

VANDALISM IN LAUNCESTON

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PROJECT REPORT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

We acknowledge, with deep respect, the traditional owners of the lands on which we work and live.

The Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies is sited on *lutruwita* (Tasmania) Aboriginal land, sea and waterways, and our scholars work across the lands of the *muwinina* people of *nipaluna* (Hobart), and the *palawa* peoples of *palanwina lurini kanamaluka* (Launceston) and *pataway* (Cradle Coast).

The *muwinina* and *palawa* peoples belong to the oldest continuing cultures in the world. They cared and protected Country for thousands of years. They knew this land, they lived on the land and they died on these lands.

We honour them.

We acknowledge that it is a privilege to stand on Country and walk in the footsteps of those before us. Beneath the mountains, along the river banks, among the gums and waterways that continue to run through the veins of the Tasmanian Aboriginal community.

We pay our respects to elders past and present and to the many Aboriginal people that did not make elder status and to the Tasmanian Aboriginal community that continue to care for Country.

We recognise a history of truth which acknowledges the impacts of invasion and colonisation upon Aboriginal people resulting in the forcible removal from their lands.

Our Island is deeply unique, with spectacular landscapes with our cities and towns surrounded by bushland, wilderness, mountain ranges and beaches.

We stand for a future that profoundly respects and acknowledges Aboriginal perspectives, culture, language and history. And a continued effort to fight for Aboriginal justice and rights paving the way for a strong future.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In this report, researchers from the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies have responded to the City of Launceston's interest in curbing vandalism, with a focus on seven suburbs in the broader local government area. The purpose of this report is to better understand the prevalence of vandalism; to better understand the theoretical approaches to vandalism and to explore potential strategies for responding to vandalism. A multi-method approach was adopted which included a quantitative analysis of data provided by Tasmania Police and Council; a wide-ranging literature review; and a collation of interventions for vandalism, mostly at the local government level.

Data for this report was sourced from the Police Offence Reporting System #2 which spanned the period July 2016 to end of June 2021. The dataset comprised 1600 reports covering the areas of Ravenswood, Invermay, Newnham, Newnham and Mowbray. There was no police data provided relating to the suburban locations of Rocherlea, Waverley or St Leonards. There was no street or block level data to enable identification of hotspots. There appears to be very little graffiti reported to police in the suburban areas of interest (2.3% of dataset) The damage reported to police largely related to damage to private property (83%) and arson (10.5%). In this respect our findings echo the work of Abernethy in 2002.

Analysis of trends over the data period shows that property offences increased between 2016 and 2021, while arson decreased. Ravenswood (27.4%) and Invermay (23.6%) recorded the highest number of property offences. Arson was more prevalent in Mayfield and Ravenswood overall, but all suburbs showed decreases in incidence of arson over the years. While there is a bit of fluctuation in offence types between suburbs over the years these rates were not significant. This is related to sample size. Frequently the number of incidents was too low or there was a large difference in sample sizes between suburbs.

A large proportion of offences reported to police related to residential properties, either a house, unit or associated outbuildings. There was no indication in the dataset of the type of damage (unless categorised as arson), the severity of the damage or likely cost of reparation.

With respect to understanding the perpetrators of vandalism, two-thirds of offences reported to the police remain uncleared as at November 2021, with offender(s) unknown. Where data is available, in three quarters of cases the offender is male and younger males account for a large *number* of offences (18–34-year-olds account for over half of all property offences). While the literature tends to focus on adolescents as the main offenders in cases of vandalism, the police

data provided suggests that it is older age groups that commit offences against residences¹, while younger people are over represented in relation to offences against educational facilities. However, sizeable proportions of all ages have committed offences against residences. The literature also discusses the propensity for vandalism to be perpetrated by multiple offenders; our data, however we found only 24 reports (where offender identified) involved multiples. This represented less than five per cent of the dataset.

Data was provided for the time of day that the Incident was reported. It appears that the younger age group (10-14, 15-17) are more active between 4 and 8pm while the 18–24-year age group appeared to be active at most times. In so far as the midnight hours are concerned the 18–34-year age group were the most active.

A large proportion of resolved incidents resulted in court cases (very little diversion or community conferencing). A large percentage of cases remain not resolved (more than 1000) which has impacted on provision of detailed analysis of age and gender of offenders.

Data provided by council represented records of 808 instances of damage reported between June 2014 and September 2021. The analysis of this data found that the majority of reports to council related to property damage or graffiti to target areas in the city (CBD and city parks) or northern suburbs - accounting for two thirds of all reports logged.

Reports for the city area increased significantly over the period of review followed by the northern suburbs which remained steady at around 30% of all reports.

Infrastructure² (25%) toilets (18%) and walls (16%) were the most frequent targets for vandalism. In ten percent of data on the targets, the description was insufficient to determine what was damaged. The most frequently damaged type of infrastructure was signage (21%), followed by signal cabinets (15%) and bridges (10%). The location of many of the walls being vandalised is concentrated around the river, with the majority being levee walls as a target of graffiti.

¹ The authors have significant experience in family violence research. We note these offences against property by young adult males are indicative of intimidation tactics commonly used by family violence offenders as a recognised pattern of abuse towards current and former partners. As such, we suggest the categorisation of vandalism/property damage for these offences in a residential setting may be too narrow.

² Bridges, roads, footpaths, jetties, fountains, light poles, signage, seating, steps, underpasses, signal cabinets, waste centres

Graffiti and a general category of 'damage/vandalism' were the most frequently reported to Council, accounting for 81% of all reports and there was an increase in these reports over the period of review. There were small numbers of reports of rubbish dumping, fire damage, theft of public property and damage caused by vehicles (most often to parks and nature strips). Reports on damage to buildings decreased over the period of review, while damage to infrastructure increased, with reports for vandalised walls remaining fairly steady between 2014 and 2021. Costs associated with damage/ vandalism remained steady over the data period, while costs for cleaning up graffiti increased. However, costs in recent years were lower than costs reported in 2014. Highest costs were associated with damage/vandalism to bins followed by infrastructure, buildings and toilets. The costs of dealing with graffiti was highest on infrastructure, buildings and toilets but costs were not as high as for damage/vandalism.

Detailed tables relating to these summary points are provided in the main report. We do not have any data which allows us to comment on who the offenders are in the cases of reports to council as there is no reliable way to link those reports with police data, which also lacks details of offenders in two-thirds of reported offences.

A variety of social science literature was accessed which involved relationships of vandalism to, largely adolescent, criminal behaviour; including vandal motivation; life course theories; social equity theories; and attachment theories of boys and groups of boys. We could also describe this literature as fragmented. Much writing on the drivers and enablers of vandalism remains reliant on theoretical discourses that are quite mature; with the foundational work of researchers such as Cohen (1971, 1973), and Matza (1964) retaining currency. This underscores the notion of vandalism being a problem resistant to simple solutions and needs to be approached through a lens of complexity. The literature on vandalism does not present a cohesive body of information. Much of the literature focuses on only one type of vandalism and does not appear to have broader applicability, such as graffiti (Assaf-Zakharov & Schnetgoeke, 2021; Dean, 2016), the desecration of public monuments as political actions (Durdıyeva, 2020; Lai, 2019), specific hate crimes (Morewitz, 2019), the damage of public accessories such as picnic tables (Samdahl & Christensen, 1985), street trees (Richardson & Shackleton, 2014) or the use of 'tagging' as a means of communication by gang members (O'Deane 2018; Stodolska, Berdychevsky & Shınew, 2019). There is a significant focus on the personal characteristics of the vandal in the psychology literature, and social conditions which accompany vandalism and other anti-social behaviour in the sociology and criminology literature. It is acknowledged widely that vandalism cannot be addressed as a simple issue as there are many drivers and enablers.

Vandalism cannot be addressed as a simple issue as there are many drivers and enablers. These necessary preconditions can be summarised as:

1. A suitable target
2. Motivation to commit vandalism
3. Male peer groups

Our main argument in this report is that each of the different types of vandalism has a set of necessary pre-conditions, which individually are insufficient to cause acts of vandalism. However, collectively the pre-conditions lead to the commission of the specific type of vandalism. What makes vandalism a 'wicked' social problem is that each of the necessary conditions calls for an independent response, and even if each of these necessary conditions are addressed successfully, they are unlikely to eliminate all categories of vandalism, because some types will have a different set of necessary conditions.

A necessary condition, is defined here as a condition without which an act of vandalism cannot occur, but without the presence of other necessary conditions, is unlikely to lead in itself to an act of vandalism. For example, an inviting target of vandalism is one of the necessary conditions for vandalism (e.g., an abandoned building, or an under-utilised and isolated toilet block), but it is not a sufficient condition in and of itself – many toilet blocks and deserted buildings do not become vandalised. In addition to a target, there are other necessary conditions, such as people with motivations to cause damage (and these motivations might vary greatly), before an actual act of vandalism occurs. There is also strong evidence that vandalism is a gendered crime, mostly committed by males, singly or in groups. Although this complicates the management of vandalism considerably, it also suggests that a variety of interventions of varying ranges of social and fiscal investment, are likely to have some impact on the rates of vandalism in a community, and taking disparate measures targeting a range of necessary conditions together is likely to have a very significant impact.

However, we argue that vandalism is not something that is intrinsic to the adolescent but a sign of community failure to include sections of the community in meaningful ways. Our community ethos is private property based and those who do not share ownership are angry and marginalised. Many vandals lash out because they feel excluded from the success that is normalised in popular culture. However, public property vandalism is also a part of the private property ethos because the vandal sees the property of belonging to no-one rather than a community resource or asset. As an illustration, much of the vandalism described in our data does not relate to textbook vandals (youths) as we find behaviours such as rubbish dumping in reserves, vehicle damage to nature strips, bollards, gates etc. and much of the arson and damage to property reported to the police (where the offender is known) was found to be committed by young and early-middle-aged adults.

We also present several case studies which provide examples of dealing with vandalism in small cities, most examples chosen because they have some similarity to Launceston in terms of population size, rurality, economic profile etc. Many relate to creative ways to handle graffiti and damage to public property. There are several exciting examples of community involvement and also those that involve partnerships between councils, police and the community. We have categorised the case studies as addressing a variety of drivers and enablers of vandalism, being initiatives and strategies that address:

- Social drivers of vandalism
- Economic drivers
- Individual motivations
- Behavioural adjustment strategies
- Education
- Fear of detection
- Community programs
- Cross agency partnerships and
- Creating physical barriers and deterrents.

Bearing in mind that successful initiatives to thwart vandalism involve more than a single dimension of intervention and many examples provided use multiple tactics. Some involve investment in technology but the best examples also involve community action. For example, we commend the strategies employed by Kamloops, a small rural city in Canada that shares many characteristics with Launceston and has a good suite of interventions. Our overarching conclusion is that a collective impact style of intervention is most likely to achieve significant inroads into the complex drivers of vandalism. Kamloops' strategies are based on a collective impact model. Also worthy of consideration is the model used by the community of Clarence Plains in southern Tasmania.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Approach the problem with multiple strategies, focused both on the potential vandal and the target environment.

Recommendation 2: View anti-vandalism as a long-term strategy which involves improving the quality of living for neighbourhoods and communities susceptible to vandals, and giving clear messages to these communities and neighbourhoods that they hold value to the larger Launceston community.

Recommendation 3: Ally with as many stakeholders as possible, including schools, police, neighbourhood groups.

Recommendation 4: Develop strategies which are sustainable at the council level, and not dependent on the energy and time of any one person.

Recommendation 5: Expect that vandalism will require a regular commitment of funding both in terms of repairs and in terms of anti-vandalism measures and programs.

Recommendation 6: Develop a wide range of measures for success and expect that change will take time.

Recommendation 7: Develop a community sense of shared public assets such as bus shelters, parks, etc as a challenge to the attitude that because these are not private property, they belong to no one.

Recommendation 8: Have a system of clear penalties for vandalism, and make these known throughout the community.

Recommendation 9: Demonstrate the value of a community by repairing and restoring vandalised areas as quickly as possible.

Recommendation 10: Where possible, involve vandals in opportunities to repair damage, restore property and otherwise contribute to the beautification of the community.

Recommendation 11: Consider and implement ways of re-connecting marginalised young people to their communities.

Recommendation 12: Consider ways of encouraging use of public spaces to that they become sources of community responsibility and pride and also ensure the natural surveillance of public spaces provided when people use them regularly.

BACKGROUND

The City of Launceston undertook a series of community consultations in 2019 to develop solutions to a variety of issues in the northern suburbs of Launceston. The consultations resulted in the development of the My Place My Future Plan as a blueprint towards getting everyone to work together to develop and implement solutions in the future. The My Place My Future Plan focuses on the suburban areas of Invermay, Mowbray, Newnham, Mayfield, Rocherlea, Waverley and Ravenswood which make up one-third of the Launceston population.

The need for a more detailed understanding of vandalism in terms of prevalence, type and potential interventions arose from community consultations during the *My Place My Future* project which highlighted vandalism as a key concern for residents in the Northern suburbs of Launceston. The major concerns were due to ongoing vandalism which targeted community assets, created stigma and frustration within the community, and reinforced negative feelings, image and reputation outside the communities.

Funding was allocated in the MPMF budget to undertake research into the topic. Scoping conversations with internal stakeholders to develop a research brief occurred between July and August 2020.

The following is a summary of findings from this consultation:

- City of Launceston (CoL) has documentation guiding responses to graffiti, but not instances of vandalism.
- Many departments or teams across Council are affected by vandalism, and involved in preventing or responding to it in some way.
- There is a '*Designing out crime, designing in people, a Guide for Safer Design*', document that details crime prevention through environmental design, but it has not been updated since 2003. There may be an opportunity to review and potentially update the '*Designing out crime, designing in people, a Guide for Safer Design*' guidelines, including how these are used and managed within council.
- Immediate responses to vandalism, in terms of removing dangerous or damaged equipment, is good, with appropriate responses in place.

- Replacement of vandalised equipment is not always possible, due to budget restraints. This often leaves community without public assets (i.e., picnic tables). However, there may be an opportunity to review processes for asset renewal, and consider the likelihood of vandalism in asset renewal timeframes.
- There is a perception that the vandalism is undertaken by young people, and quite often, potentially the same people each time.
- Many Council staff who respond to, or hear about, the vandalism are disheartened by it; these officers put a lot of pride into their work in community spaces, and it is not surprising that hearing of ongoing instances of vandalism in these spaces creates negativity.
- The recent Ravenswood Adventure Park project involved a lot of community engagement and consultation, but this does not seem to have resulted in less instances of vandalism to the space.
- CoL does not have any resources that link long term behaviour change strategies with prevention and management of vandalism.
- There are other examples (particularly in Southern Tasmania) of how other Tasmanian councils have responded to vandalism, but there is no mechanism to consolidate or share these approaches and subsequent learnings.
- Taking a single agency/ institution response is perceived as less likely to be successful - there are often other assets in the area that belong to other parties that are vandalised and not fixed. For example, CoL may fix a table, but there may be a vandalised phone box, bus stop, sign etc. nearby, which may encourage further vandalism.
- There is a belief that working towards behaviour change strategies cannot be done 'half-way' - resourcing and partnerships need to be adequate to support strategies.
- The need was confirmed for additional research to be undertaken in order to understand theories and evidence related to long-term behaviour change strategies for vandalism, and identify how these can be applied in a place-based setting.

The Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies was approached to undertake the research. The objectives of the research project are to:

1. Better understand the prevalence of vandalism, including:
 - a. Identified hot-spots in the Northern Suburbs;

- b. Rates of incidences per type of vandalism;
 - c. Perpetrators of the different types of vandalism;
 - d. Consequences of acts of vandalism to the perpetrator, if they are apprehended;
and
 - e. Apprehension rates for perpetrators.
2. Better understand evidence-based theories of vandalism, particularly in relation to:
- a. Why people vandalise property;
 - b. Why some areas are more likely to have increased rates of vandalism; and
 - c. Potential areas of intervention to decrease vandalism rates.
3. Better understand potential strategies or programs to decrease vandalism, including:
- a. Case studies for other comparable regions, including a range of different response types (punitive through to empowerment approaches); and
 - b. Lessons learned - what worked, what didn't and why?
4. Specific areas of interest include:
- a. Actions that local government can do to decrease rates of vandalism - not just in design, but in their response to vandalism, and the way they work with communities.
 - b. Actions that communities can take to respond to vandalism, and the support they may need to undertake these actions.
 - c. Potential partnerships, or avenues for sharing learnings, in relation to vandalism, so that a collective body of knowledge continues to grow.

RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

The research team developed a mixed methods approach to answering the research brief. This involved the analysis of data from Tasmania Police as well as data from City of Launceston. A comprehensive literature review was undertaken which consolidated the theoretical understanding of vandalism from several disciplines - psychology, criminology, environmental science, sociology, urban geography, architecture and design. Finally, a wide-ranging review of interventions for vandalism were sourced, focusing on place-based solutions from locations of comparable size or characteristics of Launceston e.g., regional/rural, population less than 100,000 etc.

Police data

The researchers applied to Tasmania Police for access to relevant data on vandalism for the suburbs of interest. Data was sourced from the Police Offence Reporting System 2 which spanned the period July 2016- June 2021. The dataset comprised 1600 reports covering the areas of Ravenswood, Invermay, Newnham, Newnham and Mowbray³. It is important to note that the data set from Tasmania Police is limited to 'reported' crime and therefore may not provide a true indication of the actual crime rate or the true incidence of any of the offence types contained in this report.

The police data was analysed using SPSS. The variable 'premises type' originally contained close to 100 different descriptions of premises or locations of property damage which required reduction into a more manageable set of categories for analysis. The category of premises was recoded to comprise reported damage to: vehicles; residential (homes), residential (units), residential (outbuildings); public spaces; educational facilities; business; community and health; manufacturing; and other.

A descriptive analysis was undertaken of the data. The two most frequently observed offence groups (arson and related offences, and property damage) were used as the dependent variable, while suburb, gender and age were employed to ascertain any differences with regard to the incidence of arson and property damage. Additionally, offence status (e.g., court proceedings,

³ Note the police data did not include any incidents from Waverley, Rocherlea or St Leonards

matter not resolved) was compared to each of these variables (age, suburb, gender) to establish any differences in each with regard to offence status. Statistical testing (where the sample size was sufficient) was undertaken to determine if any differences observed were genuine and not caused by error (e.g., sample error). Nonparametric tests (chi square; tests of proportions) were employed to identify any significant⁴ differences between groups.

Council data

The City of Launceston provided two spreadsheets from the Work Order Management System covering the period 2014-2021. This data required significant cleaning to enable relevant information to be extracted as it was not created for the purpose of generating reporting. The dataset covered all areas of Launceston and included descriptions of 475 instances of property damage and 256 instances of graffiti. The data was analysed using SPSS and similar operations were undertaken as described above with regard to the police data.

Literature reviewed

Academic literature was accessed through databases at the University of Tasmania and the Queensland University of Technology using search terms of vandalism, graffiti and juvenile crime/delinquency. Initial papers and book chapters discovered in this initial search in turn led to further searches based on the references cited in these papers. Further literature relating to men and masculinity was also accessed as this was deemed to have some relevance in explaining the apparently gendered-based nature of much of adolescent and young adult participation in crime, delinquency and acts of vandalism.

Literature was accessed until it became apparent that further searches were divulging no new information or speculations into the nature of these offences. We believe that the information in this report contains a combination of the most recent literature with longstanding presentations of the nature of vandalism which still have currency within the field of crime and delinquency prevention, thus providing a quite thorough overview of both recent and well-regarded, 'classic' studies.

⁴ In this context, 'significant' means 'not likely to be due to chance' rather than 'important' or 'large'. Statistically significant differences can often be quite small.

Intervention Review

A systematic search was undertaken for local government and place-based responses to vandalism from around the world. This search covered the grey literature e.g., reports by councils or regional entities, press reports, consolidated reports by government agencies such as the Australian Institute of Criminology, conference papers and websites.

A selection of prevention and intervention strategies which aligned with understandings of the drivers of vandalism from the literature review. A snapshot of 64 potential interventions is included at Appendix 1.

WHAT IS VANDALISM?

Vandalism is defined as an intentional act of defacement or destruction of property not one's own (Goldstein, 1996:22). The categories of vandalism we are most familiar with are graffiti and other forms of property defacement or damage. In the most part, vandalism is seen as lower order criminality, except when arson is involved. There are further categories of vandalism such as house party vandalism and hate vandalism (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015).

For some people vandalism is merely inconvenient and unsightly, however dealing with vandalised property incurs a range of costs. These might be immediate cost of repairs and clean-up which will involve labour, materials, transport of workers to the site as well as administrative costs associated with purchasing the materials and rostering the labour. There will also be costs associated with the difference between the installation cost and the replacement cost of materials and fittings. There may also be costs associated with investigating vandalism (Goldstein, 1996).

There are also fewer tangible costs associated with vandalism such as the cost to a community of not being able to use a facility or hardware due to damage and repairs. Plus, there are a range of emotional costs to community members who feel targeted for victimisation through damage to neighbourhood assets which can trigger emotions such as alienation, fear and suspicion. Then there is the emotional cost of stigma for residents of areas regularly targeted by vandals. There are further psychological impacts for these residents because their relationship with their territory is betrayed and disregarded through destruction of aesthetics or physical form of the environment (Heron, Bowen & Lincoln, 2005).

Common targets for vandalism are:

- Bridges
- Bus Stops
- Buses
- Cars
- Churches
- Commercial Premises
- Construction sites
- Halls/Community buildings
- Parks

- Public utilities
- Schools
- Signage
- Statues
- Street trees
- Vending machines
- Walls and fences

DEMOGRAPHICS

The social characteristics of a community are fundamental to successful implementation, effectiveness and sustainability of programs to address criminality and anti-social behaviours. In this section, we provide a snapshot of the pertinent demographic characteristics of the sites being investigated as these will have an impact on recommended strategies for action. Please note that the ABS includes the northern suburb of Rocherlea in the statistical area (SA2) of Newnham-Mayfield.

Most social indicators available at the suburb level are sourced from the census. A new census was undertaken in August 2021 and thus updated results are not available at the time of writing. We expect that many indicators in 2021 will have changed dramatically since 2016, including data that might inform our understanding of vandalism in the selected suburbs of interest. These would include housing costs, employment (especially youth unemployment) and the level of under employment, educational outcomes, proportion of rental properties and people having lived at a different address 12 months and five years ago. While this type of data is available for all of Launceston (SA3 statistical area) between census releases it is unavailable at the suburb level (SA2). As such we have not included data from the 2016 Census in this report apart from the Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA) and an indication of the size of the Aboriginal population in each suburban area.

One dataset that is updated regularly at the suburb level is age. Launceston municipality is categorised as a regional area of Australia. Age is also a key factor in that affects the income of a community. Compared to metropolitan areas, rural and regional areas tend to feature proportionately more children and young adults, fewer people of working age, more people of late working age and approaching retirement, and more elderly people (NRHA, 2017).

The literature would suggest that teens and young people perpetrate the majority of vandalism. Thus, it is useful to look at the population groups emerging to enable local government to estimate the likely increase or decrease in anti-social behaviours.

In the following table we can see that the suburban areas of interest in Launceston have a proportionally younger population compared to the rest of Launceston municipality. The biggest subgroup in both Launceston overall and its northern suburbs in 2019 is 20-24 years. Mowbray currently has highest proportion of people under 34 years of age, and ten per cent more than Launceston municipality overall. Waverley-St Leonards has highest proportion of 10-14-year-olds but the other suburbs of interest have higher populations of 15-19-year-olds.

Table 1 Populations Selected sites and Launceston 2019

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	0-34	35-49	50 and over	Total Person
SA2 name	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.	no.
Invermay	185	149	142	211	438	296	186	1607	563	1015	3185
Mowbray	256	205	225	272	576	369	335	2238	642	1111	3991
Newnham - Mayfield	616	609	551	658	1139	800	722	5095	1622	3018	9735
Ravenswood	232	274	193	256	271	216	188	1630	652	1277	3559
Waverley - St Leonards	247	258	248	208	261	243	205	1670	753	1224	3647
Total Areas of interest	1536	1495	1359	1605	2685	1924	1636	12240	4232	7645	24117
Total Launceston (C)	3899	4153	4086	4203	5547	4914	4385	31187	12298	24522	68007
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Invermay	6%	5%	4%	7%	14%	9%	6%	50%	18%	32%	100%
Mowbray	6%	5%	6%	7%	14%	9%	8%	56%	16%	28%	100%
Newnham - Mayfield	6%	6%	6%	7%	12%	8%	7%	52%	17%	31%	100%
Ravenswood	7%	8%	5%	7%	8%	6%	5%	46%	18%	36%	100%
Waverley - St Leonards	7%	7%	7%	6%	7%	7%	6%	46%	21%	34%	100%
Total Areas of interest	6%	6%	6%	7%	11%	8%	7%	51%	18%	32%	100%
Total Launceston (C)	6%	6%	6%	6%	8%	7%	6%	46%	18%	36%	100%

Source: ABS, 2020a Table 3

Other data available at suburb level is proportion of residential population that is of Aboriginal descent. Indigenous Australians experience widespread socioeconomic disadvantage and health inequality and are over represented in the criminal justice system. Aboriginal families tend to be larger than average, and the population has a younger median age than the non-Aboriginal community.

Table 2 Estimated Indigenous Population 2016

Launceston	ATSI	Non ATSI	Total
Newnham - Mayfield	662	8477	9139
Ravenswood	388	3284	3672
Summerhill - Prospect	209	4525	4734
Mowbray	192	3623	3815
Prospect Vale - Blackstone	172	6367	6539
Kings Meadows - Punchbowl	166	4126	4292
Riverside	163	6392	6555
Waverley - St Leonards	162	3402	3564
Invermay	151	2965	3116
South Launceston	150	4575	4725
Youngtown - Relbia	138	4579	4717
Newstead	128	5214	5342
Legana	116	4037	4153
Launceston	107	5174	5281
West Launceston	101	4097	4198
Norwood (Tas.)	100	3866	3966
Trevallyn	93	4555	4648
Total Launceston	3198	79258	82456

Source: ABS, 2020b Table 6

Table 2 shows that the area with the largest number of residents of Aboriginal descent is Newnham/Mayfield with 662 persons, yet proportionately this translates to about 8% of the population. Ravenswood, with a smaller total population, has a resident Aboriginal population of almost 12%.

In 2015-16, Indigenous children aged 0-17 received child protection services at a rate around seven times that for non-Indigenous children, and they were ten times as likely to be in out-of-home care. While Indigenous Australians aged 10-17 account for less than 6% of all Australians of that age, on an average day in 2015-16:

- 48% of young people under youth justice supervision were Indigenous
- more than half (59%) of young people in youth detention were Indigenous (AIHW, 2021).

The SEIFA index contains disadvantage indicators (e.g., employment, low incomes or education levels, lack of internet access), and helps to distinguish between disadvantaged areas. The percentile column indicates the approximate position of the area of interest in a ranked list of Australia's suburbs and localities. It's meant to give an indication of where the area sits within the whole nation. A higher number indicates a higher socio-economic status. For instance, Tasmania as a whole has a percentile of 24 indicates that approximately 24% of Australia's suburbs have a SEIFA index lower than this area (more disadvantaged), while 76% are higher. By the results below, we can see that in 2016 only 2% of areas in Australia were more disadvantaged than Ravenswood and Mayfield, and five of the seven suburbs of interest are in the bottom 10% of Australian areas based on socioeconomic indicators⁵.

Table 3 SEIFA scores for areas

Area	SEIFA	Percentile
Ravenswood	721	2
Mayfield	745	2
Waverley	801	3
Mowbray	824	4
Invermay	863	6
Newnham	904	11
St Leonards	985	36
Total Launceston (C)	936	17
Tasmania	957	24

Source: ABS Census data 2016

⁵ Again, no separate listing for Rocherlea. Data included in Newnham.

It is not the case that low socioeconomic conditions cause crime and delinquency but rather that the economic problems associated with low SES living conditions create conditions for delinquency. Such problems include substantial changes in lifestyle due to lack of money and the inability to purchase needed goods and services. Research suggests that the relationship between economic problems and delinquency is nonlinear, in that only the experience of multiple economic problems is associated with higher levels of delinquency including vandalism (Hay, Fortson, Hollist et al, 2007; Agnew, Mathews, Bucher et al, 2008). In this sense, we can view crime and delinquency as symptoms of a community with an array of underlying economic and social problems.

POLICE DATA

The following presents results of an analysis of Taspol data for five suburbs in northern Launceston between 2016 and 2021. The data set from Tasmania Police comprised 'reported' crime and therefore may not provide a true indication of the actual crime rate or the true incidence of any of the offence types contained in this report. The data set contained 1600 individual instances of offences reported between January 2016 and 30 June 2021.

Police data summary

- No police data for Rocherlea, Waverley and St Leonards
- Two-thirds of offences remain uncleared, with offender(s) unknown.
- Property offences increased between 2016 and 2021, while arson decreased.
- Younger males account for a large *number* of offences (18–34-year-olds account for over half of all property offences).
- Ravenswood and Invermay recorded the highest *number* of property offences.
- Arson more prevalent in Mayfield and Ravenswood overall, but all suburbs decreasing in incidence over the years.
- While there is a bit of fluctuation in offence types between suburbs over the years these rates were not significant. This is related to sample size. In a lot of cases the 'n' was too low or there was a large difference in sample sizes between suburbs.
- A large proportion of offences were related to residential properties, either a house, unit or outbuildings.
- Older age groups were overrepresented in offences against residences, while younger people were over represented in relation to offences against educational facilities. However, sizeable proportions of all ages have committed offences against residences.
- It appears that the younger age group (10-14, 15-17) are more active between 4 and 8pm, while the 18–24-year age group appeared to be active at most times. In so far as the midnight hours are concerned the 18–34-year age group were the most active.
- A large proportion of cases resulted in court cases (very little diversion or community conferencing). There was very little difference between age groups in relation to court proceedings, although community conferencing was more popular in the younger age groups. Similarly, a large proportion of cases are not resolved which has impacted on a lack of data for age and gender.

Offences reported to police

Each offence group comprised a number of offence types. As can be seen in Figure 1 the main offences reported to police were unlawfully setting fire to property or vegetation, and arson (combined percentage: 13.8%), and destroy or injure property (83.2%), accounting for 97% of all offences reported to police for the suburbs of interest.

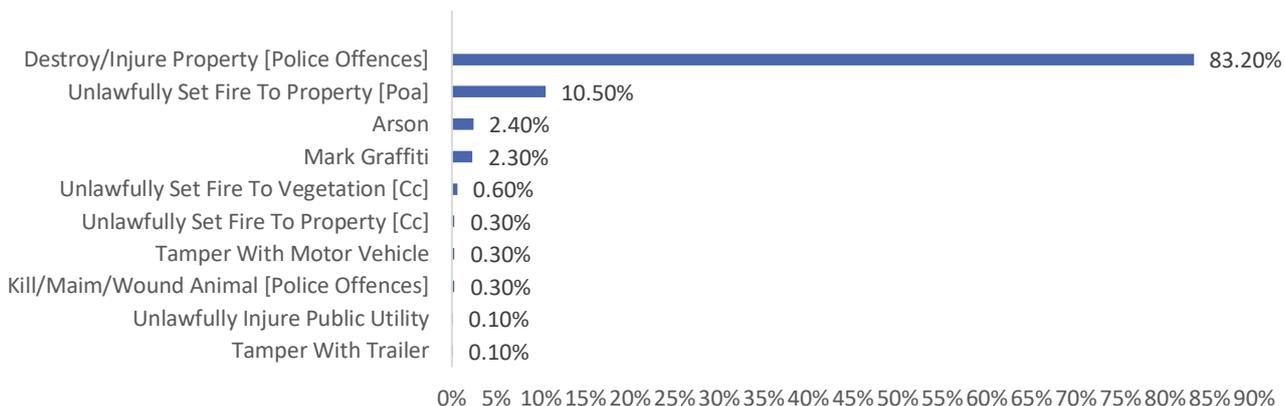


Figure 1 Types of offences reported to police

Overwhelmingly, damage to property is the main offence reported to police. There were 1380 reports to police of injure/destroy property and 220 reports of arson and related offences between 2016 and 2021.

Suburb

There was no 'target' data from Police for Rocherlea, Waverley or St Leonards. This section discusses five suburbs only. Invermay and Ravenswood accounted for around a quarter of all offences reported respectively in the target communities (Figure 2), while Newnham and Mowbray accounted for approximately 20% of all offences each. Mayfield accounted for 11% of all offences reported during the period under review.

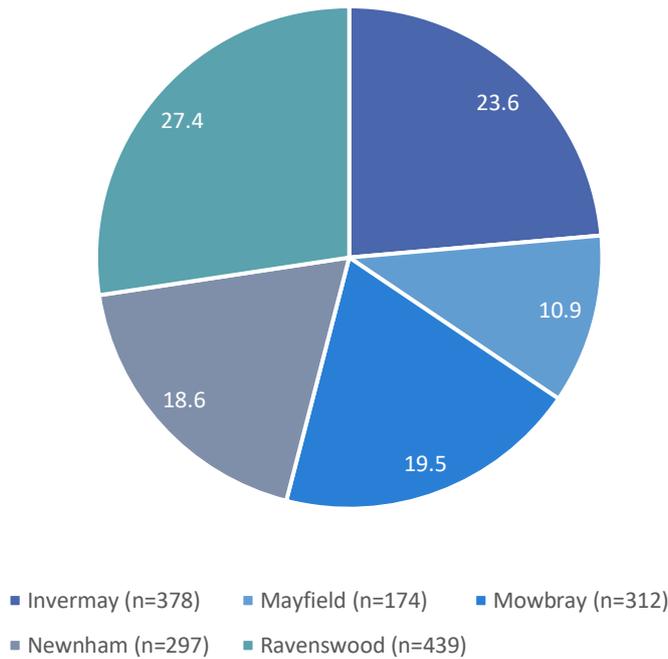


Figure 2 Suburb of incidents reported to police

Age

The largest cohort of known offenders was the 25–34-year age group, followed by the 18–24-year age group and the 35–44-year age group. These groups combined accounted for 2/3rds of the sample. However, 1090 cases (representing 68% of the total) had information missing for age, therefore caution must be used when interpreting these results, especially as it relates to the impact of age on offence rates.

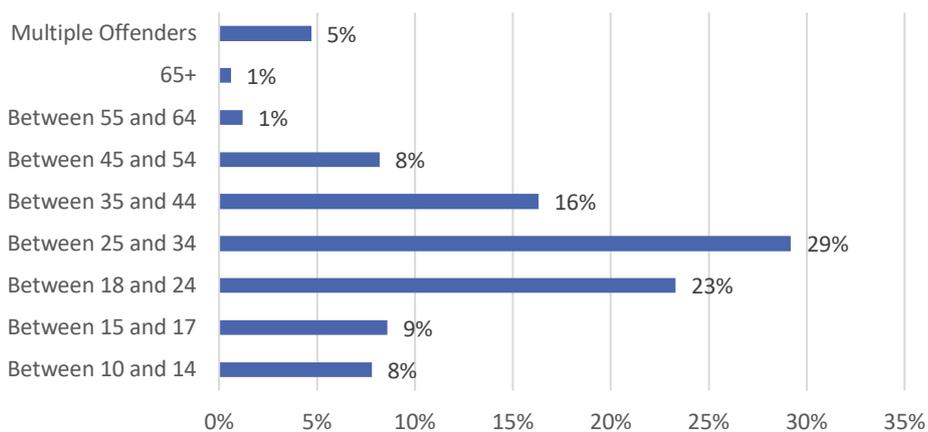


Figure 3 Age of known offenders

Gender

As with age, a significant number of cases (1086 or around two-thirds) had no gender recorded for an offender. Therefore, the same caveat noted for gender applies for age. In 514 cases in the dataset, we have information regarding the gender of the offenders. Three quarters of the sample where gender was known were male, 19% were female, while the remainder of offences were recorded as having multiple offenders involved.

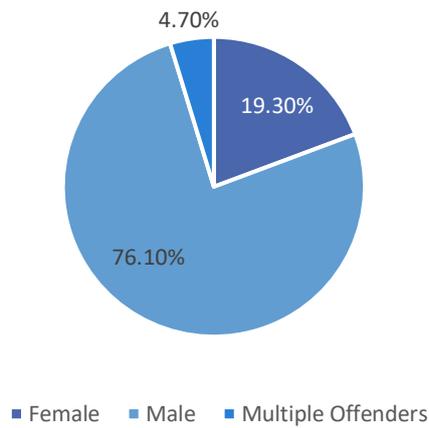


Figure 4 Gender of known offenders

Premises type

The largest premise type was residential (a house), followed by public spaces, residential outbuildings, including garages and sheds, and residential units (Figure 19). Combined residential premises including outbuildings and units accounted for 57% of all offences.

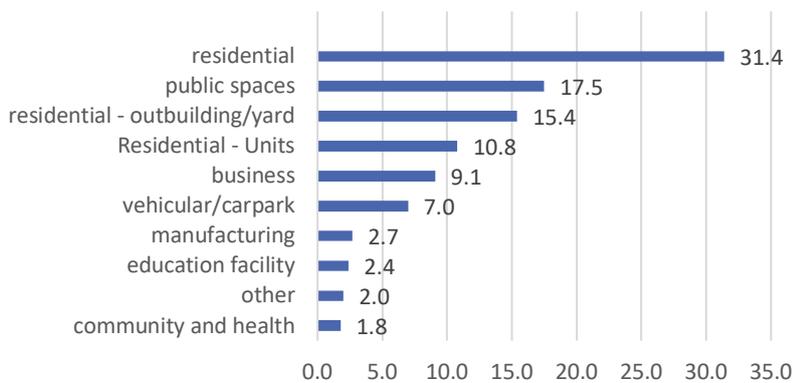


Figure 5 Offences by premises type

The largest number of property offences were reported as occurring from midday rising to a peak between 4pm and 8pm, then decreasing after that, while the largest number of arson related offences occurring between 8pm and 4am.

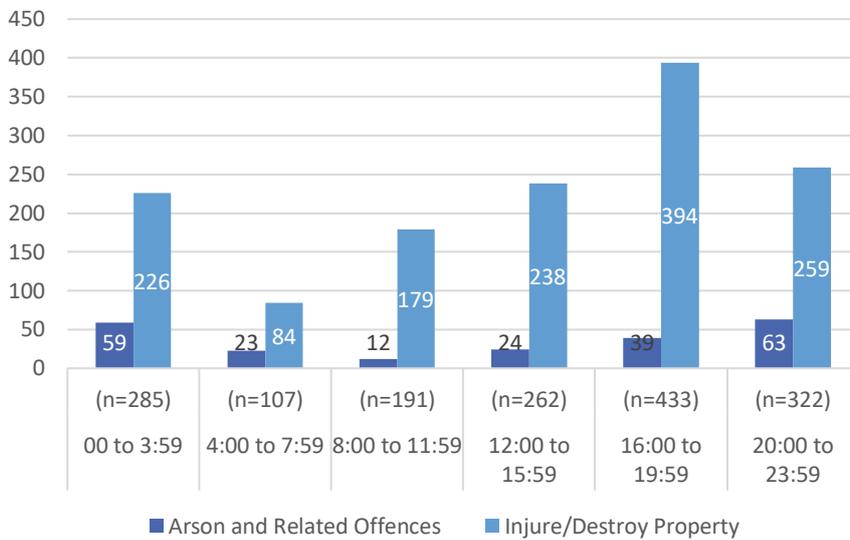


Figure 6 Offence types by time of reporting

Ravenswood recorded the highest number of both offence types than all other suburbs (Figure 7). In so far as damage to property is concerned, Ravenswood reported the greatest incidence, followed by Invermay. Newnham and Mowbray shared a similar rate, while Mayfield reported the least. For arson related offences, Ravenswood reported the largest incidence, followed by Mayfield. Newnham and Mowbray reported the same number of offences, while Invermay recorded the least.

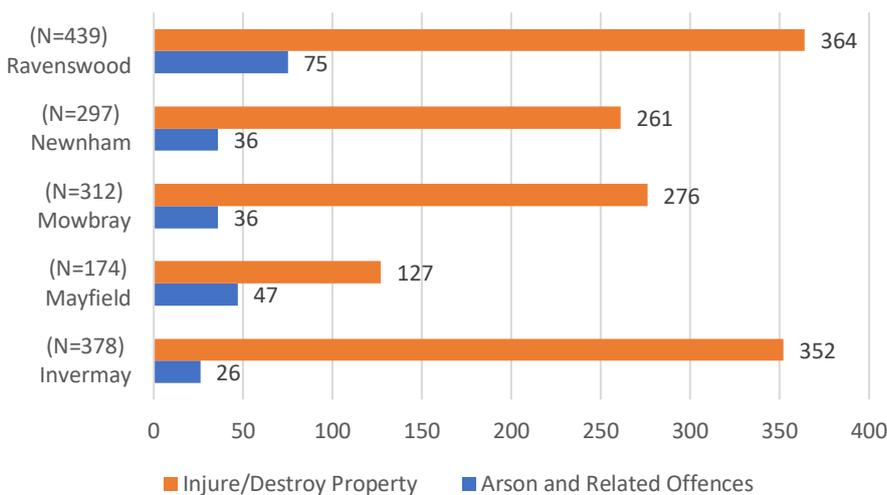


Figure 7 Count of offence types per suburb

Gender by Suburb

There was a greater proportion of multiple offenders reported in Mowbray and Ravenswood than in the other suburbs, but the number of cases was too low to draw any conclusions (Figure 8). There were also more females reported offending in Ravenswood than in other suburbs, while there were more both male and female offenders in Invermay than in Mayfield or Newnham, however these differences were not statistically significant. Given the large number of cases with detail of age and gender missing (over 1,000), the statistics presented may not be representative of their community.

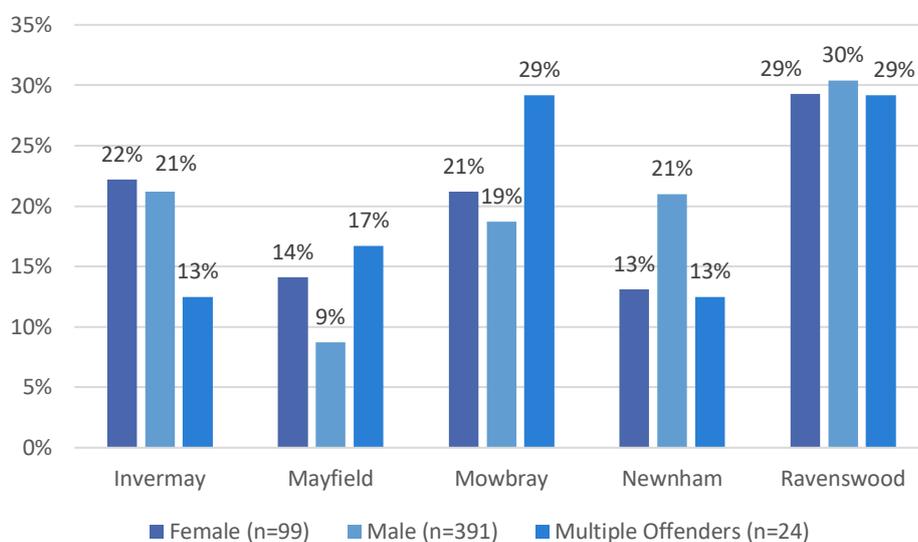


Figure 8 Gender of offender and suburb

Suburb and age distribution

Those offenders identified as being in the 65+ age group resided in only two suburbs, Newnham and Ravenswood (Figure 9), while nearly half of known offenders in the 10-to-14-year age group lived in Ravenswood. Significantly fewer of those aged between 10 and 17 years and multiple offenders lived in Mowbray than those in the 45-to-54-year age group. No other significant differences attributable to age were found in the data. As with gender, there was a large number of missing cases for age (over 1,000) and therefore results may not be reflective of the community they live in.

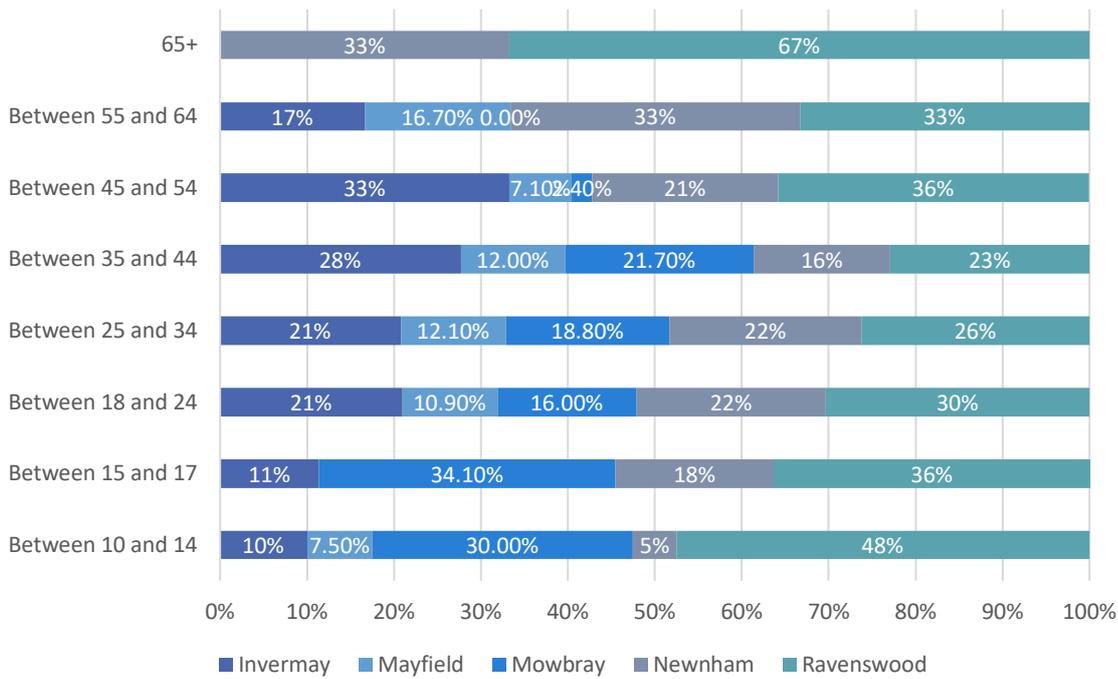


Figure 9 Age of offender and suburb

Offence groups by year

The proportion of reported cases for damage to property increased significantly between 2106 and 2021 (Figure 10), while reports of arson significantly decreased between 2016 and 2021.

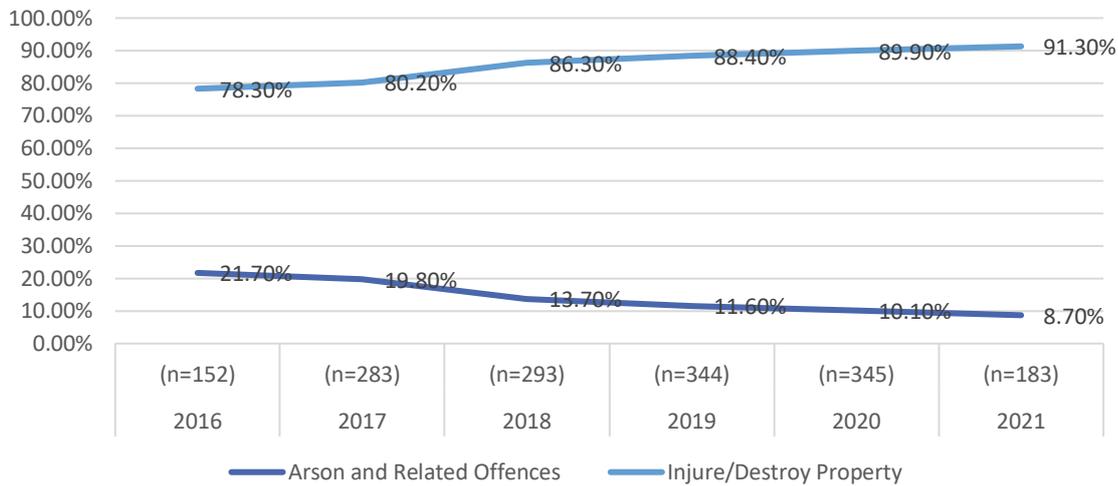


Figure 10 Year of offence, arson and destroy property

Shown another way, the number of cases for property damage increased between 2016 and 2020 (Figure 11) and decreased in 2021 (caution: partial year only). There was also a significant decrease in the number of arson offences reported between 2106 and 2021.

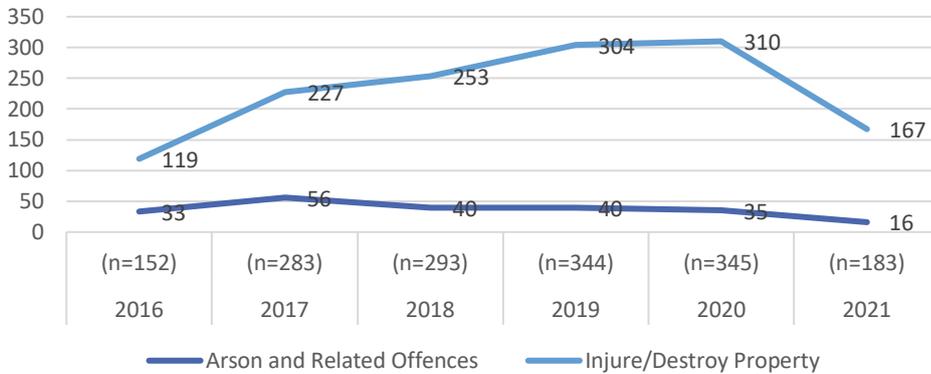


Figure 11 Frequency of arson and destroy property by year

Time of day

As might be expected a significantly greater proportion of arson related offences were reported between 8pm and 8am than between than between 8am and 8pm, while a significantly greater proportion of property damage offences were reported between 8am and 8pm than for other times of the day (Figure 12).

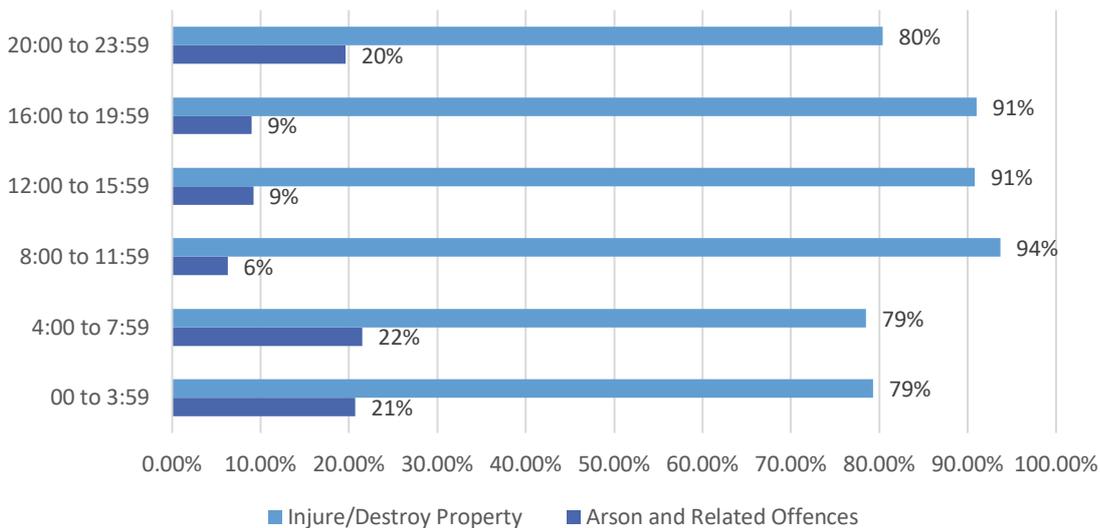


Figure 12 Time of day offence report received

Generally, there appeared to be no particular time of day for offences when analysed by age of offender, with similar proportions of age groups operating between midday and midnight (Figure 13). While some variation did exist in relation to age and the time of day an offence was committed, the differences were not great (with the possible exception of the 65+ age group). Additionally, the number of offenders in some of age groups was too low to make any definitive statements concerning age and time of offence.

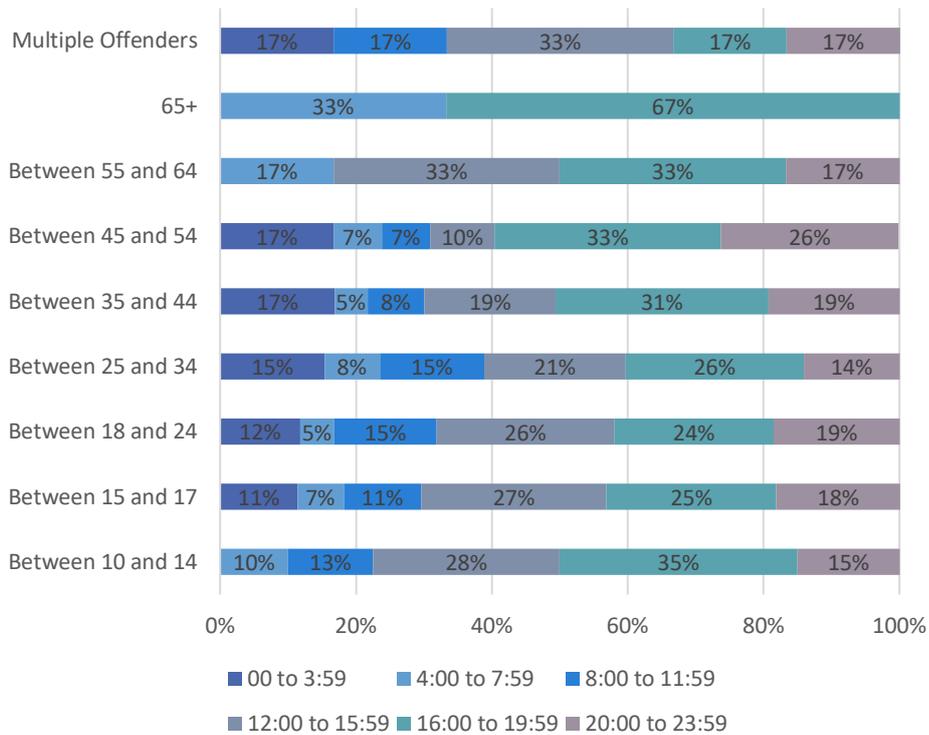


Figure 13 Age of offender and time of day of offence

Significant differences were observed between suburbs for arson and injury/destroy property (Figure 14). In relation to damage to property, significantly greater proportions were reported in Invermay than in Mayfield and Ravenswood, while there were significantly more incidents reported in Mowbray and Newnham than in Mayfield.

In relation to arson, a significantly greater proportion of offences were reported for Mayfield than for Invermay, Mowbray or Newnham, and a significantly greater proportion of offences were reported in Ravenswood than for Invermay. There was no difference observed between Invermay, Mowbray, Newnham and Ravenswood in relation to arson related offences.

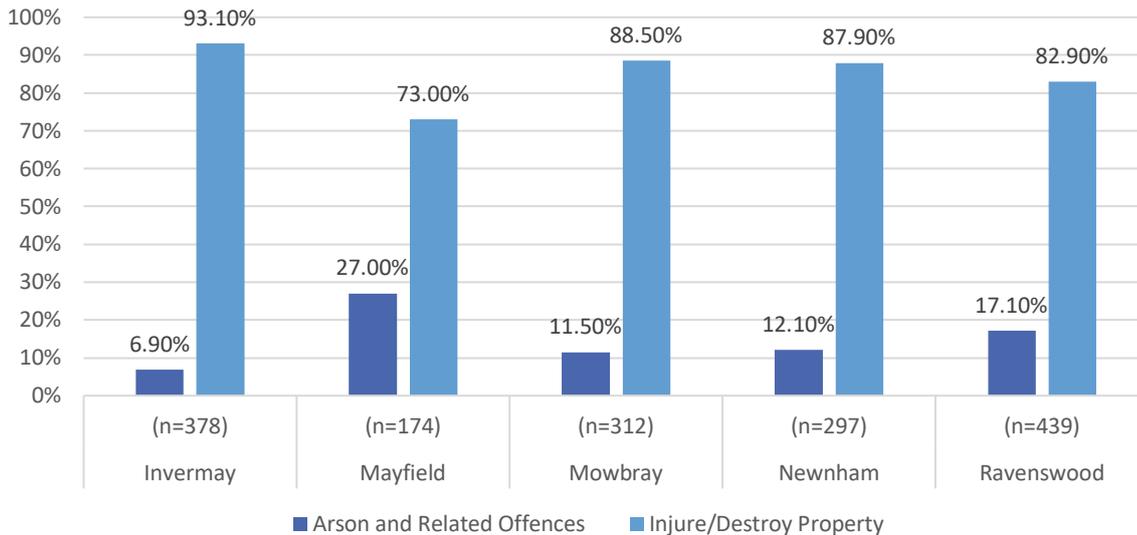


Figure 14 Offence types per suburb

Property damage - Suburb and year

Overall, the number of reports for damage to property increased steadily from 119 in 2016 to 304 in 2020 (Figure 15). Vandalism reported for the first half of 2021 is 167 cases. A general increase is observable in all suburbs although to varying degrees.

Invermay and Ravenswood saw the greatest increase in property damage between 2016 and 2020/21 as did Mowbray. Very little difference was observed between suburbs during the 2016 to 2021 period with respect to the number of offences committed in each. While there existed some variation in rates between suburbs in each year, the differences were not statistically significant. In the case of Mayfield, the sample size in most cases was too small to be confident when comparing incident rates with other suburbs.

In 2016 there were significantly fewer reports of damage to property in Mayfield than all other suburbs, while Mowbray reported a significantly lower rate of property damage in 2017 than all other suburbs. In 2019 Mayfield reported significantly less property damage than all other suburbs, while Ravenswood reported significantly fewer incidents than Invermay. No other significant differences were observed.

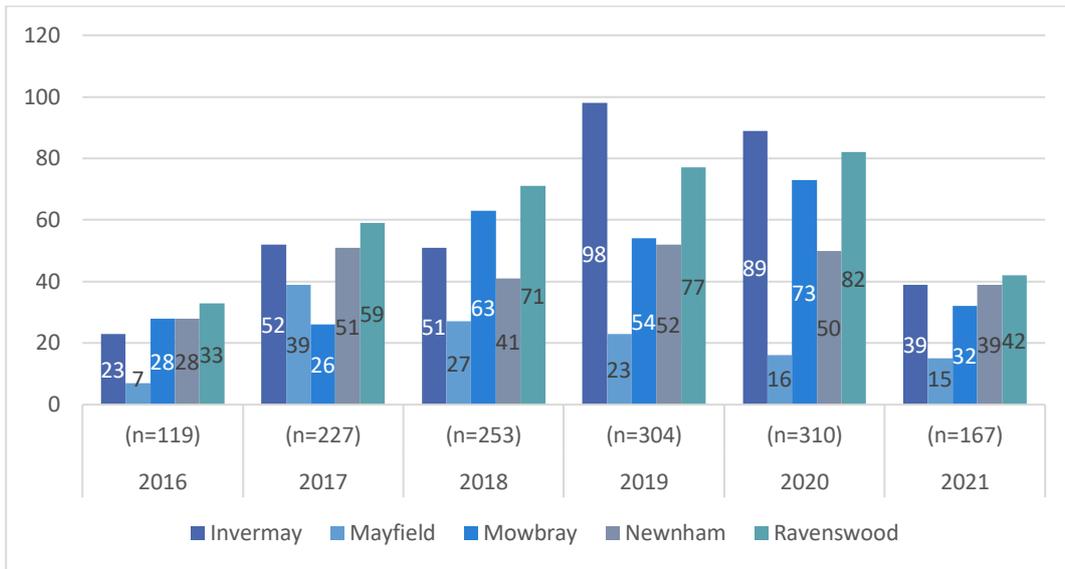


Figure 15 Property damage in each suburb by year

Arson related offences - suburb and year

A steady decrease in arson related incidents was observed during the years 2016-2021, from a high of 56 reported offences in 2017 down to 35 in 2020 and 16 for the first half of 2021 (Figure 16). In 2019 significantly greater rates of arson were reported in Ravenswood and Mayfield than all other suburbs. The sample size was small for each suburb so caution must be applied when interpreting results.

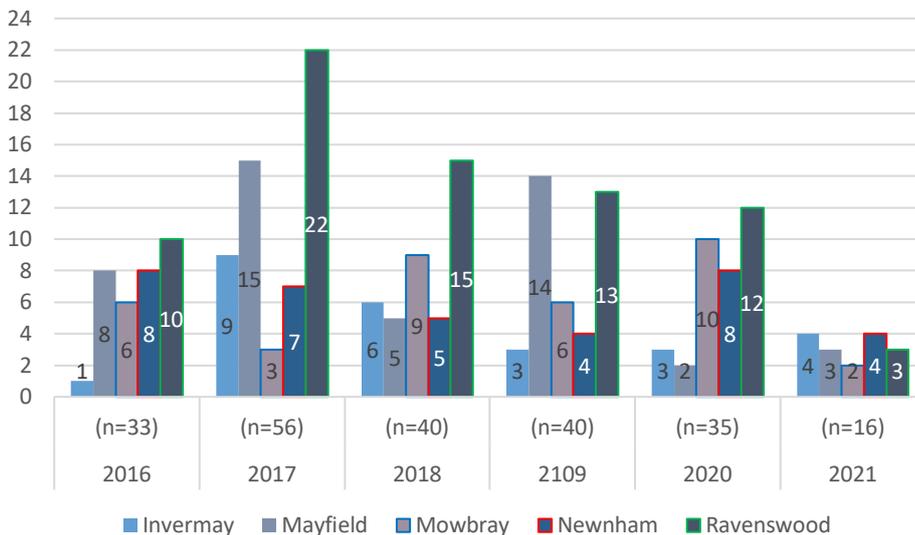


Figure 16 Arson in each suburb by year

Offence type - Age

In so far as the number of offences reported by age is concerned those in the 25–34-year age group committed the most property damage followed by the 18–24-year age group and the 35–44-year age group (Figure 17).

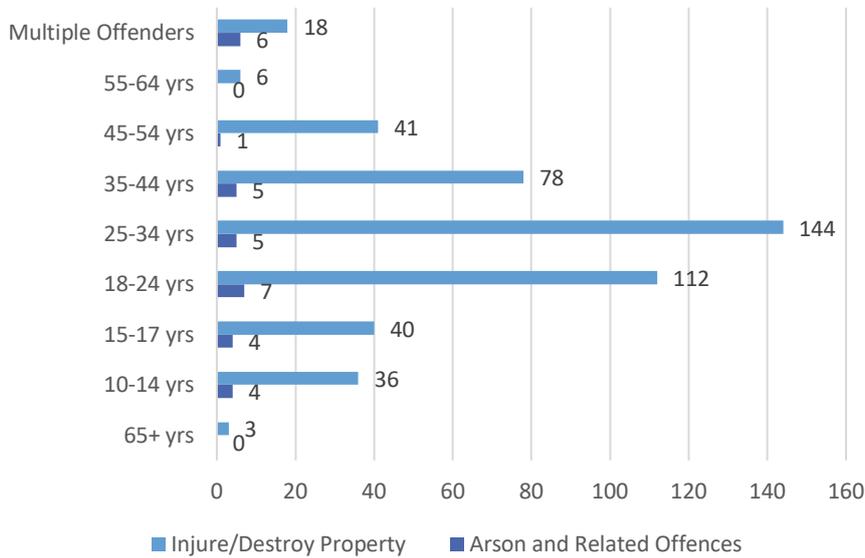


Figure 17 Offence types and age of offender

No differences emerged between age groups in relation to the proportion of offences committed.

Offence type - Gender differences

Overwhelmingly, males committed the largest *number* of offences during the period of review (Figure 18). It should be noted that there were over 1,000 missing cases for age, therefore the results may not be reflective of the actual number or proportions of offences committed by each gender group.

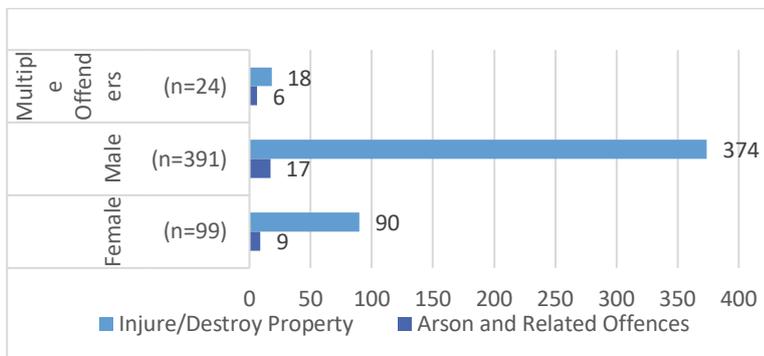


Figure 18 Offences by gender

In so far as the proportion of offences committed in concerned multiple offenders committed a greater proportion of arson related offences than did males, while males committed a significantly greater proportion of property damage offences than multiple offenders (Figure 19). No difference emerged between proportions of males and females in relation to each offence group. In respect of arson four women and 35 solo males were Identified as offenders with the remainder committed by multiple offenders, with no age or gender details available..

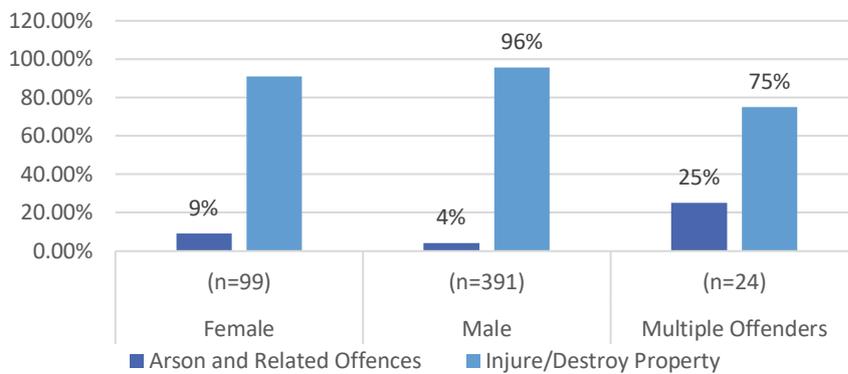


Figure 19 Proportion of offence types by gender

Offence groups and premises type

A significantly greater proportion of offences related to units was property damage, as was the case with residential properties and businesses, while arson was significantly more common in public spaces and residential outbuildings (Figure 20).

Arson in public space accounted for 45% of offences, while residential properties were targeted in 42% of reported cases. In contrast, 60% of property damage reported to police in the seven targeted suburbs was for damage to residential dwellings or outbuildings.

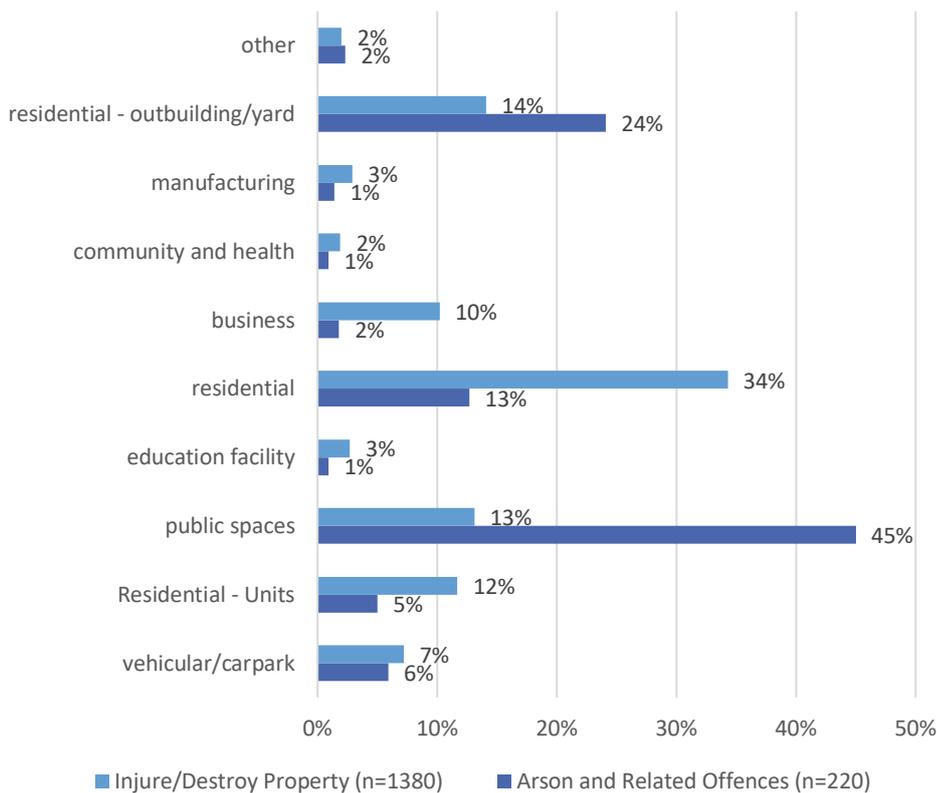


Figure 20 Offence type and premises type

Residence type and suburb

As the dataset did not include 'target' data from Police for Rocherlea, Waverley or St Leonards, this section discusses five suburbs only. Mayfield, Newnham and Ravenswood had more than two thirds of offences targeting residential property (houses, units and outbuildings).

Table 4 Residential dwelling targets and suburb

Suburb	Residential	Residential Unit	Residential outbuilding	Total
Ravenswood	39.0%	13.0%	18.0%	70.0%
Mayfield	41.0%	6.0%	22.0%	69.0%
Newnham	34.0%	11.0%	18.0%	63.0%
Mowbray	25.0%	5.0%	14.0%	44.0%
Invermay	21.0%	15.0%	8.0%	44.0%

In so far as business offences (businesses plus manufacturing) are concerned Invermay (27% of offences for the suburb) and Mowbray (20%) recorded significantly higher offences against business premises than Ravenswood and Newnham. There were no offences against businesses in Mayfield.

Ravenswood reported a significantly lower level of vehicular/carpark offences than Invermay or Mayfield, while Mowbray reported significantly fewer offences against units than Invermay, Newnham and Ravenswood (Figure 21).

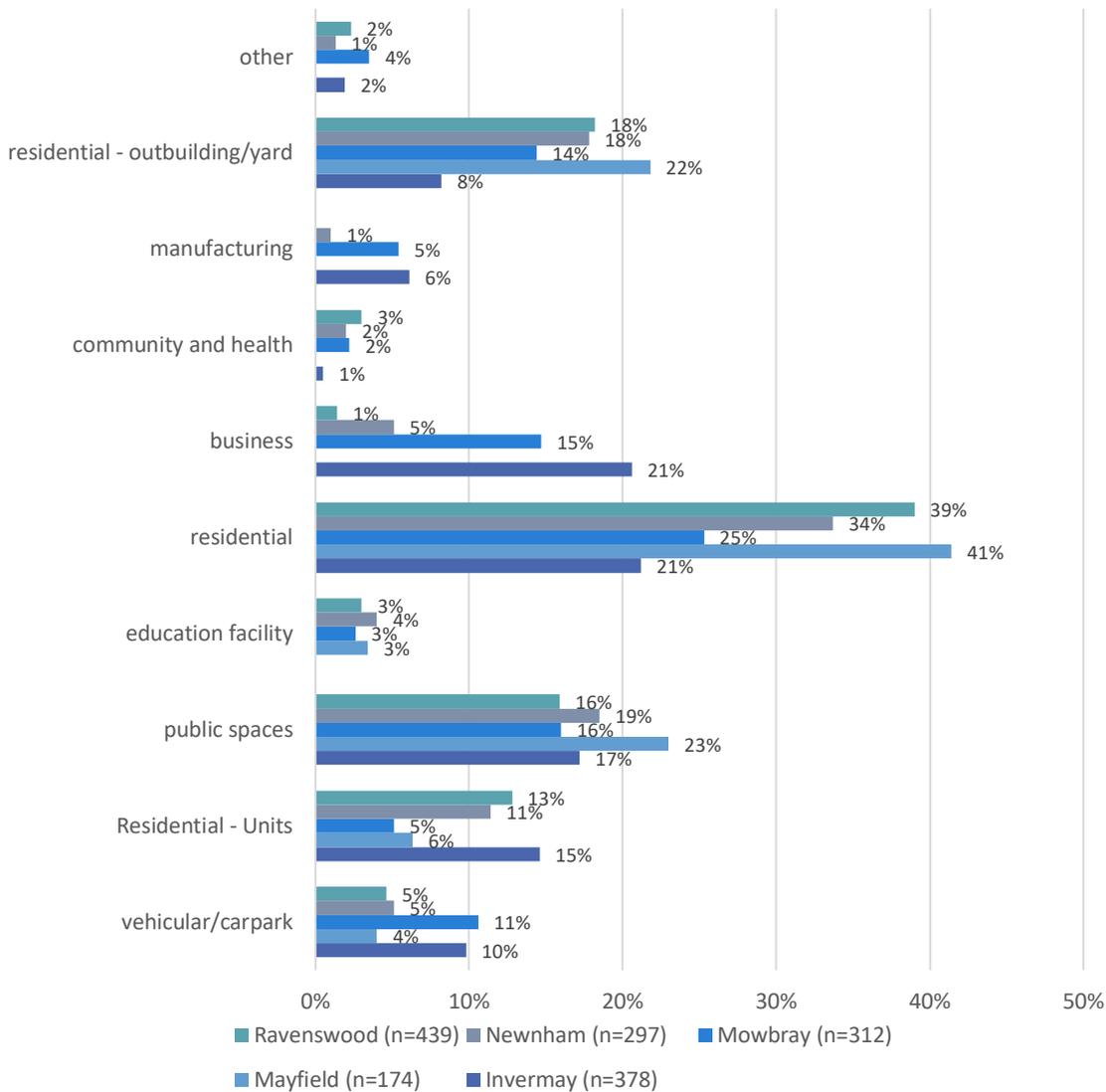


Figure 21 Target premises by suburbs

Trends In targeted premises

There were more public space offences reported in 2017 than all other years (Figure 22), while there were significantly fewer offences against educational facilities in 2019 than in 2018 and 2021. There was a significantly greater proportion of offences against business in 2016 than there were in 2018 and 2019.

In so far as the *number* of offences are concerned offences against vehicles increased steadily from 2016 to a peak in 2019 and then fell in 2020 and 2021. Residential units also exhibited an upward trend, peaking in 2020 – caution figures for 2021 represent data for the first six months only. However, 183 incidents for 6 months suggests that a full year of data may well represent the highest number of offences compared to previous years.

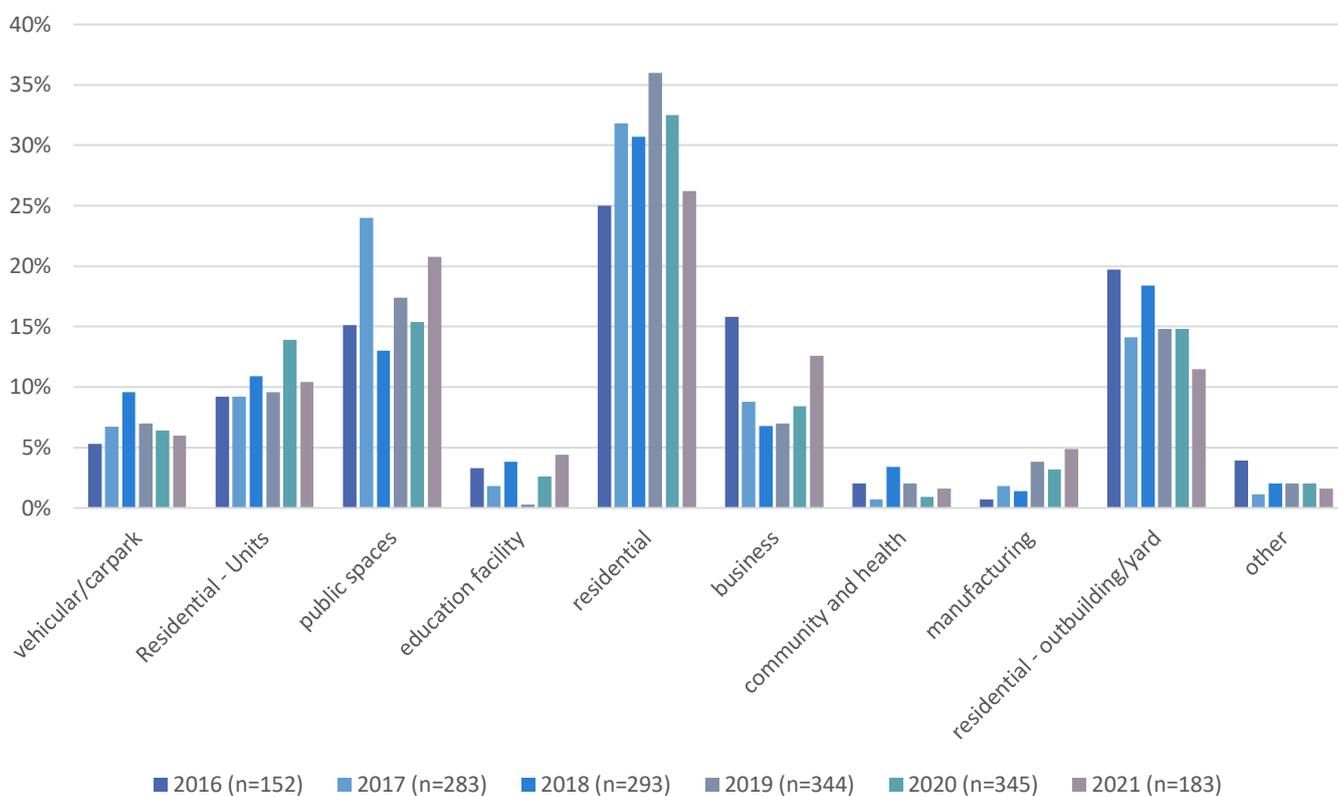


Figure 22 Premises targeted by year

Premise offences by time of day

There were significantly fewer offences against vehicles between 8am and midday than there were between 8pm and midnight (Figure 23), while there were significantly fewer offences against residences between midnight and 8am than there were between midday and 4pm.

In so far as business offences are concerned, significantly more offences were reported between midnight and 4am and 4pm and 8pm than there were between 8pm and midnight. Fewer offences were reported for residential outbuildings between midday and 3pm than there were between 8pm and midnight.

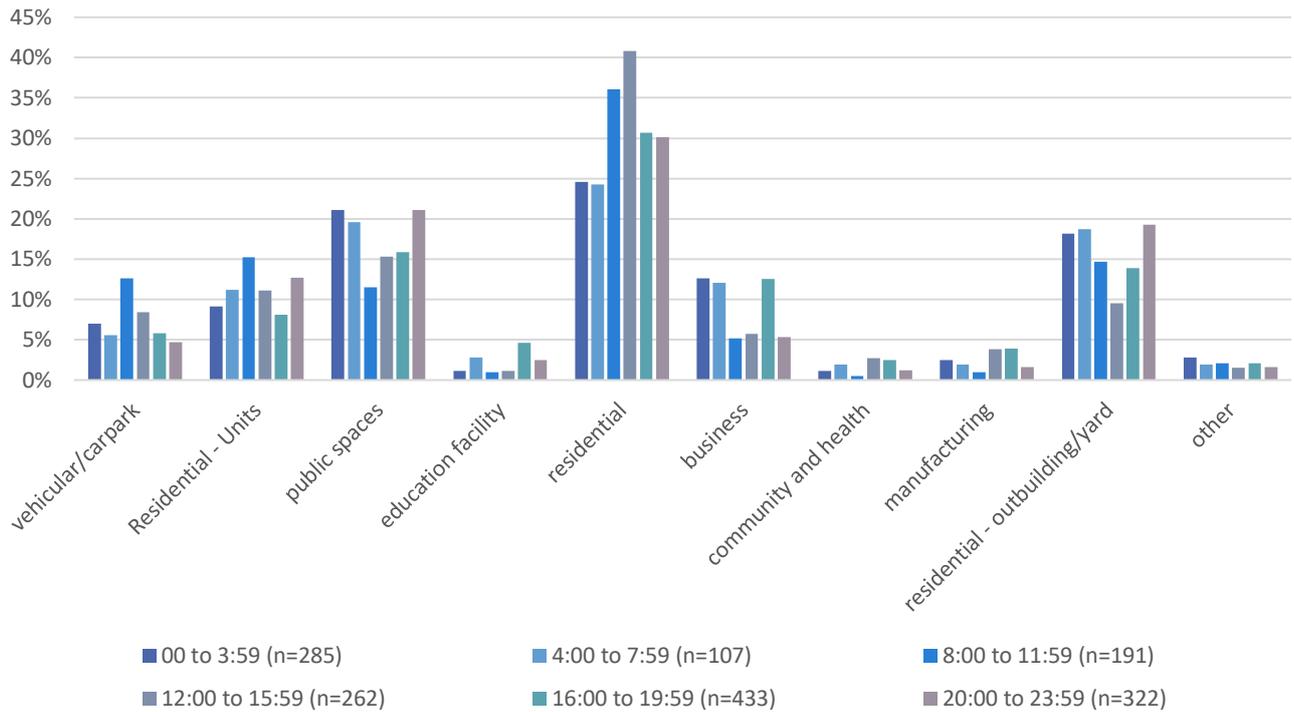


Figure 23 Premises targeted by time of day

Offences against premises by gender

Offences against educational premises were significantly higher for multiple offenders than either males or females acting alone (Figure 24), while males were significantly more likely to commit offences against residential property than multiple offenders. There was no difference between males and females with regard to offences against residential properties. The low 'n' for some categories precludes any statistical testing of difference.

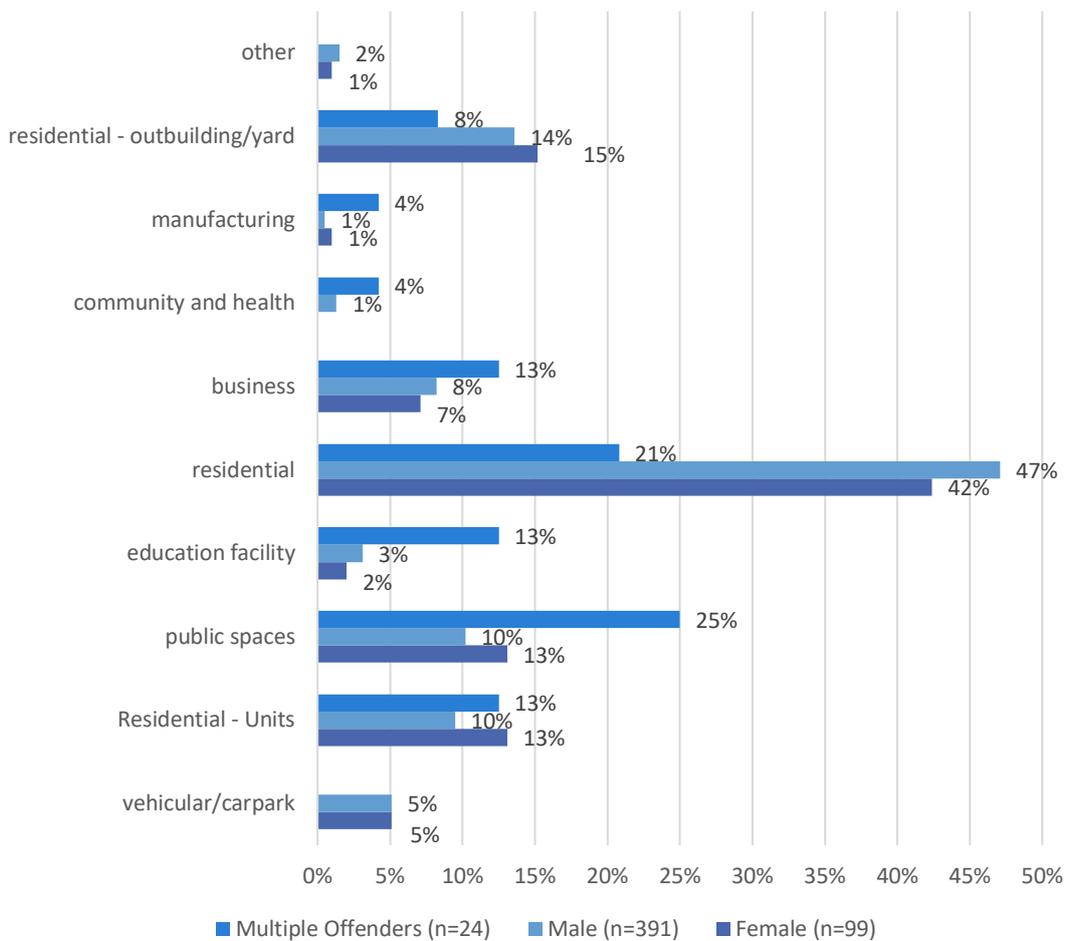


Figure 24 Targeted premises by gender

Offences against premises by age

The 45-to-54-year age group recorded more offences against units than the 35-to-44-year age group (Figure 25), while the 10-to-14-year age group committed significantly more offences against an educational facility than those in the 18-to-34-year age group. Indeed, almost all offences against educational institutions were either committed by the 10-to-14-year age group and by multiple offenders. While the 54 to 64 and 65+ age group exhibited the largest proportion of offences against residential properties the ‘n’ for both groups was too small to make any definitive conclusions. Additionally, the sample size was too small in a number of cases to draw comparisons between age groups

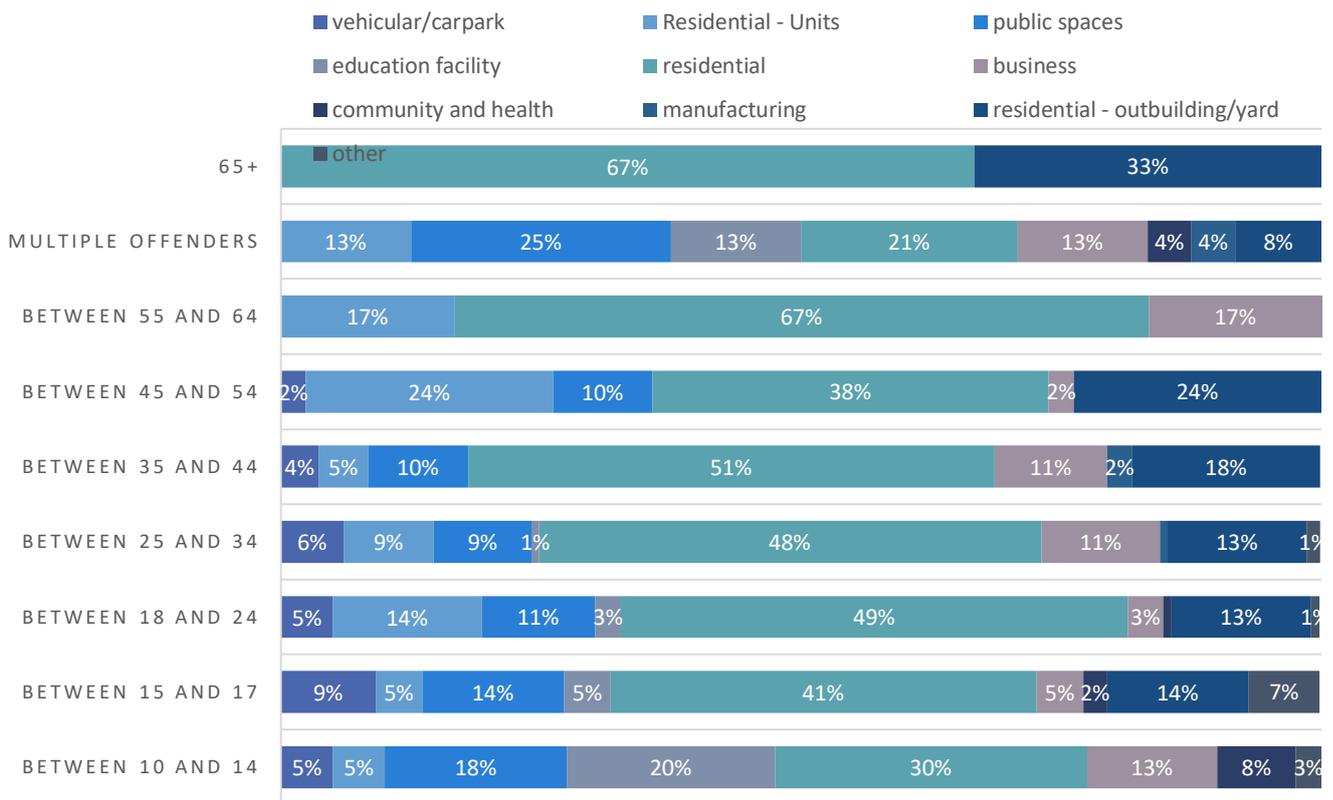


Figure 25 Targeted premises by age

Prosecution status

As shown in Table 4, 93% of all offence status categories were either court proceedings or the offences were not resolved. In 4% of cases the matter was withdrawn. It is assumed that the offences in the 'not resolved' category are still under investigation.

No significant differences emerged between suburbs or gender in relation to court proceedings or the matter not being resolved.

For age, a significantly greater proportion of those in the 18-24- and 35-44-year age groups had undergone court proceedings than those in the 10-14, 15-17, 55-64-year age groups and the multiple offender group which reflects prosecution practice of diverting young people from the criminal justice system.

Because of the number of missing values for age in the dataset provided, the sample size for 'not resolved' was too small to draw any comparisons.

Table 5 Status of reported offences

Offence Status	N	%
Not Resolved	1018	63.6
Court Proceedings	467	29.2
Withdrawn	63	3.9
Formal Caution	15	0.9
Insufficient Evidence	15	0.9
Community Conference	11	0.7
Unfounded	7	0.4
Informal Caution	1	0.1
Lapsed	1	0.1
Unable to Proceed	2	0.1
Total	1600	100

Prosecution status and age groups

As shown in Figure 26, large proportions of all age groups had undergone court proceedings. However, significantly fewer of those between 10 years and 17 years, and those in the older age brackets (between 55 and 64 years of age), had undergone court proceedings compared to the 18-to-24-year age group. This was also the case for those in the 35-to-44-year age group, with this group exhibiting significantly more court proceedings than the other age groups. The largest group to receive community conferencing was the 10-to-14-year age group (23%), while 2% of those between 15 and 17 and 4% of multiple offenders also received community conferencing. The 'n' for a number of categories was too low to draw conclusions. The vast majority of unresolved cases had no data recorded for age, presumably because no one had been identified as the offender in these cases.

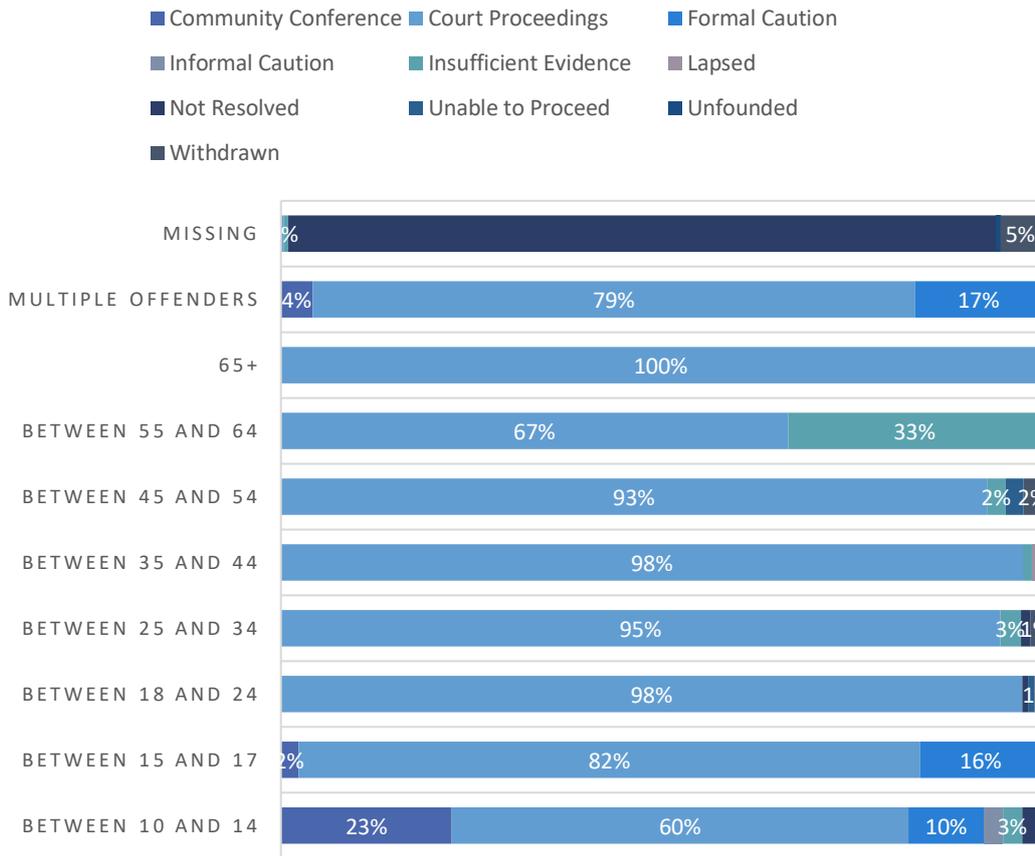


Figure 26 Offence status and age

Gender and prosecution status

No differences emerged in relation to gender and offence status with similar proportions of each group undergoing court proceedings (females 92%; males 91%), while multiple offenders were more likely to be given a formal warning than either males or females (Figure 27). However, the 'n' for multiple offenders is too low to make a definitive statement.

Again, the majority of unresolved cases relate to unknown offenders.

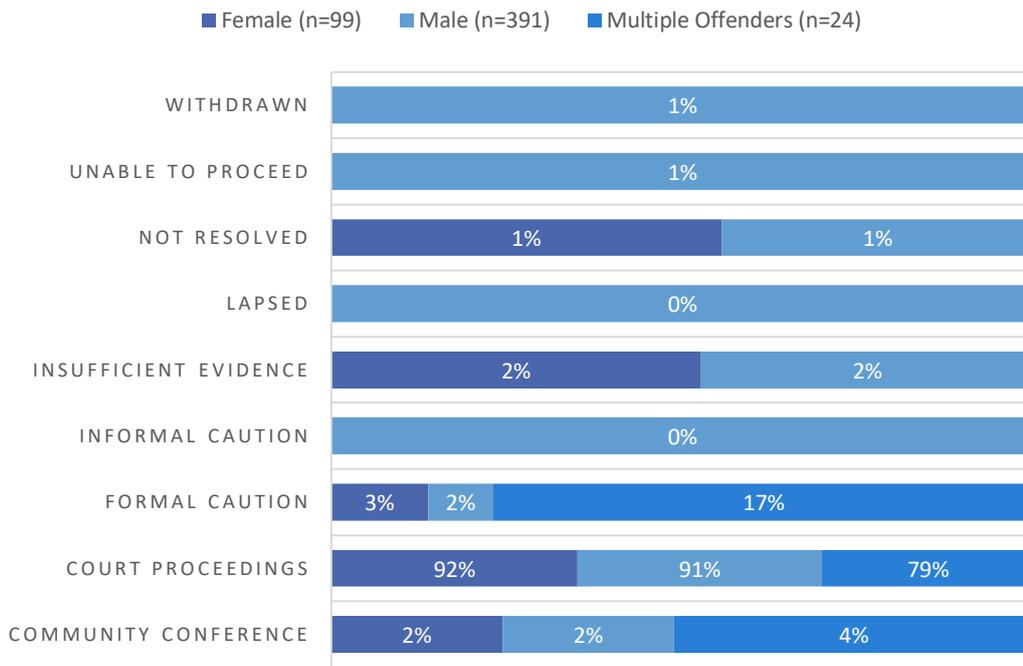


Figure 27 Offence Status and gender

Offence category and prosecution status

A significant proportion of arson offences (85%) remain unresolved with unknown offenders. Consequently, there were significantly less court proceedings for arson than property damage (Table 5). Additionally, a significantly greater proportion of damage to property offences were withdrawn than for arson related offences.

Table 6 Offence status by offence group

	Arson and Related Offences		Injure/Destroy Property	
	'n'	%	'n'	%
Not Resolved	186	84.5%	832	60.3%
Court Proceedings	28	12.7%	439	31.8%
Withdrawn	1	0.5%	62	4.5%
Insufficient Evidence	0	0%	15	1.1%
Formal Caution	2	0.9%	13	0.9%
Community Conference	2	0.9%	9	0.7%
Unfounded	1	0.5%	6	0.4%
Informal Caution	0	0%	1	0.1%
Lapsed	0	0%	1	0.1%
Unable to Proceed	0	0%	2	0.1%
Total	220	100%	1380	100%

Clearance rates

Clearance rates reflect resolved matters. Thus, almost two-thirds of cases remain uncleared. Over 8 out of 10 arson related offences had not been cleared, while 6 out of 10 destroy property offences were also not cleared. The sample size for cases where age and gender were known was too small to make comparisons for arson related offences.

Table 7 Offence category and clearance rates

Offence Cleared	Arson and Related Offences		Injure/Destroy Property		Total	
	'n'	%	'n'	%	'n'	%
No	186	84.5%	847	61.4%	1033	64.6%
Yes	34	15.5%	533	38.6%	567	35.4%
Total	220	100%	1380	100%	1600	100%

While Ravenswood reported the lowest non clearance rate to other suburbs, the difference was not significant.

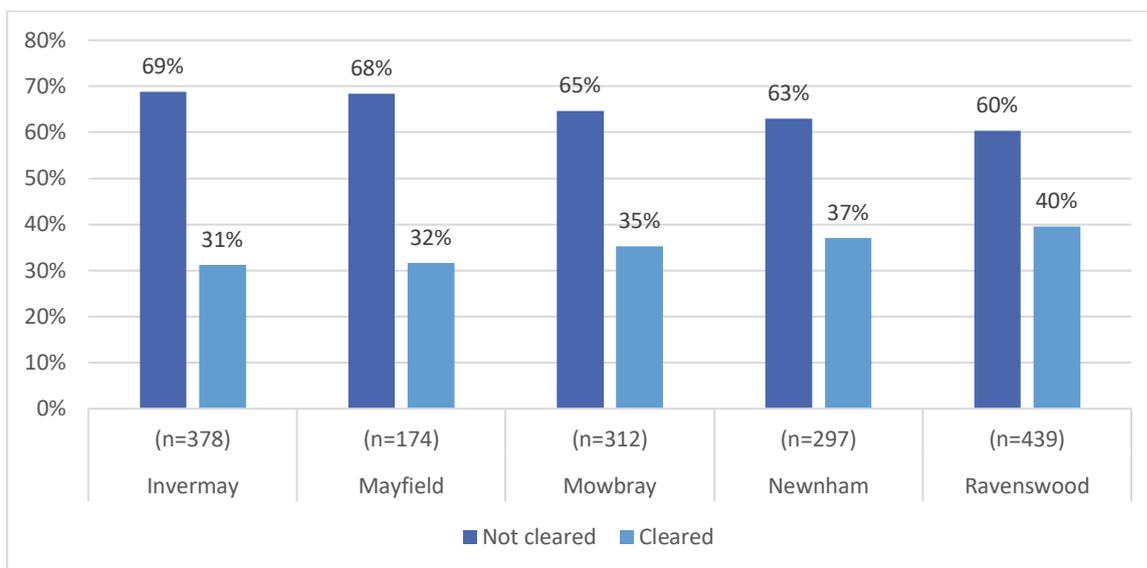


Figure 28 Clearance rate and suburb

Age and clearance rates

Missing data for age accounts for 94% of all uncleared offences, while significantly fewer offences were cleared for the 55-to-64-year age group than those between 18 and 35 years of age (Figure 29).

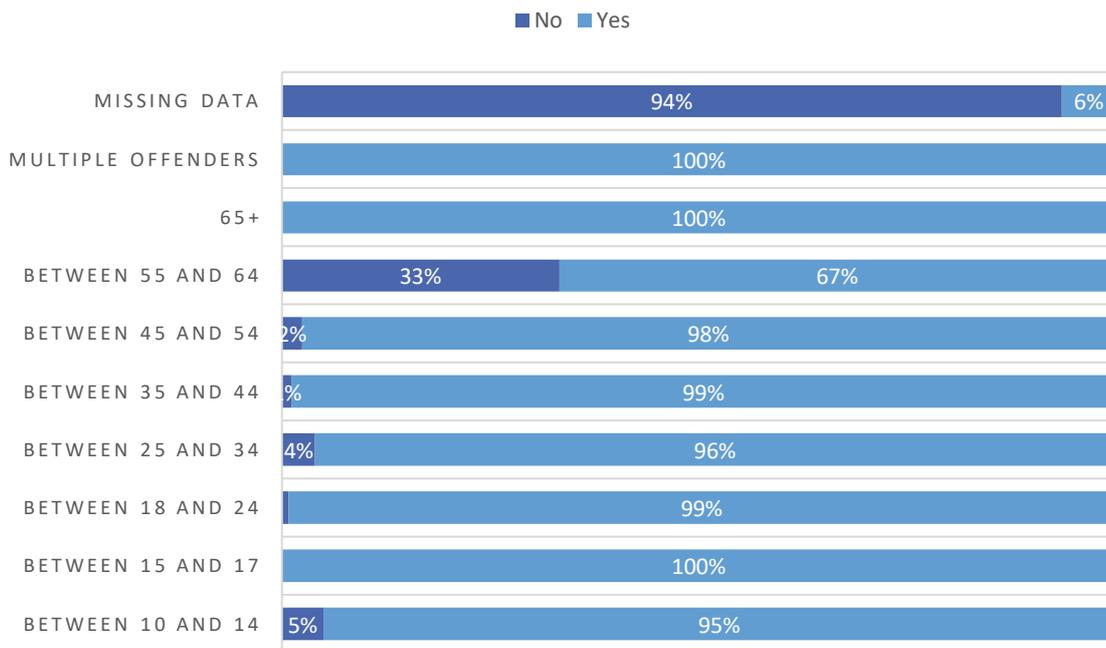


Figure 29 Clearance rate and age

No significant differences emerged relative to gender and clearance rates, with virtually all offences cleared for each group

COUNCIL DATA

The City of Launceston provided two spreadsheets which contained information about repairs to property damage across the municipality which recorded 808 instances of damage or similar between June 2014 and September 2021.

Summary

- Most reports are related to property damage or graffiti to target areas in the city or northern suburbs, accounting for two thirds of all reports logged
- Reports for the city increased significantly over the period of review followed by the northern suburbs which remained steady at around 30% of all reports logged.
- Infrastructure, toilets and walls were the most frequent targets for vandalism.
- Reports on damage to buildings decreased over the period of review, while damage to infrastructure increased, with reports for vandalised walls remaining fairly steady between 2014 and 2021.
- Graffiti and a general category of 'damage/vandalism' were the most frequently reported to Council, accounting for 81% of all reports.
- Reports for graffiti and damage/vandalism increased over the period of review.
- Costs associated with damage/vandalism remained steady over the period of review, while costs for graffiti increased. However, costs in recent years were lower than costs reported in 2014.
- Costs of repairs were highest in the city and the northern suburbs.
- Highest costs were associated with damage/vandalism to bins followed by infrastructure, buildings and toilets.
- The costs of dealing with graffiti was highest on infrastructure, buildings and toilets but costs were not as high as damage/vandalism.

Sites of vandalism

Data provided included details of damage in 35 areas in Launceston and surrounds. For ease of analysis locations where damage was reported to Council were grouped into six categories for analysis; City, Northern suburbs, Eastern, Southern, Western and unknown. Rocherlea, Invermay, Mowbray, Ravenswood and Newnham were grouped within Northern Suburbs, and Waverley and St Leonards in the Eastern suburbs. Table 7 shows that the CBD area attracts the majority of vandalism.

Table 8 Incident location and grouping

	City Count	North Count	East Count	South Count	West Count	Unknown Count	Total Count	%
CBD	253	0	0	0	0	0	253	31.3%
Invermay	0	73	0	0	0	0	73	9.0%
West Launceston	0	0	0	0	49	0	49	6.1%
South Launceston	0	0	0	42	0	0	42	5.2%
Royal Park	37	0	0	0	0	0	37	4.6%
Trevallyn	0	0	0	0	33	0	33	4.3%
Ravenswood	0	30	0	0	0	0	30	3.7%
Newnham	0	24	0	0	0	0	24	3.0%
Newstead	0	0	24	0	0	0	24	3.0%
Kings Meadows	0	0	0	22	0	0	22	2.7%
Mowbray	0	21	0	0	0	0	21	2.6%
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	20	20	2.5%
Mayfield	0	18	0	0	0	0	18	2.2%
Waverley	0	0	18	0	0	0	18	2.2%
Rochlea	0	15	0	0	0	0	15	1.9%
Punchbowl	0	0	0	14	0	0	14	1.7%
St Leonards	0	0	13	0	0	0	13	1.6%
Summerhill	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	1.5%
Windmill Hill	12	0	0	0	0	0	12	1.5%
Youngtown	0	0	0	12	0	0	12	1.5%
East Launceston	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	1.2%
Lilydale	0	10	0	0	0	0	10	1.2%
Norwood	0	0	0	10	0	0	10	1.2%
Lebrina	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	0.7%
Prospect	0	0	0	5	0	0	5	0.6%
Brickfields Park	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.5%
Karoola	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0.5%
Myrtle Park	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0.5%
West Tamar	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0.5%
Dilston	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1%
Inveresk	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1%
Northern Parks	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1%
Riverside	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.1%
Western Parks	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.1%
Windermere	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.1%
Total	306	209	65	117	88	20	808	100.0%
%	38%	26%	8%	14%	11%	2%	100%	

We observe that the largest proportion of vandalism reported to Council occurred in the city, followed by the northern and western suburbs.

As shown below, reports of damage for the city area increased between 2014⁶ and 2021⁷, increasing significantly between 2015 and 2020/2021. Reports from the northern suburbs

⁶ Caution six months only for 2014

⁷ Caution, eight months only for 2021

remained fairly constant from 2014 to 2018, then decreased from 2019 to 2021, while there were significantly fewer reports in 2020 and 2021 than in 2016 suggesting a general downward trend. The eastern suburbs remained fairly stable during the period of review, with reports increasing between 2014 and 2016, then decreasing in 2020/21. There were also fewer reports for 'unknown' logged in 2020 and 2021 than in 2014, though this may be because of changes in record keeping reflected in a steady decrease in locations being labelled unknown.

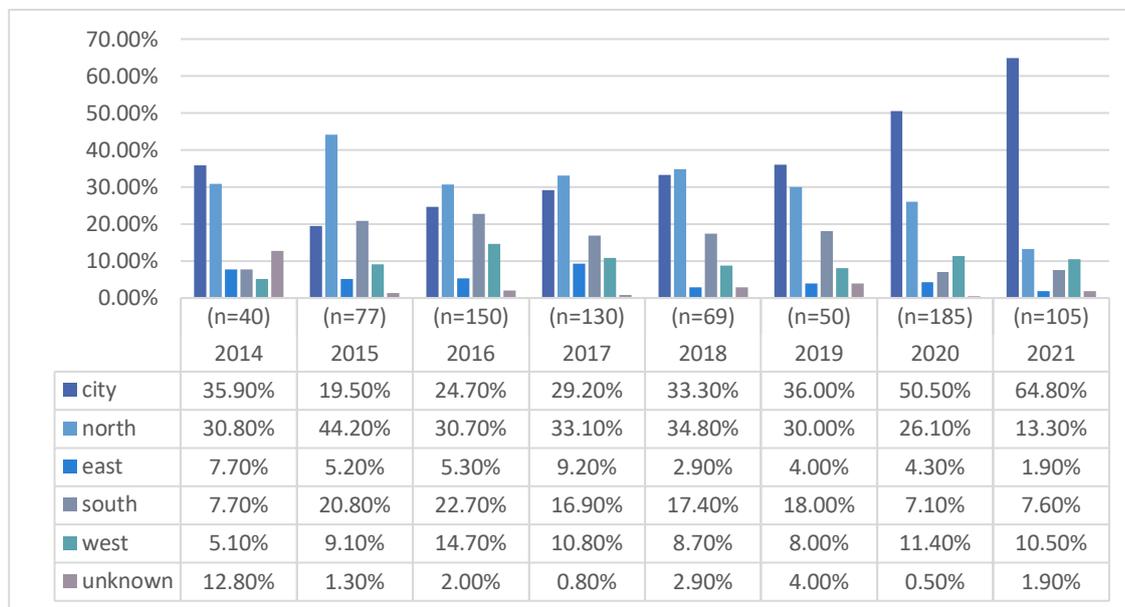


Figure 30 Reports to council by area per year

Target type

Infrastructure was the most popular target group, followed by toilets and walls. The category of infrastructure includes:

- Bridges
- Roads
- Footpaths
- Jetties
- Fountains
- Light poles
- Signage
- Seating
- Signal cabinets
- Steps
- Underpasses

- Waste centres

The most frequently damaged type of infrastructure was signage (21%), followed by signal cabinets (15%) and bridges (10%).

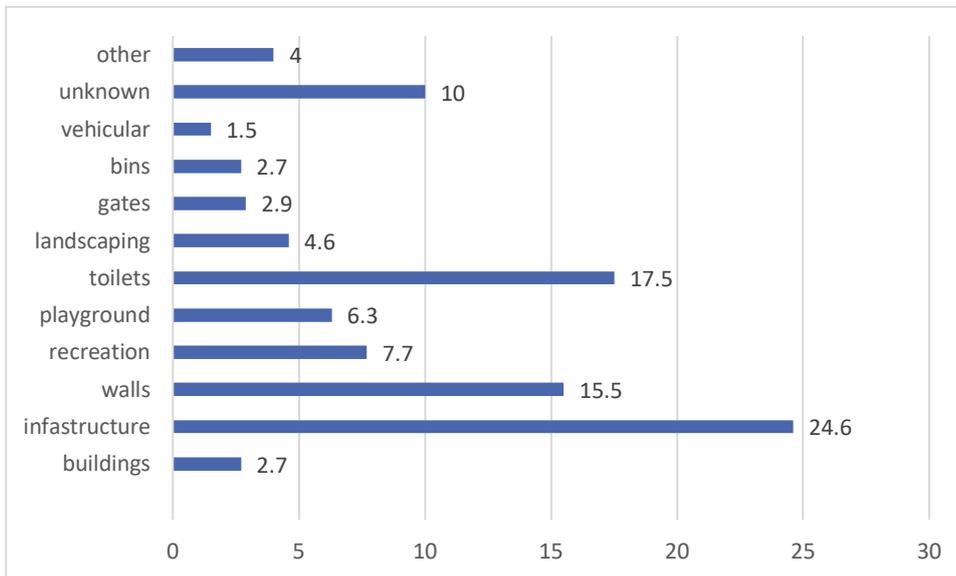


Figure 31 Target categories reported to Council

While the northern and eastern suburbs exhibited the largest proportion of reports of damage to buildings, the difference was not significant compared to other locations (Figure 32).

Little difference emerged in relation to infastructure with similar rates occurring in each suburb, with the potential exception of the northern suburbs.

The city reported the greatest proportion of reports for damage to 'walls'⁸ than all other suburbs, while the north and east reported a slightly higher proportion than the west and south. The north, south and west recorded a significantly greater proportion of reports for recreational areas than did the city, while playgrounds were a more popular target in the north and the south than the city. The city reported significantly more reports for damage to 'toilets' than the north, south and west, while gates were more popular target in the north than in the city.

⁸ This category includes levee walls, a frequent target for graffiti

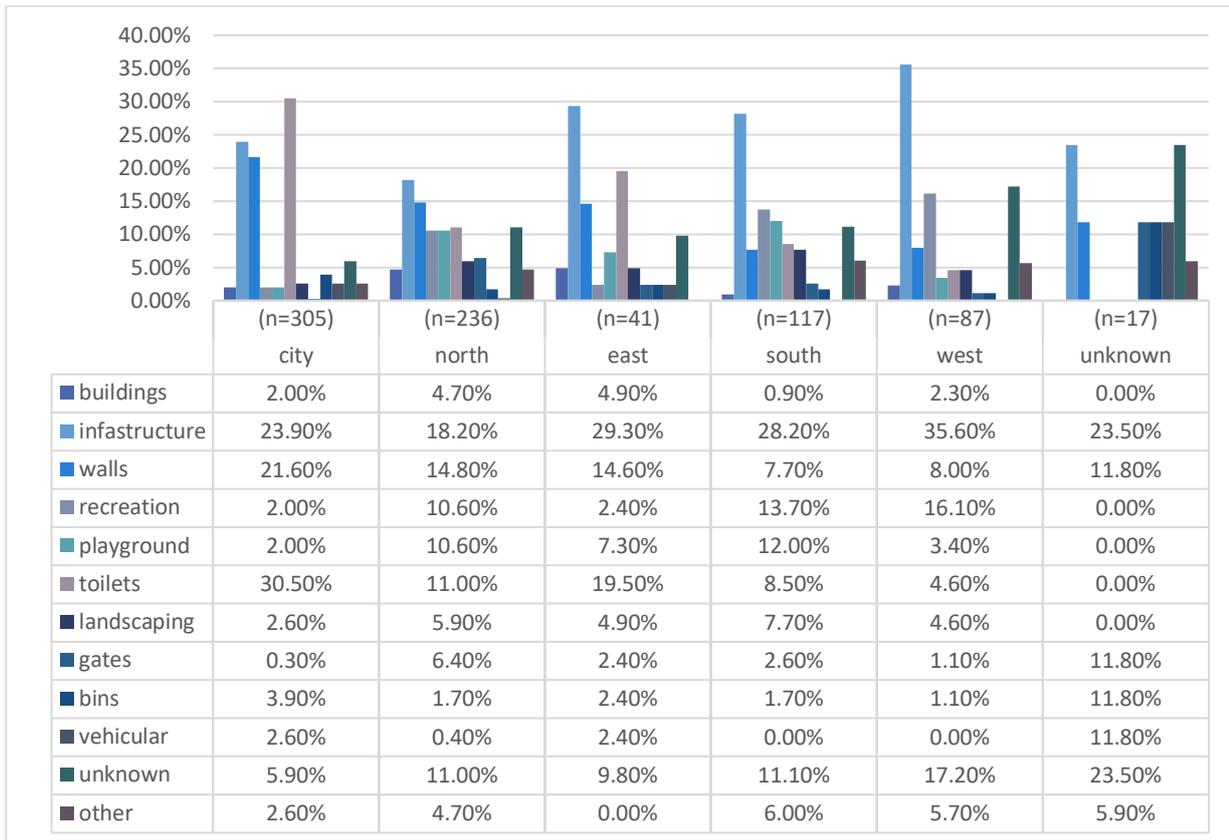


Figure 32 Council target and suburb

There was a general decrease in reports for buildings during the period of review with a slight increases in 2017/18 (Figure 33).

A significant decline in reports for recreational areas was observed between 2015/16 and 2020/21. Reports for vandalised infrastructure increased between 2014 and 2021 with some minor fluctuation, which was not statistically significant. Reports for damage to toilets increased significantly from 2014/15 to 2021. Reports for damage to landscaping have been decreasing since 2015.

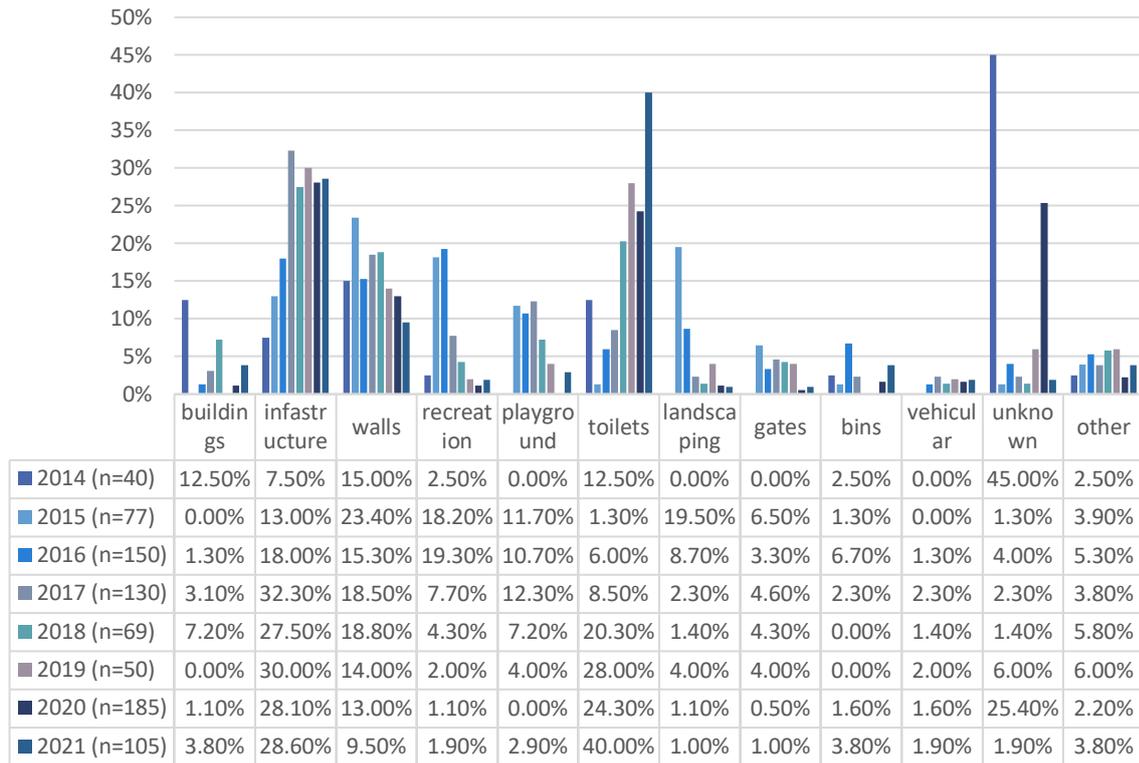


Figure 33 Council targets per year

Categories of damage

Graffiti was the most frequent type of damage reported to Council followed by damage/vandalism. Less than 5% of reports were recorded for all other categories respectively (Table 6).

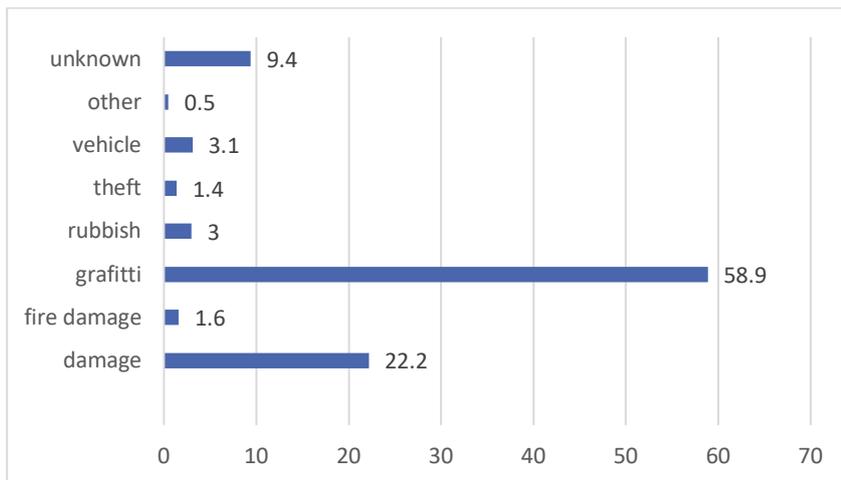


Figure 34 Categories of damage reported to Council

A significantly greater proportion of damage/vandalism was reported for the city and surrounds than all other suburbs, and no significant differences emerged between the north, east and south (Figure 35). Graffiti was common in all suburbs with no significant differences emerging between each. The majority of graffiti reported in the western suburbs was concentrated around Cataract Gorge, the Basin and Duck Reach.

The western suburbs reported the least incidence of damage/vandalism. Reports of fire damage was reasonably rare, with very little difference emerging between suburbs. The sample size with regard to fire damage, rubbish, theft, vehicle and 'other' is low so caution should be applied when interpreting results.

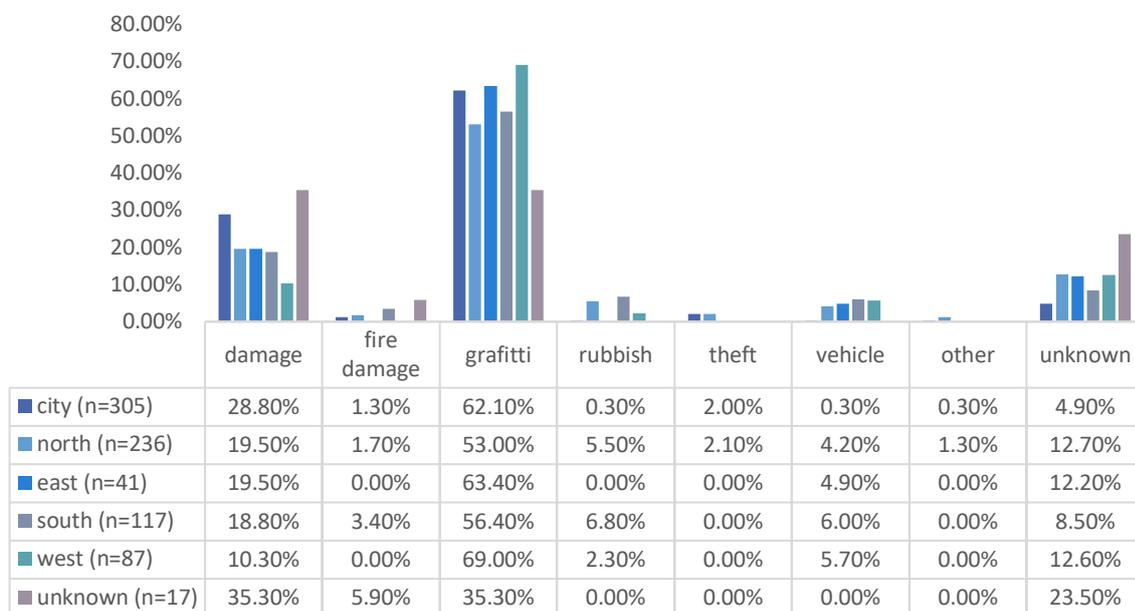


Figure 35 Type of damage by area

Yearly trends

Despite some fluctuation, incidents of graffiti significantly increased between 2014 and 2021 (Figure 36). While there was an increase in reports of damage from 2014 and 2021, the difference was not significant. Fire damage, rubbish, theft and vehicle remained fairly stable over the period of review, however as noted above, the 'n' for each was too low to draw any conclusions.

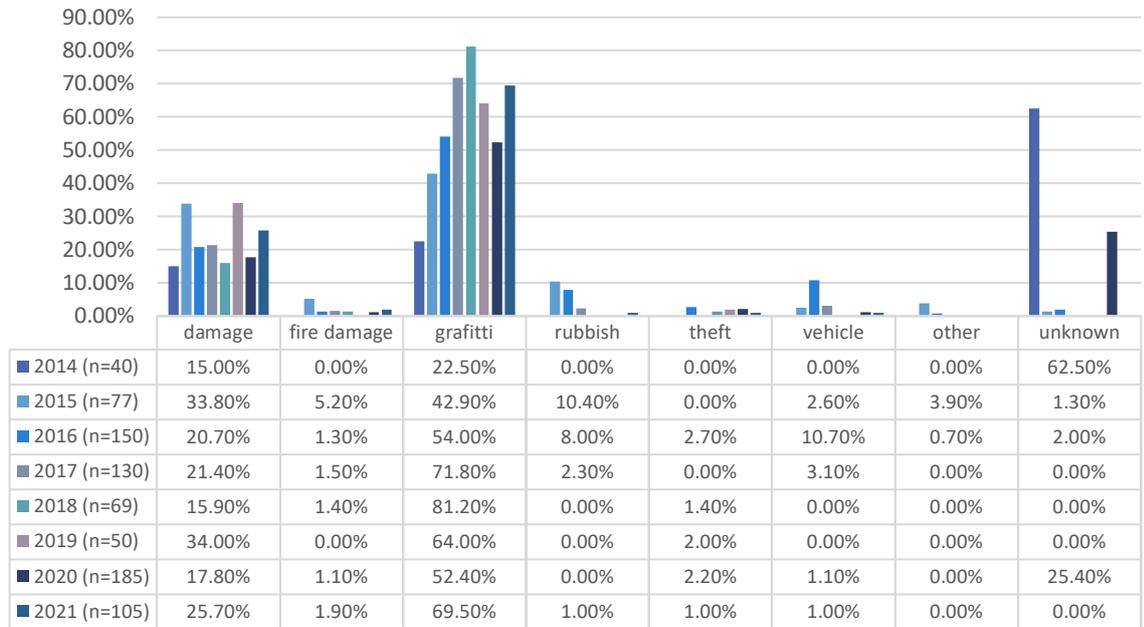


Figure 36 Type of damage by year of report

Cost of damage

Costs associated with repairs to damage/vandalism fluctuated significantly between 2014 and 2018, then increased between 2019 and 2021 (Figure 37). Costs associated with graffiti also fluctuated with 2014 and 2017 being significantly higher than for other years but has generally increased over the period of review).



Figure 37 Cost to Council to repair damage

The cost of repairing damage/vandalism was highest in the city followed by the northern suburbs, while the cost of fire damage was highest in the south followed by the city (Figure 38). The costs associated with restoring structures damaged by graffiti were highest in the northern suburbs, followed by the city. Costs for 'unknown' damage were high for all suburbs, but particularly so in the northern suburbs and the city.

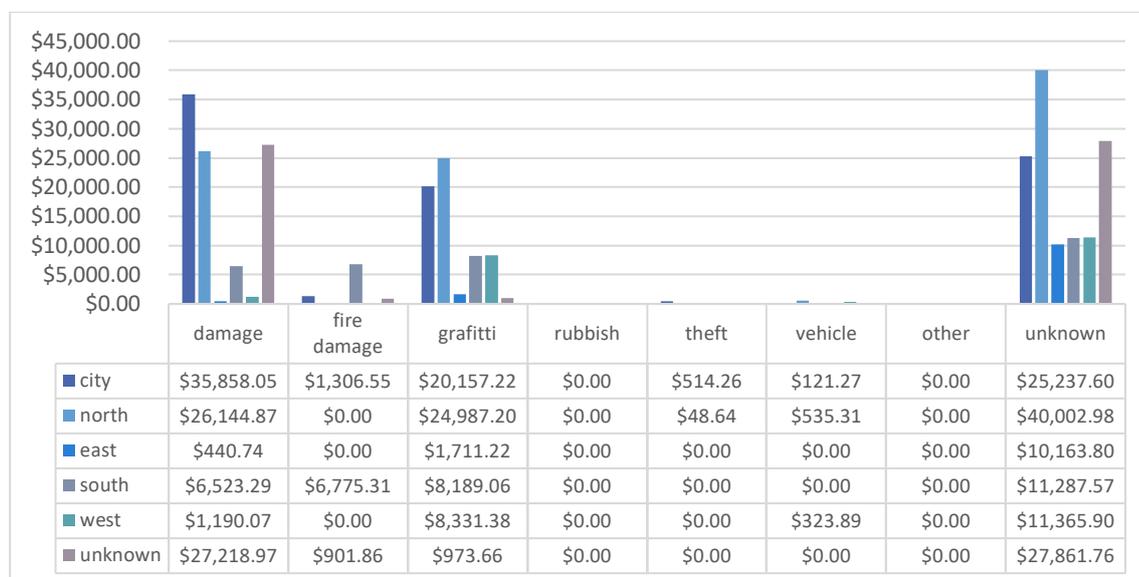


Figure 38 Costs per location

Costs associated with damage to buildings were highest in the northern suburbs followed by the city, and costs associated with repairs to infrastructure were highest in the northern suburbs which were significantly higher than other suburbs including the city which had the second highest costs associated with infrastructure (Figure 39).

A similar picture emerged in relation to damage to walls (including levee walls), where costs were significantly higher in the northern suburbs than they were in the city or other suburbs. The costs associated with repairs to toilets was highest in the city and significantly higher than the other suburbs. The cost of damage to bins was highest in the city, followed by the northern suburbs. The dataset also mentioned damage to bins where the location was not specified.

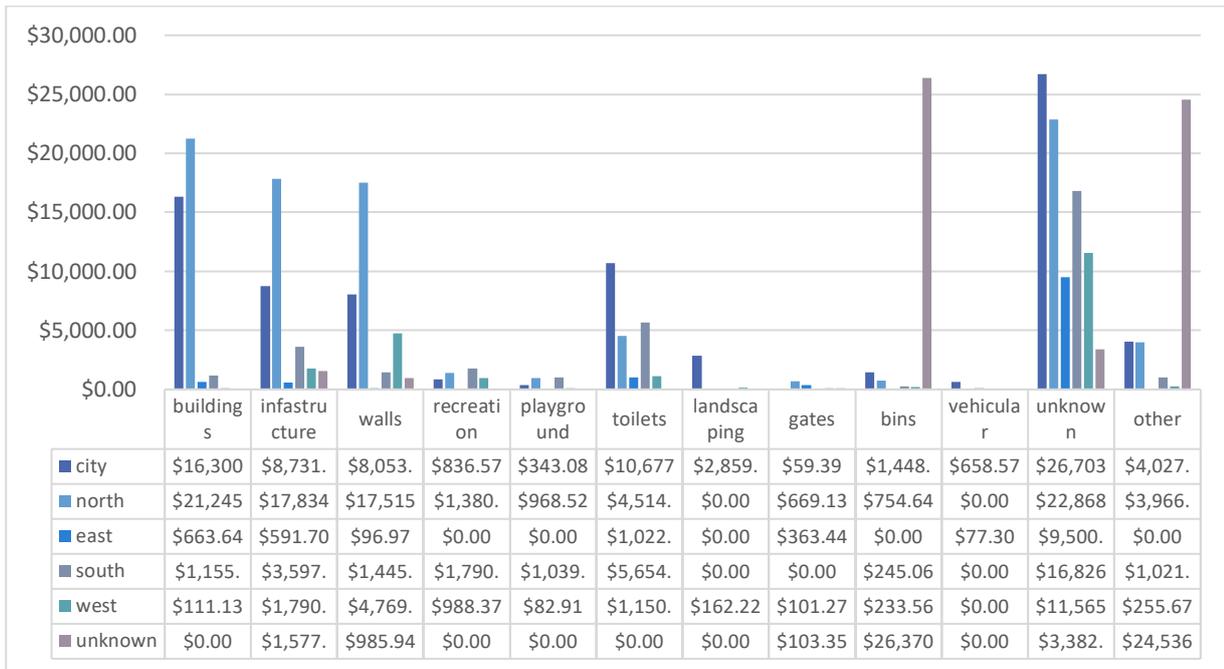
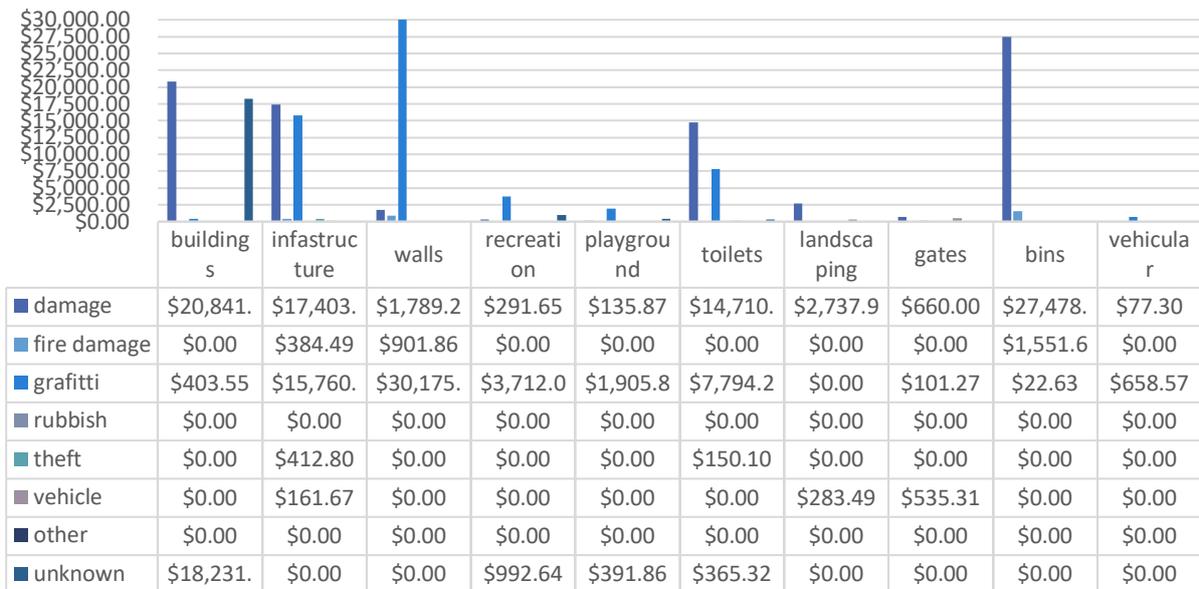


Figure 39 Costs per target type and location

Damage to bins incurred the highest cost (\$27,478) followed by damage to buildings, infrastructure and toilets. The costs for fire damage were primarily associated with bins, infrastructure and walls (fences), while cost for graffiti on walls was higher than that for infrastructure, although costs for these two target and damage types was significantly greater than for other target and damage categories.



A note on record keeping for future analysis

The spreadsheets provided for the researchers to undertake examination to understand the extent of vandalism in Launceston's northern suburbs provided some challenges.

The records were designed for keeping track of work orders for repair and maintenance and required considerable cleaning before any analysis was possible. We recommend for council to revamp the way records are kept to enable real time tracking of vandalism in a meaningful format.

A first step would be to create a new template for data entry which presents information in a uniform manner (e.g., either all upper case or all lower case).

Creation of uniformly agreed categories would also aid in reporting. Currently all meaningful data is contained in the fields of 'work description'. This field contains a lot of information as to what has been targeted, what type of damage and details of person reporting so we recommend breaking these down into separate columns. For example, under work order description one says 'City levee graffiti removal'. We recommend changing this to separate columns to reflect 'location' = city, target =levee, damage=graffiti.

A uniform approach needs to be taken to describing targets. Our first pass at analysis required making sense of 90 different target types. Locations were also not uniformly described and so these need to be tidied up.

We also recommend creating new columns for detail of the person reporting and to clearly record when repairs are complete. It was difficult at times when dates were clustered together, to ascertain whether a new person was reporting the same damage which had not yet been repaired, or whether the same target had been re-vandalised within a short period of repair.

APPROACHES TO VANDALISM

The academic literature reveals vandalism has been a cause for concern for a very long period of time (see for example, Ashmore-Hills & Burrell, 2020) without an overarching single effective solution emerging; indeed, Goldstein, in a very influential book on vandalism in schools (1996), suggested that there is no single solution, and a thorough review by National Crime Prevention (1999), argues this is true for crime in general. As a result, it makes sense to consider vandalism as a complex crime, with multiple motivations and multiple ways of addressing it, each of whose impact and success will vary depending on the type of vandalism, and which motivations for vandalism are being targeted.

We suggest that each of the different types of vandalism has a set of necessary pre-conditions, which taken alone, are insufficient to cause acts of vandalism, but taken collectively, lead to the commission of the specific type of vandalism. What makes vandalism such an enduring and complex social problem is that each of the necessary conditions calls for an independent response, and even if each of these necessary conditions are addressed successfully, they are unlikely to eliminate all categories of vandalism, because some types will have a different set of necessary conditions.

A necessary condition, in this context, is a condition without which an act of vandalism cannot occur, but taken alone, without the presence of other necessary conditions, is unlikely to lead in itself to an act of vandalism. For example, an inviting target of vandalism is one of the necessary conditions for vandalism (e.g., an abandoned building, an under-utilised and under-surveilled toilet block - see the discussion below), but it is not a sufficient condition in and of itself – many toilet blocks and deserted buildings do not become vandalised (see the discussion in Poyser & Poyser, 2018, for rural examples). In addition to the target, it is important to add other necessary conditions, such as people with motivations to cause damage (and these motivations might vary greatly), before an actual act of vandalism occurs. Although this presentation complicates matters considerably, it also suggests that a variety of interventions of varying ranges of social and fiscal investment, are likely to have some impact on the rates of vandalism in a community, and taking disparate measures targeting a range of necessary conditions together is likely to have a very significant impact.

To illustrate this with the example of hate crimes (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Morewitz, 2019), vandals target community symbols (churches, mosques, synagogues, cemeteries,

etc.) with the intent of harming the community as a whole. The necessary conditions for such vandalism include the presence of community groups which are unacceptable to some other members of a community, the presence of property associated with this group, the accessibility of this property to the vandal (e.g., cemeteries often pose few barriers to someone intent on damaging gravestones), and the presence of a person in the community who believes it appropriate and possible to act in this manner against this group (e.g., the motivation of hate). A variety of interventions can then be directed towards each of these causes – including increasing community understanding of, and toleration for, marginalised groups, better protection of property including surveillance and ‘target hardening’ measures, effective enforcement of ‘hate crime’ legislation, and attempts to educate and rehabilitate the hate crime vandal. Each of these interventions is likely singly to have some impact on acts of hate crime-based vandalism; taken collectively, it is far more likely that the interventions will act together to lower the rate of hate crime vandalism in a community, although these actions may have little impact on other forms of vandalism.

This is why it is essential to accurately identify the types of vandalism which are occurring in a community such as Launceston, so that interventions are specifically targeted at the necessary conditions to each specific form of vandalism, and scarce resources not misapplied or wasted. As has already been noted in this report, the (incomplete) data on vandalism reported to Launceston police reveals a different pattern of vandalism than that which has been expressed in community consultations, which suggest a far greater community concern from a police perspective with acts of property damage committed by an older age group of young adult males than the teenagers who are normally associated with acts of public vandalism as discussed below.

This difference in pattern could possibly be that the acts of vandalism most commonly reported to the Launceston police involve acts of destruction against private property such as homes, and, as such, may be interpreted as a type of interpersonal violence which seems a law enforcement matter requiring a law enforcement response. Damage to public spaces may have less interpersonal salience, and therefore be seen as matters of concern to the

local council, mainly with the intent of having them repaired and restored. Most of the literature we have been able to access on vandalism is responding to damage to public spaces and business premises, and not to assaults on private property such as homes and yards. This literature would seem to have greater relevance to the council's concerns than literature addressing acts of destruction against private homes which concern the Launceston police.

Assaults on homes are described in the family violence literature however, as damage to property and items of property often form part of the pattern of intimidation and coercive control which is characteristic of much domestic and family violence (DFV) (e.g., Toy-Cronin, 2020; Weisberg, 2017). In these instances, the most effective response is likely to be embedded in a general plan to lower the rate of DFV in the Launceston community. Property damage of this nature can also occur in the context of other interpersonal relationships, such as family, neighbourhood and individual feuds and disagreements. To recognise that much vandalism in Launceston appears to occur in the context of assaults against persons is quite significant, and also suggests that standard responses to acts of vandalism which are more broadly directed (for example, against schools and parks) and less focused on an individual's pattern of interpersonal relationships, are likely to be ineffective in these instances. One possible exception, which may traverse both interpersonal violence and more diffuse

Vandalism or Family Violence?

Weisberg (2017) lists a number of acts of vandalism associated with domestic and family violence, adding 'the acts of damage are intended to instil fear and to convey the not-so-subtle message that the offender is capable of wreaking similar violence on the victim' (p. 17):

- Committed whilst trespassing into a partner or former partner's home
- Damages such as holes in the wall, broken doors, smashed windows (to access the house), smashing furniture and appliances, disconnecting phones to prevent the partner calling for assistance
- targeting items of particular value to the partner
- targeting the more accessible exterior of the house and garden
- damage to vehicles including attempts to deprive victim of means of escape
- damage to property the partner needs for her employment
- arson attacks including fire-bombing of property
- damage to property belonging to family and friends of victim

Acts of property damage thereby serve to confirm the abuser's power and the victim's powerlessness. Such acts carry an implicit threat that negative consequences will arise for the victim in the event of future noncompliance with the abuser's demands (p. 28).

patterns of vandalism is the theft, looting, arson, and disposal of motor vehicles. It is suggested that although damage to motor vehicles often occurs in the context of DFV and other forms of interpersonal conflict, it is just as likely that the theft and 'dumping' of a motor vehicle may not be seen as a direct assault against the vehicle's owner (see examples in Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015).

The material presented in this section is of greater relevance to vandalism which does not occur in the context of interpersonal relationships and interpersonal conflict and accords with concerns expressed about vandalism in community consultations.

The literature we accessed on vandalism does not present a cohesive body of information. Much of the literature focuses on only one type of vandalism and does not appear to have broader applicability, such as graffiti (Assaf-Zakharov & Schnetgoeke, 2021; Dean, 2016), the desecration of public monuments as political actions (Durdieva, 2020; Lai, 2019), specific hate crimes (Morewitz, 2019), the damage of public accessories such as picnic tables (Samdahl & Christensen, 1985) or trees along streets (Richardson & Shackleton, 2014) or the use of 'tagging' by gang members (O'Deane 2018; Stodolska, Berdychevsky & Shinew, 2019).

Further, the literature appears to strongly reflect both the academic and personal biases of the researchers, so that it can be difficult to compare study to study. There seem to be several (potentially incompatible) themes presented, based broadly on whether the study has its basis in psychological or sociological/criminological research. The former tends to focus on the personal characteristics of the vandal (e.g., Evans et al, 2021; Kruzhkova et al, 2018; Nordmarker et al, 2016; Pfattheicher, Keller & Knezevic, 2018) and the later, not surprisingly, on the social conditions under which vandalism is more likely to occur (see for example, Poyser & Poyser, 2018).

Most of these theoretical approaches to understanding vandalism implicate the vandal in a lot of other risk taking and illegal behaviours besides vandalism and often can be viewed more as general theories of crime and aggression than vandalism specifically. We argue that for acts of vandalism to occur generally, it is important to consider both target of vandalism and the vandal themselves, and will discuss each below, in light of the literature on the topic. We have selected information about the target of vandalism to begin this section but we are not prioritising any necessary condition over any other; an effective intervention to prevent vandalism will consider all of them, and could be targeting any or all of them.

Necessary condition One: A suitable target

In his book on the psychology of vandalism, Goldstein (1996, ps. 47-66) suggests that no one description of the personal characteristics of vandals or vandalised property is adequate, and suggests instead that an interactionist approach, a 'person-environment duet' be considered instead with some environments making the choice of vandalism in those pre-disposed to vandalise more likely (see also National Crime Prevention, 1999). The concept of 'target hardening' (or the Bastille response, Ward, 1991), that is, making targets less attractive to vandals, can be applied to those environments.

Before we discuss the personality characteristics or the social context of vandals, it seems appropriate to present some considerations from the literature about the targets of vandalism.

In 1978, Allen & Greenberger suggested that some places are more likely to be vandalised because they provide a greater aesthetic pleasure to potential vandals - e.g., novel experiences, violations of expectation, intensity of experience, and complexity - and provided some experimental evidence which suggest people are more likely to enjoy seeing windows break if they do so in complex and unexpected manners. This idea suggests some forms of vandalism are more inherently pleasing than others (for example, breaking windows which shatter in interesting ways), due to the nature of the target itself. Allen & Greenberger argued that such targets provide 'releaser cues,' based on a broader psychological concept formulated by Zimbardo, 1973, 'something which stimulates, or encourages the release of an otherwise inhibited behaviour' (Samdahi & Christensen, 1985, in Goldstein, 1996, p. 246). Not all of these cues are about the so-called potential 'aesthetics' and satisfaction of damage; in fact, they are far more likely to signal the availability of an object or place for acts of vandalism.

In a 2014 dissertation Bates, (University of Edinburgh) argues that vandalism is best understood 'as a crime of place, not property'. In other words, environmental and social conditions signal to potential vandals that this target, and not some other target, would be the best to vandalise. As Samdahi & Christensen express it, 'the environment provides cues to indicate appropriate behaviour for any particular setting' (p. 246). As Robertson states,

Problematic areas that attract vandals tend to be unsupervised, dark, concealed or isolated places. (Robertson, 2020, p. 14)

In their examination of 'the spatial ecology of stripped cars', Ley & Cybriwski (1974) suggest that stripped cars were more likely to be found in areas and occur at times where there

appeared to be less 'legitimate control' (e.g., abandoned and derelict properties), providing support for what would become known as the 'broken windows theory' of vandalism, proposed by Wilson & Kelling in 1982, and still widely referenced in the academic literature on vandalism (Gau & Pratt, 2008; Tonkin, 2020). The essence of the 'broken windows' theory of vandalism is that the presence of vandalism signals opportunities (due to neglect or lack of surveillance) to people who would commit more serious crimes (and are looking for the least obstructive place to do so) and the presence of these criminals in the community impacts on other residents, who respond by a fearful withdrawal from their streets, thus creating a vicious cycle, with even less surveillance and more opportunity for criminal activity becoming available. In Wilson & Kelling's observation, the presence of one unrepaired broken window in a building provides encouragement to break other windows, and more importantly, commit more serious crimes as well. Goldstein (1996) appears to support this idea at least in part in his discussion of the impact of aged and neglected school facilities has on increasing rates of vandalism. Goldstein summarises approaches based on the 'broken windows' theory as expressing the principle:

'Catch it low to prevent it high' (Goldstein, 1996, p.3)

Another way of understanding the objects of vandalism, explored in some detail by Long & Hopkins-Burke (2015) lies in understanding the symbolic meaning of the target. They cite the central meaning of cars in Western cultures which often make them targets of crime such as arson, theft, and vandalism. Using a social equity model (see below), they suggest 'If cars differentiate and distinguish their owners from others, then surely their desecration and defilement are a way of 'levelling the playing field' of a very unequal market economy' (p. 55; see also Tonkin, 2020). They also link cars to displays of traditional masculinity, and argue that vandalism against motor vehicles can occur across many categories of vandalism, such as hate vandalism, when the car is attacked as a proxy for its presumed owner (Tonkin 2020).

Long & Hopkins-Burke (2015) also point out that there are also specific contexts for vandalism such as the house party. Katz (1988) proposed that acts of vandalism have physiological arousal patterns not dissimilar to those in sexual relations, and for young people, are often committed in the same 'forbidden' context. Using the example of house-parties, Long & Hopkins-Burke speculate, 'it is plausible to suggest that house-party vandalism may occur because of high levels of adrenaline, endorphins and testosterone, and that failure to 'score' in a sexual sense may mean some displacement in terms of aggression against property which can be proverbially 'fucked,' especially when lubricated

with a steady supply of alcohol and probably recreational drugs' (2015, p. 94; language in original).

The target of vandalism plays a necessary but insufficient role in each act of vandalism. Targets can be chosen for a number of reasons, each of which must be considered when contemplating interventions such as making the target more resistant to vandal activities. These can include:

- The symbolic meaning of the target (public buildings, monuments, schools)
- The repair and condition of the target (does it suggest that no one really cares whether this target is vandalised, or further vandalised, or not?)
- The 'aesthetics' of the target (for example, the way windows shatter in unexpected and attention-grabbing ways)

For example, Weatherburn & Grabosky (1999), in the context of property crime in general recommend limiting opportunity for criminal activities through more effective environmental management. This includes the environment of the potential offender, and means targeting factors such as homelessness and boredom, and specifically, in the case of vandalism, the design of public facilities, and prompt attention to 'indicia of neighbourhood neglect and decline' (p.89).

Goldstein (1996) suggests that authorities use a combination of target hardening and measures to help potential vandals understand the costs and consequences of vandalism, including methods of deterrence, retribution/restoration (such as assisting in repairing the vandalised areas), and deflection (providing alternative targets such as controlled destruction; legal spaces for graffiti). Although he provides a list of specific measures in the context of school vandalism, he implies that the general approach he takes applies to all instances and targets of vandalism. Some of his ideas include:

- Making access to an area more difficult
- Controlling the sale of aerosol paint
- Providing legitimate spaces for graffiti
- Formal and obvious surveillance of spaces
- Greater use of location to provide more opportunities for natural surveillance from people going about their daily business; this includes after hours and holiday use of school property
- Rapid repair of damaged property
- Target removal

- Beautification of neighbourhoods
- Vandalism awareness walks
- Other forms of education on impact of vandalism
- Punishment including restitution
- Involvement of local community (in the instance of schools, increased participation of students and parents)

Having discussed the target of vandalism, we next address the perpetrator of vandalism, who is the subject of a much wider and more in-depth literature.

Necessary condition Two: Motivation for vandalism

The Vandal

In an early attempt to bring some coherence to a multi-faceted literature, the late criminologist Stanley Cohen (1971, 1973) attempted to categorise some of the motivations which underlie acts of vandalism. Although Cohen, who died in 2013, presented these suggestions a half a century ago, his list of motivations is regularly referenced in most of the literature we consulted, with most authors suggesting links between their own research and Cohen's list (e.g., Fisher & Baron, 1988; Goldstein, 1996; Horowitz & Tobaly, 2003; Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Pfattheicer, Keller & Knezevic, 2019; recent Russian research uses a similar set of ten motivations, all of which can be derived from Cohen, without directly referencing Cohen, Kruzhkova et al, 2018). Cohen suggested there were six main motivations underlying acts of vandalism (it will no doubt be apparent that there can be considerable overlap between categories and that vandals may satisfy multiple motivations through an act of vandalism):

- Acquisitive (e.g., vandalising vending machines for coins; see Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015)

As a further extension of this type, Long & Hopkins-Burke (2015) write of forms of vandalism which occur as collateral damage 'incidental to the commission of another act' (p. 97). They include as examples, 'junking, looting and collecting' which fit into Cohen's acquisitive type of vandalism and partially fit into Fisher & Baron's examples of vandalism to correct social inequity where the vandal regains a modicum of control (Fisher & Baron's views are discussed further below). Junking is the stealing of materials to be sold for profit (Long & Hopkins-Burke use the example of stealing lead from church roofs), whilst looting and collecting require little further explanation. Collecting includes vandalism caused by the

theft of street and traffic signs, car parts, and so on, and Long & Hopkins-Burke further suggest that at times, particularly after natural disasters and during food shortages, taking goods necessary for the survival of a person, their family and community could be viewed as 'pro-social' responses (p. 108).

- Tactical (in pursuit of other goals; an example Goldstein uses (1996) is workers who sabotage machinery during plant pay disputes).
- Ideological (some graffiti fits this category; see the discussion in Assaf-Zakharov & Schnetgoeke, 2021; Dean, 2016). Here, the point is to express a political view, either directly (by writing it on a wall) or indirectly, by defacing a symbol of power (e.g., Lai, 2020).
- Vindictive (Long & Hopkins-Burke relabel this category, 'hate vandalism' (2015, Chapter 6)). There appears to be some overlap with the ideological category above as well, but the emphasis here is on intimidation of others, instead of primarily political expression. What makes something a hate crime, Long & Hopkins-Burke suggest, is that the impact of the crime is not just felt by the individual victim 'but by the wider group of which the victim in some way belongs' (p. 112) or is perceived to belong. In vandalising a Jewish cemetery, vandals harm not just individuals and families whose ancestors' graves are damaged, but attack the entire Jewish community (Morewitz, 2019). Usually, the intent to do so is quite conscious and deliberate. The definition Long & Hopkins-Burke provide of hate vandalism is 'any criminal offence committed against a person or property that is underpinned by the offender's hatred of people, typically because of their sex, race, religion, disability or sexual orientation or other aspect of diversity' (2015, p. 113). They further note that vandals who commit hate vandalism may feel they are acting on accepted social norms against groups which appear to be violating these norms.
- Play (children who take apart objects or have contests to see who can break the most windows in an abandoned house; this is also sometimes called 'exploratory vandalism,' see Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Tonkin, 2020). This might also cover acts of vandalism such as graffiti, which although both illegal and perpetrated without the consent of the property owner, nevertheless could be conceded to improve the appearance of a property, at least from a certain perspective (Assaf-Zakharov & Schetgoeke, 2021; Bunting, 2020). A concrete example here is the work of the famous English 'street artist' who uses the pseudonym Banksy.

Also appearing to be most closely related to play motivations is the enjoyment and 'flow' theory, developed by Csikszentmihalyi & Larsen, (1978; see also the former author's book,

Flow, 1992). A 'flow' activity is one in which one becomes completely immersed due to certain characteristics of the activity: such as a challenge which requires skills, merging of action and awareness, clear goals and immediate feedback, rapidity, focused attention on task at hand, loss of self-consciousness, a certain liminal experience, and the transformation of time. Skiing or surfboard riding fit a lot of these conditions, but so does gambling in casinos and at pubs (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992). Vandalism also fits some aspects of a 'flow' activity, including control over one's activities, and can provide contests and displays of skill (think of graffiti artists, contests between young people to see who can break the most windows, the challenge of escaping detection and so on; see O'Deane, 2018). Cohen (1974) referenced this type of vandalism as 'a fusion of versatility and malice' (quoted in Goldstein, 1996, p. 39).

The 'flow' theory of vandalism suggests that vandals commit actions because of the challenges they present (such as trying to hit windows of a deserted building with rocks) and further, that the activity plays a significant role in the alleviation of boredom (Tonkin, 2020). The theory suggests that as intrinsic motivations to achieve at school and in the community decrease for some young people, vandalism and other activities begin to provide an alternate basis for 'fun.' In this theory, adolescents and young people who enjoy other sorts of 'flow' activities such as playing music, sports, dance etc should have far less motivation to seek 'fun' (that is, 'flow' experiences) through vandalism.

- Malicious (expression of rage or frustration – Comedian Flip Wilson quipped on the American TV comedy *Laugh-In* during the late 1960s, 'what you (white people) call riots, we (black people) call group therapy'.)

Cohen (cited by Goldstein, 1996) states that all but acquisitive (where the motive is theft) and malicious (where the acts occur more or less spontaneously) will respond to attempts to create a more positive environment for the potential vandal. He suggests employing 'technical strategies' (Bowles, 1982) in response to acquisitive and malicious vandalism, such as making areas and objects more difficult to vandalise.

Coffield (1991) presents a shorter list of motivations, which have some parallels to Cohen's motivational categories:

1. Financial gain (Cohen's acquisitive category; Tonkin, 2020)
2. Responding to group peer pressure (the group acting as an 'anti-boredom' committee, Goldstein, 1996, p. 35)

3. Pleasure (sometimes called 'the ludic metaphor,' Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, and akin to the notion of play in Cohen's categories; see Pfattheicher, Keller & Knezevic, 2018)
4. Excitement (there is some overlap with pleasure and relief of boredom as a motivation for vandalism)

Coffield's list seems to focus on acts of vandalism as they occur amongst adolescents, but seem to omit many types of vandalism which are committed by other groups. For example, Morewitz (2019) also mentions the desecration of cemeteries in the context of the practice of Satanic rituals; this does not seem to fit any of the above categories very well, although it could be perhaps considered as either tactical or ideological (or even a form of play, experimentation or boredom relief). This, and the fact that other acts of vandalism seem to have multiple motivations and not fit neatly into Cohen's categories provide further evidence that attempts at categorisation of motives are helpful, but not inclusive and sufficient, ways of thinking about vandalism. Still, having one or more motivations to commit vandalism is a further necessary condition for acts of vandalism to occur, when combined with appropriate and available objects to vandalise, and opportunities to vandalise them.

Attempting to discuss the motivation to vandalise in a broader sense, there is also an older suggestion, made by the noted early criminologist Walter Reckless (1962) that everyone would basically commit crime if it were not for various external and internal buffers which 'hold individuals in line' (in Reckless' own words). 'When they (the buffers) are absent or weak, the person is likely to deviate from accepted social and legal norms, and is vulnerable for committing an unofficial (unreported) and/or official (reported) delinquency or crime.' (Reckless 1962, reprinted in Wolfgang, 1972, p. 402; see also Ley & Cybriwsky, 1974).

Reckless' suggestions, made in the 1950s and 1960s, appear to have been given further formulation by Hirschi (1969), who further developed the idea that 'young people are deterred not so much by the threat of criminal penalties as by their attachments to traditional figures...their bonds with conventional society...and by their involvement in and preference for conventional pursuits' (Smith & O'Connor, 1997, p. 139; see also Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). The idea that we are constrained from committing crimes by our attachments to family, neighbourhood, and community underpins the attachment-based theory of vandalism which we present below. It is also the reason vandalism becomes a problem which admits of no easy solutions as acts of vandalism reflect the breakdown of a multitude of attachments in areas of disadvantage, including to their communities and neighbours.

Vandalism in the human life-span

The previous section discusses a set of contemporary motivations for vandalism. The next section focuses on suggestions made in the literature as to how these motivations arise in the life-course of an individual. It should be kept in mind that all individuals develop in a social context and that the social context plays a major role, perhaps the most significant role, in the development of the individual (e.g., Amos & Segal, 2019; Bronfenbrenner, 1980; Middleton et al, 2019; Rogoff, 1990; Valsiner & van der Veer, 2000; Worthman et al, 2010). Therefore, it is probably a misleading dichotomy to discuss the individual traits of the vandal separate from the social setting in which those traits are formed.

Nonetheless, it is not uncommon for the literature to focus on individual traits which appear somewhat divorced from their overall social context such as impulsiveness (Carrasco et al, 2006; Nordmarker et al, 2016); venturesomeness (part of a larger variable of extraversion), lower levels of empathy (Carrasco et al, 2006); the tendency to externalise problems through aggressive behaviours as opposed to developing anxiety and depression (Moore, 2014); sadism and the need to exorcise control by violating others' property (Pfattheicher, Keller & Knezevic, 2019); indirect or 'lateral' expressions of anger directed away from resentment at maternal overparenting and control, (Kruzhkova et al, 2018).

Many of these personal characteristics can be explained through an important integration of individual and social factors which has been attempted in what has come to be called 'developmental criminology' (National Crime Prevention, 1999), and it is to this body of literature we turn to assist us to integrate these factors.

Human life-course, 'developmental' criminology

Much of the literature we accessed appears to revolve around the question of whether vandalism is an act committed by most adolescents (in particular boys) in the course of their growth into adults (e.g., Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020; Hoeben & Weerman, 2016; Moffitt, 1993; Nordmarker et al, 2016; Richards, 1979; Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999) or whether vandalism indicates a fundamental breakdown of connection between (again, generally) boys and their community, in some cases leading to continued criminality across the life-span (see the discussion in Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, Chapter One, which presents both views). As mentioned above, one effective way of integrating these perspectives is offered by the emerging field of developmental criminology (Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020; Farrington 1995; National Crime Prevention, 1999; Tonkin, 2020), suggesting there are a variety of developmental pathways and life-courses for young

people, some of which lead to a lower level 'age-appropriate' involvement in minor crime, and other pathways which lead to more varied and serious offences occurring over a longer section of the human life span. It also suggests that an inappropriate or overly harsh response to the first group has the danger of altering their life courses towards the pattern of the second group (see the discussion in Bunting, 2020, pp. 161ff).

The life course perspective draws on insights developed by criminologist David Farrington (e.g., Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2019; 2020; Farrington, 1986; 1995; Farrington & Loeber, 2013; Farrington, Ttoli et al, 2009; Loeber & Le Blanc, 1990), the main researcher (still living; the other was the late Donald West) behind the Cambridge Study of Delinquent Development, which followed 411 South London boys, born in 1953, between the years 1961 and 2001, and in Australia, Professor Ross Homel at Griffith University in Brisbane (National Crime Prevention, 1999; Homel has recently retired). (Similar pathway work has also been developed for sexual offending by Ward & Siegert; see Ward, Polaschek & Beech, 2006). The advantage of this perspective is that it provides more than surface correlations between personality and social factors and criminal offending; it attempts to explain how criminal offending develops over a person's life as a result of these personality and social factors, which is why these models are often called 'pathway' models, that is, they discuss the varying pathways an individual might take towards committing crimes, including vandalism, and also how and when people cease offending.

This research suggests that vandalism follows the course of crime generally, with most vandalism being committed by young people in adolescence, after which incidents decline dramatically, whilst a small percentage of these young people go on to become what we might consider to be 'career criminals' (Farrington, 1995). In the latter case, vandalism is usually only one of a range of crimes and acts of public disorder which they commit. These two pathways are sometimes called 'life course persistent' and 'adolescent limited forms of crime' (see Moffitt, 1991; 1993, based on a longitudinal study in Dunedin, New Zealand) although in the pathway model of Basto-Pereira & Farrington (2019; 2020), the former are called 'versatile serious recidivists', in that they commit a wide variety of crimes, often, and often in direct confrontation with the victim (e.g., armed robberies). In terms of the data from the Launceston police which we have presented here, offenders in this category are likely to populate the older groups of offenders, that is, those over 24 years of age.

Basto-Pereira & Farrington also delineate a group they called 'normative offenders' who although they have never been caught or charged with a crime, self-report committing a range of crimes, including acts of vandalism during adolescence, with vandalism beginning around age ten and ending around age fourteen. In their sample of 411 males

from South London, studied between ages eight and 48 years, 83.7% of the males with no official convictions admitted to committing acts of vandalism, compared to 68.4 % who admitted to shoplifting, and 77.5 % who admitted to assault. Likewise, recurrent offenders also began their criminal careers by committing acts of vandalism at around age ten, before branching into more serious offences (see also Bunting, 2020; Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999).

Life-Persistent Pathways

There is also the suggestion that the pathways to these different forms of crime may differ. Life course persistent criminals seem to have a combination of negative factors in their life, a kind of culmination of what we might call 'bad luck.' They often have personal factors which cause vulnerabilities (note that often these are effects of adaptations to adverse home environments), adverse home environments where violence and neglect frequently occur, which is compounded by living in marginalised neighbourhoods and communities, attending poorly resourced educational facilities, and associating with peer groups who have similar background experiences (Farrington, 1995). As Basto-Pereira & Farrington (2020) point out, this combination of adverse circumstances leads not only to persistent criminal offending, but to a plethora of further adverse circumstances such as un- and under-employment, relationship difficulties, and compromised physical and mental health (see also Farrington, 1995; National Crime Prevention, 1999). A combination of personal challenges (poor nutrition, genetic factors, maternal drug use during pregnancy) plus negative family and social environments which yield verbal and executive deficits which then lead to poor academic success, poor adult and peer responses, exclusion from school and so on. These are the young men (in particular) whom no one cares about, and who care little about others and often even themselves. Many expect to 'live hard and die young.' This group is thought to compromise about 5% of all vandals (6% in the Cambridge study, Farrington, 1995), although the amount of damage caused by this small percent of vandals is a much larger proportion of the total amount of vandalism in a community. It has also been suggested that even for this group, acts of vandalism decrease over time as they come to commit more serious and violent offences (LeBlanc & Girard, 1997).

A small number of chronic offenders, usually coming from multi-problem families, accounted for substantial proportions of all official and self-reported offences, and they were to a considerable extent predictable in advance (Farrington, 1995, p. 957).

Adolescence-limited

Developmental criminology suggests that most adolescents (some would qualify this to mean most adolescent boys) pass through a phase where the temptation to commit acts of vandalism is very real, and often requires only the releasing agent of a group with similar inclinations to be realised into actual acts of vandalism (Bausto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020; Bunting, 2020; Fisher & Baron, 1982; Hoeben & Weerman, 2016; Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Tonkin, 2020; Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999). Sometimes called 'middle-class' vandalism, one of the first researchers to study it extensively was Pamela Richards (1979), based on a sample of junior and senior high school students living in a middle-class suburb of a large midwestern American city. She found almost half of the junior high school students admitted to committing minor acts of vandalism at school in the six months prior to her survey whilst for senior high school students, the rate was lower, at about 20% (this was for minor vandalism; acts of major vandalism did not decline across age groups). In her sample, girls were as likely to admit to committing minor acts of vandalism as boys (this is also the case in the Swedish sample of school children studied by Nordmarker et al, 2016).

In her middle-class sample, Richards could find no relationship between feelings of efficacy, general outlook on life, family structure (including parental divorce or separation) or measures of boredom and acts of vandalism. She states the one exception is the expression of feelings of anger towards parents and/or school officials, and in this regard, she described her sample as 'surprisingly angry,' with 22% of the junior high students and 26 % of the high school students reporting that they are often or almost always angry with their parents, and 38% of the junior high students and 26 % of the high school students stating they are often or almost always angry with school authorities.

Richards theorised that vandalism was indicative of what she called an 'age-status' conflict; that is, that adolescents have access to the 'trappings' of adulthood 5-10 years before actual biological maturity, and this is reflected in adolescent and young adult offences and that 'active, aggressive property damage is assumed to demonstrate the adult-like virility to which adolescent boys aspire' (Richards, 1979, p. 482). In this theory, adolescents experience blockage and frustration by older adults as they aspire to 'full participation in adult life.' This in turn, leads them to focus more on peer groups and to aspire to status within the peer group, sometimes through the commission of crime, particularly if those crimes require demonstrations of skill or daring. 'In some groups a challenge to adult authority may prove independence and perhaps raise an individual's status among peers' (1979, p. 455). She concluded, 'the anger which appears in this analysis can be interpreted as an understandable response to the age inequality of adolescence, and as an interpretable

response to adult-imposed constraints.’ (p. 405) Although Richards’ research is now over forty years old, these basic ideas still appear to inform much current discussion on adolescent vandalism (for example, Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Tonkin, 2020), the reason why we have given a large amount of textual attention to her study.

Note that Basto-Pereira & Farrington refer to this category as ‘normative offending’ and state, ‘some types of offending during one’s lifetime are expected for the general population, even among non-convicted males.’ (2020, p. 297) Weatherburn & Grabosky from the Australian Institute of Criminology (1999) make a similar argument, buttressing their case by citing court statistics that 85% of all young people appearing before Children’s Courts do so twice (50% only once) and self-report studies which indicate a large number of vandals who do not appear in court or police statistics. They conclude, ‘for all practical purposes intermittent involvement in property crime probably carries a risk of apprehension approaching zero.’ (p. 83). A related concept in criminology is sometimes called ‘drift’ theory, after the work of David Matza (1965). ‘Drift vandals may be relatively law-abiding youths who may be in education or starting out in employment, but who sometimes commit acts of vandalism. Drift vandals do not always come from marginalised or disempowered backgrounds, and in fact may come from ‘respectable’ or even middle-class families’ (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, p. 42).

In the empirical literature, acts of vandalism tend to increase between ages 12 and 17; and decrease after age 17 (In Farrington’s work, the age range is somewhat younger, 10/11 -14/15 years, Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020). However, the extensive work done by Australian Ross Homel and the National Crime Prevention in 1999 noted a trend for the ‘age of desistence’ from adolescent crimes generally to be slowly increasing into the twenties. Adolescent-limited crime is generally thought to end with assumption of adult risks and responsibilities (marriage, relationships, children, property ownership), and it should be noted that undertaking many of these has gradually become normative for later in the life-span, into one’s late twenties and early thirties.

‘They grow up and acquire significant social bonds’ (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, p. 52).

One practical implication of this view is that increases in policing and penalties may actually be likely to bring more young people into the criminal justice system, who would otherwise have reached adulthood without a criminal history to explain to potential employers and others (Bunting, 2020; Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999).

The social context of vandalism

To recapitulate what has been said so far, the necessary conditions for an act of vandalism to occur is an appropriate target and a person willing to vandalise that target. In understanding the vandal, a variety of motives have been put forward; in addition, it has been suggested that various life-pathways lead to different motivations to commit vandalism and potentially, to different types of vandalism committed. Although the role of family attachment and parenting has been discussed, the role the larger social context plays in contributing to the motivation to commit acts of vandalism has so far been neglected. In this next section, we will discuss further literature which focuses on how the social context of many young people contributes to acts of vandalism. This is not a necessary factor in that the social factors below do not always have to be in place for a person to be motivated to commit an act of vandalism; however, it is suggested that the social context can play a powerful role in creating this motivation, and addressing the social context can play an important role in vandalism intervention

Social equity theory (equity control vandalism)

Under certain social conditions, collateral vandalism has the potential to offer a critique of a perceived unjust social order and points a way towards one which is less 'anti-social' in terms of the economic, political, and cultural marginalisation of certain 'excluded' groups (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, p. 104).

Social equity theory predicts vandalism is more likely to occur in situations where a person sees a systemic lack of opportunities ('unfairness') coupled with a lack of ability to adjust this imbalance. The goal of vandalism is equity restoration. 'The vandal attempts to restore equity by responding to one type of perceived rule-breaking (i.e., perceived violations of norms of fairness in social environmental arrangements) by breaking another set of rules regarding the sanctity of property rights' (DeMore, Fisher & Baron, 1988, article contained in Goldstein, 1996, p 173; see also Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, pp, 108ff). This is mediated by perceived control, 'the strength of the person's belief that he or she can effectively modify existing outcomes and arrangements' (p. 173). It is also moderated by environmental factors and group pressures. 'Vandalism is likely to recur if the sources of instigation stay the same, and if vandalism does not become too risky or effortful.' (p. 174).

Sources of inequity can include ordinary economic exchanges, discriminatory practices, or actual aspects of the physical environment, giving some support to the idea that living in an area evidenced by considerable amounts of vandalism leads to increased rates of

vandalism (Fisher & Baron, 1982, p. 166). Very recently the Harvard political philosopher Michael Sandel (2021) has pointed to international trends which have devalued the dignity of ordinary work and the social contributions of people without higher education credentials as fuelling the humiliation and resentment of those who see themselves left behind by these economic trends; it does not require much extension to include young people who see themselves (accurately or otherwise) without future prospects due to poor educational attainment (see also Walker, 2014). 'Apparently, one way of thinking about shame is to become angry' (Scheff, 2003, p. 248).

Vandalism is often the product of a synergistic relationship between the perceived inequity of the vandal and the denial of the existence of a structural equity by society.' (Fisher & Baron, 1982, p. 198)

'Criminality is actually a very rational activity for many people excluded from the good things in life and invariably alienated from a society that spawns such inequality' (Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015, p. 109).

Fisher & Baron (1982), who first presented this approach, argue that social inequity theory 'can subsume most acts within Cohen's (1973) categories of vandalism, except play vandalism' and the tagging of territory by gangs (p. 188).

With a low to moderate sense of control, vandalism attempts to either equalise the difference (by stealing etc) or express anger and emotion over the unfairness of the situation (this happens the less control people feel to change the situation, even by vandalism!). With very low sense of control there is no vandalism, only apathy. There is a kind of continuum then, depending on perceptions of one's ability to influence an inequity; those with high degrees of perceived control use legitimate means such as laws, courts, civil protest or compensate in other ways (think of black athletes and musicians during historical periods of high discrimination); those with a more moderate sense of control use vandalism to compensate (e.g., looting, picking ideological targets, etc) and those with even lower senses of control use vandalism to express rage and frustration (e.g., rioting) (this provides psychological compensation, what DeMore et al call, 'psychological equity', p. 173) before lapsing into apathy at very low levels.

Crane Brinton (1938/1965) used a theory like this in the 1930s to explain why revolutions tended to occur not in the worse economic and political situations, but as these conditions were actually improving, what he called a 'revolution of rising expectations.' In their 1988 study, DeMore, Fisher & Baron found that males were more likely to perceive themselves unfairly disadvantaged and as having less ability to control or improve their situation.

Vandalism therefore could be seen as a community form of enactment (Wallin, 2007) – expressing through actions what either cannot be expressed in words or has not been heard when it has been expressed in words.

A very interesting and useful concept which has gained popularity in the Aboriginal community in Australia is that of 'lateral violence' (Clarke et al, 2016; Our Watch, 2018). Consistent with the social equity view, lateral violence occurs when people are unable to express anger directly at the conditions of their oppression. Instead of expressing the violence directly, it is expressed laterally ('sideways', Our Watch, 2018, p. 79) at targets who are not directly responsible for the damaging conditions. Often lateral violence is expressed interpersonally, in behaviours such as "backstabbing", bullying, shaming and social exclusion' (Our Watch, 2018, p. 79), but it can also be directed against the environment in which a person lives. Indeed, there may even be some satisfaction to be derived from expressing anger at social and environmental circumstances believed to be unfair and depressing one's chances in life.

Goldstein (1996) supports the social equity viewpoint in his discussion of what exacerbates and what mediates school vandalism. His list of exacerbating factors focuses on (perceived) unfair, remote, impersonal, non-participatory school administration (either too authoritarian or too laissez faire), with disengaged and autocratic teachers, the overuse of punishment and the enforcement of rules which appear vague or unclear to students (hence, arbitrary). He states that high levels of teacher engagement with school, even-handed use of disciplinary measures and avoidance of authoritarian discipline, along with engagement from parents, moderates levels of vandalism.

Necessary condition Three: Male peer groups

The presence of male peer groups in a community is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for vandalism to occur. Nevertheless, it is often observed that acts of vandalism are associated with adolescent male peer groups (McCoy et al, 2019; Piquero, Gover & MacDonald, 2005). These groups are usually not formally constituted as 'gangs' in the American sense of the term (see O'Deane, 2018; Stodolska et al, 2019), but may be friendship and peer groups which still are relatively cohesive over time.

The literature (but interestingly not the Launceston police data which we obtained) suggests that both types of vandalism offenders, the adolescent-limited and the longer-term and more diverse offenders are more likely to commit vandalism offences in groups of other males (sometimes mixed groups). The literature which discusses the relationship

between male peer groups and vandalism often fails to make distinctions between the two life courses for vandals, and the pattern of vandalism being discussed must be inferred from the literature. Quite often, it appears to be adolescent-limited patterns of vandalism which are being discussed. Further, most of the literature discusses the relative prevalence of male and female vandals without extensive discussion as to why this apparent gender difference occurs.

We further note that much of the literature appears to make two assumptions which seem to reflect popular stereotypes of both males and adolescents. One is that adolescence is a complicated developmental stage in which adolescents are attempting to establish their identities as persons by challenging adult authority and mores which inclines them to commit petty offences, as well as indulge in other forms of risk taking. The second is that boys in particular are inclined to engage in risk-taking, alone, but even more so in groups, for a variety of reasons, including the need to establish hierarchies of skills (who is better at something than someone else; Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015). Stereotypes often contain truths, particularly when children raised with stereotypes learn to conform to these stereotypes, but in this report, we have only felt it necessary to comment that the acceptance of these stereotypes appears to underpin much of the discussion about male peer groups and vandalism.

One further 'deep belief' underlying a good deal of literature originated in the late 19th century in the work of early sociologists such as Gustave Le Bon, and was later developed in the early 20th Century by Sigmund Freud, even after it had been eclipsed in sociological thought. One can see it applied in the criminological literature by authors such as Walter Reckless (1962), who argue that, without strong community barriers to hold behaviour in check, people have a natural inclination to be destructive and break laws. LeBon (1896/1995) famously argued that people in crowds lost their individuality, and as part of a crowd, devolved into what he regarded as more primitive and violent states of being. Freud (1921/1991) drew on LeBon's work to articulate his views on 'group psychology'. As applied to crimes such as vandalism, Reckless and others describe the new norms of the group replacing individual standards of morality with a group dynamic which leads to a loosening of moral standards and a greater likelihood of criminal behaviour. Interestingly, National Crime Prevention report (1999) cites a Canadian study (Vitaro et al, 1997) which suggests that this is true for ordinary children who become more violent in association with violent peers, but not children who already display high levels of aggression and violence.

Although this view is quite dated, both in terms of theory and research it still forms a kind of historical patina against which many current concerns of vandalism are set. We present

a re-formulated view of this popular (almost formative) notion in the attachment theory of vandalism we articulate below, which emphasises the human tendency to honour attachments to families, communities and nations, rather than a fear that humans will lapse into criminal and immoral behaviour without strong personal and interpersonal checks.

Why males?

One of the first factors which emerges from the literature is that most vandals, and particularly career persistent vandals, are young males (National Crime Prevention, 1999, p 68ff). It should be noted however, that this finding is not entirely consistent across all research literature, and literature exists, particularly conducted measuring less damaging forms of vandalism in middle class schools, which has found that girls also admit to committing acts of vandalism (Brindle, Bowles & Freeman, 2015; Moffitt & Harrington, 1996; National Crime Prevention, 1999; Nordmarker et al, 2016; Richards, 1979). It is sometimes also suggested that background factors and life-course pathways are similar between genders in all patterns of vandalism when it occurs, even if far fewer young females follow the same life-course pattern as do males (e.g., Gorman-Smith & Loeber, 2005; Gullledge, Cochran & Jones, 2012; Storvoll, Wichstrom & Pepe, 2002). Scandinavian research also suggests girls who commit vandalism as part of a criminal pathways' life course are more likely to display more serious conduct problems overall than a matched group of boys (Storvoll, Wichstrom & Pepe, 2002), suggesting perhaps a higher threshold for young females to engage in acts of vandalism. It has also been suggested that acts of vandalism and other forms of risk-taking by females may be increasing (Abbott-Chapman, Denholm & Wyld, 2007). Peer groups are thought to have a greater impact on vandalism by males (McCoy et al, 2019; Piquero, Gover & MacDonald, 2005; Rebellon et al, 2014). Finally, it should be noted that so entrenched is the idea that vandalism is committed by males, that females as a group are often omitted from vandalism study designs (also noted by Belknap & Holsinger, 2006).

Despite the involvement, and perhaps increasing involvement, of females in committing acts of vandalism (and other crimes) at the moment, it appears that the vandal of concern to Launceston City is likely to be a male, and most likely to be a male in adolescence or perhaps young adulthood. It will be recalled, from the presentation of police data (such as it is), that the crimes most often reported to police, where the offender has been identified, involve males aged between 18 and 34 years, and that reports of individual males outnumber females approximately three to one with a relatively small number of offences committed by 'multiple offenders' (gender unspecified).

In discussions of why young males appear more likely than young women to commit acts of vandalism both biological and social factors have been suggested. Although it is unlikely that any one single factor is responsible for the gender imbalance often reported, there are several candidates for explanations which are often asserted.

One is postulated to be the tendency for the brains of boys to develop more slowly than girls, particularly in frontal lobe executive functions which assist humans in planning and in evaluating consequences (Schoore, 2019). It is important to note that all assertions made about gender differences in the brain and in neurological development are still controversial, and very few generalisations can be truly stated to be firmly established (see for example, Caplan & Caplan, 2009; Fine, 2010; 2017; Kaplan & Rogers, 2003; Rippon, 2019). Further, most generalisations when discussing gender may be true for many men and women, but admit to almost as many exceptions as adherences (Caplan & Caplan, 2009; Roughgarden, 2009). Gina Rippon (2019), a famous British neuroscientist also notes that, especially taking human neuroplasticity into account, it is very difficult to assign neurodifferences to purely biological and developmental processes without taking account the impact of living with cultural gender stereotypes on the developing brain. It is very difficult to determine whether gender differences observed in neural development are differences which can be reliably used to differentiate most men from most women, and even more whether these differences, even if established, are immutable. Although the discussion below may appear to imply a very general, gender-based difference between boys and girls, it should be recalled that there are as likely to be as many exceptions to the generalisations, as instances of them. Due to human neuroplasticity (Rippon, 2019), it is also likely that differing social and cultural expectations of how boys and girls will deal with dangerous environments will also have a neurological impact.

However, there are known neurological impacts which accompany living in situations of heightened anxiety and fear, whether these are individual families or schools and communities, or a combination of them (see for example, Benjamin, Hailburn & King, 2018; Bloom, 2017; Bloom & Farragher, 2011; Perry & Szalavitz 2010; Porges, 2018, van der Kolk, 2014; and in the context of male interpersonal violence, van Niekerk, 2019; Voith et al, 2018; Voith, Topitzes & Berg, 2020). There is on-going discussion in the literature about the possibility that boys' neurodevelopment may be even more sensitive to such environmental insults than girls (de Mause, 2010; Smallbone, 2006; Schoore, 2019).

There are other neuro and psychological impacts of abuse and neglect which may impact differentially on boys. One is the tendency for a brain conditioned to fear to have a higher level of limbic arousal, with chronically overactivated brain structures such as the mid-brain

amygdala, which in turn are responsible for the central nervous system activation which leads to a fight or flight response (Porges, 2018; Schore, 2019). Again, possibly due to strong social encouragement (as documented, amongst many others, by Pascoe, 2007; 2013; Voith et al, 2018, Voith, Topitzes, & Berg, 2020), boys with activated midbrain neurology are more likely to adopt a fight option over a flight one. There may be little empathy expressed towards men who do not actively fight back (Anderson, 2011; Pascoe, 2013). As Kenny Rogers once pointed out, there is little social encouragement for boys to 'walk away from trouble if they can.' It appears then that for a group of boys, who often face a combination of both social disadvantage and interpersonal violence in many aspects of their lives (Brush & Miller, 2019; van Niekerk, 2019; Voith, Topitzes & Berg, 2020), receive an extended apprenticeship in violence. Again, to follow Kenny Rogers, most of the time for most of these boys, 'you have to fight to be a man'. Failure to do so can be seen to constitute a lack of manliness, and leave one even more vulnerable to further exploitation (Voith, Topitzes & Berg, 2020).

Expression of vulnerable feelings such as shame, sadness, and disappointment compromise a credible masculine self, whereas the expression of forceful feelings such as anger enhances it. (Morris & Ratjczak, 2019, p. 1997).

It has also been observed in the vandalism literature, that young men are more subject to peer shaming if they do not participate in acts of vandalism (Jensen, 2003; Rebellon et al, 2014; Stodolska, Berdychevsky & Shiness, 2014).

It would be problematic to assert here that males are inherently more prone to aggression than women, a fact still debated in the academic literature on gender, and which will not be explored further here (but see Archer, 1994; Fine, 2017; de Mause, 2010 for in-depth discussions of this idea). Stereotypically, however, boys are encouraged to respond to high rates of fear and anxiety with aggression, compounded by the common social expectation that boys will express their most of their emotions as anger, and aggression (Bograd, 1988; de Mause, 2010; River & Flood, 2021), a combination of characteristics sometimes labelled 'toxic masculinity' (Kupers, 2005; Sculos, 2017). It can be said with more certainty that males in Anglo cultures have greater cultural permission to use violence to achieve instrumental and psychological ends than females.

Finally, gender stereotypes may also play other less direct roles in the gender imbalance in vandal numbers. Richards (1979) long ago raised the possibility of differential opportunity. It may simply be that boys are supervised less closely, and therefore have more opportunities to commit acts of vandalism.

The second possible explanation (not necessarily contradictory to the above) emerges from some of the social equity research which suggests that males have a keener sense of inequity than females, whilst simultaneously feeling less able to change their situation than females (DeMore, Fisher & Baron, 1988). Although what follows is speculation, it is possible that images of wildly successful males presented by the common culture through forms such as music videos and so on, may not only form unrealistic models of adult accomplishment but also expectations that every man has a right to this level of reward in life. The other side of this picture may be the presentation of the male sense of entitlement, which has often been pointed out to contribute to a sense of toxic masculinity by feminist scholars and theorists (Chandler, 2019; Sculos, 2017).

In other words, concrete disadvantage combines with unrealistic cultural expectations to create a heightened sense of anger and frustration, amplified even beyond what might be expected from growing in communities and situations of disadvantage. Further, as suggested above, young men are encouraged to express these feelings not as sorrow or grief, but as anger and to express anger as aggression, including aggression against property. Vandalism in this sense, fits the description of actions which provide psychological compensation for real and imagined inequities (DeMore, Fisher & Baron, 1988).

The fact that many of these young men do later develop community ties through relationships, parenthood, and employment opportunities may suggest that for many young men in disadvantaged areas, in adolescence, they form the expectation that they will not be able to access social resources to which they feel entitled. Those who continue to hold onto this combination of beliefs can be predicted to display the longer career pattern of criminality generally, whilst the other group, who do eventually develop community ties, falls into the adolescence-limited pattern of vandalism. Note that any link between men who commit vandalism in youth, and then appear as family violence perpetrators, so that their criminal activities as adults are confined to their close interpersonal relationships is understudied and under-theorised at present. It may be that for many of these men, their feelings of entitlement simply shift from their communities generally to their partners and families more specifically.

In short, through being abused, and witnessing the abuse of others at home, living in dangerous neighbourhoods and attending unsafe and under-funded schools, there is a group of children in our community who are consistently being given the message that they matter to no one. Boys at the same time receive a contradictory message that they are entitled to goods and resources their environment appears to withhold and are also

entitled to compel the attention of those around them if these are not forthcoming. Underpinning these assumptions is a complex physiology of both gender and trauma which is still unclear and still controversial.

Why male peer groups?

There is wide agreement that many or most acts of vandalism take place in the context of male socialising (McCoy et al, 2019; Piquero, Gover & MacDonald, 2005). Exceptions to this would be the work of graffiti artists who often work alone, and view their work at least partially through an aesthetic lens. It is argued that this group is likely to be a minority of the vandals of concern to the Launceston City Council.

Discussion has focused on why males commit these acts in groups and the following speculations emerge:

1. Improvement in the status of one person with the group by demonstrating daring and in some instances, skill (e.g., Long & Hopkins-Burke, 2015; Richards, 1979). Failure to engage in vandalism on the other hand can lead to a loss of status and perhaps even shame over one's masculine gender identity.
2. In the case of gangs, members are often directed to commit acts of vandalism and other criminal acts, and can sometimes achieve some status without having to commit more overt criminal acts, such as acts of interpersonal violence (Stodolska et al, 2019).
3. As noted above, using an old model of group behaviour (see for instance Freud, 1921/1991, Le Bon, 1896/1995), some commentators (e.g., Fisher & Baron, 1982) argue for a sense of de-individuation where the anonymity of the group releases members from constraints of behaviour. Fisher & Baron, (1982, p. 194) suggest that 'the influence of a group on a potential vandal's actions become progressively more important as we move towards the more expressive extreme types of vandalism (e.g., acts of the "malicious" variety). That is, these acts are likely to require greater diffusion of responsibility, de-individuation...'
4. Violence may be the group norm. 'To destroy is normative behaviour, and to restrain oneself is deviant.' (Fisher & Baron, 1982, p. 194)
5. Role of alcohol consumption in male adolescent socialising seems to play a contributing role to many acts of vandalism (Bowles, 1982; Brown & Devlin, 2003; Evans et al, 2021)
6. Social mimicry of life course persistent vandals who are assumed to be in adolescent's environment and who seem to successfully obtain important goals

and rewards (either because they dropped out of school and are now earning—ironically, the height of their earning power is in late adolescence/early adulthood—or by illegal activities; see discussion in Farrington, 1995)

An attachment-based model of Vandalism

We suggest a further developmental model, which focuses on the quality of a young person's attachments to their family and community, and the neurological and developmental impacts when these attachments are destroyed by external events, including the degradation of the larger community. The impact of living with interpersonal violence on children's attachments has only recently become well understood (for example, Hughes & Baylin, 2012; Schore, 2019; Wallen, 2007). We extend the trope of attachment, which has been demonstrated in all mammalian species (e.g., Carter et al, 2003) from their immediate caregivers to the communities and environments where a person lives (Szalavitz & Perry, 2010). When these connections are not encouraged, or when they are undermined or destroyed, people have less commitment to maintain the quality of the area in which they live.

This approach re-interprets aspects of the 'broken windows' theory as well as the social inequity models. It also can incorporate what is known about the developmental pathways which form persistent criminal offenders (e.g., Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020; Farrington, 1995; Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999), as it argues that childhood abuse and neglect, and family violence, not only impact on current and future family relationships, as is already well known, but on relationships to the wider community as well. In other words, these adverse childhood events have a negative impact on all an individual's potential attachments. Without the consistent demonstration that people care about them, children grow up not to care about other people and particularly not about concepts as remote from their lives as the general community and civic commonweal. As Fisher & Baron put it almost 40 years ago, 'In effect, vandalism says, "If I don't get any respect, I won't give you any either."' (1982, p. 186)

In developmental terms, the link between family violence and all forms of crime (including vandalism) appears quite robust. Many years ago, Smith & O'Connor (1997) suggested that violence in the family can result in young people to 'become estranged from prosocial adults and peers...more likely to have antisocial friends and, by association with delinquent peers, enter into criminal activity' (Smith & O'Connor, 1997, p. 140). This would appear particularly true where violence at home has led to youth homelessness, and in part, contributes to the influence some types of male peer groups have in encouraging

vandalism for young men who have no other community attachments. It is quite commonly observed that foreshortening of future is very common amongst very traumatised adolescents (they do not expect to live past their early twenties, and therefore planning for the future does not seem relevant to them) – a general lack of long-term perspective. Consistent with the social equity view, presented above, children who receive consistent messaging from their environments and significant others that they do matter, come to see themselves as likely to ‘live hard and die young’ and fail to develop longer-term attachments to communities.

Further support is given to the attachment perspective from the literature of developmental criminology which suggests that ‘the strength of social bonding is the central causal mechanism influencing the beginning, persistence and desistence of criminal careers’ (Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020, p. 286 citing research of Laub & Sampson, 2003; Sampson & Laub, 2005). In related research on American college campuses, Brown & Devlin (2003) found that residence halls marked by smaller sizes, with a high quality of involvement in student affairs and other mutual interactions also had much lower instances of vandalism. Even Reckless in 1962 stated, ‘In times past, the clan, the neighbourhood, the village, the caste, the tribe, the sect has acted as supportive external barriers for the individual, in addition to the family.’ (Reckless, 1962, reproduced in Wolfgang, 1972, p. 402). Although stated differently (but also in biological terms as a ‘territorial imperative’) this approach agrees with studies such as O’Brien (2018) which indicate people are more likely to report incidents of vandalism for areas where they feel a sense of ownership (which can be understood as a form of attachment).

Our alternate understanding of the ‘broken windows theory’ from an attachment perspective is that vandalism attacks and devalues people’s attachments to their communities and failure to respond swiftly to vandalism indicates a civic devaluation of a neighbourhood community and its residents, giving them the message that people from their area are not worth protecting and are undeserving of a safe and clean environment. Due to what is sometimes called ‘postal code’ shame (and is certainly readily observable across Tasmania), residents themselves come to adopt a similar view of the worthiness or otherwise of their communities.

An attachment-based theory also suggests that solutions to vandalism which focus on the vandals will involve strengthening community attachments, or developing attachments, in some cases where this has never occurred, and with it, a sense of pride in the community. Note that this is particularly the case for vandals who have adverse family and community backgrounds; in the case of ‘middle class vandals,’ and perhaps ‘adolescent-limited’

vandalism, it is more important to extend attachment and empathy to members of the community and to the community itself. It also suggests that increasing the attachment of older adults to their community will increase the natural surveillance of public areas through increased usage which has been found effective to deter vandals. Fostering greater attachment in a community to a community would seem to be a legitimate purpose of a city council.

Approaches to the Vandal

In parallel to the discussion above based on interventions which protect the object of vandalism more effectively, many approaches target those who are likely to commit vandalism. It should be remembered that the goals of such approaches are to dissuade young people who may be inclined to commit vandalism, rather than begin to create legal and criminal histories for young people who may only have brief anti-social careers as vandals. Such activities could be addressed to:

- Encourage young people to have a sense of ownership of and pride in their community, particularly its public spaces
- Encourage young people to feel they are making a valued contribution to their community, and have a stake in its future
- Address the level of boredom amongst the youth of the community.
- Provide activities which allow for a legal release of adrenaline and promote a sense of 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1992)
- It has been repeatedly stated in the literature, that one of the best approaches to crime is early intervention with children at risk (Basto-Pereira & Farrington, 2020; National Crime Prevention, 1999) As Weatherburn & Grabosky, 1999 predicted (p. 84), 'A 10 per cent reduction in the level of child neglect in New South Wales would reduce the level of juvenile participation in crime by 5 per cent.'

For young people who are already committing vandalism

- Consider programs of restorative justice
- There is a particular need to re-connect a practicing vandal with his neighbourhood and community.

INTERVENTIONS

On the following pages, Table 8 lists several dozen interventions for vandalism collected from around the world. Most of these interventions have been selected because they address multiple drivers or enablers of vandalism as suggested by the literature as being necessary for successful deterrence. Interventions that address a single driver or enabler are unlikely to succeed because we do not know what is motivating the individual vandal at that point in time and as such need to address a number of potential drivers.

The main categories that the case studies encompass are:

1. Social drivers of vandalism
2. Economic drivers
3. Individual motivations
4. Behavioural adjustment strategies
5. Education
6. Fear of detection
7. Community programs
8. Cross agency partnerships and
9. Creating physical barriers and deterrents

The case studies include interventions for management of graffiti, including several examples of graffiti management plans. There are technological interventions ranging from CCTV to the provision of easy-to-use reporting applications via council websites and electronically locked access zones. There are examples of community events like street art festivals and clean up days and examples of mobilising communities via volunteers. There are examples of revamped Neighbourhood Watch programs and engaging families in community action. There are also case studies around the management of vandalism of parks and recreational areas. Examples of partnerships between councils, police, community members and local organisations have also been included.

Each case study has been allocated a reference number, and more details of the intervention, including links to source material, are provided at Appendix 1.

Table 9 Case studies for intervention in vandalism

Country	Area	Type of intervention	Social drivers	Economic drivers	Individual motivation	Behavioural adjustment	Education	Fear of Detection	Community Programs	Cross Agency Partnership	Physical barriers	case study no.
Australia	Warrnambool	Graffiti			ü	ü						1
Australia	Victorian Government	Graffiti							ü			2
Australia	Blue Mountains	Crime Prevention Plan	ü		ü	ü	ü		ü			3
Australia	Canterbury NSW	Graffiti									ü	4
Australia	Cronulla	Graffiti - Walk the Wall	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü		ü	ü		5
Australia	City of Canada Bay NSW	Graffiti									ü	6
Australia	Redland Qld	Technology						ü				7
Australia	Australia	Technology						ü	ü			8
Australia	Blue Mountains	Graffiti		ü	ü				ü		ü	9
Australia	Central Coast NSW	Graffiti		ü	ü				ü		ü	10
USA	Denver	Graffiti Removal		ü	ü				ü		ü	11
Canada	Kamloops	Graffiti		ü	ü				ü		ü	12
Australia	Greater Shepparton	Graffiti Education	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü				13
Australia	Melton Vic	Graffiti Projects	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü		ü			14
Australia	WA Police	Graffiti Management Plan									ü	15
Canada	Kelowna	Community Program	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	16
USA	Fontana California	Graffiti						ü	ü	ü		17

Country	Area	Type of intervention	Social drivers	Economic drivers	Individual motivation	Behavioural adjustment	Education	Fear of Detection	Community Programs	Cross Agency Partnership	Physical barriers	case study no.
Australia	Clarence Plains	Community Partnership	ü		ü				ü	ü		18
UK	Isle of Man	Community Partnership	ü		ü	ü		ü	ü	ü	ü	19
UK	Sunderland Council	Community Partnership	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	20
Canada	Kelowna	Community Partnership	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	21
UK	Rushcliffe	Community Partnership	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	22
Australia	Salisbury S.A.	Volunteers							ü			23
Australia	Tweed Shire NSW	Graffiti Annual Clean-up Day	ü	ü					ü			24
Australia	Adelaide	Community Program							ü			25
New Zealand	Christchurch	Community Program							ü			26
Canada	Kamloops	Community Program							ü			27
USA	Colorado	Mobile Home Community	ü	ü				ü	ü	ü		28
UK	Cotgrove	Community Partnership	ü		ü	ü	ü		ü			29
USA	United States	Neighbourhood watch	ü	ü				ü	ü			30
USA	City of Laurel	Neighbourhood watch	ü	ü				ü	ü			31
Australia	Victoria social media	Neighbourhood watch	ü	ü				ü	ü			32
Netherlands	Netherlands	Neighbourhood watch	ü	ü				ü	ü			33
Canada	Nanaimo	Block Watch	ü	ü				ü	ü			34
Australia	Brimbank Vic	CPTED					ü		ü	ü	ü	35

Country	Area	Type of intervention	Social drivers	Economic drivers	Individual motivation	Behavioural adjustment	Education	Fear of Detection	Community Programs	Cross Agency Partnership	Physical barriers	case study no.
Australia	WA Police	Designing out graffiti									ü	36
USA	Arizona	Electronic Locks									ü	37
Canada	Kamloops	CPTED								ü	ü	38
Lithuania	Lithuania	Housing Blocks									ü	39
Australia	Warrnambool	CCTV			ü			ü		ü		40
Australia	Townsville	CCTV										41
UK	Wirral Council	CCTV			ü			ü				42
UK	Sunderland Council	CCTV			ü			ü		ü		43
UK	Greater Manchester	Bus Shelter CCTV			ü			ü				44
Poland	Gdansk	Public Transport/Stops			ü		ü	ü		ü		45
Australia	Central Coast NSW	Tree Vandalism	ü		ü	ü	ü			ü		46
Australia	Tweed Shire NSW	Vegetation Vandalism	ü						ü	ü		47
Australia	Wollongong	Tree Vandalism									ü	48
UK	Oldham	Park Refurbishment	ü	ü		ü			ü			49
UK	Sunderland Council	Park Program	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	50
USA	Pittsfield Maine	Park Vandalism					ü	ü	ü		ü	51
USA	United States	Park Vandalism	ü	ü				ü	ü			52
USA	Illinois	Park Vandalism			ü	ü		ü	ü			53

Country	Area	Type of intervention	Social drivers	Economic drivers	Individual motivation	Behavioural adjustment	Education	Fear of Detection	Community Programs	Cross Agency Partnership	Physical barriers	case study no.
USA	Tioga, Pennsylvania	Vandalism Plan									ü	54
USA	South Bend, Indiana	Vandalism Plan			ü							55
Australia	Redland	Graffiti Initiatives						ü	ü			56
New Zealand	South Taranaki	Alcohol ban			ü						ü	57
Canada	Kamloops	Restorative Justice	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü		ü	ü		58
Norway	Roros Mining Town	Youth Project										59
USA	United States	National Youth Network			ü	ü	ü		ü			60
Canada	Canada	Stop Now and Plan	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü		ü	ü		61
UK	United Kingdom	Vehicle Arson	ü		ü	ü	ü			ü		62
Canada	Abbotsford	Family Engagement	ü		ü	ü	ü		ü			63
Global	Real-Time Neural Detection	Technology									ü	64

To summarise, there are three broad approaches which may be considered in the prevention or

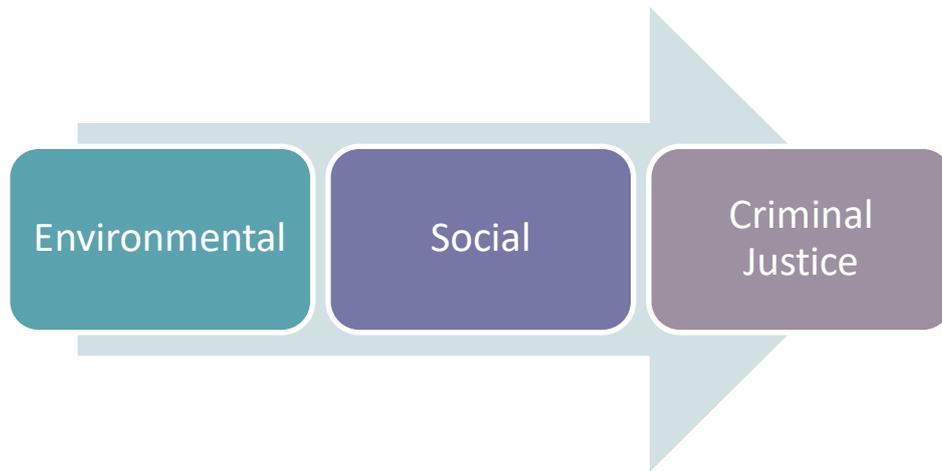


Figure 41 Theoretical approaches to addressing vandalism

deterrence of vandalism and other types of malicious property damage. The environmental approach, as described above, includes situational crime prevention techniques and broader urban planning initiatives, and aims to modify the physical environment to reduce opportunities for crime to occur. It also repairs objects and buildings damaged by vandalism, and conducts others physical modifications of a community environment to increase the environment's safety and attractiveness and encourages citizens to value their community by indicating that their civic authorities value them. The social approach focuses on the drivers of crime in a community such as disadvantage, inadequate housing, limited access to education and other opportunities and can specifically target individuals who may be prone to vandalism. Finally, the criminal justice approach refers to various programs which are usually delivered through the police, courts and corrections systems which administer community retribution to those engaged in vandalism and attempt to prevent recidivism by addressing issues of restitution and restorative justice.

All are necessary to address a complex and 'wicked' problem such as vandalism. To determine the relative amounts of each program which may be needed in the Launceston local government area, we suggest the following steps be taken:

- Identify the **areas** of vandalism which are of greatest concern (the 'where' of vandalism). As vandalism is rarely confined to one specific type of property this should be done in consultation with a range of community stakeholders, such as police, education authorities, neighbourhood watches as well as using the council's own sources of information. The council might consider as well informal surveys of areas of concern to estimate the amount and type of vandalism in each community. One innovative way of determining the amount of vandalism in an area is community mapping with school children (Komiya, 2011). Experience with safety mapping in the Communities for Children program in South East

therefore appear to belong to no one in particular, of whether they represent perceived social inequities, such as schools, or are focuses for hatred, such as cemeteries or places of worship.

- Identify the **types of vandals** in the areas of concern. Are they residents of the area? Do they represent many or most of the young people in the area or is the vandalism caused by a smaller group of perhaps disengaged and disconnected young people? Does vandalism appear to occur in groups or does it appear to be the action of a single person such as a graffiti artist? Are different types of vandalism perpetrated by the same persons, or by different persons? Are some potential vandals more likely to be more easily dissuaded than others?
- Are there **times of the day** when vandalism is more likely to be committed, and does this vary by type of vandalism?
- **Adopt a co-ordinated approach.** One such approach used widely all over the globe is the Collective Impact approach (CI) which will be described in detail below.

Vandalism is a complex problem, consisting of multiple drivers, enablers at multiple levels of the social system and as such, is not likely to respond to a simple, single approach. A number of actions taken together are more likely to have a greater impact than a single action.

These can include:

- Use of physical discouragers such as surveillance cameras, fencing vulnerable properties, creating graffiti resistant surfaces
- Identification of needs vandals meet through vandalism which may be met in other ways (such as the creation of spaces for public displays of graffiti artists)
- Repair and repaint immediately. Factor in damage repair into civic budgets as part of creating and maintaining a safe and happy community.
- Give the community the message that its members are valued through the development of civic pride and community connections which include all community members, adults and young people.

A WAY FORWARD

We propose collective impact as a potential way to make significant inroads into the impact of vandalism in the northern Launceston suburbs. Collective Impact (CI) is a technique of social intervention used to address issues which do not readily respond to a single, specific approach and which need a co-ordinated group of approaches created by individuals with a range of expertise working in tandem to address the problems (Zivkovic, 2015; Weaver, 2018). As Walzer, Weaver and McGuire (2018) state:

A potential limitation identified by the research is that organisations often go into the planning process with a bias toward predetermined solutions even when the issues are complex and no single organization can solve them alone... A more suitable approach is to create a framework and process where participants collaborate and work together on solutions that emerge from a group process. (p. 6)

The CI approach involves the commitment to a partnership by a group of stakeholders from different sectors to a common agenda for addressing complex problems experienced by a community, in this case, vandalism (Centre for Community Child Health, 2018, p. 2). Collective Impact has proven to be more effective than situations where agencies address similar issues without collaboration or co-ordination, leading to the availability of only limited resources and knowledge, duplication in services, gaps in service delivery and competition for scarce resources (Centre for Community Child Health, 2018). This is true for approaches to vandalism where often multiple agencies and services, such as councils, schools and police, deal with similar problems caused by often the same group of vandals but fail to collaborate towards solutions.

A key factor in successful CI projects is that they target the social and community issues unique to a geographical place, capitalising on local knowledge and commitment to the area. The baseline evidence used in Collective Impact work includes community knowledge of local needs and concerns and the practice knowledge of what is most likely to reach and assist members of a particular community.

CI was first developed in 2011 in a very influential article in the Stanford Social Innovation Review by John Kania and Mark Kramer (2011; 2013; Mayan et al, 2019). In their first explication of the topic, Kania and Kramer (2011, p. 38), listed the following features as essential to a work of collective impact:

- Centralised infrastructure; independent staff dedicated to the coordination of the work (often referred to a 'backbone organisation', and takes the responsibility for the direction,

data collection, and communication within the CI project). (Hanleybrown et al, 2012; Mayan et al, 2019)

- Setting a common agenda (Wood, 2018)
- A shared system of measurement (Stachowiak, Lynn & Akey, 2020)
- Continuous communication which creates rapid learning and a developmental evaluation in which goals and strategies are revised continuously (see also Ennis & Tofa, 2020; Kania & Kramer, 2013; O'Neill, 2020; Walzer, Weaver & McGuire, 2018)
- Mutually reinforcing activities, preferably long-term, across different sectors, which target a specific social problem or problems, and which engage actors beyond the any specific sector (government, ngo, etc). (Wood, 2018)

The Centre for Community Child Health at the Royal Children's Hospital in Melbourne, noted for their innovative community-based approaches to child health, summarised the basic principles of placed-based collective impact in a recent publication (July, 2018, p. 3):

- Create and sustain a cross-sector decision-making partnership
- Establish and sustain skilled, sustained backbone support
- Engage and mobilise cross-sector partners and networks
- Engage in co-design and robust planning
- Engage in continuous strategic learning
- Build capacity in all sectors
- Develop collaborative mindsets and practices

The publication further sets out a series of steps essential to achieving the success of a collective impact project (p. 4):

- A clear situational analysis
- An outcomes framework with the targets intended to be achieved
- A theory of change which explains how the outcomes will emerge
- Investment and asset mapping of the community which can be applied to the problem
- A theory of action which explains what actions are needed to achieve change
- Policy and investment recommendations which 'advocate for system-wide reform of policies, priority investments and practices to help achieve the desired population changes.

The literature also cites the Australian Communities for Children Facilitating Partner approach⁹ as a further example of a backbone agency (Gilliam, Counts & Garstka, 2018; Purcell et al, 2011).

Moore et al (2011) and Pycroft (2014) use the analogy of the neural net in the human brain to describe a co-ordinated system from which emerge new and creative solutions to problems which would not have otherwise emerged from the actors' individual responses, and it is both intriguing and interesting to consider the effect of collective impact to organise a kind of supportive neural network for a community. On this analogy, the backbone agency can be seen to provide the executive function for the project which is widely believed to be provided by the frontal lobe in the human brain (Goldberg, 2017; van der Kolk, 2014).

Should the Launceston City Council wish to create CI programs around vandalism, we suggest that the council provide backbone support and convene a stakeholder group, including community and citizen's groups which raised the initial concerns about vandalism, which then develop a common vision and agenda as to how to tackle vandalism. This CI group would also include a broad range of other community stakeholders such as local business owners, police officers, representatives from local schools and the Education Department, and so on. The group explores ways in which successful interventions can be determined, thus developing a common method of measurement of success (Stachowiak, Lynn & Akey, 2020; Wood, 2018). Finally, the group designs a set of separate, yet mutually reinforcing, activities which address the various aspects of the problem as highlighted in the current report and articulated by the community stakeholders. One of the roles the council will need to play as the backbone agency will be to ensure that regular communication is maintained between all the stakeholders, as well as the communities themselves.

In terms of what a CI project focusing on vandalism might target, the National Crime Prevention paper (1999) has this advice:

Any proposal that targets a specific kind of offence, with the expectation of flow on or cross over effects, needs to show why flow on effects are expected and why the outcomes might not be offence specific. (p. 58)

The following suggestions may assist a nascent CI group (pp. 61-67)

- select something which reduces the seriousness of the offence (examples cited in the context of crime generally include gun control, reduced alcohol consumption)

⁹ <https://www.dss.gov.au/communities-for-children-facilitating-partners-cfc-fp-operational-guidelines>

- something which carries more causal weight, that is, addresses factors likely to cause vandalism and youth crime (they suggest targeting child abuse and neglect to significantly impact youth crime; see also Vassallo et al, 2002)
- something which is consistently associated with the behaviour (here, they suggest, in the context of crime generally, quality of parenting)
- focus on one or more protective factors (youth engagement, target hardening)
- something which appears to be the process by which something occurs (the various pathways which lead to vandalism and youth crime)

We are aware of a CI program in the Clarence Plains neighbourhood, **One Community Together** (case study 18), which has been in existence since 2014, with Hobart City Mission currently providing the backbone infrastructure. The common agenda for this program was developed in consultation with community members to promote a sense of public safety, pride in the community and to develop the attractiveness of the local area. The stated goal of this initiative is 'supporting our welcoming, proud, safe and attractive Clarence Plains Community'.

There is strong evidence to suggest this program has been effective in promoting a sense of pride in the local community, lowering rates of rubbish dumping, arson, vandalism to signage, the number of community-identified 'hot spots' and lowering community stigma associated with certain areas. We would strongly suggest that the Launceston City Council consider developing its own CI initiative, and to liaise with One Community Together to gain further insights about how to implement a similar such program in a Tasmanian urban setting.

Collective Impact programs are not always easily developed and much of the literature on collective impact contains cautionary tales (Dolamore & Kline, 2020; Ennis & Tofa, 2020; LeChasseur, 2018; Mayan et al, 2019; O'Neill, 2020; Sagrestano & Finerman, 2018). However, for a reasonably narrowly targeted program which already enjoys community support and community 'buy in', such as addressing instances of vandalism in the northern suburbs of Launceston, where the council is in an ideal position to form a stakeholders' group and continue its consultations with the community, CI has the potential to prove a very effective solution (or set of solutions).

CONCLUSION

Vandalism is unlikely to be strongly impacted by any single approach, and particularly unlikely to respond to brief, short-term approaches. Goldstein stressed the need for a long-term commitment to continuous and multiple approaches to curb vandalism:

'Vandalism...is often a choice, over-learned, well-reinforced behaviour. One-shot, short-term, or otherwise limited interventions will rarely, if ever, be potent enough to prevent or remediate such behaviour on anything approaching a sustained basis.' (1996, p. 81)

In light of the Insights gained from a comprehensive review of theories around vandalism, development of a model which identified three necessary conditions for vandalism to occur and a review of potential solutions, we suggest the following approaches to the issues around vandalism in Launceston:

1. Multiple pronged approach

Approach the problem with multiple strategies, focused both on the potential vandal and the target environment.

Develop a wide range of measures for success and expect that change will take time.

2. Demonstrate long term commitment to the community

View anti-vandalism as a long-term strategy which involves improving the quality of living for neighbourhoods and communities susceptible to vandals, and giving clear messages to these communities and neighbourhoods that they hold value to the larger Launceston community.

Demonstrate the value of a community by repairing and restoring vandalised areas as quickly as possible.

Develop strategies which are sustainable at the council level, and not dependent on the energy and time of any one person.

Expect that vandalism will require a regular commitment of funding both in terms of repairs and in terms of anti-vandalism measures and programs.

3. Foster Investment by other agencies

Ally with as many stakeholders as possible, including schools, police, neighbourhood groups.

4. Involve community members

Consider ways of encouraging use of public spaces so that they become sources of community responsibility and pride and also ensure the natural surveillance of public spaces provided when people use them regularly.

Develop a community sense of shared public assets such as bus shelters, parks, etc as a challenge to the attitude that because these are not private property, they belong to no one.

5. Educate, deter and engage those at risk of committing vandalism

Have a system of clear penalties for vandalism, and make these known throughout the community.

Where possible, involve vandals in opportunities to repair damage, restore property and otherwise contribute to the beautification of the community.

Consider and implement ways of re-connecting marginalised young people to their communities.

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APPENDIX 1: CASE STUDIES

Creative Artwork to deter graffiti

1. Warrnambool graffiti – 2 projects:

Case study: What are you looking at? Revitalising Warrnambool's city centre with creative artworks to deter graffiti offenders

Through the *What are you looking at?* project, prominent urban sites and graffiti hotspots in Warrnambool have been revitalised with high quality artworks. To decrease the likelihood of the artworks being tampered with or tagged, well-known, high-level street artists were engaged to collaborate with participants through skills workshops to create the artworks. There was also a strong element of education and community engagement for high-risk offenders incorporated into the project. Since the completion of the project, the artworks have not been targeted by graffiti and have significantly added to the visual amenity of the area.

[WARRNAMBOOL ART PROJECT COMBATS GRAFFITI – Gayle Tierney MP – Member for Western Victoria](#)

Young people across Warrnambool have come together to transform public spaces thanks to a Graffiti Prevention Grant of \$30,000 from the Victorian Government. A total of 54 students and young people took part in the Colour Our World project. “The Colour Our World project has instilled pride in our local public spaces and brought our community closer together.”

Individual motivation, Community Programs, Social drivers, Behavioural adjustment

2. Victorian Government

guide provides information to support councils and community partners in delivering public art or mural projects to prevent graffiti vandalism. This document outlines 10 key steps in delivering a public art or mural project, and recommended considerations based on the experience of previous Graffiti Prevention Grants projects.

Community Programs

[Delivering a public art or mural project \(PDF, 558.68 KB\)](#)

3. Blue Mountains

The Crime Prevention Plan focuses on the reduction of malicious damage including incidents of graffiti within the Blue Mountains Local Government Area (LGA).

The Prevention by Design program is a diversionary and preventative graffiti management program in partnership with Mountains Youth Services Team. Young artists attend master classes in design processes and public art to produce high standard works on high profile vandalised walls in town centres.

Social drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs

[Graffiti | bmcc.nsw.gov.au](http://bmcc.nsw.gov.au)

4. Canterbury



Once an unsightly brick structure at the end of a small lane, the Canterbury water pumping station has been given a fresh new look as part of an anti-graffiti campaign. 2015 – Google maps shows it is still there and no graffiti

Physical barriers

5. Cronulla Walk the Wall

Street Art Festival sponsored by Council. Featuring 35 artists.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

<http://www.sutherlandshire.nsw.gov.au/WalkTheWalls>

<https://cms.ssc.nsw.gov.au/files/sharedassets/website/document-library/corporate-management/policy-determination-and-guideline-framework/graffiti-management-plan-2020-2022.pdf>

6. City of Canada Bay NSW

marine-themed mural - painted on a wall attached to Drummoyne Swimming Centre - was glazed with a protective anti-graffiti layer to deter vandals.

Physical barriers

Graffiti – online reporting systems

7. Redland City Council

Graffiti: Initiatives aimed at getting local youths involved in cleaning up graffiti is combining with a new vandalism tracking system to help Redland City Council fight vandalism across the city.

To help reduce graffiti and vandalism, you can report incidents using:

- [VandalTrak website](#)
- [VandalTrak app for iPhone](#)
- [VandalTrak app for Android smartphones](#)

Once you register with VandalTrak, you can report graffiti locations via the app and upload photos. “The combination of the new VandalTrak system and the relationships with these community organisations is proving very successful, resulting in Redland City Council processing more than 300 graffiti incidents in the past six weeks.”

Fear of Detection, Community Programs

8. Snap Send Solve –

like VandalTrak, lot of Councils use it

Fear of Detection, Community Programs

Graffiti – immediate removal

9. Blue Mountains

currently support three volunteer graffiti removal groups which can help to remove graffiti from private / commercial property. In partnership with local Neighbourhood Centres, you can pick up a graffiti removal kit to assist in reducing the effects of graffiti in our community.

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

10. Central Coast free graffiti removal kits

Removing graffiti as quickly as possible not only makes the process easier but also reduces the likelihood that offenders will recommit.

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

11. Denver City graffiti prevention and removal –

Denver Partners Against Graffiti provides free graffiti removal assistance on business and residential properties. You can help keep Denver graffiti free by picking up materials from a paint bank and covering graffiti vandalism when you see it.

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

12. City of Kamloops

in partnership with the Kamloops Chamber of Commerce, has allocated up to \$50,000 for a Vandalism Cleanup Support Grant Program to support businesses directly affected by vandalism and graffiti within city limits.

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

Graffiti – education programs

13. Greater Shepparton

Case Study: Graffiti prevention educational DVD. Educating young people in Greater Shepparton on the laws, risks and consequences associated with illegal graffiti. Most students thought the DVD might prevent someone doing graffiti in the future. Students also understood that having a criminal conviction may affect future career and travel prospects.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Fear of Detection, Behavioural adjustment, Education

<https://youtu.be/8Bw7S8LPSak>

Graffiti – Management plans

14. Melton City Council

delivered a multifaceted graffiti prevention project that has reduced the illegal graffiti in the community. Local graffiti prevention projects that are eligible include vertical gardens, murals and public art, graffiti removal activities and anti-graffiti education programs that engage young people, local businesses and residents. delivered in collaboration across a number of council

teams, local schools, traders and professional and local up-and coming artists. Policy document and lots of photos.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs

[Video case study: Melton Graffiti Preventative Education and Street Art Activation program | Community Crime Prevention Victoria](#)

15. WA Police – Graffiti Management Plan

Designing Out Graffiti – 3 documents, Landscaping and planting, Lighting and surveillance, Protective Surfaces and Rapid Response

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

<https://www.police.wa.gov.au/~media/Files/CED/Publications/Business-Beat/Reducing-Graffiti-and-Vandalism.pdf?la=en>

16. Kelowna Canada

Communications is key on a number of fronts — it's important to educate the public about incidents of crime and how they can avoid being victims of crime, along with educating potential offenders about the effects and consequences of crime. Graffiti hotline, Turn in a tagger

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs, Fear of Detection

<https://www.kelowna.ca/city-services/graffiti/graffiti-management>

Vandalism multi partnerships/collaborations

17. City of Fontana California

graffiti - business owners, residents, and police established a coalition. The city passed an ordinance

Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

[anti-graffiti_program_fontana_police_department_ca_us_2001.pdf \(gangenforcement.com\)](#)

18. Clarence Plains

One Community Together is a collective of residents, community groups and organisations in Clarence Plains working together on shared goals with, and for, our local community that build on individual strengths to create positive change together. Formed in 2014, the group is made up of local residents, Hobart City Mission, Clarence City Council, Tasmania Police, Mission Australia Housing, Rokeby Neighbourhood Centre, Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre, Clarence Plains Child and Family Centre, Libraries Tasmania, Grace Church, Clarence Lions Club, Abundant Life Church, Bayview Secondary College, Beacon Foundation, Rotary Club of Howrah with new groups and people joining all the time. The group undertakes projects such as clean-ups; helping residents remove rubbish, art events, community awards etc.

<https://onecommunitytogether.org.au/> <https://www.facebook.com/onecommunitytogether/>

Community programs, cross-agency partnerships, individual motivation, social drivers

19. Isle of Man

a multi-agency collaboration created in response to increased alcohol related criminal activity, including damage to property, 2005 Goldstein Awards Winner

Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership, Physical barriers

[2005 Goldstein Awards Winner & Finalists | ASU Center for Problem-Oriented Policing](#)

20. Sunderland Council UK

Redeployable CCTV / anti-social behaviour - Police and Sunderland City Council – positive results, a few articles. Sunderland Council UK [Safer Sunderland Partnership](#) consists of a group of organisations including the City Council, Northumbria Police and landlords all working together to tackle anti-social behaviour.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership, Physical barriers

21. Kelowna Canada

In partnership with the RCMP are committed to reducing crime and recognize that in order to succeed in making the city safer, they will need to continue work with community partners to develop further strategies in prevention, education and treatment. These strategies look to identify the root causes of criminal behaviour and prevent them from occurring. The Kelowna RCMP's Downtown Enforcement Unit works in conjunction with the Downtown Kelowna

Association (DKA), City of Kelowna's Bylaw Services, Kelowna Parking, private security partner Paladin and BC Transit to actively patrol the downtown core and nearby parks to curb crime before it occurs.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership, Physical barriers

<https://www.kelowna.ca/city-services/safety-emergency-services/crime-prevention>

22. Rushcliffe Council UK

in Nottinghamshire, Cotgrave, a deprived former mining village, has seen a 48% reduction in vandalism, thanks to that much-vaunted but rarely achieved public service ideal "multi-agency working", says the Local Government Association. The council worked with the police, the fire service and Nottinghamshire County Cricket Club to provide diversionary activity for young people, used gating orders to close alleyways being used at 'rat runs', demolished a row of unused garages attracting vandalism," says a spokesman.

"The council identified a number of problem families causing a lot of the anti-social behaviour and used a multi-agency case panel approach to deal with their issues, including support and enforcement where necessary."

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership, Physical barriers

https://www.nottshelpyourself.org.uk/kb5/nottinghamshire/directory/service.page?id=sOF_jOFBUnk

Community involvement

23. City of Salisbury SA

Volunteers via seek – nothing about how successful it is though

Individual motivation, Economic drivers, Physical barriers, Community Programs

[Graffiti Removal Volunteers City of Salisbury, City of Salisbury | SEEK Volunteer](#)

24. Tweed annual graffiti clean-up day



Around 100 volunteers from the Tweed Valley Community Church and five local high schools join forces to remove unsightly graffiti at three sites around Tweed Heads South in annual event.

Individual motivation, social drivers, Economic drivers, Community Programs

25. Adelaide

road signs vandalised with graffiti - Community members assisted police with their investigations and provided photos of the damage and the offender

Community Programs

<https://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/resident/home-management/graffiti/>

26. Christchurch graffiti volunteers

Community Programs

<https://ccc.govt.nz/services/graffiti/volunteers>

27. Kamloops

Community Crime Prevention volunteers engage with the general public in delivering crime prevention programs under the direction of the RCMP

Community Programs

<https://www.facebook.com/Crimewatchprevention/>

28. Mobile home community – Colorado.

Community resource officers are appointed to work hand-in-hand with their neighbourhoods. Collaborate with agencies from other jurisdictions. By working with communities and enlisting the “eyes and ears” of volunteers, departments can alleviate some of the strain while simultaneously increasing problem-solving efforts. The crime rate decreased to almost nothing, with occasional complaints of curfew violations and minor vandalism. At one meeting, there were no crime reports other than animal complaints. Reports

of burglary and auto prowls in particular had tapered off: burglaries were cut from 31 to 14, and auto prowls reduced by a staggering 87 percent, from thirty to just four. The crime rate has remained low according to periodic crime and call-for-service updates. The projected numbers for 2006 were a fraction of what they were when CrimeTRAC began in 2004. Overall, a 65 percent reduction occurred in the crime rate since 2004.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

[COPS Crime Analysis Case Studies \(usdoj.gov\)](#)

29. Cotgrave South Nottinghamshire Community Safety Partnership

various community groups and councils. Positive Futures Programme led by Nottinghamshire County Cricket Club that started in May 2009 to work with socially excluded groups, young offenders and those identified as at risk of becoming victims of crime, antisocial behaviour group. As of July 2011, low levels of crime have been maintained in Cotgrave and year to date, there is a 13% reduction in all crime. In the last year, Cotgrave had the 24th highest levels but in 2010-11, there was a 75% reduction in offences committed by young offenders and also a 50% reduction in the volume of young people committing offences. There was a 16.5% reduction in antisocial behaviour in Cotgrave in 2010-11

Social drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs

<https://www.trentbridge.co.uk/trust/rushcliffe.html>

30. US Neighbourhood watch – National Crime Prevention Council

About half of the schemes evaluated showed that neighbourhood watch was effective in reducing crime, with most of the other evaluations having uncertain effects. The main findings of the meta-analysis were that 15 of the 18 studies provided evidence that neighbourhood watch reduced crime

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs

<https://cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/Publications/cops-p145-pub.pdf>

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs

31. City of Laurel Neighbourhood watch

remarkably successful anti-crime effort—neighbour looking out for neighbour. As a consequence of the community watch group's efforts, there was no more graffiti nor any other acts of vandalism. – crime down

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs <https://www.nnw.org/>

32. Springsclare Crime Prevention

is a community crime prevention group in Victoria – run entirely through social media. Social media are now utilized extensively by Neighbourhood Watch-style initiatives. Swarm intelligence—a form of self-organization wherein collectives process information to solve problems that members cannot solve individually—and stigmergy:

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs

<https://doi-org/10.1093/bjc/azaa065>

33. Netherlands

340 municipalities, how neighbourhood watch groups have developed in the Netherlands and illustrates how their actions contribute to lower crime levels and collective efficacy. A watch team in a disadvantaged area is particularly successful if it can maintain an insignificant image. Although innovations such as social media and smartphones have made the organisation, surveillance and deployment of neighbourhood watch groups more effective, they have simultaneously increased the risk of vigilantism. Especially in safe suburbia—with not much going on—this causes neighbourhood watch schemes to create their own necessity, framing even inculpable observations as a potential threat for security and thus in need of action.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs

<https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-319-67747-7>

34. Nanaimo Canada

Block Watch program continues to expand throughout Nanaimo and surrounding areas. By creating a Block Watch, you will: reduce crime in neighbourhood, develop a sense of community with neighbours and increase communication with not only neighbours but also with the police. Additionally, may be eligible to receive a reduction in home insurance.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs

<https://www.nanaimo.ca/city-services/emergency-services/police-crime-prevention/block-watch>

CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design)

35. Brimbank City Council

transform a dimly lit laneway in the St Albans town centre. The laneway regularly experienced dumped rubbish, graffiti vandalism and property damage. Council engaged many local partners throughout the project including the St Albans Business Association, local police, St Albans Community Centre, VicRoads and surrounding retailers. In 2019, the project was awarded the 'Great Place' award from the [Planning Institute of Australia \(Victoria\)](#)

Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership, Physical barriers, Education

36. WA Police

Graffiti Management Plan plus Designing Out Graffiti – 3 documents, Landscaping and planting, Lighting and surveillance, Protective Surfaces and Rapid Response

Physical barriers

<https://www.crimeprevention.vic.gov.au/resources/graffiti/designing-out-graffiti-resources-from-the-wa-police>

37. Electronic locks increase accountability, reduce vandalism in Arizona

A small city with a lot of alleyways. With public access granted, the alleyways became subject to illegal dumping, graffiti and trespassing, which interfered with resident maintenance and reduced both city sanitation and safety. Keyed bollards had proved ineffective. Residents and authorised personnel apply for codes which and unlock gates with their smartphones.

Physical barriers

<https://www.americancityandcounty.com/2020/01/30/electronic-locks-increase-accountability-reduce-vandalism-in-arizona/>

38. Kamloops

Canada City's Community Services Division, in partnership with the Crime Prevention Unit, have been actively engaging with local businesses to discuss and offer assistance with Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).

Physical barriers, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://www.kamloops.ca/our-community/news-events/news-releases/crime-prevention-through-environmental-design-remains-key>

39. Lithuania

Different types of crimes committed in Kaunas, Vilnius and Panevezys cities of Lithuania, were analysed. Six different blocks of houses with the highest crime rates and with the most heterogeneous crimes were selected for the detailed analysis at a micro scale. There are strong correlation values between the damage of property and the number of entrances and windows to residential buildings. with the decrease of number of entrances and windows to residential buildings the number of crimes, when the property is damaged or destructed intentionally

Physical barriers <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/aup-2016-0004>

CCTV

40. Warrnambool CCTV

“The establishment and expansion of Warrnambool’s CCTV network has been a really successful partnership between Council, the police and the Victorian Government,” Cr Herbert said. “According to the Ipsos Life in Australia study, feeling safe is the number one attribute that Victorians believe makes somewhere a good place to live. “This same study named Warrnambool and the South West as the most liveable place in Australia.

[Closed Circuit Television Cameras \(CCTV\) | www.warrnambool.vic.gov.au](http://www.warrnambool.vic.gov.au)

41. Townsville

man fined for vandalising statue of colonist - The court heard police quickly identified the person responsible for the act of vandalism via CCTV.

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://www.townsville.qld.gov.au/about-council/news-and-publications/media-releases/2019/november/new-cctv-cameras-to-increase-townsvilles-security>

42. Wirral Council UK

Redeployable CCTV reduced vandalism

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection

<https://www.wcctv.co.uk/case-studies/wirral-council-redeployable-cctv/>

43. Sunderland Council UK

redeployable CCTV / anti-social behaviour - Police and Sunderland City Council – positive results, a few articles. Sunderland Council UK [Safer Sunderland Partnership](#) consists of a group of organisations including the City Council, Northumbria Police and landlords all working together to tackle anti-social behaviour.

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection, Cross Agency Partnership

44. Greater Manchester

New figures show that the introduction of CCTV at bus shelters in Greater Manchester has helped to reduce vandalism. Also installed CCTV cameras at shelters with particular problems across the West Midlands and this has led to an 80 per cent reduction in incidents at these sites

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/manchester/7299417.stm

45. Gdansk Poland

anti-vandalism strategy included awareness-raising meetings with school children, training for drivers on effective methods of dealing with difficult passengers, introducing close-circuit television (CCTV) monitoring on a large scale and reinforcing a long-running ‘clean public transport stops’ campaign. The security camera system has proved to be a good solution to reduce instances of vandalism. The goal of reducing the number of vandalism acts by 20 percent has been only partially achieved. It did however decrease by nearly 15 percent between 2009 and 2011. As a result of the “Clean PT Stops Campaign” the amount of illegally posted adverts on shelters substantially decreased on those stops where the alternative advertisement boards were installed.

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection, Cross Agency Partnership, Education

<https://civitas.eu/sites/default/files/civitas-case-study-antivandalism-pt-gdansk.pdf>

Tree Vandalism

46. Central Coast NSW

Policy to manage tree and vegetation vandalism - "The policy reinforces Council's commitment to protecting our natural environment and gives us a range of tools, including education and enforcement, to manage unlawful damage to trees and vegetation. To promote consistency between councils in the region, a Response Assessment Model will be developed to assist councils in assessing the level of impact of vandalism damage, and in determining the appropriate level and type of response that is required. Although successful investigations and prosecutions are difficult, their impact is significant in making the community aware of the seriousness of illegally damaging vegetation. Involvement of police and/or private investigators may be warranted in serious cases to take advantage of their investigative skills. Establishing a body of specialist expertise and experience within the region is essential if investigations and prosecutions are going to succeed. This could be supported through the sharing between councils in the region of staff who possess such expertise.

Social drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Cross Agency Partnership

[regionaltreevegetationvandalismpolicyformergosfordlocalgovernmentarea.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](https://www.merriam.com.au/files/assets/public/documents/council/council-vegetation-vandalism-policy-for-merriam-local-government-area.pdf)

47. Tweed Shire

encourage the sharing of experience, expertise and resources among various land management agencies (Councils, Crown Lands and Office of Environment and Heritage) when providing information to the public and responding to Vegetation Vandalism incidents throughout the Tweed Shire. To promote and guide broader community involvement in the prevention of vandalism and investigation and enforcement following vandalism incidents. No evidence of success.

Social drivers, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://www.tweed.nsw.gov.au/files/assets/public/documents/council/council-policies/vegetation-vandalism-on-public-land.pdf>

48. Wollongong

tree and vegetation policy - The use of covert surveillance cameras (CSCs) for tree/vegetation vandalism offences, tree vandalism culprits not found

Physical barriers

https://www.wollongong.nsw.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0022/8914/Tree-and-Vegetation-Vandalism.pdf

Parks

49. Oldham, UK

Preventing anti-social behaviour in public spaces – case studies, parks. In 1995 Oldham Metropolitan District Council began a park refurbishment programme. Funding was redirected from an uncoordinated winter works programme and by concentrating restoration efforts in one park at a time they have restored 12 parks – four have won Green Flag Awards. The development of community pride and the establishment of parks friends' groups as 'eyes and ears' have seen dramatic improvements in levels of anti-social behaviour.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Behavioural adjustment, Community Programs

<https://scotland.forestry.gov.uk/images/corporate/pdf/CABEPolicynotePreventingantisocialbehaviourinpublic.pdf>

50. Sunderland City Council, UK

has been centrally involved with community safety partnerships, holding regular meetings between the Council and the police, and checking progress on specific incidents of anti-social behaviour. A park warden service now patrols all of the major parks in Sunderland, and an effort to involve young people in a local arts project has proved a major success. The programme has resulted in the cost of vandalism to the city's parks falling from around £50,000 a year to a few thousand pounds.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Physical barriers

<https://forestry.gov.scot/images/corporate/pdf/CABEDecentparksDecentBehaviour.pdf>

51. Maine and California

intentional park vandalism in the Manson Park in Pittsfield, Maine and the Nature Center at El Dorado Park in Long Beach, California - The issue of park vandalism becomes more personal when destruction is premeditated and malicious. key to tracking vandals is to take action quickly. Do surveillance, keep an eye on it, perform extra patrols in the area. We make sure that an area is looked at closely. Our city council was able to declare the nature center as a biological or nature preserve," it limits when people can be on the property. Since the Nature Center is now a biological or nature preserve, that has changed. "Now, when we're closed, if someone does come in, they can be cited for trespassing." details for lighting and cameras are involved: "We talked after the vandalism of the spring about a company to put some cameras. Communities

nationwide have established programs dedicated to curbing vandalism. Through a few easy steps, you can motivate patrons and nearby residents to be conscious of their surroundings and report suspicious activity before it becomes a problem.

Education, Fear of Detection, Community Programs, Physical barriers

[Nowlin, Terrence Parks & Recreation](#). Sep2007, Vol. 42 Issue 9, p104-107. 4p.

52. US national, state and city parks

Keeping parks free from the damages of vandalism requires a group effort of concerned citizens and proud community members who gain a great deal of satisfaction from enjoying the recreational opportunities that parks can provide. Reporting vandalism to authorities immediately can actually have a positive impact on future damage.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Fear of Detection, Community Programs,

All councils have reporting capacity on their websites example here:
<http://www.thprd.org/connect/park-watch>

[Burg, Jason Parks & Recreation](#). Sep2006, Vol. 41 Issue 9, p104-107. 4p.

53. Carol Stream, Illinois

repair vandalism and remove graffiti as soon as it is discovered, and never publicize that it happened. We've also added lights at problem areas. We encourage activity and neighbourhood use of our parks — we hope that with more of the honest visitors we'll make the parks less attractive to the mischievous. Creation of crime maps

Individual motivation, Fear of Detection, Physical barriers

<https://crimegrade.org/vandalism-carol-stream-il/>

54. Tioga, Pennsylvania

using more of the prefab buildings, which are designed as complete concrete structures. We use stall partitions and doors that are made out of materials that, if carved into, can be easily fixed with a putty knife. These same materials reduce or actually prevent graffiti because pens and markers don't absorb into the material. hand dryers, soap dispensers, and the pipes and mechanical workings of toilets and sinks are recessed into the walls of the structure. Stainless steel sinks and toilets are very hard to destroy. Picnic tables are made of heavy aluminium, steel, or concrete, we affix them to the ground with an anchor system of chain and concrete.

Physical barriers

55. South Bend, Indiana

When we do experience vandalism, the key is to clean it up or repair the damage as soon as possible.

Individual motivation

Youth programs

56. Redland City Council

Initiatives aimed at getting local youths involved in cleaning up graffiti

Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment

<https://news.redland.qld.gov.au/tag/graffiti/>

57. South Taranaki NZ

liquor ban implemented in city centre. Not sustainable.

Individual motivation, Physical barriers

<https://www.southtaranaki.com/our-services/alcohol-licensing/liquor-bans>

58. Kamloops

Restorative Justice program is a pre-charge alternative to the formal court process. It is a process designed to engage “victims” “offenders” and the community to deal with the impact of criminal and offending behaviour through discussion and determination of how the harm can be repaired. Trained volunteers run the Community Justice Forum guiding both parties towards a positive resolution. Referral to this program is made by police officers when specific criteria is met. This program offers volunteers a challenging opportunity to work with a variety of individuals experiencing conflict.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://www.kamloops.ca/safety-bylaws/crime-prevention/crime-prevention-programs>

59. Røros Mining Town and the Circumference (Norway)

The headmaster of Røros Primary School, working with the Røros Museum, conceived the 'Adopt a House' project', in which local students were given the responsibility of monitoring particular houses. 'World Heritage in Your Hands', four international workshops were organised by Røros Upper Secondary School. There were educational activities with World Heritage related content at schools, along with courses for local tour guides. The case of Røros is an example of how the development of World Heritage educational awareness raising and capacity building initiatives focused on young people can help to avoid both conservation unfriendly practices like vandalism

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

60. US National Youth Network

how to setup an Antivandalism or Antigraffiti Project. National Youth Network's Planning a Successful Crime Prevention Project. This 28-page workbook explains the five steps of the Success Cycle

Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs

<https://ojjdp.ojp.gov/library/publications/wipe-out-vandalism-and-graffiti>

61. Canada

The SNAP under 12 outreach project (ORP) The ORP is a manualized 12-week outpatient program with five primary components: (a) the SNAPT^M Children's Club—a structured group that teaches children a cognitive-behavioural self-control and problem-solving technique called SNAPT^M (Stop Now And Plan) (Earlscourt Child and Family Centre, 2001a); (b) a concurrent SNAPT^M Parenting Group that teaches parents effective child management strategies (Earlscourt Child and Family Centre, 2001b); (c) one-on-one family counselling based on "Stop Now And Plan Parenting" or SNAPP (Levene, 1998); (d) Individual Befriending for children who are not connected with positive structured activities in their community and require additional support; and (e) academic tutoring to assist children who are not performing at their age-appropriate grade level. Based on convictions, we estimate that between \$2.05 and \$3.75 are saved for every \$1 spent on the program. Scaling up to undetected offenses, between \$17.33 and \$31.77 are saved for every \$1 spent on the program. The benefit-to-cost ratio was greatest for the low-risk boys and smallest for the high-risk boys. However, there were indications that the program was particularly effective for high-risk boys who received intensive treatment.

Social drivers, Economic drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://nationalgangcenter.ojp.gov/spt/Programs/129#07byc>

62. UK Vehicle arson

The statistical results show that reductions in rates of vehicle arson in English fire authorities are associated with the introduction of Arson Task Forces and that this is a linear relationship, with the vehicle arson rate falling where intervention intensity is greater, even when controlling for authority-specific fixed effects. The results also suggest that fire authorities implementing Car Clear schemes did better than those that did not, and that input intensity for this intervention exhibits a negative linear relationship with vehicle arson.

Social drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Cross Agency Partnership

<https://www.northantsfire.gov.uk/arson-task-force/>

63. Abbotsford Canada

Across City departments, and in conjunction with community partners, Abbotsford has made strides in implementing an effective community response in working together to help make Abbotsford safer. Children, Youth and Family Engagement

Social drivers, Individual motivation, Behavioural adjustment, Education, Community Programs,

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339830385_Developing_Strategies_on_Violence_Prevention_and_Community_Safety_in_Abbotsford_BC

Hi-Tech neural / real time vandalism detection

64. Real-time vandalism detection

a novel method for the detection of vandalism events in video sequences. the method monitors changes inside a restricted site containing vandalism-prone objects such as a vending machine, a pay phone, or a street sign. It detects different forms of vandalism such as graffiti and theft, and can handle sudden illumination changes, occlusions, and segmentation errors.

the use of a neural network-based classifier for detecting vandal behaviours in metro stations. the scene interpretation is performed on the basis of the recognition of particular

events or classes of events belonging to a fixed database of dangerous situations related to the risk of vandal acts. The numerical results about correct classification of vandal behaviour shown in this paper allow one to consider the effective use of neural network-based classifiers also for video-based behaviour understanding applications. Neural networks are so confirmed as useful tools in the implementation of advanced video-surveillance systems able at assisting human operators even in the recognition of complex dangerous situations, like the ones related to vandal acts.

Fear of Detection

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/225500670_Real-time_vandalism_detection_by_monitoring_object_activities

APPENDIX 2: THE RESEARCH TEAM

TILES has established an inter-disciplinary research team with expertise in migrant and refugee settlement, social integration and social inclusion as well as family violence and community policing. All members of the team have extensive experience in developing and implementing rigorous, evidence-based research practices as well as leading small, medium and large-scale research projects. All are active researchers and educators within the University of Tasmania and have previously delivered on contract research projects in the sphere of policing and criminal justice.

Dr Romy Winter

Romy (BA, MAppSoc, PhD) is a lecturer in the Police Studies and Emergency Management program at the University of Tasmania. She teaches a range of units for the professionalisation of Tasmania Police, including risk assessment and policing family violence and sexual assault. Romy's specific research interest is interpersonal violence and she is Research Stream Leader for the Violence and Abuse Research Unit (VARU) within the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies. Romy has significant experience in evaluating programs targeting vulnerable and hard-to-reach populations including parenting programs for at-risk families; young people on bail; Aboriginal men and boys in the criminal justice system and women with marginal attachment to the workforce. She has co-authored training programs around family violence for The Salvation Army (Start Today Again: assisting men to understand the impact of family violence on children) and Lifeline (DV Alert: Men who use violence – a program for frontline workers). Both these programs are being delivered across Australia in 2021.

Dr Ron Frey

Ron (BA, MEd, MA Prelim (Hons. Psy., Syd), PhD, UQ, M.A.P.S) is a developmental psychologist who lectured in child development, gender, and sexuality at the Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane for almost thirty years before relocating to Tasmania. He is a Visiting Fellow at QUT and an Adjunct Senior Researcher within the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, where he has been involved in the design of programs targeting domestic and family violence and evaluations of the Tasmanian child protection system. He currently holds positions with Hobart City Mission, where he has been involved in the implementation of trauma-informed care across the mission's program areas, and with Lifeline, where he delivers the program on Men Who use Violence which he co-developed with Dr. Winter. Ron has a background in forensic psychology, having served as a probation and parole officer earlier in his career, and having

prepared over 750 forensic profiles of offenders over a twenty-year period appearing before all levels of the Queensland courts. In his private practice as a psychologist, Ron specialises in the treatment of complex forms of developmental trauma.

Dr Ron Mason

Ron (BA, MAppCrim, PhD). Ron has been involved as a data analyst with a number of studies including youth gangs, violence, prison reform, alcohol interlocks, illicit drug use, public safety and social marketing projects aimed at youth alcohol consumption. These projects have operated at a state, national and international level. He was a co-author with Romy and Professor Roberta Julian in developing a risk framework for the Safe Families Coordination Unit in 2018.

Ms Kaylene Bentley

Kaylene (MA, Grad Cert Mgt) has recently retired as Executive Officer, City Governance for the Hobart City Council. Her work history includes being Finance Director for the Department of Justice and Senior Manager, Corporate Support for a large aged and disability support organisation.

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