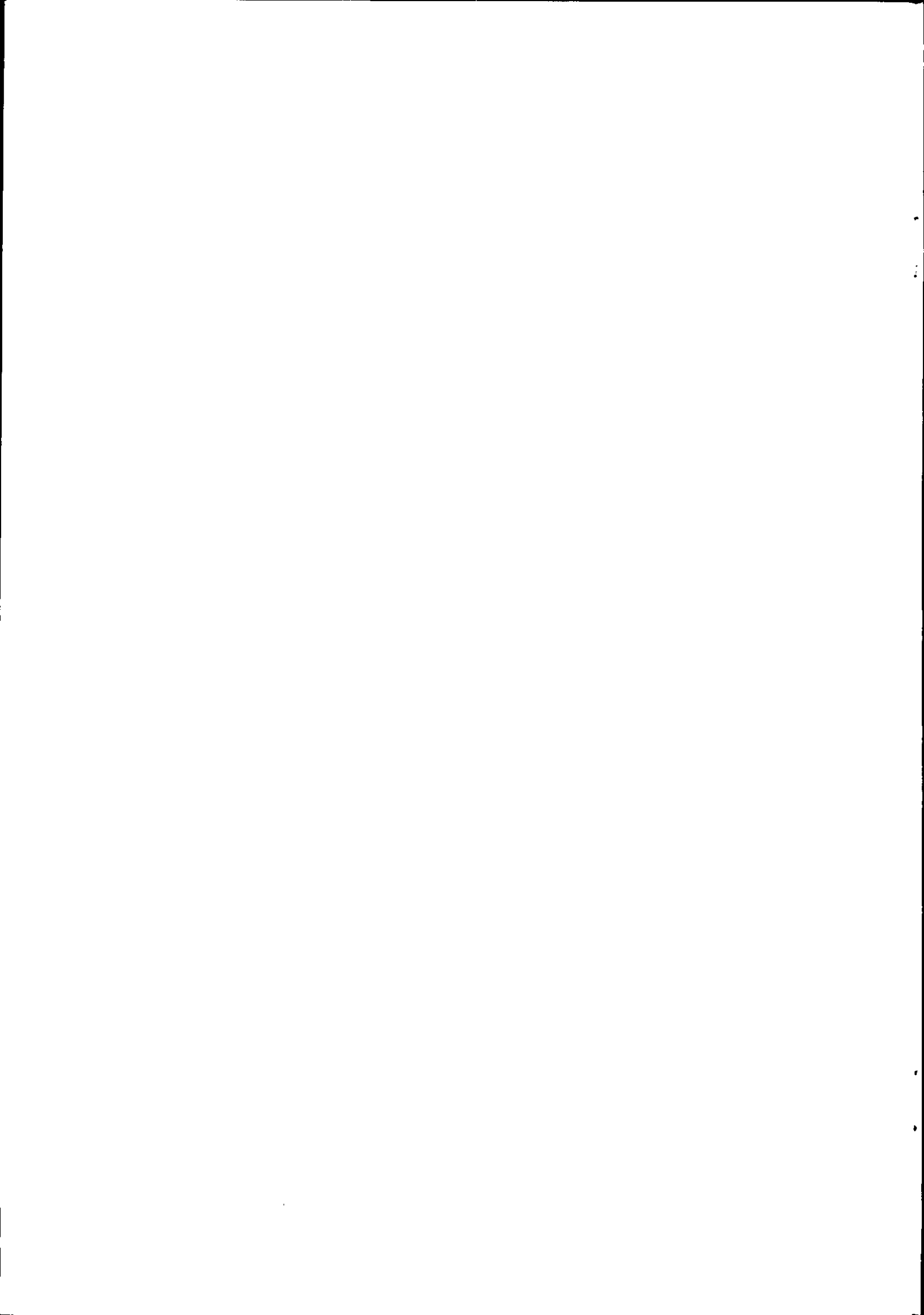
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victim impact statements in SA
customer service in policing
counting prisoners in NSW



Contents

2

Memorial

3

Crime Impact vs. Victim Impact:

Evaluation of victim impact statements in South Australia

Edna Erez & Leigh Roeger

9

Customor Service:

A high priority for Victoria Police

Lorraine Beyer

12

Predicting the homicide population:

An example from New South Wales

Barbara Thompson

15

Queensland Police Education Policy Development (1989-1993):

The untold story

Grant Pitman

21

Social Control and the Violation of Human Rights:

The relationship between sociological variables and social murder

Bernard East

26

Service Pages

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Adam Graycar
Director

The challenge of change affects us all. While some thrive on the adrenalin of change, others see it as an affliction — a loathsome impediment to order, tradition and stability. Change is a phenomenon that cannot be controlled by those affected, and organisations that deal with examining and responding to change must themselves change with the times. Some organisations ride with the tide of change, some ride ahead of change and others ride behind the tide. From time to time we can all observe organisations which try to ride against the tide of change. In a context of monumental and significant social, economic and technological change, the Australian Institute of Criminology has a responsibility to identify, study and analyse change, and in so doing place in context the ever-changing issues of promotion of justice and prevention of crime.

The Institute is not just an observer of change, but itself a participant in change. 1995 will be a year of great change for the Institute as it refocuses in a world in which, for example, some acceptable behaviours have become unacceptable, while some unacceptable behaviours have become acceptable; in which families have taken on a very different complexion; in which poverty, dispossession and exclusion manifest themselves in different ways; in which growth and affluence ride a roller coaster into an uncertain future; in which interminable debates about our environment seem not to reach resolution or even bridge deep chasms of difference in view; and a world in which global population movement pervades all social, political and demographic analysis. These are only some of the many issues which impact on crime and justice.

The study of crime and justice, and the development of an empirical and theoretical base from which to advance policy does not take place in a limited or confined world.

Every aspect of behaviour that is studied by criminologists is part of another body of theory or practice. Abuse of children or violence within families often occurs when other systems have not delivered adequately for some of those concerned — perhaps the education system, perhaps the health system, perhaps the income support system, perhaps the system concerned with the administration of justice. Similar examples can be found across the spectrum of behaviour. Part of the Institute's refocussing involves working closely with many other systems.

In this year of change, the Australian Institute of Criminology has restructured its research agenda and developed three teams

which study substantive areas — violent and property crime; sophisticated crime; and the criminal justice system. Each of these will also be involved in monitoring program areas, and identifying crime prevention. A fourth team will provide statistical and data support and will manage and develop the data bases upon which so much research and policy will be built.

The Institute has adopted a new mission statement:

The mission of the AIC is to provide quality information and conduct objective policy oriented research, so as to inform government decisions that will contribute to the promotion of justice and the prevention of crime

and is reorienting itself to stakeholders who are active in policy and practice. The Institute has embarked on a consultation process to ensure the relevance of its research program. At the same time the Institute will work collaboratively with academic organisations to help build the conceptual and theoretical base which necessarily underpins quality work.

During the 1994-95 financial year the Institute has had its budget cut by one third, and thus will be seeking to get maximum results from every dollar spent. While this means we will soon be moving into new (cheaper) premises and facing all the disruption that that entails, it does not mean we will limit debate on important issues. On 5 and 6 June 1995 we will be holding the first National Outlook Symposium on Crime in Australia, and this is already shaping up as a major innovative event. This issue of *Criminology Australia* adds to our debate of important issues, and each of the articles gives us new insights and new ways of looking at our changing world.

1995 will be a year of change — our subject matter will be part of the relentless change that characterises the final decades of this century, while the Institute, as a small organisation bobbing around on the sea of change is in the midst of developing a new structure, a new research agenda, a new policy orientation, a new conference format, and will soon even have a new address. And all of this in the first couple of months of 1995!

Crime Impact vs.

Victim Impact

Evaluation of Victim Impact Statements in South Australia

Background

Crime victims, the previously "forgotten persons" of the criminal justice system, have received increased attention in the last two decades. Sweeping legislation provides victims with rights of compensation from the state, restitution from the offender, support and counselling services, and information and updates about their criminal cases (Erez 1989). Some countries have gone further to enact "victim participation" statutes which guarantee crime victims input into sentencing decisions and, as a result, victims can impact the way in which their offender is dealt with by prosecutors, judges, juries and parole officials (Hall 1991).

Whereas victim rights concerning compensation, restitution or informational updates have been welcomed, and by and large practised, the right to provide input into sentencing decisions has been controversial and continues to be the subject of heated debate.

The controversy emanates from the historical evolution of the penal system — from private vengeance to state administered justice — which resulted in a process in which victims play a secondary role. Victims report crimes to officials who decide whether to prosecute the case and how to proceed. In adversary legal systems, such as Australia, the role of the victim in court proceedings is a passive one. She/he is an observer, or at best, a witness. As a witness, the victim has to remain outside the courtroom until summoned to testify. During the brief time the victim/witness is in court, she/he is limited to answering questions from the prosecutor or the defence barrister. Victims have no formally recognised role in the trial of their offender, nor any mechanism to voice their concerns and feelings regarding the crime and its impact on them. The prosecutor presumably represents the victim and his/her interests.

This concept of crime as an offence against the state, and its attendant administration of justice, has resulted in a host of economic and psychological problems for victims, and most importantly, in perceptions of injustice. Research in several countries has shown that victims have a fundamental need for recognition as an important and necessary participant

in the criminal justice system (Shapland et al. 1985). Studies have suggested that victims' grievances are as much with criminal justice procedures, particularly their lack of involvement in the decision making process, as with the supposed injustice of the outcome. Several countries, (for example, in the USA, President's Task Force 1982; in Canada, Federal-Provincial Task Force 1983; in New Zealand, The Victim's Task Force 1987), as well as the international community (The United Nations, Milan Plan of Action 1985) recognised the need to integrate victims into criminal justice proceedings. Consequently various forms of victim impact were adopted in different countries to allow victims a voice in the criminal justice process.

South Australia was the first State in Australia to integrate crime victims into the criminal justice process via victims' input into the proceedings. Following the 1985 Milan Plan of Action, the government of South Australia formulated and endorsed seventeen principles of victims' rights, one of which (no. 14) states that the victim shall:

be entitled to have the full effects of the crime on him or her made known to the sentencing court either by the prosecutor or by information contained in a presentence report; including any financial, social or physical harm, done to or suffered by the victim. Any other information that may aid the court in sentencing including the restitution or compensation needs of the victim should also be put before the court by the prosecutor...

In 1988, South Australia passed the *Criminal Law (Sentencing) Act*, which states (Section 7) that victim impact material must be put before the court by prosecutors; however, including the material in a pre-sentence report prepared by probation departments does remain an option. VIS is a statement made to inform the judge of any physical or mental harm, any loss or damage to property suffered by a victim as a result of the crime. This law, which took effect in January 1989, allows only written statements concerning the impact of the crime on the victim, but does not include a victim statement of

THE LAST ISSUE OF
JOURNAL OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE
(VOL. 3, NO. 2) FEATURED AN
ADMINISTRATIVE TO VICTIM
IMPACT STATEMENTS (VIS) IN
VICTORIA. THIS ISSUE PRE-
SENTS A SUMMARY OF THE
EVALUATION STUDY OF VIS
CONDUCTED IN THE
AUSTRALIAN STATE WHICH
STUDY INTRODUCED VIS. THE
STUDY WAS SUPPORTED BY
THE COMMONWEALTH
RESEARCH COUNCIL.

opinion concerning the offender or a proposed sentence. The responsibility for preparing the VIS was assigned to the South Australia police. Collecting and summarising information on the crime's effect on the victim is now a part of the normal duties of the investigating police officer. South Australia has preferred the police over probation officers because of resource and practical problems, and because probation officers deal principally with offenders (Sumner & Sutton 1990).

Arguments in Favour and Against Victim Input

Supporters of a victim's right to have input into sentencing decisions have proffered various moral, penological and practical arguments. The arguments in favour of victim input focused mostly on benefits to victims and the criminal justice system derived from the use of VIS. The effectiveness of sentencing will increase if victims convey their feelings, and the process will become more democratic and reflective of the community's response to crime (Rubel 1986). Victim participation will provide recognition of the victim's wishes for party status and individual dignity (Henderson 1985). It will remind judges, juries and prosecutors that behind the "state" is a real person with an interest in how the case is resolved (Kelly 1990). Victim integration will result in increased victim cooperation with the criminal justice system, thereby enhancing system efficiency (McLeod 1986). The opportunity to voice concerns is necessary for victim satisfaction with justice, psychological healing and restoration (Erez 1990). Allowing victims to provide input into sentencing would increase perceived fairness (Sumner 1987) and reduce feelings of helplessness and lack of control (Kilpatrick & Otto 1987). The provision of information on the harm suffered by the victim will increase proportionality and accuracy in sentencing (Erez 1990).

Objections to victims' input in sentencing focus mostly on legal arguments concerning the appearance of justice and actual justice, and on practical concerns (Erez 1990). Victim input would result in substituting the victim's "subjective" approach for the "objective" one practised by the court (Victorian Sentencing Committee 1988). Sentence disparity may occur as, conceivably, similar cases could be disposed of differently, dependent upon the availability or thoroughness of the VIS (Hall 1991, pp. 245-6) or on victims' vindictiveness or forgiveness (Grabosky 1987, p. 147).

Concerns have also been raised about the effect of the VIS on victims' health and welfare. Some argue that allowing victim input will aggravate victims' psychological well-being as they relive the crime experience. Because consideration of the VIS material by the court may increase the severity of punishment, the offender must be given the right to challenge the factual basis on which the escalation of the penalty occurs, specifically to dispute causes, extent of harm, and prognosis. This may result in victims being subjected to unpleasant cross-examination

(Victorian Sentencing Committee 1988). Also, requiring a VIS may in itself be traumatic for victims, and victims may not want the offender to be fully aware of the harm inflicted on them (Australian Law Reform Commission 1988).

Some suggest that the victim movement has created expectations among crime victims that are not, or could not, be met (Fattah 1986). Instituting formal procedures for victims' input into sentencing may be counter-productive, as they may create expectations that the input will be reflected in sentencing decisions. Because judges are sometimes precluded from considering a victim's statement, those who believe that their input has been ignored may become embittered and resentful (Henderson 1985).

There are objections to the presumed adverse effects of victim integration on the criminal justice process. Concerns over delays and additional expenses for an already overburdened system, if victims are allowed to participate, are mentioned (for example, Australian Law Reform Commission 1988). Some argue that victim input adds little useful or novel information which is not already available to the court, and results in longer trials. The criminal law already takes into account the harm done to the victim in the definitions of crime and mitigating or aggravating circumstances (Hellerstein 1989), and unforeseen consequences or effects on particularly vulnerable victims should not be considered in sentencing (Ashworth 1993).

The major objections to victim impact are based on ideological grounds. Opponents of participatory rights believe that rights gained by victims are rights lost to the defendant, and that bringing the victim back into the process means a reversion to the retributive, repressive and vengeful punishment of an earlier age (Sebba 1989). Victims' anguish, it is argued, has been exploited or mistranslated into support for a conservative ideology, and the attempt to bring the victim back into the process may be a way to accomplish the goal of harsher punishment (Henderson 1985).

The Study

The evaluation study reported here examined the validity of some of the arguments raised in the debate surrounding the VIS, specifically the effects of the VIS practice on the criminal justice process, on sentencing outcomes, and on victim satisfaction with justice. It also evaluated the implementation of this newly acquired right in South Australia.

The study used three sources of data. First, in-depth interviews of the legal profession — justices and judges (N=15) magistrates (N=7), Crown prosecutors (N=8), police, prosecutors and adjudicators (N=6), and defence lawyers (N=6) — were conducted during February and March 1993. Legal professionals were interviewed in structured interviews, which lasted between one and two hours. Second, victims whose offender was processed and sentenced by the District or Supreme Courts between January 1990 and July 1992 were surveyed. Because court records and the interviews of the legal professionals



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revealed that VIS are not tendered in the Magistrate's Court, only victims of offences processed in the higher court were included in the sample. A total of 427 victims responded to the survey, a response rate of 67 per cent. Third, court records and sentencing statistics compiled by the Office of Crime Statistics of the Attorney-General's Department were examined and analysed (for a detailed description of the research design and the data see Erez et al. 1994).

Discussion

Effects on the Process

The findings suggest that concerns about negative effects of VIS on the criminal justice process were unwarranted. The practice of VIS did not result in delays, additional expenses or mini trials on VIS content. The experience of legal professionals has been that well prepared VIS actually saved court time. As several of them noted, when the information on harm is readily available to them on a special form, there is no need to spend time looking for it. In the few instances in which additional time was needed (for example, to deal with challenges to the VIS from the defence), most respondents thought the extra time spent was well worth it. Also, most of the legal professionals thought that updated and well prepared VIS were not redundant or did not duplicate other information in the file. Quite often VIS were the only source of important information for sentencing such as whether there is an ongoing disability, any long-term effects, or a complete recovery.

According to the judges' and prosecutors' assessments, VIS very rarely include inflammatory, prejudicial or other objectionable statements. Similarly, exaggerations are not commonplace. If exaggerations do occur, according to the prosecutors and judges, they involve financial matters, and not emotional and mental suffering. Only the defence attorneys expressed concern about the accuracy of victim input concerning psychological or mental harm. The data also show that challenges from the defence were rare and mostly involved monetary issues (for example, value of property stolen or damaged). An agreement between counsels often resolved these challenges without the need to bring in new evidence. Challenges concerning matters of emotional harm, and the cross-examination of victims on mental injury details presented in the VIS, were practically non-existent. Defence lawyers, despite their deeply-rooted suspicion of victims' input on emotional matters, were reluctant to cross-examine them. They were afraid of the adverse effects that the victim's testimony and appearance might have on the jury, the judge, and ultimately the sentence. It is quite revealing that despite their distrust of victims' motives and input, defence lawyers were not willing to take the risk of verifying their doubts relative to victims' mental injury. Thus, concern over victims being subjected to difficult cross-examination about their input in the VIS did not materialise. Similarly, the legal professionals' experience has been that vic-

tims are willing and interested in providing input for VIS. Only in a very small number of cases, mostly child sexual abuse, were the victims (often their guardians) reluctant to provide input.

These findings also emerged from the victim survey. Most victims stated they wanted to provide input, and many viewed it as an important duty. Less than one-fifth of the victims who testified stated that their testimony was challenged. About half of those whose input was challenged, however, stated that they were angry or upset about the challenge. The legal professionals agreed that information about victim harm available to the court has increased since VIS have been introduced, although this increase was not always attributed directly to the VIS. Respondents from all groups viewed the recent political visibility of victims as partly responsible for increased information available on victim harm.

The professionals agreed that VIS are more important in serious crimes than minor offences, and that they are very critical in guilty plea cases compared to cases that go to trial. In plea cases judges do not have the opportunity to observe victims testifying; therefore, they depend on the VIS to provide information on victim harm. The victim survey showed that victims do not testify in about 75 per cent of the cases disposed of by the Supreme and District courts. (This percentage is higher in the magistrate courts.) Therefore, in the majority of the cases disposed of by the courts, the VIS provide valuable information for sentencing.

Effects on Sentence Outcomes and Dispositions

The fears that the VIS will have negative or punitive effects on sentencing also did not materialise. There was a consensus among the legal professionals that the introduction of VIS did not result in sentence disparity either due to the absence of VIS from some files or because of variations in VIS quality. In the overwhelming majority of serious offence cases, VIS were tendered to the court (over 90 per cent of cases in the higher courts; but in less than 1 per cent in the magistrate courts). However, in the small number of cases in which VIS were absent, judges made different assumptions about victim harm and handled the problem differently. Some assumed no harm occurred, while others assumed a breakdown in the system and made attempts on their own to acquire the needed information. Still others took a formalistic approach and "penalised" prosecutors who did not tender an updated VIS and sentenced without it. Yet, such situations (and reactions) were exceptional and no group thought that either of these problems resulted in sentence disparity. Generally judges conceded that in serious offences, with high level of injury or harm, VIS are and judges make efforts to receive updated versions.

The predictions about VIS harshening effect on sentencing were not borne out by the data. The impression of the legal professionals was that sentencing patterns did not change following the introduction of VIS. These impressions were confirmed by an analysis of sentencing patterns before and after

the introduction of the VIS. The analysis did not reveal any changes in sentence severity, as measured by incarceration (whether the accused received a prison or non-custodial sentence) and by the average length of a prison sentence (both head sentence and non-parole period). The statistical analysis of selected offences against the person also did not detect any effect of the VIS on sentence outcome. One reason for the lack of overall increase in sentence severity was that in the few cases in which VIS influences the sentence, it may result in a more lenient effect as often as in a harsher one. This happens when the VIS discloses recovery, an attempt to reconcile, or an injury that is less than would be normally expected. Another reason was that often the information on the extent of damage or injury in the VIS can be deduced from the other materials in the file, as judges have routinely done before the VIS were introduced. The VIS, it was suggested, serves mostly as a collecting instrument.

The introduction of the VIS, however, did not result in increase in restitution or compensation orders. Trend analysis of court orders showed no change in the small percentage of cases in which restitution and compensation orders are made (less than 5 per cent of the higher court cases). As most defendants do not have the means to pay compensation to the victim for the harm they caused, or are unable to make restitution (return property to the victim), judges are precluded from making such orders.

Victims and the VIS

Victims provided VIS information in the overwhelming majority of the cases. The impression of the legal professionals was that victims rarely decline to provide impact information. However, a major finding emerging from the victim survey is that about half of the victims stated they did not provide information for a VIS when in reality they did.

The victims who stated they provided VIS information were mostly victims of offences against the person. Most of the victims who provided input for the VIS did so "to ensure that justice was done." Only a small minority (5 per cent) provided the input with the purpose of influencing the sentence. Yet, almost three-quarters of victims who stated they provided VIS material expected the VIS to have an impact on the sentence. Less than half of them felt that their input had an effect on the sentence. For about one-third of the victims who stated they provided VIS material, expectations concerning the effect of VIS on sentencing went unfulfilled.

Analysis of the factors related to victim satisfaction with justice did not identify the provision of VIS material as one of these factors. For victims who knew the sentence of their offender (about half of the sample), satisfaction with the sentence was the major determinant of their satisfaction with justice. For victims who did not know the sentence, satisfaction with justice was predicted by the type of victimisation (personal crime) and their level of distress. Whereas providing VIS material did not affect vic-

tim satisfaction with justice, unfulfilled expectations concerning VIS effect on sentencing were associated with increased victim dissatisfaction with the sentence.

Almost half of the victims who provided VIS material felt relieved or satisfied after providing the information. Only a small number of victims (6 per cent) were upset or disturbed by this experience. The overwhelming majority of victims who provided information stated they wanted or agreed to the VIS being used in sentencing. Practically all these respondents felt that if they were a victim again they would want a VIS presented in court.

Over two-thirds of the victims who knew the sentence of their offender thought it too lenient. Victims wanted to see their offender receive prison sentences and longer ones. They also wanted more licence revocations and community service orders and far more restitution and compensation orders than the courts imposed. Over three-quarters of the victims believed that the system does not give adequate attention and help to victims. They wanted more information and efficient processing of the case. Yet, almost all victims stated they would report victimisation and cooperate with law enforcement efforts if they were victimised again.

Implementation of the VIS

The data reveal a very uneven implementation of the VIS requirement. All groups of the legal profession noted that the quality of information presented to them was highly variable in its thoroughness, often inadequate in detail, and almost always without follow-ups or updates for sentencing purposes. The latter finding was confirmed by the victim survey which showed that two-thirds of the victims who indicated they provided VIS material stated that the VIS was never updated.

From the victim perspective, the fact that almost half of the victims did not know that they provided VIS material is also indicative of a problematic implementation of VIS. If one of the purposes of VIS is to provide victims with a voice in the process, victims should be aware of exercising this opportunity right when they do so. In this respect, justice needs to be *seen* to be done.

The ideal person or agency to prepare the VIS was disputed. Generally, the legal professionals objected to victims completing their own VIS. They emphasised the importance of an independent agency charged with VIS preparation. Some thought a professional (medical, psychological, etc.), whose expertise would normally not be questioned, should be assigned the task. A reliance on experts for the majority of crimes, or even the more serious ones, however, is potentially problematic. As several judges noted, it will result in unjustifiably slower and more expensive justice. Further, judges believe that they are already educated about the effects of crimes on victims. Several judges therefore suggested that only in very unusual cases, those with victims exhibiting uncommon or unique reactions, is there a need for an expert to testify.

Differences of opinion also surfaced among the legal professionals concerning determining responsibility for the minimal implementation of VIS. Judges, Crown prosecutors and some police prosecutors viewed the police, who are charged with VIS preparation, as the culprits. The police, it was suggested, treated VIS as only a formality, were slack, or simply did not appreciate the importance of VIS. Some judges also viewed prosecutors as negligent in their duty to provide VIS. Few prosecutors thought that judges do not consider VIS in their decisions, so additional demands should not be placed on already overburdened police. Defence lawyers knew that vague or terse VIS are in the defence interest, so they did not concern themselves with this issue. The police perceived themselves as the true "victims" of the movement to improve the crime victims lot, and as government's "dumping ground" in its attempt to win political gains with minimal investment. The police agreed that they are neither trained to prepare VIS, nor do they have the time and resources to do it.

Despite a common observation that the current implementation of VIS is highly problematic, the sentiment of the legal professionals was that VIS provide the symbolic recognition and voice that victims deserve, and that through the VIS the system further approaches a balanced justice. The victim survey confirms that victims want to present to the judge the crime's impact on them, and that they view their input as relevant and necessary for "justice". The legal professionals also agreed that victims should have input into sentencing, but disagreed about its kind, form, scope and who should prepare it. They objected to victims expressing preference concerning the sentence and were generally reluctant to allow victims to complete VIS on their own.

Conclusion

This study dispels several arguments raised against the VIS, but at the same time questioned some of its presumed benefits and revealed problems in VIS current practice. To settle the continuing controversy surrounding VIS further empirical data are necessary. Legal arguments or speculations alone are not helpful in a debate that calls for empirical answers. The heretofore reliance on exceptional cases, atypical situations, or theoretical possibilities to formulate public policy, while ignoring the reality of the bulk of the cases (and victims) processed by the court, does not advance the goals of the system. In the final analysis, however, whether one interprets the results of the South Australia (or any other) evaluation study as supporting the VIS concept depends heavily on one's philosophical stance and moral conviction concerning the need for victim integration in the criminal justice process.

The results confirm findings from other studies on conditions necessary for effective law reform. For a successful legal change, the support of all organisational parts involved in the reform is necessary. Support is generally forthcoming where participants are convinced about the need for change and where

accompanying resources to effect the reform reinforce the perception of its significance. In the present case, neither condition was present. The legal profession had (and still has) reservations about victims' integration in the criminal justice process, and doubts concerning the VIS's utility as a vehicle for presenting victim harm to the court (see also Erez 1994). The police, to whom the task of collecting VIS material was assigned, interpreted the lack of resources as a statement about VIS importance. Further, the reform, as spelled out in the law, did not change drastically the way in which the system recognises victims' harm. Although the law mandated the presentation of VIS, it did not confer any recognised legal status on it (such as a deposition), nor did it specify any sanctions for non-compliance.

The evaluation confirms that when reforms merely "tinker" with the system, and challenge traditions and established patterns within the criminal courts, legislative changes often amount to lip service (Kelly 1990). The South Australian experience with VIS is therefore most likely to help both camps in the debate get deeper entrenched in their positions. Opponents of the change, or those who had reservations about the need for reform, have their doubts reinforced. Proponents of the reform have now evidence to dispel the fears about the detrimental effects of the VIS, while maintaining intact their belief in its presumed benefits. The present practice of the VIS, they may argue, does not provide as yet an appropriate setting for testing the validity of these claims. The current practice of the VIS, however, may constitute an acceptable compromise to both sides, as it has been successful in preserving the time-honoured tradition of excluding victims from the system with the semblance that they are a part of it.

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Customer Service

A High Priority for Victoria Police

The Origins of Customer Service

Customer service, as a management strategy, originated in 1981 in Scandinavia, the year in which Scandinavia Airlines System (SAS) made a loss of \$8 million. SAS employed a new manager and adopted a bold marketing philosophy based on an obsessive commitment to customer service. By the end of the fiscal year 1982, SAS showed a profit of \$71 million (on sales of \$2 billion) at a time when the rest of the airline industry lost an aggregate \$1.7 billion! The dramatic turnaround of SAS attracted the attention of management theorists in Sweden, Denmark and Norway who pieced together what had been done in terms of the management process. Out of this analysis evolved a body of thought which became known in Scandinavia as Service Management. Service Management attracted the attention of management strategists in the United States who developed the idea further. A large body of literature now exists on customer service and the processes involved are being applied in a wide range of organisations including non-profit, government sector organisations.

What is Customer Service?

Customer service is a system of management which focuses on how the organisation is perceived from the outside (that is from the point of view of customers) and establishing systems and methods of

delivering services which increasingly meet customers' expectations and needs. Customer service is about delivering service improvements which are visible to customers, (whether great or small). Customer service is not a separate project or strategy but rather, if it is to be successful, it must become an intrinsic component of the everyday working environment throughout the organisation. The personnel of the various work units have ownership of service improvements. Reward and recognition schemes are an important component.

Victoria Police and Customer Service

Serving the community is one of the major organisational goals for Victoria Police in the 1990s and beyond. Customer service is the vehicle by which this goal will be achieved. Service to the community has always been a strong tradition of Victoria Police. The customer service strategy will build on that tradition by providing a structured system of managing service. All police organisations tend to focus predominantly on managing tasks and physical resources. Customer service balances this management focus by putting a much greater emphasis on management of service. Victoria Police have recently completed a Framework document which outlines how this new focus will be implemented (Victoria Police 1994).



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Essential Elements of Customer Service

A number of elements have been identified as essential to the effective and successful implementation of customer service in organisations (Albrecht 1986). These are as follows:

- Customer orientation must be primary to the organisation, not merely for humanitarian reasons, but because of a conviction that quality of service makes a significant difference in the success of the organisation.
- Service needs to be thought of in terms of being



a special kind of product which is designed, created and delivered in a special way.

- Management of customer service must put managers squarely in the middle of the process of forming values, designing services, and above all finding out what the customer thinks.
- Management of customer service must have a total systems approach which makes virtually all aspects of the organisation answerable to the basic service orientation. Deployment of resources, design of delivery systems, organisational structures, reporting relationships, information flows, policies, procedures, problem-solving mechanisms and so on must all be open for re-determination if they stand as obstacles to the mission of excel-

lent service.

- The organisation needs to be taught through visible management. That is, managers and leaders must be seen to be interacting with staff face to face, talking to them, getting their ideas and being committed to customer service through their actions as well as their words.
- There must be a reliance on the skilful action of front-line people who deliver the service.

Internal Customers

The quality of service provided internally to staff impacts significantly on the service provided to external customers. It is unrealistic to expect staff to provide excellent service when they are poorly or inappropriately managed and receiving little or no recognition for efforts in delivering quality service. A successful customer service strategy must therefore also address the needs of internal customers.

Level of service an external customer receives is only partly dependent on the performance of the staff actually delivering service to customers. Level of service is mostly dependent on the underlying design of the service (systems and procedures), and the way front-line staff are managed. Therefore, whilst quality of service is everyone's job, it is management's responsibility.

Victoria Police have identified three inter-linking dimensions to internal customer service. One dimension relates to the services provided by internal service areas to other personnel within the force, for example in the provision of computer maintenance, vehicle maintenance, payroll processing, drug analysis and so on. The second internal customer service dimension concerns the working relationship between work units. For example, the working relationship between the Criminal Investigation Branch, District Support Group, Community Policing Squads, and uniform police in a district. The third dimension relates to the customer relationship which must exist between ranks and or levels. Each police member has customers who are above, below and lateral to them in rank or level, and to whom they should be providing a quality service, based on the needs of each particular internal customer.

The opinions, ideas and needs of internal customers must be regularly sought by managers in order to identify and provide the support and assistance their internal customers need to do their job to a high standard. Improvements in services to both internal and external customers may mean changing priorities, emphasis, systems, procedures and ways of doing things. The questions which need to remain uppermost in mind are such things as: "Who are the systems and procedures serving?" "Are current systems and procedures enhancing or inhibiting the ability of personnel to meet the service needs of internal and external customers?" "Are the systems and procedures necessary or, can they be modified or adjusted to better serve the needs of customers?"

Implementation

Implementation of customer service at all levels

roughout Victoria Police will include:

- staff development and education in service delivery and management;
- identification of each unit's customers' needs and expectations through market and customer research;
- identification and definition of gaps in service (that is gaps between what the customers need and expect and what is currently being provided);
- development of strategies to close service gaps, by either providing customers with what they need and expect, or by conducting a marketing or education program to customers to bring expectations down to a more "realistic" level which can be met or exceeded; and
- provision of rewards and recognition to personnel who provide good customer service and or service management.

Customer service is consistent and complementary to the community policing philosophy of Victoria Police. It will be used as a means of strengthening existing partnerships with the community; encouraging police personnel to be positive and creative in their approaches to problem solving; improving accountability; improving feelings of pride and professionalism within personnel; and encouraging mutual respect and equity for individuals. It will also assist Victoria Police to keep abreast of change and to successfully meet the inevitable challenges of the future.

Conclusion

Many top performing organisations, both government and private, profit and non-profit, are introducing customer service as their primary organisational strategy and focus. For example, the United States federal government intends to have customer service as the management core of all its federal agencies (Gore 1993), and the Victorian State Government through its Management Improvement Initiative seeks to have customer service as a major focus for all its departments (Office of Premier and Cabinet 1993). (See also Directions in Government September 1992).

Many police organisations have discovered the relevance of customer service to the policing environment. A literature search shows that police in New Zealand, Canada, Denmark, United Kingdom and some police services in the United States are introducing customer service into their organisations as are other Australian police services.

Victoria Police intend that customer service will make internal and external customer needs and expectations central to police operations at all levels and in all areas. It will enable Victoria Police to be more efficient internally whilst becoming increasingly sensitive and flexible in its approach to meeting community and individual needs.

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Predicting the Inmate Population

An example from New South Wales

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The current method used by the New South Wales Department of Corrective Services for short-term forecasting of prisoner numbers is of interest in comparison to that proposed by John Walker (*Criminology Australia*, vol. 5, no. 3). This article describes the method used by the NSW Department of Corrective Services, but it should be noted, however, that it is still being developed and refined.

Methodology

The NSW inmate population is examined in three separate groups: sentenced inmates; remandees and trials; and fine defaulters.

Sentenced Inmates

The number of sentenced inmates is predicted from an estimated reception rate and an estimated distribution of time served. This has been accomplished in NSW by the development of a computer program which starts with all sentenced inmates in custody on a given date and their time left to serve. Every four weeks it iteratively adds on new receptions with their time to serve, thus counting how many inmates would still be in custody on this day. This method, devised and developed independently, has the same basis as that developed by John Walker (Walker 1984).

The reception rate depends very much on how many courts are operating and what sorts of cases are being heard. In NSW in 1993, 5186 cases were given a custodial sentence by local courts and 2099 cases were given a custodial sentence by higher courts, a total of 7285 cases. But since some people received more than one sentence (only 4750 new sentenced receptions were counted) it is not possible to link court results and reception rates.

Higher courts have a summer vacation each year (the last part of December and most or all of January), with a mid-year vacation (four weeks in June and July). The starting dates of these vacations vary slightly from year to year in order to start on the same day of the week. While there are some local courts operating every working day, the actual number operating on any particular day does vary. These variations directly affect the short-term reception rate and hence the number of inmates, some-

times in a substantial way.

In general, magistrates arrange their own case-loads, and a logical assumption would be that the number of cases that could result in a custodial sentence as a proportion of the total cases heard is reasonably constant over the State. However, magistrates may be requested to reduce the backlog of certain types of cases and this may greatly alter the short-term reception rate. This type of variation can have a big effect on any model developed.

For the purpose of forecasting, receptions are grouped into three-monthly seasons: spring (September to November), summer (December to February), autumn (March to May), and winter (June to August). This puts the summer vacation, the mid-term vacation and Easter into the same grouping each year. Figure 1 shows a similar number of receptions in spring each year from 1989 to 1993. For the other seasons, the reception rates rose between 1989-90 and 1990-91, dropped slightly again, and have been fairly constant for the last two years (up to autumn 1994).

Remandees and Trials

The future number of remandees and trials is predicted based on the numbers for the previous three years taken at four-weekly intervals. As Figure 2 shows, numbers have been generally decreasing before Christmas and then rising until about March, probably related to court closures and summer holidays.

Fine Defaulters

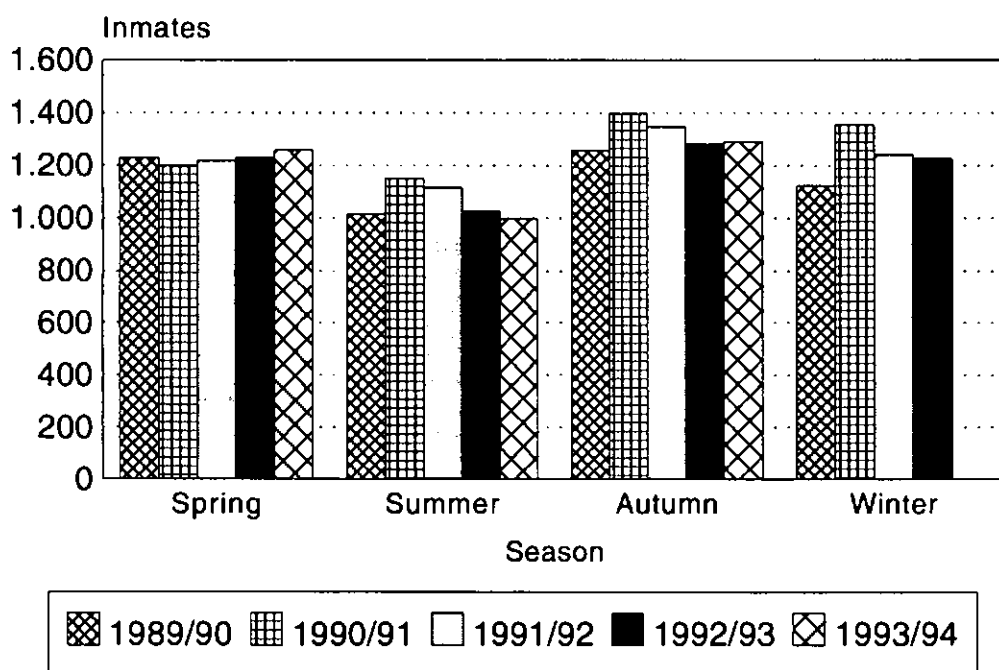
The number of inmates in custody for fine default alone is small and is taken as an appropriate constant.

Receipts

So far two verifiable predictions of inmate numbers have been made using the above method. The prediction for the end of June 1993 was made in November, 1992 (predicted = 6400, actual = 6386) and the prediction for the end of June 1994 was made in September 1993 (predicted = 6490, actual = 6409).

At the end of June 1994 there were about 80 fewer fine defaulters than usual owing to a moratori-

Figure 1: Sentenced Inmates Received
Spring 1989 to Autumn 1994



As at 30/6/94

Fine defaulters excluded.

Compare the same season over different years to see if the reception rate has changed.

um on the execution of fine default warrants (there were 6 fine defaulters instead of about 85). Without this unforeseeable moratorium the predicted figures would have been very close to the actual. As Figure 3 shows, these predictions were made as the inmate population began to flatten out after a steep increase in preceding years.

The prediction of the yearly average (taken as the average of the 13 four-weekly predictions for the year) for 1992-93 left a lot of room for improvement (predicted = 6300, actual = 6181), but was a little better for 1993-94 (predicted = 6380, actual = 6423). The discrepancy was most likely due to short-term changes in court through-put. For example, while an extra 100 inmates received in August with three months to serve will not affect the June population, they will significantly alter the yearly average.

Since the prediction is most often used for requests relating to budgetary allocation, the most urgent need for accuracy is for the following financial year. It is therefore planned to revise each forecast at the end of the financial year.

As experience has shown, changes in legislation can have a major effect on inmate numbers far exceeding any likely effect produced by demographic changes in the population of the State. For example, in New South Wales most of the 26 per cent increase from 4742 on 25 June 1989 to 5955 on 30 June 1991, has been attributed to the *Sentencing Act 1989* which abolished remission. A lesser change was caused by a moratorium on the execution of fine default warrants between 31 March and 30 July

1994. Such changes in legislation or policy may be made with little warning.

Regular court activity can be taken into account in estimating future reception rates. However, as discussed, some ad hoc decisions about courts administration can also have a big effect on inmate numbers. In contrast, changes to policing (for example, where police are deployed) may affect the arrest rate but will have little effect on the sentenced reception rate unless court resources are increased. The number of remandees is unlikely to increase much for this reason alone since remand cases are usually given preference in courts.

Since inmate accommodation takes three or more years to plan and build, ideally the population prediction should be accurate enough to show the need or not for new accommodation in several years time. Of course, in practice, currently undreamt of legislation can radically change the situation during those years.

The same problem applies to long-term plans which are based on population forecasts. It seems obvious that all long-term plans must incorporate periodic revision. It must also be made clear to those who wish to use the predictions that they only apply "if everything goes on as it is now". Good communication between the forecaster and people making legislative and policy decisions or involved in courts administration is essential.

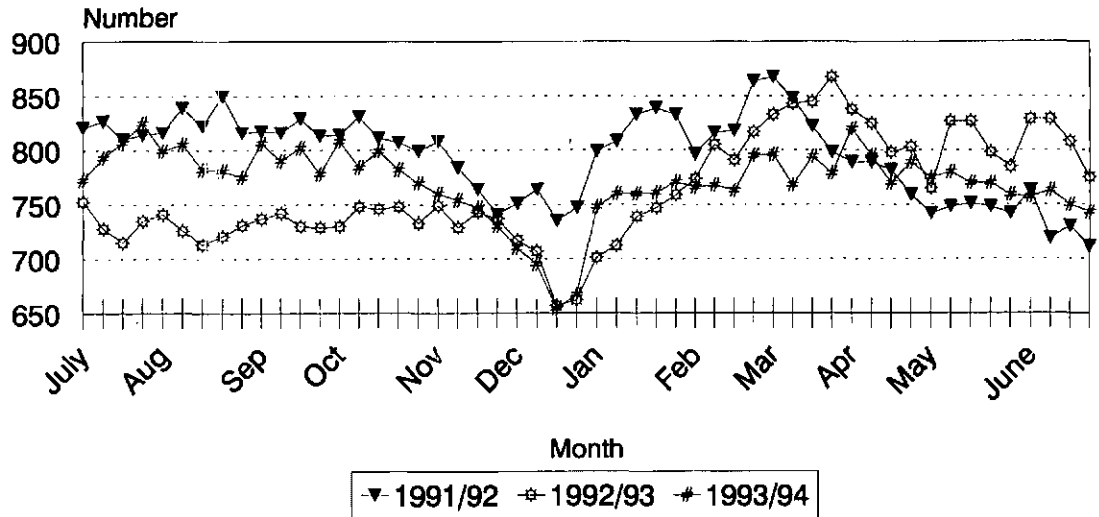
The forecasting method described is far from being fully developed. However, in a situation where the reception rate seems to have stabilised (although inmate numbers are still being affected by a sudden

increase in length of sentence in 1989) this method has given a reasonable prediction one year ahead "if everything stays as it is now". Improvements to make the method more adaptable to changing situations are still being investigated.

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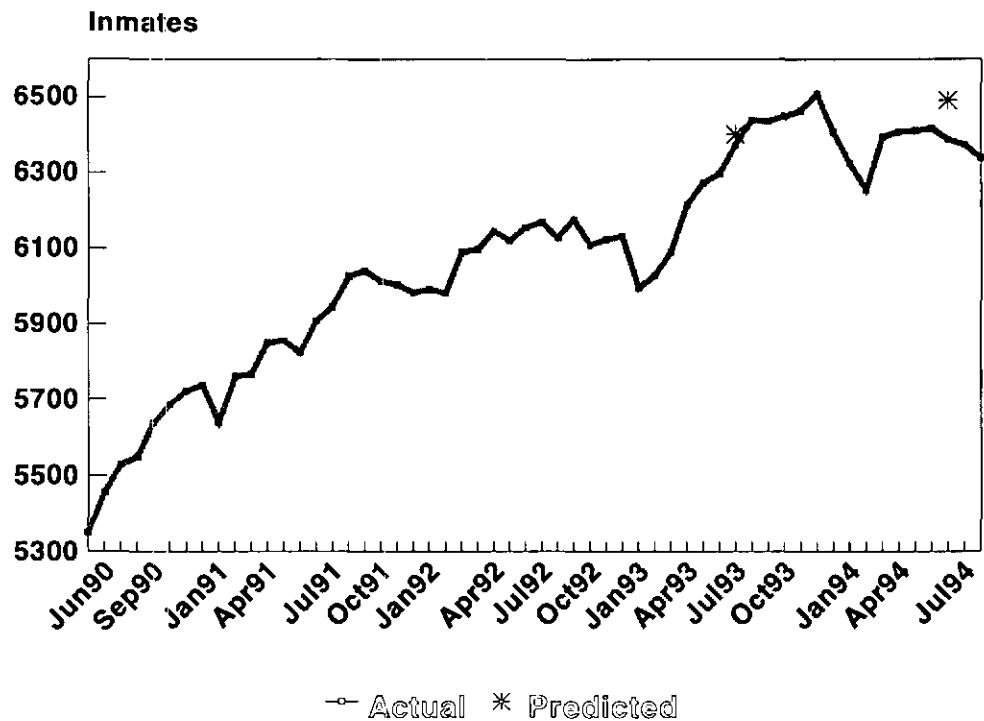
Figure 2: Remands and Trials Each Sunday



As at 21/6/94.

Remands and trials each Sunday starting after 2 July each year.

Figure 3: Total NSW Inmate Population



Total population every fourth Sunday

Queensland Police Education Policy Development (1989-1993)

The Untold Story

On the 29 June 1989, in *The Report of a Commission of Inquiry into Possible Illegal Activities and Associated Police Misconduct* (The Fitzgerald Report) and in the 1981 report of *The Commission of Inquiry into New South Wales Police Administration* (The Lusher Report), several pages of criticism were made about the education and training systems of the Queensland and New South Wales Police Forces. The reports recommended that police educators develop tertiary level education and training programs for new recruits and serving police officers. Up to this point police recruits required only a junior high school certificate as the minimum educational standard to become a police officer.

Background

Changes to the Queensland Police Education and Training system commenced in late 1990 — an aftermath of the Fitzgerald Inquiry — with the introduction of a Police Education Advisory Council (PEAC) managed by the Queensland Police Service and the Criminal Justice Commission. Membership of PEAC included representatives from universities, the Queensland Education Department and Further Education Colleges (TAFE), the Police Officers Union, Police Union officials, police practitioners, police management, interstate and national police educators, the Criminal Justice Commission and community members. The Queensland Police Service Corporate Planner was invited by PEAC to commence a review of the structure of the Queensland Police Academy and, in particular, the delivery of the pre-service program. The proposal document which primarily referenced the structure and resource costings was presented to a PEAC meeting in early 1991. The curriculum design of the pre-service program was developed under the supervision of an interim curriculum development committee responsible to PEAC (see Petrie 1992).

The proposal was reviewed by the universities. One of the tertiary providers submitted an alternative proposal to PEAC recommending a financial savings to Police through the acceptance of a tertiary educational model in lieu of a Police Academy. At a PEAC meeting in April 1991, then Minister for

Police, Terry MacKenroth, expressed a range of views about the proposals.

The Police Service then developed an interim management team to restructure the Queensland Police Academy and the pre-service program. A police education and training structure was approved by the new Police Minister, Nev Warburton, and PEAC in late December 1992. However, many of the positions were never filled due in part to political priorities and uncertainty at that time.

The Queensland Police environment was changing in early to mid-1992 with a difference of opinion between the Police Minister and Police Commissioner, and the police rank and file about the quality of the pre-service course for recruits and the lack of in-service programs which they believed had been diminished due to the increased resources necessary to pay the contract fees to the tertiary providers. There was a strong body of opinion in police circles that the police service was becoming deskilled at the expense of the imbalance of resources being utilised in recruit training. Professor Barry McDonald (1993), an education consultant from East Anglia University, supported these concerns. However, true police professionalism, according to the external advisers, could only be achieved by raising the entry standard into the police service to graduated entry. All these changes were made under the watchful eye of the Criminal Justice Commission, PEAC, the Police Minister and police management generally.

Intentional Models And Reform

This article focuses on the players in the policy process and the notion that for police education and training systems to achieve an outcome in terms of providing a superior service delivery to the citizenry of Queensland, flexibility in approaches based on the professional/academic model are required. This model would need to include the involvement of the community, police educators, police management and unions, police practitioners, the political arena and the academic sector.

Meier argues that the ultimate mission of a police education and training program is "a blend of classroom theory and the reality of law enforcement"

THIS ARTICLE EXAMINES THE
VIEWS ON POLICE EDUCATION
AND TRAINING IN
QUEENSLAND SINCE THE
FITZGERALD REPORT
(1989), AND CONSIDERS
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RELATING TO EDUCATION
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POLICE.

(1989, p. 9). However, the reality of police reform is that the historical, cultural, structural and political nature of policing develop educational and training systems which reflect senior police management, including unions (but excluding police reformers), street officers, traditional practices and only the rhetoric of educational approaches.

Resistance by senior management, unions and street police to reform and to enhanced education and training systems has been well researched overseas although there is only limited research available in Australia. Also, the links between the three groups and education and training programs have not been fully analysed or explained. Earlier attempts by internal police educational reformers were ignored by senior executive police. These police educational reformers were often well educated, responsive to changes in the external educational community and believed that police education and applied practices needed constant monitoring and improvement.

The traditional, limited expert model has a heavy emphasis on the role of training the officer as an enforcer; dependent on the rule of law and paramilitary structure for guidance. Such recruits tend to rely heavily on rules, guidance and a set of operational structures and procedures. This model creates a reward system that punishes poor performance but generally ignores good performance. The result is a worker who learns that good performance and no performance often get the same reward — an absence of punishment. This fear of risk taking leads to mediocrity.

Police officers must work for extended periods without direct supervision. If they are conditioned during recruit training to perform properly only when directly supervised, this conditioning obviously will affect officer performance following recruit training. This being the case, many traditional police agencies have an obvious problem. The environment created for training needs to be compatible with the "street" challenges.

On the other hand, the academic model fails to indoctrinate the recruit into the police subculture during recruit training. This is normally viewed as inappropriate, especially in agencies with strong subcultures requiring a reliance and support from within the system for the preservation of the status quo. One of the greatest dangers here is the resistance to change and irrelevancy to societal expectations and needs. This professional/academic model addresses the needs of most modern police agencies by maximising the use of adult learning principles; avoiding personal, derogatory or discriminatory practices and accurately reflecting the values of modern agencies. Additionally, and of critical importance is that this model will withstand scrutiny from the public, the courts, educators and the media (Lockard 1989, p. 52). The shortcoming in this approach is the perceived lack of techniques to counter criminal behaviour. Academic providers cannot be held responsible for police education, training and outcomes. This responsibility must remain with the Police Service.

Evidence from several Commissions of Inquiry and contemporary police research may explain the need for professionalism, including who should participate in the reforming of police education and training standards (Moffitt 1974; Lusher 1981; Stewart 1983; Costigan 1984; Neesham 1985; Nagle 1987; Fitzgerald 1989). But the cure to policing ills may lie in the dynamics of the wider constructs of the consultative process and the organisational perceptions of the various stakeholders. An understanding of the police education and training systems will require a fundamental paradigm shift regarding the principles upon which a democratic society is policed. This ideology may encompass the "limit expert" model (MacDonald et al. 1987, p. 2) to the broad notion of the "professional" (MacDonald 1993, pp. 1-14). As NSW Police Commissioner Tony Lauer, states, "the management of the ship must be in the hands of skilled professionals" (1991, p. 11). One former police official summarised the problem in the following terms:

The only way to improve police service to the point where it will be fair and equal in law enforcement, and sensitive to community values in order maintenance is to concentrate on the people who must do the job. This entails "professionals" and it is highly controversial (Ahern 1972, pp. 175-6).

The then New South Wales Police Commissioner John Avery initiated much of the reform process in NSW since 1984 due to the Lusher Report. Avery's document "The Police Profession — Role of Education and Training" was to give career guidance on police education and training needs (NSW Police Board 1988-89, p.48).

This was not the case in Queensland where much of the changes occurred as a result of criticism from the external environment and police management's reaction to the critics. These reforms would not have been possible without the assistance of the internal police reformers. Although this style of educational management is not unique, and some may call it responsive management, the identifiable problem is that there was an inability of management to conceive a futuristic direction for education and training. The perceived outcome is a "freewheeling effect" by police management. The critical issue in this article is that where traditional police management has total control of education and training, the limited expert model — or a variation of it — will always exist. External agencies and forces will not achieve a major directional change other than a focus on educational standards and content. The issue which is not addressed in this article is whether open reformist direction for police education and training will procure competent and effective police officers, without the assistance of a reformist police manager.

The Queensland and New South Wales police education and training systems provide interesting comparative alternatives, and the outcomes of the



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various approaches need to be examined further. Where circumstances encourage openness — including a diversification of opinions — a superior education and training system will result since police management will need to define, defend and justify many policing processes opened to public scrutiny. The implication is that control will become a tug-of-war, and direction will be constantly evolving. The problem with a closed model is that it may return to a variation of traditional methods of training police. The accountability process may be captured by the rhetoric of professionalism, as has been the experience in America.

There is a need to define the types of outcomes expected from police education and training systems and this will range from the limited expert approach to professionalism. This defining process is fraught with difficulty as there are many varied views as to what makes a superior police officer. Today the focus is still reactive and short term with no consideration for long-term strategic thinking. The critical issue here is, as previously stated, that police colleges generally reflect the structures and strategies of the policing world. The result is a para-military structure in the confines of an educational world. This paradigm has historically existed in Queensland and New South Wales. Police managers have found safety in the "control and command" ideology which encourages police education and training systems to be more responsive to the political needs at that time. The Queensland and New South Wales experience gives varying perceptions of this model. Menke et al. argue that there remain

conflicting views about whether or not the police are a profession, whether or not they can ever achieve this status, or is it indeed considered essential for policing by police and the problems surrounding their pursuit of the professional mandate (1982, p. 76).

Although it will be difficult to define police professionalisation, many scholars and police managers may not have questioned the need for integration or variations to the two models. In the case where the professional model is chosen, should there be a set academic discipline like medicine, law and accounting or should a multi-disciplinary approach be the preferred option?

Community Participation

Police education was to be introduced to the concept of community participation in police education and training in Queensland and New South Wales and, in particular, the development of police education advisory councils (PEACS) and academy councils. Most of the development of these councils in Queensland is new in the Australian context and little is written about the evolution of these structures. However, it has been interesting to observe the development of these councils which permit various interest groups — namely, political, community, police managers, practitioners, educators, unions,

and academics — to present their views on police education and training policies and direction. Sterling's observations of the benefits of higher education for police may reflect the community's interest which includes a "more desirable system of personal values consistent with the police function in a democratic society" (1974, p. 28).

Some of the issues not fully analysed about this consultative community process are how the committee's terms of reference were developed, the dynamics of the committee and interrelationship with external bodies. Another factor not considered, and maybe closeted by police management, is the type of advice given to the council and the interpretation of advice received from PEACS and other agencies. Police administrators, while often possessing education qualifications, may give primary allegiance to the application of knowledge in practical affairs.

In addition, these individuals have received their primary socialization, regarding the definition of knowledge, in public police agencies. This group defines, in general, knowledge as that body of information that informs organizational structure, management, system analysis, and operational research (Menke et al. 1982, p. 81).

This interpretation would include the defining of the policing role, function and mandate which may be based on political, social, economic or historical perceptions of policing.

Another issue which is not fully addressed is the use of the council as a political tool to reduce interference in the system. Similar experiences have occurred with the police management board in New South Wales. As Ted Pickering, Minister for Police and Emergency Services in NSW commented, "the relationship between the Minister and the Police Board is complex and unusual" (1991, p.15). What power relationships these police educational councils will have in the future have yet to be fully analysed.

Political Influences

The political factors in the process of educating police have moved into the foreground. There appears an expectation that outcomes should concentrate on service delivery, a reduction in complaints against police and, in particular, organised corruption. There is a belief that the education and training process should be flexible to accommodate political expediency which may not, in the long term, produce the desired outcome. Historically, police work is oriented towards three major tasks: order maintenance, law enforcement and general service (Wilson 1972).

Although there is extensive material on political systems and their impact on policing tasks, little is known as to how they impact on the education and training processes. Informal and formal views of police managers may reflect elements of political initiatives in education and training systems. The involvement of the political system is often reflected

by legal interpretation in education and training processes claiming that policing is independent in terms of law enforcement directives. This is specifically reflected in the curriculum of police training programs in referencing Blackburn's case (*R. v. Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis ex parte Blackburn* (1968) 2 QB 118). The question not often understood is why police executives constantly reinforce the notion of political independence in course content rather than the notion of political "interdependence".

There appears to be a lack of contemporary understanding about the police role in a democratic society generally and this is reflected in political and police education policy documents which fail to conceptualise the policing mandate. Police power in a democracy is nearly always derived from the public they serve. In this sense, police power derives from the "office" rather than the individual. Thus, "police power is always public power and can never be converted to private power" (Menke et al. 1982, p. 89). How do the police maintain public and political credibility, given evidence that the police cannot control crime? This is an "impossible mandate" and there is evidence that police must go beyond the limits of their authority in pursuing their activities. Often, by political control, police education and public opinion, police maintain their position through the management of appearance. That is, "they use presentational strategies that control or manage the information the public receives about police activities" (Menke et al. 1982, p. 10). The Queensland, New South Wales and national police experiences will highlight this lack of political understanding about the policing mandate and the linkages to police education programs.

Police Educators

A significant partner in police education is the police educator. The requirement from police management is for the educational adviser to be an expert and not a manager of the system. The critical issue is that operational officers have credibility as the managers of an education and training system but in an academic model, a lack of educational understanding may reduce the professional policing rhetoric to under-management. Police managers accept a non-academic training environment because

there is no agreed-upon knowledge base for the occupation[;] . . . provisions for education and training are weak; [and] . . . the link between police work and basic social values is strained by virtue of the particularistic world view of the police (Menke et al. 1982, p. 101).

The police educators are seen as academics who have little appreciation of the real world but certainly are a preferred option to a university or other bureaucratic educational institution. There is substantial literature about how to train police but very little about the impact on the education and training policies from the police educator's perspective. The

reason may be found in the employment agreements which emphasise education/training delivery and not in research as this will avoid public criticism of police managers. There is also a lack of understanding of the importance of applied research as a necessary portion of the education and training processes in police training establishments.

Tertiary Sector

The role the academic sector plays in the revitalisation of police education and training programs has had a significant impact in Queensland. Source material is vast on curriculum input and education direction but fails to identify the hidden issues of what universities are all about. As part of the Queensland Academy Council management group, the issues of funding, management and course content are scrutinised heavily. However, the takeover bids constantly interfere with fostering mutual ideas and developing excellence and integration of education and training content for police. The constant ideal of professionalism, accreditation, credentialism and credibility do not blend well with police who subjectively view academics with suspicion sometimes justifiably, as many academics involved in police education at the Universities lack an understanding of what policing is all about.

Goldstein (1977, p. 289) stated,

The factor that makes the whole movement toward college education for police personnel most vulnerable to attack is the emphasis which has been put upon the acquisition of college credentials without sufficient concern for what is to be learned. Given the multitude of colleges and the number of people who attend them, the degree itself reflects little about the values or relevance of the educational experience.

Echoing this concern, Sherman (1978, p.19) directly confronted the issue of the quality and relevancy of police education;

Whatever the potential of higher education for changing the police, police education is now falling short of that potential. The early vision of police reform through education assumed that police education would be intellectually rigorous, conceptually broad, and provided by a scholarly faculty. Yet much police education today is intellectually shallow, conceptually narrow, and provided by faculties that are far from scholarly.

Rather than helping to change the police, police education appears to support the status quo, teaching what the police do now instead of inquiring what may be required to meet the future demands and expectations. For example, in Queensland, the current Police Executive Development Program addresses some of these problems in trying to prepare senior sergeants and inspectors for future changes. This program goes some of the way in considering the total requirements of the service. For

example, external employment outplacements for experience and work placed based performance appraisals also require further development.

Police Practitioner

The police practitioner for whom the education and training systems were designed, is a constant player in the development of educational policy. To a large extent police education and training systems have failed to identify the organisational and operational culture of policing. As Bayley and Bittner (1983, cited in Fielding 1988, p. 3) point out

unlike doctors, social workers and educators, patrol officers normally do not work with individuals in an ongoing way. Generally, they deal with individuals once and are unlikely to see them again. Personal and or professional relationships are unlikely to develop. Therefore, officers argue, they should not be held accountable for achieving objectives that lie beyond the contact.

What happens on the street also refers back to the legal position of the officer.

Their mandate is to control, stabilise and refer. They cannot be expected to diagnose and treat in any profound sense...doing so would usurp the functions of judges...since police act under warrant of law and their capacity to act authoritatively would be enormous (Fielding 1988, p. 46).

Thus much of the training received is circumvented by operational requirements. Even the new Queensland field training system will often be overtaken by the expediency of operational requirements as evident in the New South Wales experience. Therefore, any systems developed need to be explored in terms of the dynamics of operational and management strategies. Also, operational training programs often become a revised procedural manual glossed over with modern educational rhetoric and vocational terms.

The nature of police work

is such that the officer who organizationally has the least authority processes the widest degree of discretion, especially in matters related to law enforcement. The line officer is in a position to shape law enforcement policy and procedure through practices such as non-enforcement and selective enforcement of laws. It is through the line officer that legal statutes and law enforcement policies and practices become operationalized (Menke et al. 1982, p. 89).

The critical issues associated with the performance of the police practitioner are often directly related to teaching methodology used. Their primary socialisation regarding knowledge in policing has occurred through interaction with other officers (Menke et al. 1982, p. 81). The examination of modern educational training of police has not been fully

explored. Much research has been done on job task analysis but not on how they should be linked and integrated into modern education and training processes. These linkages have not occurred due to the perception of police management, unions and operational police about what their role is in society. It is quite possible that many of the training needs identified from environmental scans do not focus on the real requirements but instead are shared ignorances — although well meaning.

Police Management

The police manage training dynamics. There are several arguments developed by them — relating to the need for professionalism through an education and training system — which are often weak and relate to the need to avoid public criticism. Menke et al. (1982, p. 82) argue that

the amount of education and training, the minimum standards of training, and the content of education and training required for entry into police work, while improving, remain woefully inadequate. The comparison of police education and training with that required by other professions suggests obvious inadequacies.

The perceived view is that a tertiary program will provide a "professional" pronouncement on police legitimacy instead of public debate about police power, authority and accountability. Police, like universities, are a multi-disciplined organisation. Therefore, no one academic discipline such as justice studies should be a professional prerequisite for police professionalism.

Given the traditional

lack of consensus on what constitutes the body of theoretical knowledge and technique which forms the basis for policing, educational credentials, minimum hours, and standards of training are meaningless as a basis for professionalization (Menke et al. 1982, p. 83).

However, this situation is changing in Queensland and New South Wales. The critical issue for police managers is concerned with the motivating principles for the new education and training systems and the responsibility for controlling them, including other administrative and legal interests for example, union, industrial relations and public sector and national police standards. The reason that police managers have indifferent views on professionalism may be found in the culture of policing and the failure to understand and appreciate modern education and training processes.

Conclusion

What are the major critical issues already identified? What outcomes need to be achieved? How or what solutions or processes can be explored or put into place to achieve a balanced and integrated education and training system for police? In an extensive study

of the future of law enforcement, Tafoya (1986) found that "formal education will become the standard for entry and advancement in more than seventy percent of all police agencies (U.S.)...by the year 2025". If this projection is to be realised in Australia, law enforcement agencies such as Queensland and New South Wales must begin to plan and take policy actions in that direction. The challenge for police managers in Queensland, New South Wales and the community is finding the balance between the limited expert model and the broader view of professionalism. The limited expert model of police work justifies the relative modesty of police training to date. It operates on a minimalist knowledge base. It is strong on drilled instruction, essential in delivering competent, physically-based skills. Its drilled instruction approach, with the harshness associated with instruction, is rationalised as proper preparation for both the command structure of the organisation and the exigencies of the street — ie recruit training models — the organisation and its environment, and is seen as a survival course for both (Bradley 1991, p. 36).

The other model being developed in Queensland and New South Wales is professionalism. It calls for the length and content of preparation far in excess of anything imagined by the limited expert approach. The balanced and integrated model explained by the University of East Anglia, Centre of Applied Research in Education, stated that the key to professional development systems lies in the generic core professional competencies and the processual qualities of the educational context within which these can be nurtured (MacDonald 1987, 1993). Unless a paradigm shift occurs with police managers, unions and practitioners in order to produce a fully professional model of police education, then the policing community will become out of touch with the changing social and political trends and will be replaced by other private and public agencies. Indeed, the growing private security agencies and public authorities such as the Criminal Justice Commission, National Crime Authority and Securities Commission are already replacing many traditional functions and responsibilities of the State and Territories' police departments.

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Social control and the violation of human rights

the relationship between sociological variables and serial murder

Sociological theories of crime are as instructive as psychological theories in explaining the growth of serial murder in western societies since the 1960s. Much of the literature on the subject concentrates on psychological dispositions, but these dispositions are shaped (at least) by social context, which proposition underlies my argument that sociological and psychological theories are more likely to be complementary than contradictory in the explanation of serial killers.

Central to this discussion is the figure of Theodore (Ted) Bundy who murdered at least thirty-five women and girls between 1961 and 1978, one of the most notorious and vicious cases of its kind in modern times (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.).

One suggested causal factor in Bundy's development as a sociopathic personality is social inequality. Blau and Blau (1982) imply that inequality links crime and poverty. Similarly, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) reason that those who perceive their efforts as producing relatively fewer rewards tend to resort to criminal behaviour.

Leyton (1986) produced a social theory of serial killers. In the past thirty years, all known serial killers have been members of the working or lower-middle classes. Leyton suggests that to those struggling with feelings of alienation and frustration, murder may in fact be a form of class assertion. Wilson and Seaman (1990) note that until halfway through the nineteenth century, most murders were "economic", committed for financial gain. The industrial revolution, they contend, contributed to the birth of the age of sex crime by bringing leisure to many people.

Leisure, with its attendant boredom and desire for stimulation, coupled with the rise of pornography in the nineteenth century, helped foster a climate in which sex crimes made their first appearance in Britain. Turner (1986) notes that even though equality is a value in most societies, social stratification inevitably results in inequality being the empirical fact. Such inequality can foster the feelings of alienation and frustration that Leyton alludes to, particularly in males who perceive themselves as permanently working or lower-middle classes.

Bundy's recollections of childhood and adolescence focused on the financial and social inequalities of his milieu. He felt inferior and deprived, his family having money only for bare necessities (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, p.50). He resented his family's frugal lifestyle for depriving him of the opportunity to ever be on equal terms with the wealthy (Rule 1989, p.167). Ultimately, Bundy's self-image of confinement to the lower order of society led him to the view that possessing a victim highly valued by society (for example, an attractive, intelligent college student) was comparable to owning a prized material possession (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, p.111).

Bundy was an illegitimate child, and this almost certainly made him acutely aware of, and concerned about, his low social status. He was born in a home for unwed mothers in Burlington, Vermont on 24 November 1946. From pre-adolescence Bundy was tormented by the circumstances of his birth, feeling stigmatised and humiliated (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, pp. 53-4).

It may be argued Bundy viewed his illegitimacy as a permanent global problem (affecting everything), insoluble, and thwarting all his aspirations. His pessimistic attributional outlook fostered a willingness to pursue excitement in ways that were likely to lead him to be further stigmatised. For example, he collected illegal pornography as a pre-adolescent (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.), and was seeking stimulation through acts of voyeurism from the age of nine (Holmes 1991, p.18).

Bundy committed his first murder in August 1961, at the age of fourteen. Watching an adult female undress through a window had aroused him sexually, prompting him to abduct an 8-year-old girl, Ann-Marie Burr, from her bedroom. Ann-Marie was sodomised and strangled, her corpse left in a field. Bundy returned the following day, committed a necrophilic assault and buried the victim in the field (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.).

Bundy was to claim later that a compulsive need to act on his fantasies had developed within a couple of years of his first exposure to pornography. His fantasies, which grew in a context of social isolation, personal rejection and poor familial communication, focused on taking what he coveted, by

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force if necessary.

The details of Bundy's first homicide as cited, typify his serial killing through the 1970s. In particular, Bundy preferred necrophilic sexual contact (usually sodomy), with strangulation as a type of lethal foreplay. The aforementioned acts did not occur invariably, but they did occur often enough to be considered central to his murders (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.).

Whether he committed further homicides in the 1960s is unknown, but he murdered several hitch-

ing at photographs of women taken during their death throes, and such photographs served to fuel his sadistic impulses (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.).

It is clear that in Bundy's case, material dealing with sexual violence played a significant role. For example, he felt that his feelings regarding sexual murder were validated by films such as Alfred Hitchcock's *Frenzy* (1972) which depicts strangulation murders (K. McKenna, 1994 pers. comm.). Strangulation was Bundy's preferred method.

A number of studies (for example Malamuth & Check 1981) suggest that pornography, with sexual and violent themes, has the potential to make people more accepting of violence against women. Dean Corll, who with Elmer Wayne Henley was responsible for twenty-seven murders, was found to have a collection of sadistic pornography (Wilson 1985, p.155). Edmund Kemper, responsible for at least ten murders, scoured detective magazines for pictures of corpses and was attracted by "snuff" movies (Caputi 1987, p.72).

Bundy was an avid reader of detective magazines, meticulously recounting activities of killers, and providing him with ideas for his own crimes — the "copycat" phenomenon. For example, he told associates he was energised towards committing a double murder in July 1974 in Washington after reading accounts of the Jessup Place double murders in Florida. His hero and role model was the Canadian serial killer, Wayne Boden, given to acts of vampirism, necrophilia and breast mutilation (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.). Since the 1960s, detective magazines have come to be dominated by stories of murders with covers depicting sado-masochistic themes in what Cameron and Frazer (1987) refer to as part of a "sexualisation" of popular culture — a greater tolerance in society for the commodification of sexuality.

A further important influence on Bundy in a sub-cultural context was Satanism. After murdering several hitch-hikers during 1973, Bundy believed his own arrest was inevitable unless he could secure the protection of metaphysical forces. Through his contacts in the pornography underworld he met Kenneth "Mad Dog" McKenna whom he believed could help him through an organisation known as the Church of the Process, established in 1963. Initially, followers of the cult were offered a choice of deities, including Jehovah and Christ, but progressively the organisers insisted on homage to Satan. McKenna allowed Bundy to visit him at his home in Manasota, Florida. McKenna was able to cite details and provide evidence from his own criminal history which convinced Bundy that he could indeed kill with impunity provided certain guidelines were followed. He offered Bundy a contract to sign which would enable him to commit murder and avoid detection as long as he acted as a representative of Satan and not simply indulge his own desires. A ritual was enacted, with Bundy becoming a practitioner of Satanism (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). Apparently, Bundy was convinced of the



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hikers in the Pacific north west of the United States (particularly Washington State) in 1973. His addiction to pornography had continued unabated, progressively escalating so that by 1974 he had collected a number of "snuff" magazines (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). "Snuff" is a generic term for a cinematic or photographic record of actual murders. It is a combination of homicide and pornography (Newton 1993, p.342). Bundy was aroused by look-

validity of Satanism, and his subsequent behaviour was influenced accordingly.

The first murder committed by Bundy under satanic contract was of Lynda Healy on 1 February 1974 in Seattle, Washington. McKenna required a victim involved in "communications" via the air, Healy being the reader of a ski report on local radio. The terms of his contract required Bundy to retain the clothing of victims, for offering before a Satanic altar (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). The details of this crime are indicative of the role theory of Goffman (1956), as Bundy followed directions provided by McKenna on how he should behave in the commission of a crime, (for example, the type of victim chosen, the day on which the murder would occur, and what should be done with the victim's clothing).

The next murder, which occurred on 12 March 1974, was a special ceremony to insure the protection of the ceremonial cave. Donna Manson was tortured until she agreed to become the cave's guardian for eternity. She was then strangled to death before the altar (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). These two murders offer support for the shared culture theory of Levin and Fox (1985), and the subculture theory of Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1982), that groups of people develop rules for murder which become a part of their way of life. Bundy committed six homicides between February and July 1974, successfully evading detection. On 14 July 1974, he abducted and murdered two young women from Lake Sammamish, near Seattle. With his arm in a sling, Bundy approached Janice Ott and asked her to help him lift his boat on to his car. People sitting nearby heard him introduce himself as "Ted" (Rule 1989, p.83). The murder of Ott was a part of his contract, but the second, of Denise Naslund, was not. Bundy's contract limited him to a maximum of one victim per month (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). The second murder he performed for his own sexual gratification instead of as a ritualistic form of satanic worship (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.).

The "Ted" investigation began following the events of Lake Sammamish, setting in motion the enquiries that would ultimately lead to his arrest in August of 1975.

At this juncture, it may be useful to critically consider the schema used by the FBI for classifying serial killers as either organised or disorganised. The division contains assumptions about the disposition of the offenders, but is unsatisfactory because sociological influences are ignored. Although cited by Ressler and Schachtman (1992) as mostly an organised offender, Bundy embodied characteristics of both offender types due to both dispositional and situational factors interacting. Bundy's behaviour was "organised" in planning crimes, targeting strangers, using restraints, transporting victims or bodies, hiding corpses and, at times, personalising the victim. For example, there was considerable verbal interaction with Donna Manson (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.) and Janice Ott (G. Schaefer 1994, pers.

comm.). In addition, he kept souvenirs, including clothing, from the victims as a requirement of his contract (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.), and also as an act of fetishism (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.).

Elements of a disorganised offender can also be discerned in Bundy. Some of his murders, including those of Ann-Marie Burr (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.) and Nancy Wilcox (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, pp. 134-6, 348) were spontaneous; certain victims were depersonalised — particularly in 1975 when he would sometimes travel interstate and be required to kill the victim quickly due to time constraints (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.); sudden violence was used in some cases — blunt trauma instead of strangulation, also due to time constraints (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.). A body sometimes was left in view, and sexual acts often followed death (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.). This is not a blanket criticism of the FBI classification; certain serial killers may be distinguished as organised or disorganised. However, there are problems with drawing inferences from a number of crime scenes and using those inferences to form a profile of the killer's personality type. Certain elements of consistency may be discerned in any crime spree, but elements of inconsistency in Bundy's case are no less significant. For example, skeletal remains can reveal evidence of blunt trauma, but acts of a disorganised offender such as cannibalism and necrophilia (both of which Bundy engaged in at certain times, but not at others) cannot be discerned (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.). Cannibalism was often a feature of the murders which occurred between July 1974 and August 1975, but the authorities often lacked the physical evidence to determine this (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.).

The psycho-sexual aberrations causing acts of sexual homicide are not easily explained, but the attractions to murderers of such acts are somewhat more straightforward. Bundy found his crimes fulfilling, a source of excitement, power and sexual pleasure — more pleasurable to him than consensual sexual activity (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.).

Absolute control over other human beings is a recurring motivation among serial killers (Levin & Fox 1985, p.68). Bundy admitted that he felt a sense of god-like power when he committed a murder (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, p.328). Kemper expressed similar sentiments, likening control over a person's destiny through homicide to having god-like omnipotence (Caputi 1987, p.112). Inequality (cited earlier) helps create the frustration behind the desire for control. Palmer (1960) found that fifty-one convicted (non-mass) killers had experienced severely frustrating poverty.

Bundy found escaping detection particularly challenging, reflecting that his "prime" began with the Healy murder in which he sought victims (college students) equal to his skills. He regarded his pre-1974 murders, mostly of hitch-hikers, as amateurish (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, p.350). His murders prior to his involvement in Satanism usually

involved subduing a woman for capture by physical force, but after becoming a Satanist he took pride in being able to lure victims willingly into a position of vulnerability (K. McKenna 1994, pers. comm.). This suggests that rather than view himself as deranged or disordered, Bundy saw himself as highly skilled and took pride in what he had accomplished.

On the topic of clinical disorders, Bundy was diagnosed as manic-depressive by Dr Dorothy Lewis in 1987 (Rule 1989, p.466). Such a diagnosis is useful in assessing behavioural shifts in an offender, but

specifically (Bundy murdered at least three girls under the age of 13). Therefore, as noted by Welch (1988) and Ruzzo (1981), treatment programs formulated in response to such labels have little chance of producing rehabilitation.

Another problem in the quest to understand Bundy was the reliance on self-report measures. Much misinformation has circulated about the nature of his crimes, largely due to his misleading statements in interviews. He admitted to FBI agent Bill Haigmaier in January 1989 that he had only been partially honest with the psychiatrists and authors who had interviewed him. His misleading statements involved withholding or colouring the facts, usually for legal reasons (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, p.351). For example, the interviews which formed the basis of "the only living witness" were conducted in 1980 and 1981 (Michaud & Aynesworth 1989, pp. 11; 293). Bundy's first appeal against his death sentence was in 1982 (Rule 1989, p.430). Any man on death row prior to his first appeal has little incentive to be candid about his crimes, especially with anyone he perceives as being from the mainstream of society. For example, Randy Kraft was convicted of sixteen murders in 1989, but still denies to journalists that he killed anybody. This, despite the fact that his last victim was seated next to him in his car at the time of his arrest (McDougal 1991, pp. 365-66).

Drawing on the sub-cultural theory of Cohen (1955), I suggest that serial killers are most likely to disclose their secrets to those they perceive as sharing their social reality. In this particular case study I consulted Kenneth McKenna and Gerard Schaefer for precisely this reason. McKenna's connection to Bundy as high priest (touched on earlier) made him privy to many of Bundy's secrets over a 15-year-period. Schaefer knew Bundy over a period of ten years, acting as his legal assistant. Bundy disclosed confidential information to Schaefer in the hope that it would assist Schaefer to mount legal strategies which would save his life during the appeals process.

In closing, I acknowledge that one of the main drawbacks of case studies is that they have limited generalisability, and fall within the category of a reflexive approach. However, this criticism also serves to illustrate my assertion that while dispositional theories of criminality are useful in assessing trends and in offering descriptive frameworks for interpretation, they may fail to address certain sociological variables which an offender has brought to a crime scene. The sociological variables mentioned herein include the effects of inequality, labelling, roles, popular culture, shared culture and sub-cultures. The impact of such variables upon society can be seen in the association between Bundy and McKenna, and this association serves to illustrate the assertion that serial murder is the product of an interaction between disposition and culture, rather than being the province of one to the exclusion of the other.

descriptive labels in isolation are insufficient to explain the genesis of sexual psychopathology. Bundy was under various motivational influences at different times (G. Schaefer 1994, pers. comm.). A reductionist approach of attributing homicide to biochemical imbalances or organic disorders (for example manic-depression), may overlook the possibility of psychopathology being fostered within a social context (for example Satanism).

Perceiving crime as a disorder implies a possible cure. The problem is that for serial killers who are not diagnosed as clinically insane (the vast majority), the act of murder is a source of power and pleasure, comparable to an addiction (Wilson & Seaman 1990, p.154). Therefore, serial killers' confessions may assist understanding, but formulating treatment programs is difficult at best, particularly when the subject has no desire to get better.

As Paul Wilson (1985) noted, a generic medical label such as "disturbed" oversimplifies an explanation of either murder generally or child murder



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Kathy Laster and Veronica L. Taylor

1994. ISBN 1862871302. 316 pp. A\$35.00. (Cheque with order price A\$32.50). soft cover.

This book contains a comprehensive analysis of case law and statute law in Australia and New Zealand with a special emphasis on the right to an interpreter and the potential consequences when an interpreter is not used.

Thomas Nelson Australia
102 Dodds Street
South Melbourne Vic 3205

Punish and Critique: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Penalty

Adrian Howe

1994. ISBN 0 415 05191 6. 252 pp. A\$35.95. soft cover.

(published by Routledge, UK)

Dr Adrian Howe, lecturer in law and legal studies at La Trobe University, argues in *Punish and Critique* that while there are relatively few women in prison, women are "policed, controlled, and punished in other ways outside the criminal justice system". Dr Howe suggests that judges, lawyers, law reformers and academics have a long way to go before they begin to understand the critical relevance of feminist approaches to crime and punishment.

Cambridge University Press

PO Box 85
Oakleigh Vic 3166

When Men Kill: Scenarios of Masculine Violence

Ken Polk

1994. ISBN 0 521 46808 6. 222 pp. A\$29.95. soft cover.

When Men Kill: Scenarios of Masculine Violence describes various patterns of homicide that involve

men killing women and other men. The book focuses on numerous case studies and refines the details of the victim-offender relationship. The book contains important discussion of the relationship of class and gender to homicide as well as the nature of masculinity especially its violent aspects.

ICS Press

Institute for Contemporary Studies
720 Market Street
San Francisco, CA 94102 USA

Crime

edited by James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia
ISBN 1-55815-427-2. US\$69.95. hard cover.
ISBN 1 55815 417 5. US\$34.95. soft cover.
650 pp.

Twenty-eight leading experts in the fields of sociology, psychology and economics and crime evaluate the latest information about programs ranging from community policing to the war on drugs. They explore how such efforts can be designed for maximum crime control. Contributors include: Lawrence W. Sherman ("The Police"); John J. Dilulio Jr et al.

("The Federal Role in Crime Control"); Malcolm W. Klein ("Street Gang Cycles"); Alfred Blumstein, ("Prisons").

Department of English
University of Wollongong
Wollongong NSW 2522

Law/Text/Culture is a new journal which reflects the urgent need for the law to engage more with other disciplines and address such contemporary interdisciplinary concerns as gender bias in the judiciary and the limited access to justice for certain sections of the community. Through essays, art work and poetry it features work which crosses boundaries and reflects the societies and cultures in which the law operates. *Law/Text/Culture* seeks to enable the articulation of the issues, theories, and practices generated by disciplinary crossings between fields and bodies of knowledge which have traditionally been seen as discrete and autonomous.

Subscriptions: Individuals, A\$20; Full-time students, A\$15; Unwaged, A\$10; Institutions, A\$25.

CONFERENCES

Australian Institute of Criminology

CRIME IN AUSTRALIA: The First National Outlook Symposium
5 and 6 June 1995, Canberra

This symposium will bring together Australia's leaders in the area of violence and crime prevention, and criminal and social justice fields. Keynote speakers and panellists include: The Hon Duncan Kerr, Federal Minister for Justice; Judge Sally Brown, Family Court of Australia; Professor John Braithwaite, Australian National University; Mr Tom Sherman; Chairman, National Crime Authority; Mr Mick Palmer, Commissioner, Australian Federal Police; and many others.

Enquiries concerning the substantive content of the program should be directed to Dr Satyanshu Mukherjee (06 274 0290). Enquiries about registration, venue, accommodation or travel should be directed to Ms Glenys Rousell (06 274 0224) or Ms Sylvia MacKellar (06 274 0228).

Australian Centre for Environmental Law
1995 Second Environmental Outlook Conference
22-23 March 1995
Hyatt Kingsgate Hotel, Sydney

This conference will identify emerging trends in environmental law and policy on a global, regional and local level and how business and government needs to respond; identify developments in the USA, EC and the Asian and Pacific region, including stricter standards which will have important implications for Australian exporters; further examine post-Rio political developments; describe Australia's continuing role in the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, and analyse the Australian government's role and obligations under international treaties.

For further information contact:
ACEL Environmental Outlook Conference
c/o Conference Logistics
PO Box 505
Curtin ACT 2605
Tel: (61) (06) 281 6624
Fax: (61) (06) 285 1336

LAW ASIA
Intellectual Property Law
26-29 March 1995, Adelaide

The LAW Asia Intellectual Property Law Standing Committee, in association with the Business Law Section of the Law Council of Australia and the South Australian Government, is conducting this conference. It will address issues relating to intellectual property law particularly in the areas of technological change and telecommunications, privacy, protection, infringement and enforcement, computer law, defence, music and multi-media copyright. The development and enforcement of intellectual property laws in Asia will be a major topic of discussion.

For further information, contact:
Anita Scandia
Tel: (61) (08) 207 1692
Fax (61) (08) 207 1736

ASIS
1995 Asia/Pacific Security Conference and Exhibition
4-6 April 1995, National Convention Centre, Canberra

For further information, contact:
Ricky Mooney
Tel: (61) (06) 247 0851

Australian and New Zealand Association of Psychiatry, Psychology and Law
7-9 April 1995, Sheraton Towers, Southgate, Melbourne

For further information, contact:
Ian Freckelton
Tel: (61) (03) 608 7666

Faculty of Humanities
Griffith University
Policing Sexualities
15-16 April 1995, Brisbane

In an era when new knowledge about sexualities is being produced and new questions are being brought to bear on ways in which we understand policing and criminal justice, it is timely to critically consider the relationship between the two. Researchers from a range of disciplines/inter-disciplines, and other criminal justice personnel will present papers or workshops addressing such topics as: sex inquiries, law reform; policing queer, gay and "other" sexualities; crimes against and by women; incest; and hate crimes.

For further information, contact:
Convenor
Policing Sexualities Conference
Faculty of Humanities
Griffith University
Nathan Qld 4111
Tel: (61) (07) 875 5495
Fax: (61) (07) 875 5511
email: M.Gehde@hum.gu.edu.au

National Institute of Forensic Science
National Forensic Summit
15-16 May 1995, National Convention Centre, Canberra

The aim of this conference is to identify critical issues and future directions for the forensic sciences in Australasia. Speakers and topics include: Mr C. Porter QC (Best Practice); Prof P Sallman (Education and Training); Dr S. Eastaie (Biological Science); Dr E. Magnusson (Interpretation of Forensic Evidence); Professor S. Cordner, Mr Justice Miles, Mr Justice J.H. Phillips, Dr E. Magnusson and many others.

For further information, contact:
Alastair Ross
National Institute of Forensic Science
Suite 1
R&D Park Centre
2 Research Avenue
Bundoora Vic 3083
Tel: (61) (03) 459 4299
Fax: (61) (03) 457 3622

The Winter School in the Sun
The 2nd Window of Opportunity National Congress
Dealing with Drugs: Ethics, Economics and Efficiency
10-14 July 1995, Brisbane Convention & Exhibition Centre, Southbank, Brisbane

For more information, contact
Winter School in the Sun/Window of Opportunity Secretariat
Alcohol and Drug Foundation - Queensland
PO Box 332
Spring Hill Qld 4004
Tel: (61) (07) 832 3798
Fax: (61) (07) 832 2527

International Association of Forensic Linguists
1995 IAFL Conference
10-13 July 1995
University of New England, Armidale

This first conference of the International Association of Forensic Linguists (IAFL) will cover such topics as: language and power in the courtroom; the language of legal documents; the role of interpreters and the linguistic and legal challenges faced by them; legal and linguistic developments in the analy-

sis of allegedly verbatim records of interview.

For further information contact:

Diana Eades
Linguistics Department
University of New England
Tel: (61) (2067) 73 3185
Fax: (61) (2067) 73 3735
email: deades@metz.une.edu.au

ANZ Society of Criminology and Department
of Criminology, University of Melbourne
*Working with Young Women in Juvenile Justice
and related areas*

21-22 July 1995, University of Melbourne

For further information, contact:

Christine Alder
Tel: (61) (03) 344 4293 or
Joy Wundersitz
Tel: (61) (08) 226 7228

Queensland University of Technology, Tees
and the South Pacific Association of Collision
Investigators

*The Inaugural International Conference on
Accident Investigation and the Law*

15-19 October 1995, ANA Hotel, Gold Coast,
Queensland

This conference aims to promote understanding and
cooperation among engineers, accident investigators,
lawyers, police services, and related groups at both
the investigation stage and in subsequent legal pro-
ceedings.

For further information, contact:

Tel: (61) (07) 864 1538/2544
Fax: (61) (07) 864 1515

NAPCAN

5th Australian Conference on Child Abuse &
Neglect

"Taking Responsibility: Sharing Solutions"

16-19 October 1995, Radisson President Hotel,
Melbourne

For further information, contact NAPCAN:

Tel: (61) (02) 223 3565
Fax: (61) (02) 221 5936

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Office of International Criminal Justice

Vietnam, 14-28 March 1995: Three-day conference
"Law and Justice Issues".

China, June 1995: *"China in the Next Century"*.
Five-day intensive workshops and one-day seminar
in Shanghai.

Latvia, June 1995: *"Crime and Corrections"*. Focus

on corrections systems in Latvia, Estonia, Belarus,
Poland and Germany.

South Africa, November 1995: All-Africa conference
on comparative correctional services and staff devel-
opment.

Chicago, Illinois, USA, 31 July-3 August 1995; 10th
Annual International Symposium on Criminal
Justice Issues, *"Terrorism: Past, Present, Future"*.

For further information about any of these confer-
ences, contact:

OICJ
University of Illinois at Chicago
M/C 777
1033 W. Van Buren
Chicago IL 60607 2919
USA
Tel: (1) (312) 996 9267
Fax: (1) (312) 413 0458

National Council of Juvenile and Family Court
Judges

22nd Conference on Juvenile Justice

19-22 March 1995, Phoenix, Arizona

Major topics include gangs, violence, delinquency
prevention, child advocacy and mental health issues.

For further information, contact:

Cathy Tolbott
(703) 549 9222

NACRO

Youth Crime Section

*Meeting the Challenge: Work with Young
Offenders in the 1990s*

29-31 March 1995, Ranmoor House, University of
Sheffield, England

The conference aims to offer practical assistance to
all those agencies and individuals whose task is to
deal with young offenders, to meet the challenge
posed by heightened public concern, increased press
coverage and legislative change and to deliver an
effective response to youth crime.

For further information, contact:

NACRO Youth Crime Section
169 Clapham Road
London SW 9 0PU
UNITED KINGDOM
Tel: (44) (0171) 582 6500
Fax: (44) (0171) 735 4666

The Coalition for Juvenile Justice

6th Annual Spring Conference

2-3 April 1995, Washington, DC

The 1995 conference will focus on programs and
processes that have a positive impact on delinquency
prevention.

For further information, contact:
William F. Ryan
Director of Conference Planning
Coalition for Juvenile Justice
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 414
Washington DC 20036 USA
Tel: (1) (202) 467 0864
Fax: (1) (202) 887 0738

International Society for Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect (ISPCAN)
5th European Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect
Prevention Today! Treatment may be too late
13-16 May 1995, Oslo, Norway

For further information, contact:
Mental Barnehjelp
Conference Secretariat
Abringsgate 1
N-0253
Oslo
NORWAY
Tel: (47) 22 44 1451/42 2000
Fax: (47) 22 44 0569/42 2805

Fifth Greek Australian International Legal and Medical Conference
21-26 May 1995, Crete

For further information, contact:
Conference Associates
335 Moray Street
South Melbourne
Vic 3205
Tel: (61) (03) 699 3955
Fax: (61) (03) 690 7335

National Criminal Intelligence Service, Office of International Criminal Justice
Second International Conference on Organised Crime: "The New Corporate Raiders"
22-24 May 1995, The Police Staff College, Bramshill, United Kingdom

A panel of international speakers will address a broad range of topics which include: International Organised Crime The Emerging Threat to World Security; Chinese Organised Crime in a Changing World; Global Drug Trafficking and Money Laundering—The Current Situation; Taking the Profit out of Crime; The Risk to World Financial Markets and Products.

For further information, contact:
Denise Ranger
Office of International Criminal Justice, European Division
University of Illinois Offices
Gyosei International College
London Road
Berkshire, Reading RG1 5AQ

UNITED KINGDOM
Tel: (44) (0734) 314250
Fax: (44) (0734) 753756

Law and Society Association
Annual Conference
1-4 June 1995, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada

For further information, contact:
Executive Offices
Law and Society Association
Hampshire House
University of Massachusetts
Amherst MA 01003 USA
Tel: (1) (413) 545 4617
Fax: (1) (413) 545 1640
email: LSA@legal.umass.edu

American Society of Law, Medicine & Ethics
Fourth International Conference on Health Law and Ethics in a Global Community
16-20 July 1995, Amsterdam

For further information, contact:
International Conference Cooperating Organisations
American Society of Law, Medicine & Ethics
765 Commonwealth Avenue
16th Floor
Boston Massachusetts 02215 USA
Tel: (1) (617) 262 4990
Fax: (1) (617) 437 7596

The British Council
Advancing the Scientific Investigation of Crime
2-14 July 1995, Durham, United Kingdom

This seminar is designed to bring delegates up to date with the new technology for crime scene investigation and forensic analysis. In addition, delegates will learn about initiatives being taken for the training of crime scene examiners and forensic scientists. It is expected that speakers will include: Mr P. Bennett, Facial Identification Specialist, Aspley International; Mr K. Cree, Serious Crimes Unit, Metropolitan Police Forensic Science Laboratory; Dr Z. Erzincliglu, Forensic Entomologist; Professor B.H. Knight, Senior Home Office Pathologist, University of Wales College of Medicine, Cardiff; Mr R. Neave, Medical Artist, University of Manchester; Dr J. Thompson, Director General, the Forensic Science Service.

For further information, contact:
The British Council
PO Box 88
Edgecliff NSW 2027
Tel: (61) (02) 326 2022
Fax: (61) (02) 327 4868
or
The British Council
10 Spring Gardens
London SW 1A 2BN

UNITED KINGDOM
Tel: (44) (071) 389 4264/4252
Fax: (44) (071) 389 4154

British Criminology Conference
Annual Conference
18-21 July 1995, University of Loughborough

For further information, contact:
Diane Winterburn
Midlands Centre for Criminology
Dept of Social Sciences
University of Loughborough
Loughborough
Leicestershire LE11 3TU UNITED KINGDOM
Tel: (44) (0509) 22 3670

Fourth United Nations World Conference on
Women
4-15 September 1995, Beijing, China

To assist Australian women in planning for this conference and other events in the lead up to it, the Office of the Status of Women has produced an information kit for Australian women, and women's organisations.

Copies of the kit are available from:
DAS Distribution
PO Box 655
Fyshwick ACT 2609
Tel: (61) (06) 202 5696
Fax: (61) (06) 202 5628

John Jay College of Criminal Justice
Conference on Criminal Justice Education
20 October 1995, New York

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice is sponsoring a one-day conference dealing with a range of issues concerning criminal justice education. Areas of concern are criminal justice education for liberal arts students, undergraduate majors in criminal justice, training/education of practitioners, and graduate education in criminal justice. A special issue of the *Journal of Criminal Justice Education* will be devoted to proceedings of this conference.

For further information, contact:
Professor Eli Silverman
Dept of Law, Police Science & Criminal Justice
Administration
John Jay College of Criminal Justice
899 Tenth Avenue
New York NY 10019 USA
Tel: (1) (212) 237 8375
Fax: (1) (212) 237 8309
email: ebsjj@cunyvm.cuny.edu

American Society of Criminologists
Annual Conference
15-19 November 1995, Boston Park Hotel, Boston,
USA

For further information, contact:
James Austin
Program Co-Chair NCCD
Suite 620
685 Market Street
San Francisco CA 94105 USA
Tel: (1) (415) 896 6223

NEWS

Restructuring of the Research Program at the Australian Institute of Criminology

Restructuring of the Research Program has commenced with the appointment of Dr Peter Grabosky as Research Director and Ms Jane Mugford as Research Coordinator. Both appointments are for a two-year period.

Dr Grabosky rejoined the Australian Institute of Criminology staff in January 1995 after two years' secondment to the Administration Compliance and Governability Program in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University. Dr Grabosky was on the Board of the Australian Institute of Criminology from 1979 to 1981. He joined the research staff in 1983 and was Adviser to the Criminology Research Council from 1988 to 1989.

Ms Mugford joined the Australian Institute of Criminology in 1984 from the Australian National University. After a 10-month secondment to the Office of the Status of Women in 1987-88, she rejoined the Australian Institute of Criminology in the Research Program where, for most of the period between 1988 and 1995, she has been Research Consultancies Manager and, latterly, Adviser to the Criminology Research Council.

Further development of priorities and work plans will be announced in future issues of *Criminology Australia*.

Criminology Research Council: Research Reports resolved during the last twelve months

The following reports on completed projects were

received. All Criminology Research Council reports are lodged with the J.V. Barry Library of the Australian Institute of Criminology where they can be studied or borrowed through inter-library loan. In most cases copies of the individual reports can be obtained from the researcher in question. Researchers' affiliation is listed.

"Victim Participation, Sentence Outcome and Victim Satisfaction with Justice: Evaluation of the SA Experience with Victim Impact Statements", Professor Edna Erez, Kent State University, OH 44242, USA, and the Office of Crime Statistics, South Australia (CRC 20/91).

"Blood Pressure—The Ability of Australian Regulators to respond to a worldwide trend toward Criminal Transactions in Blood", Katherine Beauchamp and Professor Roman Tomasic, University of Canberra (CRC 37/91).

"Policing Pollution: Regulating the Chemical Industry", Professor Neil Gunningham, Australian National University (CRC 8/92).

"Clear talk: Police Responding to Intellectual Disability", Mark Brennan and Roslin Brennan, Charles Sturt University, Riverina (CRC 25/92-3).

"Post-Release Experience of Imprisoned Mothers", Jude Butler, Prisoners Support Group Co-op. Ltd, Sydney (CRC 35/92-3).

"See You on the Flip side: An Investigative and Educational TV Documentary on issues faced by incarcerated male and female offenders who are released into the community in NSW", Astrid Birgden and Sally Browning, Emerald Films Pty Ltd, Sydney (CRC 13 /93-4).

For information about Criminology Research Council research projects, contact Ms Jane Mugord, Research Coordinator and Adviser to the Criminology Research Council.

HIV/AIDS Preventive Strategies

Linda Viney and Rachael Henry in the Department of Psychology at the University of Wollongong have been awarded A\$120,000 over two years by the Commonwealth AIDS Research Grants Committee.

The aim of their research is to test two alternative small group interventions for HIV risk-taking by school-age adolescents, who are criminal offenders and non-offenders.

Australian Violence Prevention Award Winners

The Selection Board for the Australian Violence Prevention Awards received 110 nominations in 1994. From these it chose two projects to share the main prize, both dealing with the particularly difficult area of "hate" crime:

- *Reducing Violence, Crime and Fear in the Gay and Lesbian Community* is organised by the New South Wales Police Service, Community Safety Development Branch, and
- *Lesbian and Gay Anti-Violence Project* operates under the auspices of the Darlinghurst community.

The Board also made a special award in recognition of the wide-ranging initiatives introduced by the New South Wales Department of School Education, which were reflected in a group of eleven *school-based* nominations for an award.

A full list of winning projects, regional winners, commended projects and other certificate projects will appear in the next issue of *Criminology Australia*.

For further information on these projects, contact:

Violence Prevention Award Secretariat
The Australian Institute of Criminology
GPO Box 2944 Canberra ACT 2601

CRIME

The State of the Nation

June 5, 6

CRIME IN AUSTRALIA: The First National Outlook Symposium - your chance to hear major figures in the field of crime prevention, crime analysis, criminal justice and the law and to participate in discussions.

As part of its current refocussing, the Australian Institute of Criminology is organising a First National Outlook Symposium. Some of the areas to be discussed include crime prevention, future of crime, violence against women, violent crimes, violence in the family, organised crime, money laundering, fraud, child abuse, juvenile justice, drugs, policing.

This is a Symposium touching areas vital to all Australians. It will take place in Canberra on June 5 and 6, 1995 and will be a crucial event for those interested in responses to crime, policy initiatives and best practices.

Speakers confirmed to date include:

- . Duncan Kerr
- . Trevor Griffin
- . Michael Kirby
- . Sally Brown
- . Hal Jackson
- . Neil Comrie
- . Michael Dodson
- . Arie Frelberg
- . John Braithwaite
- . Tom Sherman
- . Prudence Ford
- . Carmen Lawrence
(to be confirmed)
- . Christine Nixon
- . Mick Palmer
- . Adam Graycar
- . Rhonda Galbally
- . Don Weatherburn
- . Sandra Egger
- . Rosemary Sinclair
- . Daryl Smeaton
- . Clive Begg

Phone, fax or write for more details:

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GPO Box 2944

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