Review of the
Northern Territory
Youth Justice
System: Report

September 2011
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to record my thanks to the many hard working, and talented public servants, including those who represented their agencies on the Reference Panel, who generously provided their time, insight and experience and whose contribution has been significant in the development of this report. I also extend my thanks to staff at the Australian Institute of Criminology whose assistance has been invaluable.

Representatives of the non government sector have also provided valuable advice, understanding and observations regarding the youth justice system and ways to improve it. Their intimate knowledge of working with and for youth in the system cannot be underestimated.

Special thanks are extended to the tenacious members of the Review team: Ruth Brebner, Sue Erickson, Jayne McAlister, and Jean Doherty. Sincere thanks to staff in Community and Justice Policy of the Department of Justice for their support and tolerance, in particular Sal Cohen.

Jodeen Carney

Chair

Review of the Northern Territory Youth Justice System
30 September 2011
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

This Review was undertaken on behalf of the Northern Territory Government to identify emerging issues and trends in youth justice and youth offending outlined in the terms of reference. It was not an inquiry established under the Inquiries Act.

A long list of recommendations is not provided in this report. Instead, there are nine. The Review elected to provide key recommendations that would, if adequately resourced and implemented, enhance the ability of government and non government agencies to assist in the delivery of services and responses for young people in the youth justice system. The recommendations will assist to reduce offending and re-offending.

Supporting young people is a core function of any government. Services are always in demand and will always need to be increased. The challenge for the Northern Territory Government is to provide targeted and specialist interventions to those young people who are in the youth justice system and those who are at risk of entering it.

Apart from assisting these young people for compassionate reasons, there are sound economic reasons for doing so. This underpins the concept of justice reinvestment. It requires a change of direction and purpose of expenditure. It requires realigning expenditure so that, over time, custodial operations are reduced and community interventions are increased.

Unless this is attempted in a coordinated and comprehensive way, many young offenders are likely to re-offend, and will continue to present challenges for government, its agencies and the community. Many young offenders require intensive case management and interventions that are not achieved in detention centres.

The relatively small number of young people in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system provides an opportunity for Northern Territory Government agencies and the non government sector. Many of them are well known to providers of support and intervention services, as well as specific agencies. Hence, identifying these young people is not difficult and, with the appropriate systems in place, monitoring them is significantly easier than in other jurisdictions.

Many young people in the youth justice system come from homes where poverty, alcohol abuse, violence and dysfunctional relationships are the norm. These are young people in greatest need and the ones who are likely to require a higher level of intervention and case management. These are the same young people who are more likely than others to graduate to further offending and incarceration. These are the ones who represent ongoing costs to the community. These are the ones for whom the underlying causes of their offending and re-offending must be addressed.

Policy development and decision making in the area of youth crime must be evidenced based. There must be a bipartisan approach to youth offending and political leaders must
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

do what is right—not simply what is popular. The political challenge is that some results will take time to measure. The Review does not expect that government and the community would see the results for three to five years; perhaps longer.

Accurately measuring recidivism is difficult and is the subject of much academic commentary. What is known in the Territory, however, is that while the numbers of young offenders and repeat offenders are relatively small, many are likely to become entrenched in the youth justice system unless the cycle of offending and their criminogenic needs are addressed.

The Review has identified a number of areas of need that, based on the available evidence, offer the best prospects of delivering reductions in offending and re-offending that in turn will assist government to create safer communities.

For the Review to meet its terms of reference, it was necessary to obtain statistical information that would give an accurate picture of the extent of youth offending across the Territory. The Australian Institute of Criminology was commissioned to analyse data that was collected.

This has been extremely useful to the Review and forms the basis of recommendations made. The emerging issues and trends are:

• Youth offending in the Territory is trending upwards in a number of areas.
• The number of young people involved in the justice system has increased in recent years.
• The number of young offenders is small: 639 young people were apprehended by police in 2010–11; a total of 1192 matters were lodged in courts of which 665 were finalised; and only 39 young people were in juvenile detention on any given day during this period. There are around 53,100 young people under the age of 15.1
• Young people involved in the youth justice system are mostly male and Indigenous (76%).
• Property offences such as theft and unlawful entry with intent are the most common type of crimes committed by young offenders. Traffic and motor vehicle offences represent the second biggest category of youth crime.
• The number of young people in juvenile detention is small but has increased from an average daily number of 18 in 2005–06 to 39 in 2010–11. There is an increasing number of children under the age of 15 being detained.
• Young people in detention are more likely to be on remand than serving sentences. The number of juveniles on remand is increasing (with an average daily number of around 23 on remand in 2010–11 compared with around 11 in 2005–06).

1 ABS, *Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia, 3235.0 Canberra.*
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The cost of detaining a young person in 2009–10 was $592 a day. Based on that figure, the cost of detailing one young offender for one year is $216 000.

The Review does not know the costs of the effects of youth crime. It is, however, considerable.

The terms of reference for this Review provide that the youth justice system ‘encompasses a continuum of services and responses from preventive, policing, pre court, correctional and post release’.

The Review examined each component of the system and found there was, in fact, no continuum. Instead, there is a fragmented and uncoordinated approach to the delivery of services and responses.

Government agencies responsible for various parts of the youth justice system tend to focus on their own areas of responsibility. Once a young offender had moved on, that was the end of the agency’s responsibility. Hence, young people who move throughout the youth justice system have no coordinated monitoring and are not dealt with again until they next come to the attention of the same or another government agency.

Agencies recognise the importance of the continuum, but operate independently in accordance with their key portfolio responsibilities. There was widespread agreement that the fragmented ministerial and administrative arrangements made coordination of the system difficult and it was often unclear which agency was responsible for particular functions. A recommendation is made that is designed to streamline administrative and ministerial responsibilities.

The need to establish a new unit or division within an existing department became obvious and is recommended in this report.

There is a need to develop a new and comprehensive youth justice strategy with targets and benchmarks. The development of the strategy will guide the operations of the new unit.

Government faces enormous challenges delivering services to young people across the Territory who are in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system. Geographic obstacles, cultural issues, and limited resources are just some of the difficulties.

The Federal Government continues to develop partnerships within the three tiers of government, the non government sector and the community in youth service delivery, with a particular focus on building service centres in Indigenous communities. This must continue in order to meet the various challenges that a continuum of services and responses required.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The available evidence supports the need to identify and support alternative measures to deal with young offenders and those at risk of offending, which include diverting them from the courts, providing community based treatments and interventions, and improving their educational status. Effective early intervention and preventive programs will also reduce some young people’s prospects of offending.

Residential rehabilitation facilities, such as youth camps, have an important role to play in the delivery of therapeutic treatments and other and services to be offered to young people. The Review found that a significant number of young offenders were placed in detention centres on remand (i.e. are waiting for their matter to be determined by the court) because there was nowhere else for them to go. This is an awful state of affairs.

Increasing the number of youth rehabilitation camps is likely to reduce the numbers of young people who are held in detention on remand. They are unlikely to receive a range of necessary interventions while they are in a detention centre.

Youth rehabilitation camps may also be able to assist with offenders’ transition from detention to post release, and be a form of ‘step-down’ facility that can assist young offenders to integrate back into the community.

There are two Family Support Centres in the Territory. Early indications are promising and their capacity needs to be increased.

A number of therapeutic interventions have been shown to be successful in reducing young people’s criminal activity. However, success is limited if the young person returns to the same dysfunctional environment from which he or she came. Interventions must, therefore, involve the family if successful outcomes are to be maximised. At the same time, the parents and families of these young people must take responsibility for their actions, some of which are actively damaging their children. A recommendation is made to expand the capacity of Family Support Centres that work with families of children who are in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system.

Evidence suggests that diverting young people away from courts reduced re-offending rates. On that basis, diversionary options should be expanded, as should eligibility for diversion. For instance, young offenders who commit a range of first time driving offences could be eligible for diversion. This will only be effective, however, if suitable and meaningful programs are available, such as driving education courses.

A recommendation is made to improve data collection and analysis. This will enhance government’s ability to respond to youth offending by identifying relevant trends and issues.

A recommendation is also made regarding evaluation of programs delivered to young offenders and those at risk of offending.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As the Review was required to work within its terms of reference, many useful suggestions do not appear in this report. The submissions will provide a valuable resource for government in its continuing efforts to improve the youth justice system.

A coordinated model to target individual youth across the spectrum of issues they face will also bring government’s approach to youth justice in line with the strategically coordinated, socially inclusive mandate of both Territory 2030 and Working Future.

The key recommendations involve the Northern Territory Government:

1. establish a new unit within an existing department with responsibility for administering all services and responses to the youth justice system
2. develop a new youth justice strategy
3. streamline administrative arrangements and ministerial responsibilities
4. improve data collection, share information between government agencies, and ensure that programs delivered contain built in evaluations
5. increase investment in police diversion, including increased eligibility for diversion, and expand diversion programs
6. increase the number of youth rehabilitation camps
7. expand the Family Support Program and increase capacity of Family Support Centres
8. increase workforce capacity
9. establish an external monitoring and evaluation process.

Conclusion

The Review does not seek to downplay the effects young offenders have on the community. There is a need for sentences to meet community expectations, to reflect the seriousness of the crime committed, and to punish. However, putting young people in detention centres is not a medium to long term solution to reducing crime. Detainees leave detention centres and go back into the community—unless their needs are addressed, how can we expect them to change their behaviours?

The causes of youth offending are complex, solutions are challenging and resource intensive and the results can be difficult to measure in the short—medium term. Hence, investing in solutions that reduce offending and re-offending requires political courage. It requires considerable effort, commitment and resources.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1
That a youth justice unit, with statutory authority, be established within a government department and that it have responsibility for administering and coordinating services and responses to young people in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system.

Recommendation 2
That a new, comprehensive youth justice strategy be developed and implemented.

Recommendation 3
That the Administrative Arrangements order be reviewed and that the number of ministers responsible for aspect of parts of the youth justice system be reduced to mirror the existence of the youth justice unit and ministerial responsibility.

Recommendation 4
That resources be provided to the youth justice unit for the purposes of collecting, coordinating, interpreting, analysing and disseminating whole of government data and statistics on youth justice issues, and that a Territory-wide and nationally consistent set of systems and measurement indicators (including recidivism) be developed to provide information for decision makers on a range of youth justice issues.

Recommendation 5
That resources be increased for police diversion to include the establishment of Youth Diversion Units in Katherine and Tennant Creek, that eligibility for diversion be expanded, and that additional community based programs be established that have a measurable rehabilitative value.

Recommendation 6
That the number of youth rehabilitation camps be increased and include the establishment of one short term therapeutic camp program in greater Darwin area and one in Central Australia, and a longer term therapeutic residential program in the Top End and one in Central Australia, and that the youth rehabilitation camps be regulated by legislation.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 7
That additional resources be allocated to the Family Support Program and existing Family Support Centres.

Recommendation 8
That the capacity of the Northern Territory workforce be strengthened to include training of workers across the youth justice system including youth workers, court support workers, and community youth justice workers.

Recommendation 9
That all programs delivered for young people in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system have built in evaluation processes, that an external monitoring committee oversee progress of the youth justice unit; that the youth justice unit’s activities are included in the department’s annual report, and that government report on the recommendations of this Review by 30 June 2012, again by the end of 2012 and annually thereafter.

Further details of the recommendations and models are provided in chapter 11.
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REVIEW

On 29 March 2011, the Minister for Justice and Attorney-General, The Hon Delia Lawrie, commissioned a strategic review of the Northern Territory youth justice system, and appointed the former Member of the Legislative Assembly, Ms Jodeen Carney, as the Chair. The Review was undertaken on behalf of the Minister and her colleagues, the Minister for Children and Families, the Minister for Correctional Services and the Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services. The Minister established the terms of reference, expectations and timeframes for the Review.

The Review was commissioned to ensure the Northern Territory’s youth justice system delivers the best practice programs and services to meet the needs of young people and the community, and to provide the most effective and coordinated youth justice system possible.
TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference as provided to the Chair, and released publicly on 29 March 2011, are to:

Undertake, on behalf of the Minister for Justice and Attorney-General, the Minister for Children and Families, the Minister for Correctional Services and the Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services, a strategic review of the Northern Territory youth justice system, the terms of reference of which are:

1. Identification of emerging issues and trends in youth justice and offending in the Northern Territory that adversely affect the achievement of Territory 2030 and Working Future goals and outcomes.

2. Evaluation of the impact of existing government legislation, policy and practice to develop recommendations to government on appropriate reform to laws, policies and programs to assist achieving the government’s commitment to reducing youth offending and re-offending, and to creating safer communities.

3. Recommendations on strategies for dealing effectively with offending young persons taking into account relevant national and international research, reviews and reports, and their application to the Northern Territory context.

4. Recommendations to enhance the ability of government agencies and communities to assist in the continuum of services for young people in the youth justice system to achieve a reduction in offending, particularly by Indigenous offenders.

5. Using available research and data, provide cost benefit analysis for proposed strategies and options.

6. A proposed strategy on future policy, programs, practices within the youth justice system in the Northern Territory, including monitoring and evaluation of these, taking into account resource implications and with particular reference to vulnerable groups of young people including:

   • Indigenous youth
   • young people affected by alcohol or other drug abuse
   • young people with mental health issues
   • young women
   • culturally diverse groups

For the purposes of the Review, the youth justice system encompasses a continuum of services from preventive, policing, pre court, correctional and post release.
APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

From the outset, the Minister made it clear that she wanted the Review to be done as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. While the timeframes presented a number of challenges, the Chair shared the Minister's view that it was important that the Review could, and should, be undertaken quickly.

The Review team comprised:

• the Chair, who commenced 3 May 2011
• a lawyer, who commenced 18 April 2011
• a legal research officer, who commenced 24 May 2011 and worked one day a week from 30 August 2011
• a project officer who commenced 8 June 2011 and finished on 7 September 2011
• a project officer (four days a week) who commenced 20 June 2011, based in Alice Springs
• a project officer who commenced 6 September 2011.

Secretariat support was established in late May. The Review team and the Chair were located in Community and Justice Policy (CJP) of the Department of Justice.

A Reference Panel to assist the Review was announced on 20 May 2011 and met in Darwin on three occasions. Members of the panel are listed in the appendices in part 4.

The Review was launched on the Northern Territory Government website on 20 May 2011, which included a discussion paper, a questionnaire, a list of panel members and details of how make submissions and contact the Review team. Submissions to the Review were due by 15 July 2011.

The Minister first announced the call for submissions on 20 May 2011. Advertisements calling for submissions were placed in the NT News and the Centralian Advocate on 9 and 12 July 2011 respectively.

Consultations were as broad as possible within the tight timeframes. The Review team met with individuals and organisations in urban and regional centres and a number of remote communities. A list of the consultations is in appendix 2.

Submissions were invited from individuals and organisations with an interest in the youth justice system. A total of 35 written submissions was received. A list of submissions received is in appendix 3.

The Chair focused on providing the Minister with evidence based policies and strategies that are established best practice and that would directly address the terms of reference and, in turn, provide better outcomes for young offenders and the community. To this end, the Review team drew extensively from literature published in Australia and internationally.
APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Analysis was commissioned from the Australian Institute of Criminology and details are provided throughout the Report.

The Review team benefited enormously from the consultations and the written submissions received.

The Chair provided an interim report to the Minister on 30 August 2011; this is the final report as presented to the Minister on 30 September 2011.
STRUCTURE OF THIS REPORT

The report is divided into four main parts:

• Part 1: Introduction, issues and data
• Part 2: Evaluation of the impact of existing legislation, policy and practice
• Part 3: How government agencies can better assist in the continuum of services to reduce offending and re-offending
• Part 4: Models for change.

Each part details specific components, issues and service delivery in the youth justice system.
‘Aboriginal’ refers to people of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent. The Report adopts the ‘Commonwealth definition’ of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, being:

- a person of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander descent
- who identifies as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin, and
- who is accepted as such by the community with which the person associates.

This definition is widely used in Commonwealth and other government agencies, including the ABS Census.

‘Agencies’/‘agency’ and ‘departments’/‘department’ are interchangeable and refer to Northern Territory Government departments, unless specifically noted as Federal Government departments.

‘Attorney-General’ refers to the Attorney-General of the Northern Territory of Australia, unless otherwise stated.

‘Children in care’ or a ‘child in care’ refers to a child or children in the care of the CEO of the Department of Children and Families either under a temporary placement arrangement or under an order of the Court, under chapter 2 of the Care and Protection of Children Act.

‘A child’ or ‘children’ ‘in statutory care’ refers to a child in respect of whom an order has been made under chapter 2 of the Care and Protection of Children Act.

‘Consultations’ refers to meetings with interested individuals or organisations throughout the Northern Territory, including meetings in person, via telephone and through email.

‘Consultation period’ refers to consultations undertaken by the Review team throughout the Northern Territory between 12 May and 15 July 2011.

‘Criminogenic’ refers to characteristics or risk factors which are likely to lead to offending behaviour, or recidivism.

‘Government’ refers to the Northern Territory Government of Australia, unless otherwise stated.

‘Juvenile’ refers to a person aged between 10 and 18 years, and is used interchangeably with ‘youth’ and ‘young person’.

‘The magistrates’ refers to the Darwin Youth Magistrate and the Chief Magistrate of the Northern Territory.

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TERMINOLOGY USED IN THIS REPORT

‘Minister’ refers to a Minister in the Northern Territory Government unless otherwise stated.

‘Offender’ refers to a person who has been charged with or found guilty of a criminal offence under the laws of the Northern Territory.

‘Remote’, ‘Very Remote’ and ‘Provincial’ geographic classifications are consistent with those used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) to define remoteness. ‘Provincial’ has been used in this Report interchangeably with the revised 2006 ABS classification for ‘Outer Regional’ parts of Australia (which includes Darwin and Palmerston). See www.abs.gov.au for further information.

‘Therapeutic’ refers to an express a targeted needs-based intervention, as underpinned by best practice criteria, and acknowledging that different programs will apply different therapeutic processes to achieve their outcomes.

‘The Territory’ refers to the Northern Territory of Australia.

‘Youth’: in line with the subject of the Review, and noting there are various different ways of defining ‘youth’ across different policy streams, the Review has adopted the legal definition of a young person for the purposes of its analysis. In the Territory, the legal definition of a ‘youth’ is any person who has not yet attained the age of 18 years.

‘Youth at risk’ refers to youth at risk of offending.

‘Youth justice system’ encompasses a continuum of services and responses from preventive, policing, pre-court, correctional, and post release.

‘Vulnerable’ or ‘at risk’ are used in this Review to refer to young people who experience high rates of social dysfunction, mental illness, family and domestic violence, alcohol and other drug misuse, low rates of employment and education and who subsequently are at risk of entering the youth justice system.

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Part 1: Introduction, issues, and data

Chapter 1: Introduction
Chapter 2: Trends and issues
Chapter 1: Introduction

Historical overview
Defining the youth justice system
Understanding youth offenders
The approach
Revitalising the youth justice system – towards a coordinated model
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Historical overview

The youth justice system in the Northern Territory for the past 40 years’ has comprised an amalgam of progressive, conservative and innovative experiments and approaches to dealing with young offenders. The need to hold young offenders responsible for their actions has been a constant theme, as has the need to provide them with skills and training.

The desire for governments to be seen as ‘tough on crime’ has also been a recurring theme and, based on a review of media commentary, it appears that each decade has seen increased levels of community concern about the rate and effects of youth crime.

Although successive governments have introduced youth strategies, action plans and programs, there has been little or no evaluation of their success. It has been difficult to assess what, if any, real or imagined policy framework underpinned the various announcements, initiatives, youth strategies and action plans.

Responses to youth crime have, understandably, changed over time. The numbers of young offenders either in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system have increased over recent years, although the overall numbers remain relatively small.

Nevertheless, while young people represent a small number, unless they are managed well they are likely to remain in or re-enter the justice system for many years.

Solutions, like young people themselves, are more complex now than they have ever been and require innovative, yet practical responses.

Defining the youth justice system

Youth justice systems exist in all Australian jurisdictions and comprise:

• police, who are usually a young person’s first point of contact with the system
• courts (usually a special children’s or youth court) where matters relating to the charges against young people are heard. The courts are largely responsible for decisions regarding bail, remand, and sentencing
• statutory juvenile justice agencies, which are responsible for the supervision and case management of young people on a range of legal and administrative orders, and for the provision of a wide range of services intend to reduce and prevent crime

1 For a detailed history refer to Appendix 4.
2 The need for a different justice system for children is consistent with international standards underpinning the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Australia is a signatory, read together with the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (the Riyadh Guidelines) and the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules).
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

• non government and community service providers who may work with juvenile agencies to provide services and programs for young people under supervision.3

The terms of reference for this Review state that the youth justice system ‘encompasses a continuum of services and responses from preventative, policing, pre court, correctional and post release’.4

These services are managed and delivered by various government departments, which:

• provide policy advice on preventive and early intervention measures, and administer the provision of programs and initiatives such as family support centres, community youth development units, and youth camps

• provide front line services, the largest of which is policing

• are directly involved in funding and administering pre court services, such as police diversion and programs as outlined above pursuant to Part 6A of the Youth Justice Act

• provide support services and a legislative framework for Territory courts to enable the delivery of justice to the community

• deliver correctional services to offenders in the form of operating juvenile detention centres

• are responsible for policy advice and the delivery of post release services, ranging from supervision of parole orders, youth camps, mental health and drug and alcohol treatment programs, and the provision of funding to non-government organisations to deliver some of these services.

Understanding youth offenders

There are different ways of defining ‘youth’ across different policy streams. For the purpose of this Review, the definition of a ‘youth’ contained in the Youth Justice Act has been adopted: ‘a person under 18 years of age’.5 This is the same in most Australian jurisdictions.

Children under the age of 10 years in Australia cannot be held criminally responsible for their actions6 and cannot be charged by police or appear before a court in relation to alleged criminal activity. In the Territory, a child aged 10 years or more, but under 14 years, can only be found guilty of an offence if the prosecution proves that the child knew the conduct was wrong.7

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5 Youth Justice Act, section 6(1).
6 This is consistent with the minimum age prescribed by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.
7 Criminal Code, section 43AQ.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Review seeks to establish an evidence base for its recommendations and commissioned the Australian Institute of Criminology to analyse the existing data from various government agencies in relation to youth justice.

A picture of young offenders emerged, showing that the number of young offenders in the Territory is small but growing, and there are specific trends for Indigenous, non Indigenous, male and female youth, as well as trends in the types of offences committed.

The approach

To address the terms of reference, the Review set out to assess the various components of the youth justice system. Timeframes were challenging; however, between May and July 2011, the Review consulted a range of stakeholders in urban and remote areas including the legal, non government and government sectors to identify how they respond to the needs of youth in the justice system. Stakeholders were also invited to provide written submissions, and a total of 40 thoughtful submissions were received. The quality and range of suggestions identified in the submissions will provide a useful resource for government to respond to the recommendations of the Review.

Representatives of key government departments that are responsible for the delivery of the ‘continuum’ of services and responses in the youth justice system were also consulted, and the information gained forms a large part of this Report.

While government departments each offer a range of services and responses for young people in the youth justice system, the Review identified that these responses are limited by a confusing set of administrative arrangements, workforce capability issues and limited resources.

The end result is youth are not the core business of any one agency.

The Review has identified the gaps, examined opportunities for improvement and offers proposals where appropriate in the areas of legislation, policy, and program delivery for each department.

The Review provides a snapshot of who young offenders are in the Territory, and the type of crimes they commit. However, there are many complex drivers of youth crime, the causes of which were beyond the terms and scope of the Review.
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Revitalising the youth justice system –
towards a coordinated model

The small number of young offenders in the Territory and the trends mapped by the Review present a challenge and an opportunity.

Young offenders comprise a small proportion of the Territory’s population. The majority of young people live happy, well-adjusted lives, and the prospects for most young Territorians are positive.

Systemic, generational dysfunction in the homes and families of many young offenders mean that government’s approach to youth crime must include non punitive responses.

A key theme of this report is the need for a coordinated approach to youth justice and service delivery. While government agencies do their best, and some impressive initiatives are underway, it is impossible to ignore the need for government to establish a new youth justice strategy. The call for this was shared by government agencies, legal aid providers and NGOs during the consultations and in written submissions.

The Review identifies nine core recommendations that—if they are accepted by government and underpinned by a revitalised youth justice strategy and a dedicated youth justice unit comprising experts across government and working closely with the non government sectors—will collectively achieve a coordinated response to youth justice in the Territory.
Chapter 2: Trends and issues

Introduction

Part A: Trends:
Summary of key youth justice trends
Statistical analysis
Trends for vulnerable young people
Impact of trends on Territory 2030 and Working Future
Data collection and limitations

Part B: A snapshot of issues:
Causes of youth crime
Regional and remote issues
Non government organisations
Gender and cultural issues
Mental health and alcohol and other drugs
Public perceptions
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Introduction

This chapter identifies emerging trends in available policing and justice data, as well as the key issues for youth justice in the Territory. Where relevant, data is examined in other Australian jurisdictions to provide a comparative framework. However, this Review is not and is not intended to represent an audit of particular government departments’ data collection capacity. It is, nevertheless, concerned that the lack of coordinated and complementary information systems across departments made the collation of data particularly difficult.

The targets, objectives and goals of Territory 2030 and Working Future are also considered in this chapter, and trends and issues are identified that may adversely affect their achievement.

To establish an evidence-based methodology for the Review, Australia’s leading national research and knowledge centre on crime and justice, the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), was commissioned to assess and interpret data sources collected from a range of Northern Territory Government agencies, including police, corrections, juvenile justice and juvenile diversion data.¹

The data assessed by the AIC and supplemented by other sources for the Review provides valuable insights into the nature of youth justice. Unless otherwise specified, the data referred to in this section of the report refers to data collected in the Territory.

¹ AIC, Review of the Northern Territory Youth Justice System: Overview of the Data (2011) Canberra
PART A

Trends

Summary of key youth justice trends

Within the context of known data limitations, the statistical analysis provides a clear picture of the characteristics of young people involved in the justice system, as well as the types of offences they commit and punishments received:

• Young people involved in the youth justice system are mostly male and Indigenous (76%).

• Property offences such as theft and unlawful entry with intent are the most common type of crimes committed by young offenders. Traffic and motor vehicle offences represent the second biggest category of youth crime.

• The number of young offenders is small compared to the number of young people in the overall population: 639 young people were apprehended by police in 2010–11; 1192 matters were lodged in courts of which 665 were finalised; and 39 young people were in juvenile detention on any given day during this period. There are around 53 100 young people under the age of 15.2

• The number of young people involved in the justice system has increased in recent years. The number of young people apprehended by police increased from 587 in 2006–07 to 797 in 2009–10.

• Males are more likely to have been apprehended for property crime. Females are more likely to have been apprehended for acts intended to cause injury, traffic and motor vehicle offences.

• The number of traffic and vehicle convictions increased by nearly 100% from 2006-07 to 2009–10.

• Young people aged 15 to 16 years are the most likely group to be apprehended.

• Indigenous offenders are more likely to commit their first offence at a younger age than non-Indigenous offenders, and are more likely to have been charged multiple times.

• The number of young people in juvenile detention is small but has increased from an average daily number of 18 in 2005–06 to 39 in 2010–11. There is an increasing number of children under the age of 15 being detained.

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2 ABS, Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia, 3235.0 (2009) Canberra
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

• Indigenous youth are much more likely to be in detention than non Indigenous youth, and they are being placed into detention for more serious crimes, such as acts intending to cause injury.

• Young people in detention are more likely to be on remand than serving sentences. The number of juveniles on remand is increasing (with an average daily number of around 23 on remand in 2010–11 compared with around 11 in 2005–06).

• While the literature suggests that mental health, and alcohol and other drugs affect many young offenders, there is little data in the Territory on these issues.

• There is little evidence to suggest that culturally diverse groups in the Territory are a target offending group.

Statistical analysis

Youth demographics

The overall population of the Territory as at June 2010 is estimated at 229 711, and more than 30% of the population is Indigenous.\(^3\) At June 2010, just over one-third (33.6%) of the population resided in the Darwin, 13.1% in Palmerston and 12.2% in Alice Springs. According to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) projections, there are an estimated number of 53 100 young people under the age of 15 residing in the Territory.\(^4\) Young people aged 24 years and younger comprise 38% of the total population. Territorians aged 20 to 24 years comprise 8.3% of the total population, those aged 15 to 19 years comprise 7.3% and those under 15 years comprise 24.5% of the population.\(^5\) The Territory has the youngest median population of all the states and territories, of 31.3 years, compared to Tasmania (39.9 years) and South Australia (39.2 years).\(^6\)

The Indigenous population as at 30 June 2006 was 66 582 people, representing 31.6% of all the total number of Territorians.\(^7\) It has a much younger age profile than the non Indigenous population, as it does across Australia. More than half (54%) of Indigenous people included in the 2006 Census were under 25 years of age.\(^8\)

Indigenous Territorians have much lower levels of formal education than non Indigenous people, with Census data showing that only 10% of Indigenous respondents had completed education to Year 12 or equivalent, compared with 48% of non Indigenous respondents. More than one-third (37%) of Indigenous Territorians had completed only Year 8 or below, compared with 5% of non Indigenous respondents.\(^9\)

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\(^{4}\) ABS, *Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia*, 3235.0 (2009) Canberra. Note this data refers to the most recently available population projections for young persons aged under the age of 15 in the NT, as at 30 June 2010. Population projections for the legal definition of ‘youth’ as used in this Review, defined as between 10 and 18 years of age were not available.


\(^{6}\) Ibid.


\(^{8}\) Ibid.

\(^{9}\) Ibid.
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Police involvement with young people

Policing data analysed by the AIC includes types of offences, number of youth apprehended, number of Indigenous youth apprehended, gender, age and number of offenders and victims.

Number of young people apprehended by police

The number of young people apprehended from 2006–07 to 2010–11 is shown in figure 2.1.10

A total of 3386 young people were apprehended over the past five years and there has been a general upward trend in the number of apprehensions.

There was a 23% increase in youth apprehension from 2007–08 to 2008–0911, followed by a smaller increase of 6% from 2008–09 to 2009–10.

The limitations of obtaining data on repeat offenders are discussed later in this chapter.

Figure 2.1 Youth apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11

Type of offences

The trends in different types of offences committed by young offenders over the past five years are shown in figure 2.2.

The types of offences committed by young people are consistent with the types of youth offences committed across Australia.12 The data shows:

• Young people are more likely to engage in property offences, particularly theft (21.1%), unlawful entry with intent, and break and enter crimes (13.1%).

10 It is important to note that the large decrease (20%) seen from 2009–10 to 2010–11 is most likely to reflect incomplete 2010–11 data sets rather than actual reductions.
11 The increase from 2007–08 may possibly be linked to the implementation of the NTER in 2007–08.
12 AIC, above n 1.
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- Traffic and motor vehicle offences (15.4%) and property damage (15%) accounted for a large proportion of youth crime.
- Violent offences such as assault (7.6%) and sexual assault (1.6%) accounted for a relatively small proportion of youth offences.
- Adult offenders are more likely to engage in more serious crimes than young offenders. For example, among adult prisoners held on 30 June 2009, 38% were held for acts intended to cause injury, 14% for sexual assault and related offences, 11% for traffic and vehicle regulatory offences and 10% for homicide. By comparison, 2% of young offenders were held for sexual assault, and no juveniles were detained for homicide in the same reporting period.13
- There was a large increase in the incidences of theft committed by young people in 2009–10 compared with the previous year. There were also increases in most of the other main offence categories.

Figure 2.2 Youth offences by category, selected offences, 2006–07 to 2010–11

Source: NT Department of Justice

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13 ABS, *Prisoners in Australia, 4517.0* (2009), Canberra.
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Indigenous and non Indigenous offenders

Of the total number of 3386 young people apprehended over the past five years, 76% or 2582 people were Indigenous (see figure 2.3).

There have been continual increases in the number of Indigenous youth apprehended across this period. There were relatively small variations in the total numbers of non Indigenous youth being arrested.

Figure 2.3 Distinct youth apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status

Source: NT Department of Justice

Male and female offenders

A large majority (81%) of apprehended youth were male (see figure 2.4).

Further analysis undertaken by the AIC has shown that young females are relatively more likely than young males to be apprehended for acts intended to cause injury, and traffic and motor vehicle offences. Young males are more likely to be apprehended for the property offences of unlawful entry with intent and theft, as well as property damage.
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Figure 2.4 Youth apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by gender

Source: NT Department of Justice

Indigenous and non Indigenous youth offenders by age group

The main age group for offenders is Indigenous youth aged 15 to 16 years, who accounted for 42%, or a total of 1446 of young people apprehended over the past five years (see figure 2.5). Indigenous people aged 17 years accounted for 34% of apprehended youth, while Indigenous offenders aged 10 to 14 years made up the remaining 23%.

Figure 2.5 Distinct youth apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by age

Source: NT Department of Justice

Younger Indigenous children are more likely to offend than non Indigenous children in the 10 to 14 year age group (see figure 2.6). Conversely, in the 17 year age group, non Indigenous youth are more likely than Indigenous youth to be apprehended.
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Figure 2.6 Distinct youth apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status and age

Source: NT Department of Justice

Young people in the courts

The AIC analysed data provided by the Department of Justice (DoJ) on court lodgements and methods of finalisations of court matters involving young people from 2006–07 to 2010–11.

A court lodgement is where one or more criminal charges are lodged with the court for prosecution, while a court finalisation is the method by which the court case is finalised such as withdrawal of charges, acquittal or conviction.

Court lodgements involving young people

There has been a general upward trend over the past five years for court lodgements involving young people, with a particularly large increase in 2008–09 (see figure 2.7).

This upward trend is similar to the trend evident in policing data and indicates that the increase in youth offences encountered by police in recent years did not relate to minor offences, since they warranted prosecution through the courts.

The trend of an increasing number of youth matters heard by the courts is consistent with trends in other Australian jurisdictions. From 2006–07 to 2010–11, the Territory was one of four jurisdictions that had increases in the number of defendants finalised in children’s courts.14

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14 ABS, Criminal Courts, Australia, 4513.0 (2010) Canberra. Of the four jurisdictions exhibiting increases in the number of juvenile cases finalised, Queensland held the largest percentage increases, which were several times higher than the other jurisdictions.
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NT Legal Aid Commission (NTLAC) data also supports this trend. The number of client case files for young people opened by NTLAC rose from 122 in 2007–08 to 188 in 2010–11.15

Figure 2.7 Lodgements, NT criminal courts, juvenile defendants 2006–07 to 2010–11

![Graph showing trends in court lodgements](source: NT Department of Justice)

Regional and remote court lodgements

Between 2006 and 2011, the majority (85%) of children's court lodgements were in the major court locations of Alice Springs, Darwin, Katherine and Tennant Creek. During this period:

- 45% of all lodgements were in Darwin
- 28% were in Alice Springs
- 7% were in Katherine
- 5% were in Tennant Creek.

The remaining 15% of children's court lodgements were spread across 26 locations.

The types of offences committed across the Territory by young people are shown in Figure 2.8:

- Unlawful entry with intent, burglary, and break and enter crimes accounted for 28% of lodgements, though this varied between locations.
- Unlawful entry accounted for 22% of lodgements in Darwin, 29% in Katherine, 32% in Alice Springs and 43% in Tennant Creek.
- Acts intended to cause injury, theft and related offences, and traffic and vehicle regulatory offences accounted for most of the remaining lodgements, both in the major and smaller court locations.

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15 NTLAC, submission 13, 8.
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Figure 2.8 Children’s court lodgements, 2006–11, by major court locations

Matters finalised by the courts

The number of cases dealing with young people that were finalised by Territory courts is shown in figure 2.9.

The number of total finalisations may include youth who have entered the criminal justice system more than once and provides an indication of the number of youth crimes being dealt with by the courts. The total number of juveniles shows the number of young people who had their matters finalised in the courts.

This information further supports the existence of an increasing trend in the numbers of matters being finalised where young people are involved, as well as the number of individual young offenders having their matters finalised by courts.

For example, the total number of young offenders having their offence finalised in the courts in 2006–07 was 442 and this number rose to 665 in 2010–11.
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Figure 2.9 Juvenile cases finalised in courts 2006–07 to 2010–11

![Bar graph showing total finalisations and total number of juveniles for 2006-2007 to 2010-2011](image)

Source: NT Department of Justice

Types of offences in the courts

The main offence categories, which together accounted for 89% of the 5694 court lodgements between 2006–07 and 2010–11, are shown in figure 2.10.

Unlawful entry with intent represented the largest number of court lodgements for young offenders, followed by traffic and vehicle offences and acts intended to cause injury.\(^{16}\)

Figure 2.10 Lodgements in criminal courts relating to juvenile defendants, by main offence types, 2006-07 to 2010–11

![Line graph showing various offence types](image)

Source: NT Department of Justice

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16 The noticeable increases in most categories from in 2007–08 or 2008–09 were most likely as a result of changes to police activity such as targeted operations, the increased policing presence resulting from the NTER and changes to data collection and recording.
Figure 2.11 shows the main offence types for juveniles who were found guilty in criminal courts from 2006–07 to 2010–11.

While the greatest number of court lodgements for young people was for unlawful entry with intent, and break and enter offences, the greatest number of defendants found guilty had committed traffic and motor vehicle offences.

The number of traffic and vehicle convictions increased by nearly 100% from 2006–07 to 2009–10. There was also an increase in unlawful entry with intent convictions in 2010–11.

The number of juveniles found guilty of acts intended to cause injury has remained largely stable.

*Figure 2.11 Juvenile defendants found guilty in criminal courts by main offence types 2006-07 to 2010–11*

Source: NT Department of Justice
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Indigenous and non Indigenous trends

Indigenous offenders are much more likely to receive custody orders than non Indigenous offenders (see figure 2.12).

Figure 2.12 Custody orders made by criminal courts, juvenile defendants found guilty, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status

![Chart showing percentage of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous custody orders from 2006-07 to 2010-11]

Source: NT Department of Justice

The reasons Indigenous offenders are more likely to receive custody orders are linked to the seriousness of the offences they have committed and their prior offending history, with research showing that Indigenous offenders are more likely to commit their first offences at a younger age than non Indigenous offenders. The same research indicates that Indigenous offenders are more likely to have been charged multiple times.17

Data assessed by the AIC supports this research (see figure 2.13), showing that Indigenous juvenile offenders are much more likely to have been convicted of acts intended to cause injury than non Indigenous offenders.

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Figure 2.13 Acts intended to cause injury as a proportion of convictions, juvenile defendants found guilty in criminal courts 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status

Source: NT Department of Justice

Trends for vulnerable young people

In its statistical analysis for the Review, the AIC notes that, with the exception of Indigenous youth, there is limited data available for vulnerable groups of young Territorians identified in the terms of reference:18

• young people affected by alcohol or other drug abuse
• young people with mental health issues
• young women
• culturally diverse groups.

For example, an identifier for ‘mentally disturbed persons’ was included in NT Police (NTP) data systems from 2007–08. The data records only small numbers of mentally disturbed young people coming into contact with police: 17 in 2007–08, 19 in 2008–09, and 11 in 2009–10.

Despite the lack of recorded data, it is acknowledged that young people with mental health issues are disproportionately likely to become involved with the criminal justice system19 and so it could reasonably be assumed that a much higher proportion of the young offender population in the Territory would have mental health issues than is indicated by the data.

18 AIC, above n 1.
19 For example, a NSW survey has shown that 88% of young people in custody reported symptoms consistent with a psychiatric disorder. See Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Indigenous Young People with Cognitive Disabilities and Australian Juvenile Justice Systems: A Report (2005) Australian Human Rights Commission.
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Similarly, existing data from NTP does not capture other persons at risk, such as those with alcohol and substance abuse issues. A total of 1921 incidents over a ten year period (2000-01 to 2010–11) were recorded involving the protective custody (being detained) of drunk youth, and 799 involvements were for ‘substance abuse—non alcohol’ out of approximately 157 000 involvements (1.2% and 0.5% respectively). Clearly, this information only captures a small proportion of alcohol and substance related crime.

Some information was able to be extracted from the Alcohol and Other Drugs Program (Department of Health) on young people referred through the Volatile Substance Abuse (VSA) program (see chapter 5). This data demonstrates that there was a small number of VSA referrals (639) between 2006 and 2011, of which 73% were male and 27% were female. The analysis also showed that females were generally younger when referred, with 45% of females referred to the program aged between 13 and 15 years.

There has been an increase in recent years in the number of young females apprehended, although the numbers are still very small compared to those for males. For example, in 2009–10, 155 females, compared to 642 males were apprehended. This compares with 91 females, and 496 males being apprehended in 2006–07.

The statistical analysis has shown some trends in the differences between young males and females in the youth justice system; however, there is little understanding of the behavioural drivers for such differences and this is an important area for future analysis.

The Review is unaware of data available to identify youth justice trends and issues for culturally diverse groups in the Territory.

The impact of youth justice trends on achieving *Territory 2030* and *Working Future*

**Territory 2030** and youth justice

At its broadest level, *Territory 2030* is a strategic overarching plan for achieving social inclusion and economic development in the Territory over a 20 year period. The strategy was developed in consultation with the public and encompasses six key areas of importance, underpinned by the first key area of education and also including society; economic sustainability; health and wellbeing; the environment; and knowledge, creativity and innovation. These key areas for action are interrelated.

*Territory 2030* is regularly measured and reviewed and data collection is central to monitoring its progress against identified targets.

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There are multiple targets in the strategy that relate to youth justice issues. Perhaps the most critical of these is Target 4.1, which seeks to ensure citizens feel safe from the risk of assault and property crime. Specifically, this target seeks to reduce the rate of assault, including domestic violence and property crime incrementally to the year 2030, as well as to develop a measure of community safety.\(^{21}\)

There are a number of other targets that, when progressed, will impact on the issues and emerging trends for youth justice in the Territory. These encompass school achievement and literacy, higher education and training (and particularly training in prisons), health and wellbeing of young people, early childhood development, reducing suicide rates, reduced alcohol consumption and drug prevention, Indigenous employment, social inclusion and improving road safety.

The achievement of the targets and actions under the strategy will deliver social benefits and flow-on effects across a range of areas impacting on young Territorians, and specifically youth justice.

Conversely, the trends identified in this Review relating to young people involved with the police or justice system will inevitably have a negative impact on the achievement of many of Territory 2030’s targets.

While overall numbers of young people in the youth justice system are relatively low, they are trending upwards and the types of offences progressively become more serious as the offender gets older. The generational effects of young Indigenous Territorians entering the criminal justice system earlier and the associated effects of this criminal activity on the individual, the family and the wider community will undoubtedly impact on government’s ability to achieve the long term social and economic goals of Territory 2030.

**Working Future and youth justice**

The *Working Future* framework\(^{22}\) seeks to transform 21 Indigenous communities into Territory Growth Towns that are properly planned and designed with targeted investment and infrastructure, with services, buildings and facilities commensurate with any other regional town in Australia. The framework is the Territory’s program for regional and remote development, carried out in conjunction with the National Partnership Agreement (NPA) for Remote Service Delivery (RSD), and the National Indigenous Reform Agreement under the auspices of the Council of Australian Governments (COAG). *Working Future* is part of the overarching Territory 2030 strategic plan.

The framework has adopted the nationally agreed COAG targets and indicators to close the gap of Indigenous disadvantage. These are underpinned by the seven building blocks of early childhood, schooling, health, healthy homes, economic participation, safe communities, and governance and leadership. While there is no specific youth indicator,

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there are measurements in the framework and links to national targets that will evaluate progress towards indicators relevant to youth justice issues. These include indicators such as community safety, education, health, housing, police and justice infrastructure, service delivery, and youth services in identified growth towns.23

The framework also includes targeted investment in community infrastructure for schools, police stations, courts, health services, community facilities, aged care, disability services, essential services, internet and transport.

The emerging trends for youth justice identified by this Review, and their implications for the achievement of the objectives of Working Future, could be jeopardised by a ‘business as usual’ approach to youth justice.

Such an approach would lead to a long term progression of the emerging trends in youth justice identified by this Review, such as a predominantly Indigenous offender profile for youth crime, increasing numbers of offenders and an increasingly younger age profile for Indigenous offenders. This will have a negative impact on the achievement of the joint Australian, Territory and local government, and community goals to enhance outcomes in Territory regional Growth Towns.

Data collection and limitations

To complement its consultative framework, the Review sought to obtain and analyse all relevant data about youth justice in the Territory. Throughout this process, however, it became clear that data collection itself was an issue, and a recommendation would be required to improve the collection of all necessary information relating to youth offending. A relevant and accurate evidence base is an essential component of decision making, and forms the platform upon which government determines strategies, programs, policies and funding allocations. Evidence based decision making is critical where results must be accountable and withstand public evaluation.

Precise information and data was also necessary for the Review to address, and at times challenge, the widely held belief by many members of the public about what they perceive as increasing rates of youth crime. Perceptions of rising crime rates together with the public’s need to be and feel safe are important issues and cannot be dismissed. However, the Review sought to obtain and analyse the facts and provide government with sensible, evidence-based recommendations.

There is widespread recognition of the benefits of improved data collection for youth justice issues in the Territory:

Some of the challenges facing the NT, for example our high detention and remand rates, indicate we could benefit from detailed data collection across government and non-government services, research and evidence-based reform.24

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23 Ibid.
24 NTLAC, submission 13, 9.
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And:

The missing NT data from chapter 15 dealing with ‘Protection and support services’ in the 2010 and 2011 reports for the Commonwealth Government Productivity Commission illustrates the need to collect relevant data. Very little is known in relation to the work and impact of non-government/community services providing essential support services to children and youth and to government.25

The Review determined that it was important to obtain as much information as possible about offenders, the seriousness of their offending, whether they are repeat offenders, their age and gender, and the regional breakdowns of youth crime. With this and other information, conclusions could be drawn to support the Review’s recommendations.

Considerable difficulties were encountered in collecting current and accurate data, which is why the Review commissioned the AIC and provided it with the data it had collected to interpret. The report obtained from the AIC forms the statistical basis of this Report.26

Notwithstanding the robust analysis provided by the AIC, there were a number of limitations identified by the Review, as well as the AIC, in collating and interpreting existing data on youth justice in the Territory. Examples of these difficulties are outlined below, and specific difficulties in relation to vulnerable groups identified in the terms of reference are detailed earlier in this chapter.

Department of Justice (DoJ)

The Quarterly Crime and Justice Statistics (QCJS) publication was introduced in 2002 and was published by the former Office of Crime Prevention until 2007, when responsibility was transferred to Research and Statistics of the Policy Coordination Division.

Research and Statistics has experienced increased demand with limited resources over recent years. The unit is responsible for meeting the crime and justice research and statistical reporting needs of DoJ and produces regularly scheduled and ad hoc statistical reports on a broad range of crime, justice and alcohol related matters. The sources from which this unit obtains information include the:

- Integrated Justice Information System (IJIS), which is used by police, courts and correctional services to track movements of all persons (including youth) through the criminal justice system
- Police Real-time Online Management Information System (PROMIS), which contains information pertaining to incidents recorded by NT Police (NTP)
- Banned Drinker Register, which contains information relating to alcohol bans
- Alcohol Wholesale Supply returns provided by alcohol wholesalers

26 AIC, above n 1.
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- Integrated Offender Management System (IOMS), which is operated by NT Correctional Services (NTCS)
- Australian Bureau of Statistics, which provides data on populations and crime and justice trends across Australia.

In early 2011, the Northern Territory Government determined that it would no longer publish the QCJS and would move instead to an annual publication, a reporting framework in line with that used by other jurisdictions.

In each edition of QCJS for almost a decade, the introduction stated ‘the availability of comprehensive crime and justice figures is necessary for informed public debate and the development and evaluation of targeted crime prevention strategies’.27

While reasonably comprehensive data was published, detailing the nature of offences (offences against the person and property offences) with a breakdown as to region, gender and race, there was no detailed separate dataset for youth crime. The only specific information included in the publication was the quarterly daily average number of detained youth offenders.

The Review requested Research and Statistics provide youth data in relation to bail, sentencing, community work orders, detention and family violence.

Issues experienced with obtaining this data included:
- The IOMS reporting system was not finalised at the time of the Review, limiting the retrieval of certain information within the required timeframes.
- Research and Statistics comprises a small number of staff. Over the period of the Review there were staff movements, as well as competing priorities for the unit, that limited its capacity to assist the Review team over the short timeframes dictated by the Review’s terms of reference.

Research and Statistics was not able to provide the Review with all the data requested, but did provide raw numerical data in relation to detention, community based orders, youth receptions, conditional liberty programs, types of offences committed by youth and youth on bail.

The Review also noted difficulties in extracting qualitative information from Research and Statistics, as a result of the systems used. The database from which the unit compiles its raw data is numerically based, which means that information requiring text fields, such as types of bail conditions, could not be provided.

In addition to the limited resources for data collection and evaluation in Research and Statistics, the Review noted that Northern Territory Correctional Services (NTCS) lacked capacity in this area.

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Information relating to the number of offenders under statutory care orders was not readily available from NTCS and had to be sourced from the Department of Children and Families (DCF) after a manual count. Similarly, monthly or annual average numbers of young offenders in correctional services had to be calculated manually.

The Court Support and Independent Offices (CSIO) is a division of DoJ responsible for providing support services to the Territory’s courts and other independent offices. It was able to provide some data relating to lodgements by principal offence for youth matters, number of youth matters finalised in the courts, and lodgements for youth matters in various court locations. This was similar to the data provided by Research and Statistics in relation to the types of offences committed by youth. However, the usefulness of this information was limited because it was not easily accessible, and it was unclear if the data was provided in a format comparable to other areas of government, or nationally.

Obtaining information about how many offenders are repeat offenders was also difficult. Measuring recidivism (or repeat offending) for either juvenile or adult offenders is problematic. The AIC recently prepared a report on this issue, which recommends improved measurement of juvenile recidivism, including:

- measuring recidivism through individual offenders, rather than offences, orders, convictions or sentences
- tracking juveniles into the adult criminal justice system
- excluding minor offences and administrative breaches from the measure
- incorporating frequency and severity of the offence into the measure.

The AIC has noted that mechanisms for measuring recidivism vary between jurisdictions, depending on the type and quality of data collected, and there is a much greater capacity to measure recidivism accurately and meaningfully when data is linked between different areas of the criminal justice system in a way that allows unique individuals to be tracked.

Some evidence on recidivism rates was provided by Northern Territory Police (NTP), linking recidivism with participation in youth justice conferences (see chapter 5); however, this information was program specific. CSIO advises systems are in place to track youth recidivism in the courts, though currently this information is not routinely collated or reported. The Review was unable to access this information in the limited timeframes available.

The Review is not aware of a central database or mechanism for tracking recidivists across the various streams of the criminal justice system in the Territory. This should be improved.

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29 AIC, above n 1.
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Regional and remote reporting of youth offenders was another area of deficiency noted by the Review. While CSIO provides some information on lodgements in criminal courts in different locations, this information was limited in its usefulness by the very small numbers involved. Similarly, the Review identified information in relation to the detailed Baseline Mapping Reports prepared for regional growth towns under the Remote Service Delivery National Partnership Agreement, which includes a number of indicators for ‘safe communities’; however, these reports include little information on youth offending.30

Given the difficulties in extracting statistical trends for regional and remote youth offences, the Review considers that more meaningful information may be sourced through coordinated data on individuals tracked throughout the youth justice system, including in the non government sector, rather than from one specific area of government. This is consistent with the coordinated community driven approach outlined by the Working Future framework.

Department of Children and Families (DCF)

The Review invited DCF to provide advice on the number of children who were the subject of protective orders over the past five years and to identify in percentage terms those who had been in contact with the youth justice system. As outlined in chapter 4, the Chief Executive of DCF advised that ‘there is no readily accessible information regarding their interaction with the justice systems’. She also commented that, in order to extract the information, it would have to be done manually. This is an unsatisfactory situation.

It is also surprising that DoJ and DCF do not share common data. This represents an obvious barrier in delivering youth justice services and achieving better outcomes.

Territory 2030

Territory 2030 acknowledges the importance of data collection in several areas, particularly health.31 Although the lack of young offender data does not ‘adversely affect the achievement of Territory 2030’,32 it does limit the ability of government to respond to issues and trends involving young offenders. In the context of the targets and actions in Territory 2030 regarding ‘public safety’33 and reducing property crime, much of which is committed by young offenders, it also restricts policy formulation and the development of crime prevention strategies. Hence, a recommendation for improved data collection for youth justice issues is made in this report.

National data limitations and standards

In addition to problems with data collection, there is relatively little evidence and evaluation of specific programs designed to assist offenders and reduce re-offending. This is not,
however, unique to the Territory. Recent research by the Indigenous Justice Clearinghouse noted that, around the country ‘there is a lack of high-quality evidence about what works to prevent offending by Indigenous juveniles’.34

Most jurisdictions encounter their own limitations, and resources are an ongoing consideration for all governments. Comparative data is also difficult, as the type and range of data available varies significantly both across and within jurisdictions. For example, there are differences in categories and classifications, and different counting rules.

The ABS has developed the National Crime Recording Standard to enable recorded crime statistics to be compared across jurisdictions; however, it only applies to crimes that are reported to and recorded by the police. Further, data and records on individuals who come into contact with police are measured in different ways across jurisdictions.

Generally there are three measures of recorded crime:

1. Victims: ABS publishes nationally comparable statistics in its publication entitled *Recorded Crime—Victims, Australia*.35 However, ABS has some concern over the comparability of recorded assault offences.

2. Offenders: ABS publishes nationally comparable statistics in its publication entitled *Recorded Crime—Offenders*.36 This collection is sourced from administrative data from jurisdictions across Australia and so there are inconsistencies with how alleged offenders are dealt with, making it difficult to compare state and territory data. Further, this publication categorises youth offenders as aged between 10 and 19 which differs from the legal definition of youth in most jurisdictions, including where offenders aged between 10 and 18 are considered as youth.

3. Offence (frequency of criminal activities): There is nationally comparable data on recorded offences, although these are released in various forms of publications making the data difficult to access in one source.

The Australasian Juvenile Justice Administrators (AJJA) Juvenile Justice Standards are published jointly by Australian and New Zealand juvenile justice administrators.

Although the standards are currently under review, they recognise the need to provide ‘agreed standard for practice to be delivered by juvenile justice administrators. They are the agreed set of standards juvenile justice service agencies aspire to meet’.37 Standard two in particular recognises the need to ‘provide professional, timely, evidence based advice to courts, statutory authorities and other stakeholders’.38

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38 Ibid.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

The Juvenile Justice National Minimum Dataset is a national data collection centre under the auspices of the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, established in 2004. It contains information on all young people from 2000–01 who were supervised by Australian juvenile justice agencies, both in the community and in detention.

Relevant data specific to the Territory’s youth justice needs would assist to identify the complexity of individual, community and regional motivations and behaviours for youth justice trends, counter historical data gaps and develop a comprehensive Territory-specific body of research to establish longitudinal and regional comparisons.

While the Review notes that the establishment of national and intra-jurisdictional data standards is an ongoing policy reform agenda, comprising various intergovernmental working groups and advisory bodies, there is more that the Northern Territory Government can do to expedite its participation in this reform agenda and, importantly, to get its own house in order.

There is an opportunity to incorporate data collection and reporting between government agencies, as well as youth service providers, to ensure a coordinated approach for individual young Territorians in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

PART B

A snapshot of issues

A range of issues arose throughout this Review that were beyond the scope of the terms of reference. However, a snapshot of some of these issues is provided in this part of this chapter. It is important to note that this merely represents a snapshot of issues and not a detailed analysis. Issues include the causes of youth crime, regional and remote issues, challenges facing the non-government sector, gender and cultural issues, mental health and alcohol and other drug concerns, and an introduction to the various cultural issues impacting on young people.

Causes of youth crime

Young people engage in criminal activity and antisocial behaviour for many reasons, including family issues, boredom, substance abuse and mental health issues. The underlying motivators for youth crime are however complex, linked to the young person’s development, and vary between males and females.

Young offenders typically commit minor breaches of the law that may be described as ‘nuisance’ crimes, such as vandalism, shoplifting and graffiti. It is less common to see young offenders charged with serious offences such as murder, sexual assault, fraud, drug offences and acts intended to cause injury.

Young offenders are more likely to commit offences that are opportunistic, attention seeking and risky are often apprehended in groups and often commit offences that occur in public places. By comparison, adult offending is often planned, hidden from public view and is driven by a particular intent.

Causes of youth crime are difficult to define; however, there is general agreement regarding the factors that increase susceptibility to criminal or antisocial behaviour in youth:

- disconnection from education
- poor parenting environment (such as family violence or substance misuse)
- abuse or neglect (this is particularly the case for young women)
- negative peer influence

41 Ibid.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

- economic and social disadvantage (such as family or community experiencing long term unemployment and a lack of social supports)
- gender (young men are far more likely to commit offences than young women).42

Most young offenders differ from adult offenders psychologically, sociologically and biologically.43 Many young people engage in antisocial, experimental or risk taking behaviour at a time when they have not yet learned to control their responses, regulate their emotions or calibrate risk in the same way as adults This period of development has been likened to 'starting an engine without yet having a skilled driver behind the wheel'.44

The proportion of adolescents who make contact with the criminal justice system is low. Of the estimated 53 100 young people residing in the Territory45 during 2010–11:

- 639 were apprehended by police
- 1192 youth matters were lodged in the courts
- 39 were in juvenile detention on any given day.

However, as outlined earlier in this chapter, there are some increasing trends.

Regional and remote issues

Geography and population in remote and regional areas

The Territory covers a large area, comprising around 18% of Australia’s land mass and encompassing a spectrum of wet–dry tropics, savannas and desert environments. It is characterised by large geographic distances between sparsely populated regional and remote communities. Darwin and Alice Springs are where the bulk of the population resides, and are where the most youth crime is recorded.

While numbers are relatively small, Indigenous people constitute about 30% of the total population. According to the 2006 Census almost 32% of Indigenous people resided in major cities; 21% lived in inner regional areas; 22% in outer regional areas; 10% in remote areas and 16% in very remote areas.46 By contrast, non Indigenous Territorians resided mainly in major cities (69%) with less than 2% living in remote and very remote areas.47

43 Richards, above n 39.
45 ABS, Population by Age and Sex, Regions of Australia, 3235.0 (2010) Canberra. Note this data refers to the most recently available population projections for young persons aged under 15 in the NT, as at 30 June 2010
47 Ibid.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Geographic and population issues make delivery of services and responses to young people who are in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system very difficult. However, the *Working Future* framework seeks to improve the lives of Territorians living in remote areas by working together to make towns and communities better places to live.48

While there is no part of the framework that is specifically designed for young people, the issues for young people intersect all areas.

Non government organisations

The non government sector is a critical network in the delivery of services in the Territory’s youth justice system. Non government organisations (NGOs) are funded by the Australian, Territory and local governments and deliver specialised services on behalf of government including early intervention, prevention and therapeutic programs.

NGOs have the capacity to respond quickly to their clients, identify and address issues and deliver tailored programs. They are flexible and accessible to young people.

Across the Territory NGOs provide critical services to young people in a variety of areas, such as:

- accommodation assistance (e.g. finding accommodation options and supported accommodation)
- employment
- education and training
- legal advice
- life skills
- parenting education and assistance
- physical and mental health assessment
- alcohol and other drug education
- police diversion.

The following summarises the major issues that impact on the youth service delivery sector in regional and remote areas.

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Workforce issues

NGOs struggle to compete with the government sector in attracting, retaining and remunerating youth sector workers.

There is an imbalance in terms of salary and work conditions for those in the NGO sector compared to the government sector. Northern Territory Government employees are employed under the Public Sector Employment and Management Act and other conditions as determined by the Commissioner for Public Employment. The majority of NGO sector employees are engaged according to the conditions administered by the Social, Community, Home Care and Disability Services Industry Award, which is a federal award.

Work in the youth sector is highly specialised and undertaken by a passionate and committed workforce that is vulnerable to issues such as maintaining physical and mental capacity for extended periods in high pressure environments.

Issues that were frequently raised throughout the Review by the NGO sector focused on the capacity to attract and retain skilled youth workers who can commit to an organisation for the medium to long term. The transient nature of the workforce makes establishing and maintaining meaningful long term relationships with young people more difficult. This is a significant challenge; however, work underway by the Department of the Chief Minister’s Social Policy Unit seeks to address workforce attraction and retention issues in the NGO sector and create a level playing field between the conditions for government and non government social service workers.

Management and frontline youth sector workers identified a lack of qualified Indigenous liaison officers and youth workers with the capacity to specifically connect with young Indigenous people and their families. The involvement of more Indigenous employees with an understanding of culture and family structures would significantly contribute to the development and strengthening of support networks and workforce capability in the NGO sector.

Information sharing and collaboration

The sharing of information between government agencies was an issue that arose during consultations as well as in several submissions. The challenges are discussed throughout this report.

During the consultations, many youth sector workers also expressed concern at the lack of communication between government and NGOs. It is difficult for an appropriate combination of programs to provide a ‘wrap around service’, or intensive, individualised care for youth with serious and complex needs, if there are barriers to the sharing of information. The need for government agencies and NGOs to work together is paramount, and the slow or uncoordinated sharing of information between the sectors is a concern noted by the Review.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Program funding

NGOs are restricted by program funding cycles and often short term timeframes for long term issues.

Program funding was a consistent concern raised during the consultations. Areas of concern included:

• applying for grant funding
• amount of money available
• timeframes
• program funding criteria.

NGOs commented that the time consuming process of developing a funding application and other administrative procedures, such as funding acquittals, were a barrier to service delivery and achieving outcomes for young people. Program evaluation was also limited due to the administrative burdens experienced.

Another concern raised by NGOs was program continuity. NGOs commented that often a specific youth focused program would be funded, successfully run for a limited period of time and then not re-funded or subject to an evaluation process. This means that, at times, beneficial programs generating positive outcomes would not receive ongoing funding.

This is an issue about which the former Territory Coordinator General for Remote Services Delivery wrote: ‘if all of that money and expertise was pooled and managed more strategically toward implementing a coherent and effective plan, then some decent outcomes may emerge’.49

It should be noted, however, that there are instances where government is unable to release funds for longer periods of time. An example of this is the Community Benefit Fund which is funding from gambling revenue. The total amount of available funds varies from year to year.

Program replication and service delivery gaps

The Review was advised that many separately funded organisations compete with each other to deliver similar youth services within the same market space and in the context of a limited funding pool. For example, both the Northern Territory and the Federal governments fund Tangentyere Council and Congress to deliver a youth night patrol in the central business district in Alice Springs alongside the DCF Youth Outreach Service. The Review was advised that this type of replication of services is not isolated to one area.

CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

At the same time, some NGOs noted that there is no mechanism to replicate successful programs from one community or region to another.

The Territory has a range of services directed specifically at the youth sector. While the Review was advised that many services are replicated within a region by several providers, there are obvious gaps in the provision of other services. The Youth Justice Act (YJA) refers to a number of potential youth services, not all of which are currently in use in the Territory. Pre sentence conferencing is one example, along with bail programs and established community services programs. The need for expanded youth programs is discussed throughout this report.

A coordinated approach to service delivery, more targeted allocation of funding and program evaluation are essential if better results are to be achieved.

While the Review acknowledges the important role Working Future will play in bringing together a coordinated approach to service delivery in identified Growth Towns, there is also a broader issue of strategically aligning NGO services and funding with the government priorities.

The cycle of applying for funding, the need to retain a skilled workforce and strong competition within a small, geographically isolated and dispersed market make the delivery of youth services, particularly in regional and remote areas, difficult.

Many NGOs consulted advised of what they believed is a fragmented approach in the provision of funding and delivery of services.

Gender and cultural issues

Gender issues

While young men comprise most of the offenders in the system, over the past five years the number of young women entering the Territory’s youth justice system has generally trended upward.

This increase is not unique to the Territory: nationally incarceration rates for young women have increased more rapidly than for young men. The increase in imprisonment of Indigenous women has been much greater over the period compared with non Indigenous women. The national Indigenous female imprisonment rate has increased by 34% between 2002 and 2006 while the imprisonment rate for Indigenous men has increased by 22%.

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50 NTCOSS, submission 19, 7.
51 AIC, above n 1.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Indigenous women are also 23 times more likely to be imprisoned than non-Indigenous women, while Indigenous men are 16 times more likely to be imprisoned than non-Indigenous men.54

One of the drivers for an increasing number of young females in the youth justice system is related to their victimisation. Citing the Australian Human Rights Commission, the Office of Women’s Policy (OWP) advises that ‘Aboriginal girls are six times more likely than non-Aboriginal girls to be the victim of substantial abuse or neglect and more likely to be a victim of violence’.55

In the same submission, OWP notes that young women are more likely to experience gender-based violence, experience harassment and be the victims of sexual violence, and:

There is now significant research establishing links between female adult offenders having experienced sexual violence and abuse while young, leading to untreated post-traumatic stress, substance misuse, homelessness, poverty and their eventual pathway into the justice system[s].56

A number of people in remote communities advised the Review of an increase in the level of violence in which adolescent girls participate. Online social networking mediums, such as Divas Chat (also known as ‘Diva Chat’), were suggested as a driver of this increasing violence.

Divas Chat is a popular social networking medium used by young girls in remote communities to communicate, gossip and share interesting news. It is often used in negative ways that causing jealousy and, on occasion, form the basis for bullying and ongoing hostilities. Divas Chat operates in real time. Idle gossip often escalates, resulting in violence and involving other family members and the wider community. This was a significant issue during the consultations in remote Indigenous communities.

Young women also face unique needs as young mothers. Teenage births are more common among Indigenous women than among other women. For example, in 2006, the teenage birth rate among Indigenous women rose to be more than five times the overall Australian teenage birth rate.57

Girls and young women should be recognised as a vulnerable target group when considering youth justice issues and policy formulation, to ensure their numbers in the criminal justice system do not reach parity with those of young males.

It is also important to recognise and address particular issues relating to male offenders, given the overwhelming predominance of this group in the youth justice system. The Review acknowledges that further exploration of gender-based drivers for both male and female youth offenders is warranted.

54 Ibid, 129.
55 DCF submission 5(b), 4.
56 Ibid.
CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

Cultural issues

Language and cross cultural barriers are experienced by many young people, particularly young Indigenous Territorians negotiating the criminal justice system. Of the total number of 3386 young people apprehended between 2006–07 and 2010–11, 76%, or 2582 of the youth were Indigenous.58

National and international research shows that there will be better outcomes for Indigenous people when their communities and leaders have succeeded in taking steps to ‘preserve their heritage culture, and ... control their own destinies’.59 Many submissions to the Review supported this. For example, the NAAJA and AMSANT submissions identified cultural reconnection and healing programs as an important way of assisting Indigenous youth. They also suggested that mental health and healing programs will be most effective when they work to reconnect young Indigenous people with their cultural identity.60

Cultural issues for all young people are an important factor in understanding and addressing youth crime in the Territory. Culturally appropriate systems and processes embedded in the youth justice system will ultimately lead to better outcomes for young people.

Mental health and alcohol and other drugs

Nationally, suicide is the leading cause of death of young people (aged 15 to 24 years)61 and young people are the least likely demographic to seek professional help for a mental health problem.62

There is prevalence of alcohol and other drug issues affecting young people; however, exact numbers, with the exception of referrals to the VSA program delivered by the Department of Health could not be obtained.

Evidence from other jurisdictions and anecdotal evidence presented to the Review suggests there are many young people in the criminal justice system with substance abuse issues, such as alcohol, illegal drugs and volatile substances, and these problems are increasing. The Review was advised that many of these young people have never received any form of structured treatment or rehabilitation for substance misuse.63

The connections between substance abuse and mental health issues are well known. Concerns were raised during the consultations about a lack of services and supports available, and these are discussed further in chapter 8.

58 AIC, above n 1.
60 NAAJA, submission 2, 77.
61 CAYJ, submission 20, 24.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid, 23.
Public perceptions

Despite the relatively low numbers of young offenders and the relatively low level nature of their offending, public perceptions are somewhat different.

The types of offences that young people commit are often highly visible, in and around regional and remote communities, as well as in the suburbs of Darwin and Alice Springs. The public nature of offences such as graffiti, vandalism and property offences tend to instil a sense of unrest in the public, and victims become understandably angry and frustrated.

Often, young people’s behaviour can be antisocial (ranging ‘from minor offensive or harmful acts to more serious criminal activity’), which can ‘have a negative impact on public perceptions of safety and people’s quality of life’. Young people’s behaviours can also be very frightening.

This may explain why, over the years, there have been calls from some sections of the community and politicians for the imposition of curfews. Apart from the courts already having the power to impose curfews, the Review finds no evidence that curfews are effective in reducing crime.

For many years, Australian and international research has consistently shown that there is a difference, and often a significant difference, between an actual crime rate in a town or community and the perceived crime rate.

Media coverage plays a key role in defining how the public perceives the seriousness of youth crime: a perceived or actual ‘youth crime spree’ attracts varying degrees of print and television media attention, and is often reported as ‘youth gangs on the loose’, or claims that youth crime is ‘spiralling out of control’. To compound the problem, rates of crime can be exaggerated by sections of the public, the media and politicians for a variety of reasons.

A representative from the Youth Minister’s Round Table of Young Territorians gave evidence to the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family, Community, Housing and Youth in 2010, and said:

Good news stories involving young people are underrepresented or not reported and negative stories are often sensationalised. The youth round table also felt that the media neglects the underlying causes of violence in its reporting and that such coverage provides notoriety for violent youth, who welcome the situation.

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65 Ibid.

66 Bail Act, sections 27 and 28; see also Youth Justice Act, section 83


CHAPTER 2: TRENDS AND ISSUES

There is little this Review or others can do to influence media coverage of young people or crime. However, increasingly sensationalist media coverage and headlines are unlikely to assist in finding solutions or supporting those who work with young people.

While academics and researchers urge policy makers to exercise additional care when ‘framing important law enforcement decisions taken against the background of the public’s potential misperceptions of crime’, the dilemmas political leaders face when making these decisions cannot be underestimated. Being seen not to respond in appropriate ways to public concerns can be a dangerous political path to tread, particularly in the Territory.

The 2011 Report on Government Services found that Territorians feel less safe in their homes during the day, less safe at home alone at night and less safe walking or jogging locally than other Australians. They also consider physical assault in a public place to be a ‘major problem’ or ‘somewhat of a problem’, which are significantly higher concerns than felt by other Australians.

It is unknown to what extent these concerns and perceptions of safety are directed at young people; however, it illustrates how keenly Territorians perceive a lack of public safety in their local area.

This Review does not seek to downplay youth crime in the Territory. The facts are that it is increasing and there are some worrying trends, and decision makers and the wider public ought to be concerned.

Offences committed by young males outweigh those committed by females and are steadily increasing, although offences by young females are also increasing in numbers. Crime is being committed by increasingly younger children—Indigenous offences committed by the youngest (10 to 14 year) age group have increased over the past five years. A greater number of offenders live in the suburbs than in remote areas. The types of offending, although they generally can be described as ‘low level’ in nature, are tending to become more serious as the young offender moves through the justice system.

Political leaders need to address youth crime strategically and comprehensively in order to directly reduce levels of offending and re-offending, and deal with young offenders effectively. Innovative solutions are required, the effects of which are unlikely to be capable of evaluation in the short to medium term. This requires a level of political courage because it involves challenging public perceptions about the nature and extent of youth crime, and why some approaches and interventions are better than others.

The Chair believes that, if Territorians are provided with reasonable, evidence-based crime prevention measures that specifically target youth offending and re-offending, they are likely to be supportive of them—it is in their interests to do so.

69 Davies and Dossetor, above n 67, 6 and 48.
Part 2: Evaluation of the impact of existing legislation, policy and practice

Introduction
Chapter 3: Youth Justice Court
Chapter 4: Department of Children and Families
Chapter 5: Northern Territory Police
Chapter 6: Department of Justice
Chapter 7: Department of Education and Training
Chapter 8: Department of Health
PART 2: EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF EXISTING LEGISLATION, POLICY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

Government departments across Australia underpin the majority of services and responses provided in the youth justice system. This is through direct service delivery such as policing and indirect service delivery such as a non government organisation that delivers services on behalf of government. This is also the case for the delivery of the continuum of services to the youth justice system in the Northern Territory.

This Review is titled the ‘Youth Justice System Review, the ‘system’ encompasses a ’continuum of services and responses from preventative, policing, pre court, correctional services and post release’.1

The key departments, and therefore ministerial portfolios, that currently support (and have traditionally supported) the youth justice system in the Territory are the departments of:

- Children and Families (DCF)
- Northern Territory Police (NTP)
- Justice (DoJ)
- Education and Training (DET)
- Health (DoH).

The services provided by the above departments, either directly or indirectly, include:

- policy advice on preventative and early intervention measures
- administration of program and initiative provision
- front line services
- pre court services, such as diversion
- support services and a legislative framework for Territory courts
- correctional services
- post release services.

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The following priorities were established by the Review to best respond to the terms of reference within the allocated timeframe and, most importantly, to identify opportunities to reduce youth offending and re-offending and to contribute to the creation of safer communities:

- provide a narrative of each department’s relevant functions
- identify and examine existing legislative, policy and practices and their application to each department
- evaluate whether, and to what extent, each department was meeting its stated aims and functions within the legislative, policy and practice framework
- recognise, understand and evaluate the challenges faced by the youth justice workforce so as to identify options to develop and enhance the government sector
- consider ways in which the ability of departments can be enhanced to assist in the continuum of services, to be included in Part 3.

In response to the terms of reference, the Review has examined and evaluated current service provision, associated relevant legislation, how services are delivered and the workforce that underpins the youth justice system. Greater detail is provided in relation to each department in the following chapters.

The Territory is not unique in facing the challenges of its youth justice system. However, it does have a unique geographical and demographic profile and finite resources, and this has been considered throughout the development of the Review’s recommendations.
Chapter 3: Youth Justice Court

Introduction
Court orders
Remand and sentencing
Some solutions
Court options and issues
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Introduction

The Review received detailed and thoughtful submissions regarding the operation of the Youth Justice Act (YJA) and the Youth Justice Court.

A number of recommendations made in the submissions were not directly relevant to the terms of reference, although they are relevant to many aspects of the youth justice system. They will be a useful resource for government in its ongoing efforts to improve the youth justice system.

The Review has limited its response to the terms of reference and to matters about which it could comment based on available research and trends.

Court orders

The types of orders made by courts for juveniles are shown in figure 3.1. The Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) found that the use of fines increased steadily from 2006–07 to 2009–10 but dropped in 2010–11. The number of juveniles receiving custodial sentences remained largely stable.¹

In 2009–10, the proportion of juvenile defendants in the Territory receiving a custodial order (18%) was the highest in Australia, ahead of Tasmania (16%) and New South Wales (15%), while the lowest proportion (5%) was in Queensland.²

Figure 3.1 Orders made by criminal courts, juvenile defendants found guilty, 2006–07 to 2010–11

Source: NT Department of Justice

² ABS, Criminal courts, Australia, 4513.0 (2011) Canberra.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Remand and sentencing

The YJA sets out how police, lawyers, magistrates, detention centre and community corrections staff conduct proceedings in relation to young offenders. It also states that young offenders ‘should only be kept in custody for an offence (whether on arrest, in remand or under sentence) as a last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time.”

Data assessed by the AIC shows that the number of juveniles in detention on remand in the Territory is consistently higher than the number of juveniles serving a sentence, as shown in figures 3.2 and 3.3 below. There are many reasons why this is, including an inability to meet bail conditions, which is a significant factor.

Figure 3.2 Juveniles in detention, 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2011, daily average number by legal status

![Graph showing juveniles in detention by legal status]

Source: NT Department of Justice

Figure 3.3 Juvenile detention receptions, 2005–06 to 2009–10, by legal status

![Graph showing juvenile detention receptions by legal status]

Source: NT Department of Justice

3 Youth Justice Act, section 4(c).

4 AIC, above n 1.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

The recently released Doing Time—Time for Doing report notes:

One of the biggest growth rates in relation to detention for Indigenous juveniles is in remand. These are not children who have actually been convicted of anything but, because they are unable to meet bail conditions, often because they do not have functional homes to go to, they either breach their bail or do not get bail in the first place.5

And ‘the single biggest factor in being unable to comply with bail conditions is the lack of appropriate accommodation available to young offenders whilst they are awaiting sentencing.’6

These comments were made in relation to NSW; however, they are equally applicable to the Territory.7

The Youth Magistrate advised that often she could not be satisfied there were sufficient supports and programs available for young offenders and, as a result, they would be refused bail.

Lack of suitable accommodation, inadequate parental or adult supervision, an inability to locate a responsible adult,8 lack of access to appropriate education and training opportunities, drug and alcohol dependence, and health concerns were among the reasons cited for young offenders being refused bail and held in detention facilities.

The Department of Children and Families (DCF) in its submission to this Review states that:

‘in some cases, involvement in both systems [child protection and the Youth Justice Court] results in clients being referred from one system to another, and for detention to be considered as a temporary ‘safe place’’.9

This makes sense, as many of these children are the subject of orders because their home environment is unsuitable. It is also consistent with experiences in other jurisdictions.10

As stated in the joint submission from the Aboriginal Legal Services and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services to the Standing Committee’s Doing Time—Time for Doing report:

6 Ibid.
7 See CAALAS, submission 17, 18.
8 NAAJA, submission 2, 46.
9 DCF, submission 5, 14.
10 See, for example: New South Wales, Parliamentary Debates, Committee Hansard, 28 January 2011, 10 (Joan Baptie, Magistrate, Children’s Court of New South Wales), cited in Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, House of Representatives, above n 5, 224.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

detention is a criminal sanction: not a ‘placement’ for children in need of care … It is clear and predictable that young people at risk of entry to the criminal justice system will come from homes where it is unsafe for them to be. The need to provide accommodation, other than police cells or detention centres, is chronic.11

The Review was advised that while there are a range of sentencing options in the YJA, many of them were difficult, and at times impossible, to implement because of the lack of availability, particularly in remote settings. This particularly applies in respect of treatment and rehabilitation options.12

The lack of treatment and rehabilitation programs for young people is discussed further in chapter 8.

No data was available to the Review detailing how many young offenders are refused bail, or how many of those refused bail are first time offenders. However, concerns were raised during the consultations and in a number of submissions that young offenders are refused bail for what are described as welfare related concerns, rather than criminogenic concerns, such as seriousness of offending or community safety.

This is significant and means that, unless solutions are found to the ‘welfare’ related issues such as suitable accommodation, and until there are more treatment and rehabilitation options available, it is likely that young people will continue to be remanded. In turn, and based on the available research, this means that young offenders are likely to return to and remain in the youth justice system for longer.

A research paper recently published by the AIC examining the effects of custodial sentences on young people can be extrapolated and applied to remandees. It found that:

- Indigenous offenders are more likely to re-offend than non-Indigenous offenders after serving a custodial sentence.

- The younger the age of incarceration, the more likely it is that an offender will re-offend and enter the cycle of recidivism.13

A report commissioned into the New South Wales juvenile justice system in 2010 stated:

Research has found that time spent in remand is the most significant factor in increasing the likelihood of recidivism … Given the lack of evidence that detention acts as a deterrent, and its potential negative effects … custodial penalties ought to be used very sparingly with juvenile offenders.14

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11 Aboriginal Legal Services (NSW/ACT), NAAJA (NT), Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Service submission to the Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, Joint Submission: Inquiry into the high levels of involvement of Indigenous Juveniles and Young Adults in the Criminal Justice System (January 2010), 17–18, cited in Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, above n 5, 226.

12 Youth Justice Act, section 83(d).


CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

The cost of keeping a young person in custody is $592 per day.\textsuperscript{15} Given this significant cost, and evidence that suggests that being kept in detention tends to increase the likelihood of further interaction with the youth justice system, it is in the interests of government and the public to find alternatives and solutions that will reduce offending and re-offending, and effectively deal with young offenders.\textsuperscript{16}

Some young offenders are sentenced to periods of detention because their crimes require it and others are refused bail because they pose a risk to the community. However, based on consultations and submissions, many young offenders are put into juvenile detention centres on remand because nowhere else is safe for them, which, having regard to the available evidence, can increase their likelihood of remaining in the youth justice system. It also reduces their ability to avail themselves of the limited treatment and rehabilitation options that exist.

Some solutions

It is not within the remit of this Review to propose solutions to the myriad of issues that account for the well known problems such as poverty, homelessness and violence that confront many Indigenous children. The Review does, however, propose some solutions aimed at reducing the rate of offending among young people and limit their exposure to detention centres, where appropriate. Few solutions are easily achieved, let alone measurable, in the short to medium term. The interconnectedness of health, education and legal issues adds to the complexity of the challenges.

*Preventive, early intervention and post-release programs*

A range of programs (including bail and post release accommodation) is discussed throughout this report. For the reasons discussed, evaluations need to be undertaken of existing programs and additional resources are required in order to increase the capacity for others.

*Alternative detention orders*

The YJA provides that ‘alternative detention orders’ can be made by the court.\textsuperscript{17}

Alternative detention orders (commonly referred to as home detention orders) are orders where a youth must ‘reside or remain’ at a particular premises or place.\textsuperscript{18} The court must be satisfied suitable arrangements are available to reside at the nominated premises, that the premises is suitable and that the making of the order is not likely to inconvenience or put at risk others at the premises.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{15} The average daily cost of keeping a young person in a Territory detention facility in 2009–10 was $592: email from NTCS to the Youth Justice System Review, 15 August 2011.

\textsuperscript{16} Noetic Solutions, above n 14, 115; see also NAAJA, *submission* 2, 46 and CAALAS *submission* 17, 19.

\textsuperscript{17} *Youth Justice Act*, section 83(1)(j) and Part 6, Divisions 8 and 9.

\textsuperscript{18} *Youth Justice Act*, section 100.

\textsuperscript{19} *Youth Justice Act*, section 101(1).
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The court can order conditions such as the offender is ‘not to leave the premises or place’ except for reasons and at times prescribed by regulation or permitted by the Director of Correctional Services. The court can also order that the offender 'wear or have attached a monitoring device in accordance with the directions of the Director.

Northern Territory Correctional Services (NTCS) advises that only four home detention orders for young offenders have been made since July 2009, and no monitoring devices are currently available.

The Youth Magistrate and the North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA) advised that home detention was extremely difficult because the homes of many young offenders are inappropriate:

Most of our clients come from dysfunctional families, so much so it would be disastrous to compel them to home detention surrounded by that company ... Youth cannot access residential treatment options due to their age and/or lack of responsible adults.

The need for more creative options was noted in the recently released federal report Doing Time—Time for Doing: ‘the Committee strongly urges the Northern Territory Government to extend its alternative sentencing model to make it fully available to young Indigenous people in centres with high offending and incarceration rates.’

One solution is for young offenders to be sentenced or remanded to alternative detention centres, such as youth camps. Unless more youth rehabilitation camps or facilities are established (where young offenders could be held in detention) it is difficult to see how the numbers of young people in detention centres can be reduced in the short to medium term.

Locking up young people because there are no other options is profoundly sad. Unfortunately, many of the reasons for this, such as family violence and dysfunction, poverty and overcrowding in houses, are incapable of resolution in the short and medium term. That is why it is necessary for additional alternative facilities to be established. There are three youth rehabilitation camps in the Territory, and a recommendation is made in part 3 to increase them.

Supervised bail program

In its submission, NAAJA referred to a supervised bail program in Western Australia that:

 reduces the number of young people exposed to custody by providing specialist workers to young people, so that they need not be unnecessarily remanded in custody because responsible adults cannot be immediately found.

20 Youth Justice Act, section 102(1)(a).
21 Youth Justice Act, section 102(1)(b).
22 Email from NTCS to the Youth Justice Review, 30 August 2011.
23 Ibid. The contract to provide the devices has recently gone out to tender.
24 Email from NAAJA to the Youth Justice System Review, 30 August 2011.
25 Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, above n 5, 244
26 NAAJA, submission 2, 46.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Specialist workers are employed to help locate a responsible person to sign a bail undertaking, and can act as the responsible adult when no one else can be found.

This initiative could be trialled in the Territory and could be combined with the creation of court support workers, as discussed later in this report.

Approved programs

The YJA provides that the court may make an order for a young offender to participate in ‘a program approved by the minister’; however, there is no definition of what an ‘approved program’ might be. Ideally such programs would enable the young person to acquire skills, appropriate rehabilitation and treatment, education and personal development support.

The magistrates commented that:

It is not difficult to imagine the types of programs that could be approved under this section directed at addressing the youth’s criminogenic needs or making a contribution to the community. However, no programs to date have been approved.

The YJA should be amended to define ‘approved program’, with particular focus on meaningful skills based experiences that would enable a young offender to acquire skills, appropriate rehabilitation and treatment, education and personal development support.

Community work orders

The YJA provides that the court may make a community work order in ‘an approved project’ for up to 480 hours.

Community work orders (CWOs) are a form of community based order. CWOs are a sentencing option imposed by the court and are a way for a person who commits an offence to make amends to the community by performing work for organisations that is of benefit to the community.

Data analysed by the AIC on types of community based orders issued from 2005 to 2009 (see figure 3.4) shows the number of young people on CWOs has generally declined over the past five years.

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27 Youth Justice Act section 83(e). The Minister responsible is the Minister for Children and Families.
28 The magistrates, submission 16, 14.
29 Youth Justice Act, section 83(1)(h).
30 AIC, above n 1.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Figure 3.4 Juveniles on community based orders at 30 June, 2005 to 2011, by order type

Source: NT Department of Justice

NTCS advises that there are presently very few approved community work programs available for young offenders. There is widespread criticism that there are few available and that they do not positively engage the young offenders.

The magistrates state that:

Virtually no projects have been approved for community work orders for youths outside major metropolitan areas and those which have been approved appears [sic] to be unimaginative (such as cutting cloth to produce rags) and do not take advantage of the potential for youth’s [sic] to contribute to the community or to become engaged in the idea of work as a positive experience.\(^{31}\)

The court is able to order restitution up to $5000 or an order that an offender perform ‘service as compensation for an offence’.\(^{32}\) Monetary orders seem rarely to be made, presumably because of the lack of ability of many young offenders, or their families to pay. However, as a monetary value is attached to the performance of service (work) more ‘work orders’ could be made if programs existed.

A number of remote community based stakeholders observed the need for particular services in their local areas, such as motor mechanics. Tailoring CWO programs to the needs of individual communities would be beneficial.

The Youth Justice Advisory Council advised that some young offenders have been able to become employed because of the successful completion of a CWO, and the skills gained while completing the order.\(^{33}\)

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31 The magistrates, submission 16, 14.
32 Youth Justice Act, section 89.
33 Youth Justice Advisory Council, submission 15, 2.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

The Review is unaware of evidence that supports a direct link between CWOs and reductions in offending and re-offending. However, during the consultations, particularly those in remote areas, stakeholders were confident that CWOs were positive options that were underutilised, and a greater variety of work programs would assist young offenders and the communities in which they live.

The ongoing introduction of Local Implementation Plans in Territory Growth Towns should be broadened to consider CWO opportunities and more must be established.

Pre sentencing conference

When determining the appropriate sentence, the court can adjourn a matter so that a pre sentence conference occurs. A pre sentencing conference ‘may be with any of the victims of the offence the youth is charged with, community representatives, members of the youth’s family or any other persons as the court considers appropriate’.35

The Youth Magistrate advised the Review that pre sentencing conferences had the potential to be a useful tool and could assist the court and other interested parties to address the criminogenic needs of young offenders. It would also increase the likelihood of case plans being developed with the young person, the young person’s family and other support agencies.

The YJA is silent on what the aims and possible outcomes of such a conference might be.36

However, the Review was advised that there have only ever been three pre sentence conferences.37 Part of the reason for this is understood to be because there is:

no practice direction or legislative guidance in relation to who should request and organise these conferences, and how they should be conducted. It’s possible that this lack of clear direction has contributed to the under-use of conferencing.38

The three pre sentencing conferences that have taken place were convened by the Community Justice Centre (CJC). The CJC is established under the Community Justice Centre Act to ‘provide mediation services’—there is no provision for pre sentence conferences.

The magistrates comment that:

• It was not appropriate to conduct a pre sentence conference as a ‘mediation’.
• The court has no input into the conference.

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34 Youth Justice Act, section 84(1).
35 Youth Justice Act, section 84(2).
36 The magistrates, submission 16, 6.
37 Ibid.
38 NTLAC, submission 13, 25.
39 Community Justice Centre Act, section 8.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

• The nature of a mediation means that the proceedings are confidential; this is completely unacceptable for a sentencing court trying to determine the most appropriate outcome for a youth who has been found guilty of criminal behaviour.40

The Review agrees with the magistrates that there is a need to provide further legislative direction in respect of pre sentencing conferences, so that their anticipated potential can be realised. The YJA must set out the ‘purpose of the pre-sentencing conference, the purpose of the reporting mechanism and the consequences of participation in a conference’.41

Furthermore, while the court may direct that a conference be convened and appoint a person who is ‘appropriately qualified’,42 the Youth Magistrate advised that there was a lack of ‘appropriately qualified’ people who could conduct the conference. Further consideration of this problem is required in order for a solution to be found. It may be possible, for instance, to prescribe that a legal practitioner of five years post admission practice be an ‘appropriate person’.

Increased diversion options for driving offences

The majority of those with whom the Review consulted and from whom written submissions were received from the legal and non government organisation sectors were supportive of most provisions in the YJA. However, there was a degree of criticism that diversion can only be offered for certain types of offences.

Many offences are eligible for diversion, except for ‘serious offences’,43 some of which can include drink and drug driving offences, dangerous driving, driving while disqualified, driving unregistered and driving unlicensed.44 Traffic and motor vehicle offences are commonly committed by young offenders.

The AIC notes that traffic and vehicle offences account for a substantial proportion (15.4%) of total offences committed by youth in the Territory, which is consistent with youth offending trends across Australia. Data analysed by the AIC also shows that non Indigenous youth in the Territory are more likely than Indigenous youth to commit traffic and motor vehicle offences, as are females more likely than males (see figures 3.5, 3.6 and 3.7 below).45

Driving and traffic related matters have comprised approximately 30% of NAAJA’s youth client base since 2007.46

40 The magistrates, submission 16, 6.
41 Ibid.
42 Youth Justice Act, section 84(3).
43 Youth Justice Act, Part 3; contained in the Youth Justice Regulations, regulation 3.
44 Youth Justice Act, section 38(b) states that Part 5 (drink and drug driving) and Part 6 offences under the Traffic Act may not be diverted.
45 AIC, above n 1.
46 NAAJA, submission 2, 1.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

NAAJA has advised the Review that offences such as dangerous driving or driving at a dangerous speed are common first offences for young offenders, usually young men. However the inability to divert these offences often sees these males ‘springboard’ to future like offending, such as drive disqualified and drink driving.

Figure 3.5 Youth offences by category, 2006–07 to 2010–11

![Graph showing youth offences by category]

Source: NT Department of Justice

Figure 3.6 Traffic and motor vehicle regulatory offences as a proportion of convictions, juvenile defendants found guilty, criminal courts 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status

![Graph showing traffic and motor vehicle regulatory offences]

Source: NT Department of Justice

47 Ibid.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Figure 3.7 Offence categories, selected offences (proportion of total offences), 2006–07 to 2010–11, by gender

Northern Territory Police (NTP) advises that prior to the commencement of the YJA in 2006, 423 youth, of whom 80% were Indigenous, were diverted for the offence of driving unlicensed. Part of the diversion program included participation in a driver training and licensing program. NTP advises that:

If offenders were to again be eligible to be diverted, a driving program could include a drink driving focus, an additional positive outcome.\(^{48}\)

Northern Territory Legal Aid Commission (NTLAC) encouraged the Review to recommend changes so that young people who committed some first time offences would be eligible to be diverted, as it ‘could provide a critical intervention in terms of stopping them from returning to court. The key is providing a diversion opportunity that directly addresses their offending behavior.’\(^{49}\)

Some jurisdictions offer rehabilitative diversion programs specifically aimed at young offenders apprehended by police for driving offences. The benefits of such programs are that they target offences commonly committed by young offenders and provide a therapeutic response.

The magistrates state:

There are no diversion traffic offender programs or programs directed at assisting youth found guilty of traffic offences. Programs of this nature would be useful not only to ensure that young persons become properly licensed for example, but also to address public safety by providing education about use and driving. Not all youth have the advantage of parents who can assist them on the process to becoming a fully licensed driver.\(^{50}\)

\(^{48}\) NTP, submission 33, 2.

\(^{49}\) NTLAC, submission 13, 23.

\(^{50}\) The magistrates, submission 16, 11.
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Mission Australia operates a diversionary program in Tasmania called U-Turn. It is ‘underpinned by restorative justice principles, designed for young people aged 15-29 years with a history of motor theft or at risk of becoming involved in motor theft’.51

Young offenders repair vehicles that are then either returned or gifted to victims of youth crimes.52 No details were provided to the Review regarding outcomes; however, these types of programs are worthy of further consideration, particularly for young offenders in remote communities.

Currently, there are no driving programs funded as part of police diversion. The Review believes this situation should change in order to educate young people with the aim to reduce future offending.

There are obvious difficulties in delivering courses in many remote areas, such as lack of infrastructure and service providers. The opportunity exists, however, to incorporate motor vehicle and traffic education or diversionary programs in regional and remote parts of the Territory as part of Working Future. Such programs could be delivered through the coordinated service delivery model, to be carried out by Government Business Centres as part of Local Implementation Plans in the Territory Growth Towns.

Court options and issues

Keeping young offenders separate from adult offenders

As far as practicable, young people who appear before the court must be ‘kept apart’ from adult offenders,53 yet the arrangements in Darwin and Alice Springs (where the Youth Justice Courts hear most youth matters), are unsatisfactory.

In Darwin,54 there is no separate access for the court used for youth justice matters. The Review is advised that a submission is being prepared to remedy this and to obtain approval to have the project included in the capital works program; however, no timeframe for the work to be completed has been provided. The Review encourages government to fast track the work.

In Alice Springs,55 a separate area with a separate entrance to the courthouse building exists and is used to hear youth justice matters;56 however, there is no cell access to the court room in this area, so young remandees must be walked past adult prisoners to gain access to interview rooms and the court.

51 Mission Australia, submission 6, 22.
52 Ms Oliver SM, Youth Magistrate, consultation, Darwin, 31 May 2011.
53 Youth Justice Act, section 26. This is consistent with practices in other Australian jurisdictions, academic literature and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.
54 The Youth Justice Court sits two days a week in Darwin and otherwise as required.
55 The Youth Justice Court sits one day a week in Alice Springs and as otherwise as required.
56 It also hears domestic violence matters.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

The Review has been advised that in Alice Springs, the Youth Justice Court will be relocated to the recently completed SMART Court facility, presently under construction away from the existing courthouse. However, the SMART Court precinct is not youth specific, so similar problems may be experienced. It would be prudent to evaluate the operation of the Youth Justice Court at the new precinct after 12 months.

In regional towns and ‘bush courts’ separation of young offenders is not practicable and, at best, occurs when youth matters are listed at a particular time, followed or preceded by adult matters. Separation is only achievable by listing youth matters at a separate time and day, which is not always possible.

All remanded prisoners are housed in the police cells. The capacity to separate young offenders from the adult prisoner population depends entirely on the layout of the particular police station. Youth charged with more serious offences are likely to have their matters transferred to either Darwin or Alice Springs, as this is where the detention centres are located.

There is little that can be done by government to improve the situation in bush courts without a significant injection of expenditure. Given other needs in the youth justice system, infrastructure improvements in bush courts cannot be justified for this specific purpose. Nevertheless, the Review urges magistrates, court staff, police, and legal practitioners to do all they can to limit the exposure of young offenders to adult offenders.

Should the Youth Justice Court be a less formal court?

NAAJA and the Central Australian Legal Aid Service (CAALAS) in their submissions wrote about the effect a formal courtroom can have on some of their Indigenous clients.

In the Central Australian Youth Justice Court, young people continue to be referred to as Master or Miss, rather than by their first name. The Magistrate and all practitioners continue to use a higher register of language than can be easily understood and followed by the young people, and police prosecutors attend court dressed in their uniforms, as they would in the Court of Summary Jurisdiction. Young people are tried as mini-adults, rather than as a distinct and vulnerable group of people.57

Some youth justice courts in other jurisdictions dispense with a number of the formalities. Young offenders are referred to directly by name, the courtroom is set up in a less formal fashion (for example, all parties sit around one table rather than behind benches), and family or community elders are strongly encouraged to sit at the table and participate in proceedings.

The Review is not aware of any published studies that argue that less formal courts will reduce offending and re-offending. However, if young people have a greater chance of understanding the legal proceeding in which they are involved, they may have a greater chance of understanding their offending, its consequences and the consequences for

57 CAALAS, submission 17, 26.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Government should investigate courts in other jurisdictions and, in consultation with the magistrates, develop ways in which proceedings in the Youth Justice Courts can become less formal.

**Community courts**

Some submissions received referred to the benefits community courts may have for young offenders. These courts have limited operation in the Territory, and are currently being reviewed for the Federal and Northern Territory governments. Accordingly, it is unnecessary for this Review to comment other than to encourage both governments to work with legal aid providers if and when the courts are to be expanded.

**Court support workers**

CAALAS is funded to provide the Community Youth Justice Support Program, which is based on a Victorian model. The project ‘works to reduce incarceration and recidivism rates amongst young offenders in Central Australia through support, advocacy and appropriate referral’.

CAALAS, in its submission, goes further and states that prompt and supported referral to a range of services ‘would greatly be improved if there was space for service representatives within a Children’s Court complex’.

Mission Australia referred to its Youth Court Support Program, which was a case management service that:

- accompanied young people to court, assisted with their understanding of the process and helped them to understand the consequences of their actions. The service also supported individuals after their court appearance to help them change their behaviours and/or lifestyles in order to reintegrate back into the community after a period of remand or detention.

Although the Review was not provided with details, Mission Australia stated that the program was effective at:

- reducing the number of young people who failed to appear at court; increasing compliance with court orders; increasing visitation by family members while the young person was in detention; decreasing recidivism by increasing compliance with conditions imposed on release.

The program closed in 2009 due to lack of funding.

Anecdotal reports linking court support workers with reductions in offending or re-offending are encouraging and could provide an opportunity to include the proposed bail supervision program if it were implemented. It could also assist with the transition of young offenders back into the community upon release from detention.

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58 This is a federally funded program.
59 CAALAS, submission 17, 24.
60 Ibid.
61 Mission Australia, submission 6, 6.
62 Ibid.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Under the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Provision of Legal Services, the Northern Territory Government is required to hold a forum where various legal aid providers, together with the Northern Territory and Federal governments, discuss overall provision of legal assistance. The issue of court support workers should be discussed at the next forum, to be held later this year.

Closed courts and publication of proceedings

Proceedings in the Youth Justice Court are held in open court unless the magistrate orders that it be closed. This is the opposite from other jurisdictions, where youth courts are closed, unless the magistrate orders otherwise.

The effects of the court being open are that publication of the names and offences committed by young offenders is permitted. This has been criticised over the years:

The Northern Territory which rather than prohibiting publication in fact allows publication of proceedings involving the Youth Court but with a power for the Court to order that the name of a young person not be published if there are grounds for so doing, the complete converse of the situation applying in the rest of the country and, not surprisingly, out of accord totally with the human rights principles.

Several submissions called for Youth Justice Courts to be closed on the basis that the closed court environment is more therapeutic, enables positive interaction between the court and the individual youth, and enables the court to deal with the youth in a manner ‘consistent with his or her age and maturity’. It was also suggested that the court is able to inform itself about all aspects of a child’s life, including family circumstances, drug and alcohol abuse, whether the child is also a victim of crime and other welfare related matters when the court is closed.

There is no evidence to demonstrate that publicly naming children who offend assists in their rehabilitation.

Child protection matters are dealt with in a closed court. Many issues magistrates hear in those proceedings are similar to those heard in the Youth Justice Court. Indeed, some young offenders are the subject of statutory protection orders.

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63 Youth Justice Act, section 49.

64 Robyn Lincoln and Duncan Chappell, ‘The Aftermath of Sentencing: Naming and Shaming of Indigenous Youth in the Northern Territory’ (Paper presented at the Sentencing Conference, Canberra, 6–7 February 2010) 3. See also the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which provides that children’s privacy should be respected at all stages of criminal proceedings (articles 37 and 40), and the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules), article 8, provides that no information that could be likely to lead to the identification of a young offender should be published.

65 NAAJA, submission 2, 49; CAALAS, submission 17, 27; see also T Crofts T and N Witzieb, “Naming and Shaming” in Western Australia: Prohibited Behaviour Orders, Publicity and the Decline of Youth Anonymity (2011) 35 Criminal Law Journal 34.

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The Review believes that children who appear in both courts should be protected from media headlines and, importantly, should have every opportunity to have their matter heard in an environment that best promotes their rehabilitation. However, this should be done in an age appropriate way.

The magistrates argue that:

In the case of youth 15 years or under, the court should be closed consistent with the principle set out in section 4(d) [of the YJA] that a youth must be dealt with in the criminal law system in a manner consistent with his or her age and maturity.67

The Review agrees, but notes that magistrates can close the court under section 49(2) of the YJA if it appears that ‘justice will be best served by closing the court’. Thus, magistrates have the ability to close the court, and the Review encourages them to do so.

**SMART Court**

The *Alcohol Reform (Substance Misuse Assessment and Referral into Treatment) Act* commenced operation on 1 July 2011. It establishes a referral process from either the Court of Summary Jurisdiction (for adults) or the Youth Justice Court in relation to offenders whose criminal behaviour is linked to misuse of drug or alcohol or both.

The SMART legislation creates a statutory regime to address the underlying causes of criminal offending caused by drug and alcohol abuse. The SMART Court can make orders that focus on rehabilitation and treatment for substance misuse. The SMART Court program is expected to be highly intensive, requiring regular court appearances by participants, random drug testing, counselling and other interventions prescribed by the court clinicians.

If accepted into the program, participants will have their sentences either suspended or deferred for the time it takes them to complete the SMART program. The program is expected to take a minimum of six months, and participants have a maximum of 12 months in which to complete the program. If participants fail to complete the program, the initial sentence imposed may be restored.

When the SMART Court hears a matter involving a youth participant, the court must be closed unless there are special reasons to justify conducting the proceedings in open court.68

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67 The magistrates, submission 16, 19.
68 *Alcohol Reform (Substance Misuse Assessment and Referral to Treatment Court) Act* 2011, section 11.
CHAPTER 3: YOUTH JUSTICE COURT

Some drug court programs similar in nature to that anticipated for the SMART Court program have been evaluated and found to be generally effective in reducing re-offending rates for a range of crimes, including those commonly committed by young offenders, such as property and motor vehicle crimes. The Review notes the recent establishment of the SMART Court as a positive development, and encourages government to monitor outcomes for young offenders in the court.

The Youth Justice Court plays an integral role in the youth justice system. However, the court is limited by the lack of services available to young offenders. The court will continue to have little choice other than to remand young offenders or sentence them to juvenile detention centres unless alternatives such as youth rehabilitation camps are established. It is therefore essential that government moves as quickly as possible to provide the services required.

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Chapter 4: Department of Children and Families

Introduction
Legislative and administrative framework
Young people in the child protection and youth justice systems
Information systems and processes
Preventative services provided under the Youth Justice Act
A through-care model
Youth camps
Therapeutic interventions
CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Introduction

On 18 October 2010, the Board of Inquiry into the Child Protection System in the Northern Territory 2010 (BOI) presented its report¹ to the Northern Territory Government.

In response, government announced a major reform and restructure to the provision of child protection services,² which included the establishment of the Department of Children and Families (DCF) as a separate agency on 1 January 2011.

DCF established a four year strategic framework, Safe Children, Bright Futures, to respond to the BOI and its 147 recommendations, with child safety and wellbeing at the core of its service delivery.

In addition to statutory child protection responsibilities, DCF:

- develops and implements policy, service and programs development as well as direct service delivery in the areas of children and families, youth, homelessness, family violence and sexual assault services across the continuum of prevention to tertiary interventions.³

The Minister for Children and Families has administrative responsibility for many parts of the Youth Justice Act (YJA). DCF has responsibility for the Family Responsibility Program (FRP) and the Youth Justice Advisory Committee (YJAC). DCF is also responsible for administering the Care and Protection of Children Act (CPCA).

The Review focussed on DCF’s responsibilities across a broad spectrum of child and family wellbeing services that support young people in the youth justice system.

In its submission, DCF declares that it supports an approach to youth justice that:

- is more heavily weighted to diversion from the criminal justice system
- has greater accountability to the community and victims of crime through restorative justice approaches
- has a closer engagement with the non government organisation (NGO) sector and utilisation of existing evidence in best practice for youth engagement strategies
- is characterised by alternatives to detention
- is based on accessible education, support programs and services.⁴

The Review endorses this approach.

² Kon Vatskalis, ‘Action Continues on Growing them Strong, Together’ (Media Release, 17 November 2010).
³ DCF, submission 5, 8.
⁴ DCF, submission 5, 5.
CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Legislative and administrative framework

Amendments were made to the YJA in 2008\(^5\) to include Part 6A, which falls within the portfolio control of DCF\(^6\).

DCF has direct administrative responsibility for program implementation and accountability for:

- program development and monitoring and reporting of the Family Responsibility Agreements (FRAs) and Family Responsibility Orders (FROs) under Part 6A of the YJA
- providing intensive case management services for families on FRAs and orders under the Family Responsibility Program through the Alice Springs and Darwin Family Support Centres
- program development for the youth camps program and service level negotiations and monitoring of each of the three organisations delivering youth rehabilitation camps
- program and service development with up to 15 individual NGO providers delivering community based youth diversion programs under Part 3 of the YJA
- administration, policy and other functions to support the Youth Justice Advocacy Committee under Part 13 of the YJA
- establishing the Register of Appropriate Persons (Part 2, Division 1 of the YJA).

The parts of the YJA for which DCF and its minister do not have responsibility are:\(^8\)

- youth diversion, which is the administrative responsibility of the Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services and Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services (Part 3)
- the Youth Justice Court, which is the administrative responsibility of the Minister for Justice and Attorney-General and the Department of Justice (DoJ) (Part 4 and Parts 5, 6, 7)
- juvenile detention centres and juvenile justice matters, which are the administrative responsibility of the Minister for Correctional Services and DoJ (Part 8 and Parts 10 and 11).

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5 Prior to the amendments, DoJ had administrative responsibility for the Youth Justice Act. The amendments were followed by a transfer of responsibility for youth justice matters to the then Department of Health and Families. DCF was established as its own department on 1 January 2011.

6 Pursuant to the Administrative Arrangement Order in force 1 July 2011.

7 DCF, submission 5, 4.

8 Pursuant to the Administrative Arrangements Order in force 1 July 2011.
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DCF submitted to the Review that there should be:

- a single entity entirely responsible for youth justice policy, program development, services and outcomes supported by a single Ministerial portfolio to ensure public accountability and transparency for youth justice initiatives and outcomes.9

The Review agrees. There is unquestionably a need for administrative responsibilities to be streamlined, and a recommendation to that effect is made in part 3 of this report.

The objects of the CPCA are to:

- promote the wellbeing of children
- protect children from harm and exploitation
- maximise the opportunities for children to realise their full potential
- assist families achieve the above objectives.10

The administrative responsibility for the CPCA rests with the Minister for Children and Families. The Chief Executive Officer and her department have wide-ranging obligations and responsibilities for the protection of Territory children.11

Government agencies, including DCF, and non government stakeholders agreed that the YJA is a progressive piece of legislation that worked reasonably well, but that various parts were underutilised and some suggestions were made as to improvements that could be implemented.

The magistrates’ submission states that some provisions of the YJA:

- demonstrate inconsistent internal policy approaches and others, whilst, sound in terms of providing an appropriate ‘tool’ for dealing with youth offending, lack the detail or completeness to make them workable. Additionally, there are a number of provisions of the Act that cannot be given effect because the programs and/or services necessary for their implementation do not exist.12

The Review agrees.

An issue that arose during the Review was the placement of Part 6A of the YJA. The objects of the YJA (with the exception of Parts 6A and 13), centre on ‘the administration of justice in respect of youth’.13 The objects detail how young offenders or alleged offenders are to be dealt within the youth criminal justice system.

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9 DCF, submission 5, 1.
10 Care and Protection of Children Act, section 4.
11 Care and Protection of Children Act, Chapter 2.
12 The magistrates, submission 16, 1.
13 Youth Justice Act, section 3(b)
CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Part 6A of the YJA deals with FRAs and orders. The part was included in the YJA two years after its introduction, and appears to have a different policy base from the rest of the YJA.

The objects of the CPCA include promoting the wellbeing of children, protecting them from harm and exploitation, and maximising their opportunities. A more natural fit for Part 6A would be in the CPCA, which could easily be achieved by legislative amendment, although its current placement does not appear to create any practical difficulties.

Young people in the child protection and youth justice systems

Some of DCF’s clients are often, though not always, involved in two systems: the youth justice system (under the YJA) and the child protection system (under the CPCA).

The evidence of complex causal associations between social disadvantage and dysfunction and offending behaviours is widely accepted, and there are strong links between children who have been subjected to abuse and neglect, (particularly physical abuse and exposure to family violence) and criminal behaviour.14

These children and their families often require urgent, ongoing and coordinated assistance from the child protection, social welfare, and justice systems. This is not uncommon, nor is it restricted to the Territory.15 Understanding this association is the basis for contemporary approaches to supporting vulnerable young people and models of youth justice.

The magistrates state in their submission that:

Virtually all youths who come before the Youth Justice Court have some risks to their wellbeing for often complex reasons including homelessness, substance misuse, having been the victim of abuse or having mental or physical health problems.16

DCF advises the Review that as at 18 July 2011, 33 young people who were the subject of statutory protection orders were, at the same time, ‘formally involved in the youth justice system’.17 This represents 4.4% of all children formally in the child protection system.

While the numbers are relatively small, these young people and their families represent the

16 The magistrates, submission 16, 5.
17 Written response from DCF to the Youth Justice System Review, 2 September 2011.
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highest level of work and expense across the youth justice and human services systems, and present the following challenges:

• They require intensive case management, which includes high levels of expertise.
• Engagement with the young person’s family is an essential component of therapeutic interventions and is resource intensive.
• Young people often have little or no family support and, without high level intervention, will remain at risk for long periods and are likely to become entrenched in the youth justice system.

An additional challenge for agencies, particularly DCF, is that there are limited options for placement, treatment and care. For example, DCF advises that there is evidence that for some young people:

Involvement in both systems results in [them] being referred from one system to another, and for detention to be considered as a temporary ‘safe place’. The issue was canvassed as a concern in the BOI. 18

This is consistent with anecdotal reports received by the Review that, due to the unavailability of alternative placements, some young people who are the subject of statutory protection orders have remained in detention for longer than may otherwise be warranted.

In addition to existing challenges, it is difficult to estimate how many young people are at risk of entering either system who have not yet been identified. What is clear, however, is that it is critical to identify them as early as possible so that appropriate responses can be delivered.

Information systems and processes

Given the overlap of the child protection and youth justice systems, it is imperative that attention is given to improve essential information systems, sharing and collaboration across government and non government agencies.

This has been identified in earlier reviews and inquiries, the most recent of which is the BOI. 19 Agencies, however, continue to operate with inadequate information systems that impact on their ability to provide coordinated service delivery to some young people.

The numbers of children who were involved in the justice system were obtained by questioning DCF work unit managers. The CEO advised the Review:

As you are aware, the Department’s primary focus is the care and protection of children and young people. There is no readily accessible information regarding their interaction with the justice systems.

18 DCF, submission 5, 16.
19 See recommendations 11.3, 11.4 and 11.6 in Bamblett et al, above n 1, 41.
CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Officers from my Department have also been in contact with their counterparts in the Department of Justice and it is understood that a similar issue exists in extracting information in those justice systems.²⁰

These difficulties jeopardise coordinated and coherent delivery of youth support services.

Preventive services provided under the YJA²¹

Family Responsibility Program

The FRP:

was developed as a statutory program under the Youth Justice Strategy, to address youth behaviour problems (including offending behaviours) where family circumstances are considered to be causing or contributing to those behaviours;²²

Further, it is:

an important adjunct in a suite of youth justice programs and is aimed at improving positive family relationships and functioning to reduce behaviours such as anti-social behaviour, truancy and crime. The Family Responsibility Program is also notable for its cross agency approach to families, with information sharing and case collaboration across five nominated agencies (known as Appropriate Agencies) under the Youth Justice Act.²³

DCF is responsible for the policy development, reporting and accountability for the FRP.²⁴

It was developed in 2008, with an allocation of $1.35 million in 2011–12.

The FRP provides intensive case management and family support services aimed at improving family relationships and functioning to reduce behaviours such as antisocial behaviour, truancy and youth crime. The approach is not punitive and emphasises working cooperatively with the family. The statutory framework allows for more serious compliance measures if required.²⁵

The FRP’s operation is limited to Darwin, Alice Springs and nine remote areas in Central Australia,²⁶ which is ‘directly related to the availability and capacity of [the] Family Support Centres and other community based services for families.’²⁷ This impedes its ability to

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²⁰ Letter from the CEO, DCF to the Youth Justice System Review, 25 July 2011.
²¹ Preventive services and programs are aimed at preventing and addressing the risk factors for youth offending. They tend to be delivered on a population or broad group level and operate at a distance from the formal youth justice system.
²² DCF, submission 5, Attachment C, 1.
²³ Ibid, 12
²⁴ Pursuant to the Youth Justice Act, Part 6A.
²⁵ Youth Justice Act, section 140G.
²⁶ Limited by the Youth Justice Regulations, regulation 28A.
²⁷ DCF, submission 5, 12.
work with more families and makes it possible for families to exit from a FRA by leaving the geographic area.

However, while this could easily be changed by regulation, it would require a service system, such as Family Support Centres and some community based family support services to be funded in regional centres other than Darwin and Alice Springs. It is also subject to funding and staffing limitations.

An evaluation framework has been developed for the FRP and includes indicators such as improvement in school attendance and reduction in offending. DCF reports positive outcomes to date, and accepts that some outcomes are difficult to measure, which is why it has been important to develop the evaluation framework. The framework has been finalised, with staged implementation of some of the indicators that are difficult to measure.

The provision of support to children and families under the FRP takes a number of forms:

**Family Support Centres (FSC)**

Presently there are two FSCs—one located in Darwin and one located at the Youth Hub in Alice Springs. Staff at the FSCs are employed by DCF and are trained across a broad spectrum of social needs and have a particular interest in working with families whose children are exhibiting behaviours that require early intervention and the implementation of crime prevention strategies.

Families are referred to an FSC if they are experiencing difficulties with their child, parenting skills or other family issues. The FSCs work with families through a FRA and provide information about other support services available to young people and their families. The FSCs do not have resident psychologists.

**Family Responsibility Agreements**

An ‘appropriate agency’ is able to enter into an FRA with parents of a youth who has demonstrated behavioural problems. The agreement may involve a parent or parents undertaking counselling, therapy or attendance at a course or program of personal developments aimed at addressing certain destructive or damaging behaviour. An agreement may also require a parent to ‘exercise proper care and supervision of the youth’ to ensure, for example, that he or she attends school, or keeps away from certain people or places, or other things agreed between the parties.

In 2009–10, there were 23 active FRAs, involving 61 people. In 2010–11, there were 81 active FRAs (67 new and 14 carried forward from the previous year), involving 197 people.

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28 Youth Justice Act, section 140D.
29 Youth Justice Act, section 140D (behavioural problems include: criminal behaviour, persistent truancy, or anti-social behaviour).
30 Youth Justice Act, section 140E(1)(a) and (1)(b).
31 Youth Justice Act, section 140E(1)(c) and (1)(d).
32 Email from DCF to the Youth Justice System Review, 2 September 2011.
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Family Responsibility Orders

The Youth Justice Court can, upon application, inquire into a young person’s ‘circumstances’ where their parent or parents have entered into a FRA when the young person has continued to exhibit behavioural problems; when his or her parents have refused to enter into an FRA or have not complied with one; or where the young person has breached a bail condition.33

If the court decides that an FRO is ‘likely to improve the youth’s family situation, [it] may make such an order’.34 Orders may require a parent or parents to attend counselling, therapy or a course or program of personal developments aimed at addressing certain destructive or damaging behaviour.35

If an FRO is breached the parent or parents may be fined36 and fines can be enforced by a community work order or ‘by execution against goods that are not necessary for the maintenance of a modest lifestyle or for earning a livelihood.’37 This included the much publicised possibility of removing plasma televisions.38 This punitive aspect of this part of the YJA attracted some criticism during the Review, and it was suggested by several stakeholders that FROs should be removed from it.

The reasons criticisms were made were that voluntary engagement with the program yields better, more sustainable outcomes and that the punitive nature of the orders is contrary to the objectives of the FRPs and the therapeutic philosophy underpinning working with families and troubled youth.

No FROs have ever been made.39 A number of stakeholders advise, and the Review accepts, that this is in fact a measure of success and illustrates that by making agreements with families and children and working to address various issues, FRAs work well.

The Review does not accept that FROs need to be removed from the YJA. While FROs are punitive in nature, their existence does provide a level of incentive for families to make agreements to work towards resolving issues that are adversely impacting on their children.

A number of government and non government stakeholders identified the need for improved, targeted, intensive case management for high risk young people. The capacity of key agencies to provide these services is limited.

33 Youth Justice Act, section 140G(1).
34 Youth Justice Act, section 140J (1).
35 Youth Justice Act, section 140J (3).
36 Youth Justice Act, section 140M.
37 Youth Justice Act, section 140N.
38 Dr Chris Burns, ‘Parents need to take Responsibility’ (Media Release, 17 January 2008).
39 Email from DCF to the Youth Justice System Review, 2 September 2011.
It is difficult for the Review to thoroughly evaluate the success of the FRP, and measure its effectiveness in terms of direct links to reducing offending and re-offending rates. However, DCF and other stakeholders report positive outcomes to date and significant potential for young people and their families. The Review accepts this advice and notes the importance of the independent evaluation to be undertaken later this year.

The nature of the work provided by the FSCs and that provided under FRAs is extremely valuable, particularly noting the links between young people in the child protection system and the youth justice system.

A through-care model

A through-care model is:

one that is capable of intervening to support a young person at one of five key points where they are coming into contact with the youth justice continuum. It has specific objectives to promote access to therapeutic, educational, and support needs of the young persons, with the large goal to minimise contact with the criminal justice system and reduce the number of youth detainees overall.40

DCF refers to an internal discussion paper produced by the former Department of Health and Families in 2010 titled ‘Reducing Juvenile Detainee Numbers and Recidivism’ and lists what that department, now DCF, considers to be the juvenile justice continuum of service. It lists five key points, which largely include the description of the youth justice system described in the terms of reference for this Review. It lists prevention, pre-court, two court options (pre-detention and detention) and post court as the relevant points of the youth justice system.

In relation to these five ‘intervention points’ DCF submits that there are ‘a number of possible actions that, if sufficiently resourced and managed, can reduce a young person’s contact with the formal youth justice system and potentially their risk of re-offending’.41

The Review agrees that a through-care model encompasses services and responses that relate to the five intervention points but, in order for services to be provided, it requires a ‘particular and highly trained professional workforce and specifically skilled and allocated to working with young people’.42

Workforce issues are discussed in chapter 9 of this Report, and represent a significant challenge to the provision of service and response delivery.

40 DCF, submission 5, 9.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid, 10.
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The Review endorses the suggestion outlined by DCF in its submission that a ‘youth justice team’ be developed, comprised of professional case managers and youth workers who would be responsible for the delivery of a through-care model. The team would ‘access programs in the community that offer diversion, youth camps, education, counselling, alcohol and other drugs and mental health services and short term and secure accommodation’.43

The Review supports the comments made by DCF in its submission that:

To ensure consistent care of young people in contact with the youth justice system, there needs to be a shared range of practice standards and understandings and commitment to end to end care coordination. Where there is inconsistent practice in the care of a young person, this does not create a climate that promotes rehabilitation. 44

Recommendations are made in this report that aim to improve coordination and maximise rehabilitation for young offenders.

Youth camps

Many stakeholders, in submissions and during the consultations, proposed youth rehabilitation camps as one solution to many of the problems encountered by young people in or at risk of entering the youth justice system, on the basis that they could provide the range of therapeutic options required.

A significant proportion of young offenders are remanded in juvenile detention facilities because of a lack of accommodation options, discussed in chapter 3.

An expansion of youth rehabilitation camps or similar facilities would, if properly resourced, alleviate the need for young offenders to be detained at the rate they currently are, and for the reasons often provided: there is nowhere else for them to go.

Three youth camps operate in the Territory under service agreements with the Northern Territory Government: Brahminy, Tangentyere and Balunu. The Review consulted with representatives from each, and has also considered the evaluation report by Connected Self in January 2011.45

The evaluation provides:

strong support that individual youth camps have the capacity to engage youth-at-risk (including Aboriginal young people) who are at high risk of future offending or at risk behaviour, within a therapeutically conducive environment that has the potential to translate to both attitudinal and behavioural outcomes, at least within the short term.46

43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
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The North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA) submission supports ‘the increased use of youth camps as a sentencing and bail option’, and referred to the success of youth camps included in the review of the NSW juvenile justice system in 2010, which:

referred to the positive results achieved for program participants and noted that the Maori Community Initiatives for Youth at Risk Offenders (MCIYRO) included ‘a range of therapeutic activities such as outdoor experiences, mentoring, building self-esteem, education, life skills and tikanga (culture, customs and traditions), personal development and whanau (family support). In addition, rangatahi (teenagers) are removed from opportunities for using alcohol, cigarettes and other drugs as well as from other risk situations and opportunities to commit offences.’

The Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service (CAALAS) was also supportive of youth camps, and noted its support for the Mount Theo outstation in Central Australia as a ‘rehabilitation and diversionary avenue for young people to achieve behavioural change through connection with culture and participation in education’.

CAALAS also noted the Ilpurla outstation as a ‘youth specific intensive residential rehabilitation facility which has a strong focus on addressing volatile substance abuse as well as drug and alcohol abuse’.

Mount Theo and Ilpurla are not funded through the Youth Camp Program, so were not included in the Connected Self report.

The evaluation by Connected Self reported that while youth camps offer:

intuitive appeal and preliminary supporting evidence, there is a paucity of research to guide their understanding and application, notably for complex client groups. On this basis, ‘youth camps’ (per se) do not represent an evidence-based intervention for youth at risk’.

Connected Self did, however, report that:

The evaluation provides strong support that individual youth camps have the capacity to engage youth-at-risk (including Aboriginal young people) who are at high risk of future offending or at-risk behaviour, within a therapeutically conducive environment that has the potential to translate to both attitudinal and behavioural outcomes, at least within the short term.

47 NAAJA, submission 2, 79.
49 CAALAS, submission 17, 39.
50 Ibid, 40.
51 Raymond and Lappin, above n 45, vii.
52 Ibid.
The Review widely researched the benefits of youth camps, also referred to as ‘boot camps’. More military style boot camps can be damaging to young people and have no impact on their offending or rehabilitation. Youth rehabilitation camps must include education and vocational training, and they need to be of sufficient length so that change can occur, such as learning a range of life skills that can enable young offenders to re-enter the community. Support and monitoring also needs to be provided after the young person leaves. There must be ‘robust longitudinal evaluation’.

The Review agrees with DCF that, based on the information available, youth rehabilitation camps can:

- provide a culturally secure and therapeutic based alternative to detention. They can also operate as step down programs following a period of detention to assist people reconnect with family and the community and to consolidate skills and personal insights developed in a detention program.

The Connected Self evaluation identified two models:

- a short term therapeutic camp program of 8 to 10 days duration and in a wilderness environment targeted between 8 and 10 young people who have demonstrated offending and antisocial behaviours and likely to re-offend based on the assessment of evidence-informed risk factors.

- a longer term therapeutic residential model program which is a longer and more intensive program ‘in terms of resources and approach’. The length of stay would be between 6 and 18 weeks and offers an alternative to detention for young people with ‘complex needs that place them at high risk of having a long association with justice systems without intensive intervention’.

Connected Self provided considerable information to government with its evaluation, including costings, components of each model and principles to guide their establishment. The Review does not need to repeat all those matters contained in a report that government already has in its possession.
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This Review supports the models proposed by Connected Self, and a recommendation is made accordingly. The Review also strongly endorses a comment made by the authors in their evaluation:

At the highest level, the key imperative is ensuring that the camps are integrated within the broad service continuum. In the first instance, this should be focussed on the youth justice service system, however, consideration should also be given to integrating the youth camps with other relevant services systems, (eg: health, mental health, education and housing).59

The cost of establishing additional youth camps is significant. However, the cost of detaining young people is also significant, and meaningful therapeutic programs by appropriately qualified staff, delivered at facilities that are properly managed and resourced and regulated is likely to provide a greater prospect of rehabilitation, and reduced offending, than serving time in juvenile detention facilities.

Therapeutic interventions

There is a great deal of national and international research on a range of therapeutic interventions that can be provided to young offenders. Intensive supervision programs, such as multi-systemic therapy (MST) and family functional therapy have been shown to reduce youth offending.

A study published in the Washington State Institute for Public Policy in 2011 detailed the results of a pilot program in 2007 to provide evidence based mental health services to children. The target population:

- included children with significant behavioural and mental health challenges who were involved in multiple systems (eg, child welfare mental health, and juvenile justice). The first evidence-based practice selected for the pilot was Multi Systemic Therapy (MST), an intensive family and community-based intervention for chronic juvenile offenders and youth with serious emotional disorders, 12 to 17 years of age.60

The results were impressive and supported existing research61 showing that reductions in offending of between 25% and 65% were achievable.

These interventions are being used more widely in NSW and the Review was advised that the results are also positive.62

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59  Ibid, 286.
60  Jim Mayfield, Multisystemic Therapy Outcomes in an Evidence-Based Practice (2011) Washington State Institute for Public Policy.
62  Manager Intensive Supervision Program (ISP), Juvenile Justice, NSW Department of Human Services, consultation, Sydney, 6 July 2011.
CHAPTER 4: DEPARTMENT OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

It is not within this Review’s terms of reference to analyse the types of therapies and interventions to be provided to young offenders. However, given the direct link to reductions in offending noted in the available research, there is an obvious incentive for government to invest in a workforce that can provide such therapeutic programs. Practitioners may be able to undertake this work at the youth rehabilitation camps outlined in this chapter, or at the FSCs. It is not currently being offered at the FSCs, which is a result of insufficient workforce capacity.

DCF faces a range of challenges in its work with young people and their families, and plays an important role in program development and delivery of services. Its ability to assist young offenders would be enhanced if there was improved information sharing with other agencies (beyond that which occurs in the Family Responsibility Program), additional youth rehabilitation camps, and increased capacity in the FSCs. Recommendations are made to this effect in part 3.
Chapter 5: Northern Territory Police

Introduction
Snapshot of police involvement with young Territorians
Crime prevention and early intervention programs
Police diversion
Community based diversion program
Community Youth Development Units
Conclusion
CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Introduction

Keeping the community safe is a core function of the Northern Territory Police (NTP), and police officers are the first point of contact for young people who commit an offence. The services provided by police officers, the range of crime prevention activities available and the relatively small size of the young offender population mean that NTP plays an important role in preventing young people from entering the justice system, as well as dealing with young offenders when they are in the system.

Many of the functions performed by NTP are not directly relevant to this Review. Given the terms of reference, the Review sought to examine existing crime prevention and early intervention and programs provided by NTP that would assist in the reduction of youth offending and re-offending.

The Review notes that there is no reference to a youth crime reduction strategy in the NT Police, Fire and Emergency Services (NTPFES) 2009–2010 Annual Report, nor is the existence of a strategy referred to in the range of strategic issues listed by NTP in the relevant 2011–12 Budget Papers.¹

In 2010, all Australian Police Ministers agreed to reduce, prevent and respond to youth violence and antisocial behaviour through a National Youth Policing Model.² The model was developed to support and enhance effective programs already in place through six high priority strategies for youth policing³ and jurisdictions have the flexibility to adapt responses to youth policing issues to suit local environments.

The need for a new comprehensive youth justice strategy is discussed in chapter 9 which, if properly designed, should achieve crime reduction targets, and complement the National Youth Policing Model.

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² The model supports the National Strategy for Young Australians, which identified youth violence and antisocial behaviour as key issues of concern for young people.
³ The six strategies are targeted policing; strong responses to alcohol and drug abuse; strong enforcement of road rules; early intervention and diversion strategies; collaboration and information sharing between jurisdictions and with other sectors; and education and awareness about safety and legal rights and responsibilities.
CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Snapshot of police involvement with young Territorians

A selection of policing data analysed by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) for the Review\(^4\) is provided below.

Police involvement with young people has proven to be relatively stable from 2001–02, as demonstrated by figure 5.1.\(^5\) ‘Police involvement’ includes any type of police activity that results in young people having some contact with police as the victim, offender, suspect or person of interest.

There has been a moderate increasing trend for young people involved with police over the last 10 years; however, this trend is consistent with the overall increasing growth of the Territory population and does not necessarily reflect an increasing rate of juvenile police involvement.

*Figure 5.1 Juvenile police involvements, 2000–01 to 2010–11, discrete individuals*

The number of young people apprehended between 2006–07 and 2010–11 is shown in figure 5.2.

A total of 3386 young people were apprehended over this five year period. There was a marked 23% increase in youth apprehension from 2007–08 to 2008–09, followed by a smaller increase of 6% from 2008–09 to 2009–10. The decrease observed over the past year most likely reflects incomplete datasets rather than actual reductions.

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\(^5\) The decrease observed for 2010–11 is likely to reflect incomplete data for this year rather than a genuine decrease in juvenile offending behaviours.
CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Figure 5.2 Distinct youths apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11

![Bar chart showing the number of distinct youths apprehended by police from 2006-07 to 2010-11.](source)

Source: NT Police

The majority of young people apprehended over the past five years (76% or 2582 people) have been Indigenous (see below).

Figure 5.3 Distinct youths apprehended by police, 2006–07 to 2010–11, by Indigenous status

![Bar chart showing the number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youths apprehended by police from 2006-07 to 2010-11.](source)

Source: NT Police
CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Crime prevention and early intervention

Youth Engagement Police Officers (YEPOs)

In mid 2010 NTP changed the name and role of school based constables. YEPOs now have a broader function, and are no longer solely based at schools. Currently, there are 22 YEPOs located in key urban and regional centres of the Territory.

NTP advises that the role of YEPOs is to:

- work closely with the Department of Education and Training (DET) and provide a range of support to the school system. This includes, where possible in remote communities, support for Drug and Personal Safety Awareness Programs delivered by DET … YEPOs also liaise with schools to raise awareness of issues surrounding the increase in cyber bullying and cyber offences.6

Some police officers and others consulted for the Review indicated there was concern that the changing role of YEPOs meant that officers would spend less time in schools and, from time to time, would be used for other general duties. In particular, there was concern that spending less time in schools would not provide YEPOs with the ‘on the ground’ contact required to assist young people at risk of offending. Indeed, there was concern from some stakeholders that, as a result of the changes, NTP is becoming less proactive and more reactive.

Individual YEPOs advised the Review that there were many examples where their direct involvement with a school aged person had prevented that person entering the youth justice system, or had assisted them with general, supportive advice. The Review accepts that developing positive relationships with police and direct interventions are often impossible to measure. However, while the benefits of these relationships are difficult to quantify, their importance is acknowledged.

Although the change in role for YEPOs is relatively new, and positive outcomes may yet be achieved, government is encouraged to monitor this change, and consider establishing an independent evaluation of its success or otherwise in 12 to 18 months. This could be done as simply as appointing an independent person or body to interview YEPOs to ascertain whether they consider their expanded role is beneficial to young people, and particularly those at risk of offending. Young people, teachers and parents should also be consulted.

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6 NTP, submission 33, 6–7.
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Community Engagement Police Officers (CEPOs)

In 2010 the Federal Government announced $3.4 million to fund eight CEPOs to be deployed in remote communities. The aim of the program is to ‘focus on community engagement to build trust and confidence in the justice system in order to strengthen local safety and security’. The CEPOs’ primary role is to promote community engagement through the active establishment and promotion of community involvement, ownership and leadership of community based activities.

CEPOs are located at Wadeye, Lajamanu, Alyangula, Ali Curung, Yuendumu, Ntaria, Papunya and Maningrida.

NTP advises that the CEPO role is focused on relevant areas of concern to the Review and includes intervention strategies dealing with:

- community violence, including
  - support for victims
  - integrated case management approaches for both victims and offenders
  - co-location of services
  - information sharing
- youth diversion, with services to ensure
  - provision of linkages to enable individual counseling
  - developing interpersonal skills and behavioural treatment
  - family counseling and home based therapy
  - intensive case management involving multiple services
  - community residential programs.

It is expected that the CEPOs will have a role to play in crime prevention strategies outside the criminal justice system, for example, non coercive early intervention strategies that focus on:

- parenting programs including early childhood interventions such as home visits, parental management training, preschool programs and school and community based programs
- inappropriateness of violence as a means of resolving disputes
- school attendance and performance initiatives through incentives for attendance

7 Federal funding as part of the government’s ‘Closing the Gap’ strategy on reducing Indigenous disadvantage and built on the work of the Australian Crime Commission’s National Indigenous Violence and Child Abuse Intelligence Taskforce. Initial funding is for two years to 2013.

8 Attorney-General for Australia, ‘Community Constables for Indigenous Communities Across the NT’ (Media Release, 28 June 2011).
diversionary programs including education programs developed by the NT Early Intervention Pilot Program and the Drug and Personal Safety Awareness Program, both of which target underage drinkers and binge drinking

- intensive interventions for serious, repeat and persistent offenders
- conferencing and restorative programs that involve local people.

As these positions are new, it has not been possible for the Review to provide an evaluation.

The initiative will also assist to resolve a number of challenges for police officers who work in remote areas, some of whom reported to the Review that it was difficult to foster positive relationships with local people while at the same time fulfilling their roles as general duties officers.

As the program is implemented over two years, the role of CEPOs must be evaluated. If it is shown to benefit people in remote areas, and young people in particular, the Review encourages the Federal Government to provide ongoing funding, and consider expanding the program.

Given the high proportion of Indigenous young offenders in the youth justice system, the importance of NTP and Indigenous people working well together cannot be overstated. This is supported by the North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency’s (NAAJA) submission and recommendation that ‘NT Police need to develop strong and constructive community engagement projects with Aboriginal young people and local Aboriginal communities’.

**NT Early Intervention Pilot Program (NTEIPP)**

Funding for this initiative was obtained from the Federal Government’s National Binge Drinking Strategy in 2009 and ends in 2012. The NTEIPP has Youth Outreach Officers based in Darwin, Katherine, and one in Alice Springs, and provides training and practical resources for young people, aimed at reducing binge drinking. It focuses on harm reduction and supports a range of activities for young people. The NTEIPP works with YEPOs, CEPOs, and the Youth Diversion Scheme (YDS) to improve diversionary options for young offenders, with a focus on counselling and support services and early engagement.

This pilot commenced in May 2010, and its outcomes are being assessed with the assistance of the Menzies School of Health Research. An analysis of data, focus groups and case studies is currently being conducted. The pilot is considered a good practice case study by NTP.

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9 NTP, submission 33, 6–7.
10 NAAJA, submission 2, 43.
11 NTP, NT Early Intervention Pilot Program: Overview, provided to the Youth Justice System Review.
12 NTP, submission 33, 11–12.
CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Blue Light Discos

NTP has operated Blue Light Discos in the Territory for many years which target primary and middle school aged children in urban and remote areas. They are viewed by officers and other stakeholders as a valuable community engagement tool. The Blue Light Disco is operated by the Blue Light Disco Council, an incorporated body. There is no direct funding from NTP except for the position of co-coordinator, which is filled by a NTP member.13

While the Blue Light Disco program has not been formally evaluated, anecdotal reports from police officers and community members indicate that the events are both popular and successful, in terms of attendance and enthusiasm. It is impossible to measure the program’s impact on offending and re-offending rates; however, it has proven to provide a positive early interaction between officers and young people and is a good example of how NTP engages in proactive and non-punitive initiatives.

Police Community Youth Club (PCYC)

The PCYC provides opportunities for young people in Darwin to participate in sporting and recreational activities. The Wongabilla Equestrian Centre is attached to the PCYC. It was established in the 1960s and allows young Territorians to participate in equestrian activities. It provides horse riding programs, mainly for disadvantaged youth as well as, at times, programs for young offenders as a result of police diversion. As with the Blue Light Discos, the PCYC, including Wongabilla, is another example of positive and early interaction between police officers and youth.

Junior Police Rangers

The Junior Police Rangers scheme:

- develops the leadership skills of young people by providing activities not generally available at schools. It is designed to boost a range of practical skills (from public speaking to orienteering) and self-esteem among the participants, enabling them to pass these skills on to their peers.14

The scheme is aimed at children who are at the end of Year 6, and extends for approximately three years. Some of the activities offered include abseiling, camping, community service, first aid skills, life saving and navigation. The scheme also assists young people to develop self-esteem and leadership qualities.

CHAPTER 5: NORTHERN TERRITORY POLICE

Evaluation and training

NTP provides a range of crime prevention and early intervention programs and activities, all of which appear positive. However, while some may improve relationships between young people and police officers, their impact on offending rates is unknown. The Review is concerned that, although these programs that have been in existence for some time, none has been independently evaluated.

An absence of evaluations is not peculiar to the Territory. As a recent study by the AIC of Queensland-based young offenders reported:

> The high rates of Indigenous contact [with the justice system] highlight the needs for early intervention programs to prevent Indigenous people having initial contact with the system. While no published studies could be located evaluating the effectiveness of early intervention programs at reducing offending by Indigenous young people, when targeted in the general population, such programs have proven to be a cost-effective method of preventing offending.15

The Review accepts that some programs are extremely difficult to evaluate, and that measures such as ‘success’ or ‘failure’ may be unfair. These programs have a role to play in the youth justice system, which, as the Terms of Reference state, encompasses a continuum of services and responses from preventative, policing, pre court and correctional to post release.

To a major extent, the success or otherwise of the programs depends on the efforts and ability of police officers involved. The Review was advised that no specific youth focused training is provided to police trainees at the Northern Territory Police, Fire and Emergency Services College. Given the myriad of problems some young offenders experience, it would be beneficial to provide specific youth training so that new officers can be better equipped to deal more effectively with young offenders and those at risk of offending. This could be done in conjunction with youth networks such as the Darwin and Rural Work With Youth Network, or the NT Youth Affairs Network.

Police diversion

The introduction of the *Youth Justice Act* (YJA) in 2006 included an expanded diversion scheme and an explicit presumption in favour of diversion. Juvenile diversion is the referral of a youth offender to an alternative process other than the justice system.16 Diversion operates under a restorative justice framework where young offenders are encouraged to accept responsibility for their behaviour, so that an acknowledgment of involvement is a requirement for eligibility.

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When an offender is identified and a prosecution file is completed, police officers determine whether he or she is eligible for diversion. If so, Youth Diversion Units (YDUs) in Darwin and Alice Springs, working with NGO case management service providers, assess the type of program that would suit the offender. A parent or guardian and the youth must consent to a young person being diverted and a young person cannot be diverted more than twice following a youth justice conference. Responsibility for youth diversion sits within Police Prosecutions.

NAAJA notes in its submission to the Review that diversion:

recognises the reality that most young people ‘grow out of crime’ when exposed to positive interventions. Diversion offers young people a path out of crime without exposing them to the stigma and alienating impacts of the criminal justice system.17

Types of diversion

There are four types of diversion currently available:18

• verbal warning
• written warning
• youth justice conference
• referral to a diversion program.

Verbal and written warnings are generally given for minor offences. In the case of a written warning, a police officer serves the warning on the offender and in the presence of a parent or guardian. NTP believes the involvement of parents is important as it provides a message to the parents that more responsibility and supervision is required on their part.

Youth justice conferences include conferences between the victim and offender, and family conferences.19

Family conferencing involves a conference with the offender and members of his or her family. Important people in the young person’s life may also be present, such as a community elder, teacher or coach. The conference is designed to discuss the behaviour and what can be done to improve it. It is generally facilitated by a YDU police officer or, in remote areas, police officers in charge.

A victim–offender conference involves an offender meeting the victim of his or her offence, and is facilitated by a police officer whose involvement also provides protection for the parties. It is often emotional and difficult for the participants, with the offender having to face the victim to explain, and usually apologise for, his or her actions.

17 NAAJA, submission 2, 34.
18 Youth Justice Act, section 39.
19 Youth Justice Act, section 39(7).
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Victim–offender conferences can have a number of outcomes, and include the imposition of conditions, such as a verbal or written apology, restitution, or restoration of damage, which are monitored by the YDU. Another outcome may be that the offender attends a program that suits his or her needs. This may include the imposition of conditions, such as not associating with certain individuals, attending school, or attending a program formally registered with the YDU.20

Diversion trends

The AIC examined the number of juvenile diversion programs provided by NTP, including family conferences, victim–offender conferences and warnings issued to offenders during the period 2000–01 to 2010–11.

This information is summarised in figure 5.4, which shows:

• There was a large overall decrease in the use of family conferences from 2001–02 to 2006–07.
• The number of family conferences, as well as the use of verbal warnings, increased from 2007–08 to 2008–09 before decreasing again in 2009–10 and 2010–11.
• The total number of juvenile diversion processes followed a similar pattern, decreasing from 2002–03 to 2004–05 and then increasing.
• Conversely, the opposite pattern was observed for victim–offender conferences, which rose up to 2007–08 then fell slightly before stabilising in 2010–11.21

Figure 5.4 Juvenile diversion processes 2000–01 to 2010–11

Source: NT Police


21 The marked reduction in the total number of conferences and warnings in 2010–11 may be due to limitations in the dataset for this year.
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NTP advises the Review there were 820 Youth Justice Conferences carried out between 2005 and 2010, compared to 1021 warnings issued.22

Community based diversion programs

The Department of Children and Families (DCF) provides youth diversion case management support to community based diversion programs operated by non-government organisation (NGO) services. There is no overarching policy that provides direction for services, nor has there been an evaluation of programs, although DCF advises that one is planned in 2012. The funding is approximately $2 million per year. A list of diversion programs currently funded is at appendix 5.

Evaluating community based diversion programs is essential and the planned evaluation should commence no later than 2012.

The Review spoke with a number of representatives from organisations that operate community based diversion programs. These representatives spoke of the positive effects and benefits of the diversion programs they operated. Several written submissions were also received.

For instance, the Department of Health (DoH) notes that, along with other factors, youth diversion activities have assisted communities to effectively manage their volatile substance abuse.23

Are diversion programs successful in reducing youth offending and re-offending?

For some time in the Territory, the various forms of diversion have been regarded as successful in reducing youth offending and re-offending. Referring to an earlier federal evaluation of diversion schemes, the then Northern Territory Attorney-General lauded diversion when he introduced the Youth Justice Bill in 2005:

The outcomes, in terms of recidivism, are also extremely positive. The vast majority of young people who completed diversion were not re-apprehended within a year of their initial arrest. Furthermore, the rate of recidivism for young people who have completed a diversion program was lower than that for young people who continued through the court process. Other benefits of diversion included the positive impact on the lives of young people; a high level of victim satisfaction; consistency in the application of diversionary measures; and an enhanced perception of the NT Police Force.24

22 Written advice from NTP to the Youth Justice System Review, 16 September 2011.
23 DoH, submission 14(c), 2.
24 Second Reading Speech, Youth Justice Bill (No 2) 2005 (NT), Legislative Assembly, 30 June 2005 (Dr Toyne, Minister for Justice and Attorney-General).
The AIC analysed police diversion in the Territory over five years from August 2000 to August 2005. Initial findings were positive:25

Findings showed that the great majority of juveniles (76%) did not re-offend within the first year after their initial diversion or court appearance. However, there were significant differences between juveniles who attended court and those who were diverted, both in terms of risk of re-offending and time to re-offending. Those who were diverted re-offended less than those who attended court and those who went to court re-offended more quickly.26

Preliminary analysis of the second five years’ operation of the YDS by the NTP has identified that 71% of young offenders who participated in youth justice conferences did not go on to re-offend. This compares with 56% not re-offending who attended court, and 72% not re-offending who were given a warning.27

The analysis by NTP on youth diversion data from 2005 to 2010 further suggests:

• two thirds of all youth offenders aged 10 to 17 years did not re-offend
• the majority of all offenders are male (74%), Indigenous (67%) and aged 14 years or older (74%)
• Indigenous persons made up one third of all re-offenders compared with one quarter non-Indigenous re-offending
• male offenders made up one third of those who re-offended compared to one quarter of all females
• the majority of youths referred for youth diversion committed property offences
• those who attend court have higher re-offending risks than those diverted from court proceedings. Nearly half the youths referred to court re-offended compared with just over one quarter referred to diversion.28

The Review notes the NTP will shortly commence a more detailed analysis of the statistical data for the second five years of its YDS, which will assist with baseline data for any future youth justice initiatives considered by government.

In NT Police, Fire and Emergency Services’ 2009–10 Annual Report, NTP states that:

the rate of repeat offending diminishes considerably when youth are diverted through a formal Youth Diversion Scheme in contrast to youth who are dealt with through the formal judicial court system. This demonstrates that early intervention with youth who are committing less serious offences results in better outcomes for youth and provides a safer community.29

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26 Ibid, 1 per Toni Makkai.
27 Email from NTP to the Youth Justice System Review, 16 September 2011. The lower success rates for re-offending compared to the first five years’ evaluation of the Youth Diversion program may reflect changes to exclude certain matters such as all Traffic Offences from being referred for diversion.
28 Ibid.
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The available relevant evidence suggests that diversion, as a non custodial option for young offenders, is successful in terms of reducing re-offending. It can also lead to longer term positive outcomes, some of which are difficult to measure. For instance, for some young people, diversion had slowed their re-offending.30

A Recommendation is made to increase resources to diversion. Combined with accurate data collection (which is another Recommendation of this Review) over time, the results are likely to be more easily identified and measured.

Throughout the Review, some stakeholders questioned whether diversion programs should continue to be provided by NTP. On balance, the Review believes NTP should continue to do so, particularly noting its operational capacity ‘on the ground’ in remote areas.

How diversion can be improved

A number of individuals and organisations consulted raised a variety of issues about diversion that require comment by the Review.

i. Police officers have the sole discretion to refer an offender to a diversion. Although the court has the ability to refer a youth to be re-assessed for inclusion in a diversion, the consent of the prosecution and the young offender is required.31 NAAJA views the requirement of consent of the prosecution as, effectively, a ‘veto power over the Magistrate’s decision to refer a young person to diversion’.32

The magistrates argue that ‘suitability for diversion should [also] not be a matter solely determined by Police discretion, especially when a Court is of the view that ‘diversion’ is appropriate’.33

It is difficult to see how NTP and the Youth Justice Court can ‘share’ the responsibility of deciding which offenders are eligible for diversion, and how this might be achieved was not outlined in any submissions. Moreover, the magistrates’ suggestion that the court should decide who is eligible for diversion somewhat defeats the purpose of diversion which aims to divert young people away from the court system. To provide this power to the court would pose a number of administrative and other difficulties, and the Review finds no compelling reason for it to change.

ii. A disproportionately high number of Indigenous young people are involved in the Territory’s youth justice system, and NAAJA stated in its submission that they are less likely to be diverted than non Indigenous young offenders. As noted in chapter 2, the number of young Indigenous people in detention reflects the seriousness of their offences and their prior offending history. This may explain why they are less likely to be diverted, although there does not appear to be any current Territory-based evidence to this effect.

30 Senior Constable Paul Dixon, consultation, Alice Springs, 23 June 2011.
31 Youth Justice Act, section 64.
32 NAAJA, submission 2, 35.
33 The magistrates, submission 16, 10.
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The lack of family support has a significant effect on these offenders. The magistrates submit:

There is potential for a youth to be denied the opportunity for diversion simply because ‘the responsible adult’ is disinterested, unavailable and/or not acting in the youth’s best interests. The only action for a Police Officer to take in those circumstances is to give a verbal warning as a diversion or charge the youth and bring him or her before the Court.34

The absence of a responsible, supportive adult in a young offender’s life can be the reason for the young offender not being diverted and, as a result, he or she is deprived of the benefits of participating in a diversion program. A bail support program such as that discussed in chapter 3 may improve diversion prospects.

iii. A number of criticisms were made regarding the types of offences that qualified for diversion, and have been discussed in chapter 3.

iv. Lack of available or meaningful diversion programs was identified as a problem across the Territory but particularly in remote areas. In some cases, this is because of workforce issues and lack of capacity. DCF advises that ‘no evaluation to benchmark best practice in these diversion programs has been completed, although there is a commitment to assessing the efficiency and the responsiveness of these programs’.35 As stated previously, it is essential that the evaluation be undertaken and the Review encourages DCF to do so, in order to assess existing programs and consider new possibilities, particularly in remote areas.

v. There was widespread criticism of the time taken to assess and arrange a program for a young person who was eligible for diversion. NTP and others advise that, in some cases, up to six months elapsed from the date the offence was committed to undergoing the diversionary activity. The main reasons for this appear to be a lack of resources.

vi. Inadequate staffing levels in NTP were raised at various times during the consultations. Staffing numbers for police diversion have reduced since the initial well funded and well staffed scheme was introduced in 2000. It no longer has its own statistician, nor does it have a superintendent or senior sergeant leading the unit. NTP advises that often positions are unfilled and that ‘in the past three years there has been difficulty attracting staff to the youth diversion area as it is not seen as a core policing function.’36 This may explain why diversion outcomes such as youth justice conferences (victim–offender conferences and family conferences) have reduced in recent years. Conference facilitator training courses for police officers have also been limited. Reduced staffing levels limit the ability of the YDUs to support police diversion in Tennant Creek and Katherine.37

34 Ibid, 11.
35 DCF, submission 5, Attachment D.
36 NTP, submission 33, 5.
37 Ibid.
vii. YDUs exist in Darwin and Alice Springs, and some stakeholders recommended to the Review that, with adequate resourcing, YDUs could also be established at police stations in Katherine and Tennant Creek. The advantages would mean that assessments would be coordinated with NGO services. In Katherine, local police are, in essence, operating their own YDU, but it should be formalised and resources allocated accordingly.

viii. The role of the police officers ends once diversion is complete and no through care or pathways are guaranteed. If the youth is not in statutory care, DCF has no statutory obligations, and the Department of Education and Training (DET) may not necessarily have a role to play either. Additionally, and depending on the young person’s history, NGOs may or may not have a role. This means that there is little or no follow up by any agency that monitors the young person and whether he or she has benefited from participation in a diversion program. Solutions are proposed to deal with this issue in part 3.

**Community Youth Development Units (CYDUs)**

NTP has had some success working with the remote CYDUs, which provide case management support to young offenders through delivering programs and services such as sport and recreational activities, life skills, mentoring and community service. These are ‘community driven’ initiatives that aim to promote positive self image for young people and reduce offending. Police work closely with the CYDUs.

NTP considers community driven initiatives essential to the success of CYDUs and there has been frustration over the years that, due to the high level of dysfunction in some communities, progress has been slow. However, there is a recognition that matters have improved in recent years with the assistance of the Federal Government and the programs, services and other resources that flowed from the Northern Territory Emergency Response.

The bulk of the casework CYDUs undertake does not involve formal diversion. It consists of youth development work and ‘risk abatement’ type work.\(^{38}\) The CYDU on the Tiwi Islands is considered by police officers and others to be successful because, since its establishment in 2003, it has managed many hundreds of family interventions, involving young people and their families.

The Tiwi Islands’ CYDU is located in Nguiu and was recently the subject of a case study in Indigenous dispute resolution and conflict management in a federally funded project aimed at supporting ‘the development of more effective approaches to managing conflict involving Indigenous Australians’.\(^{39}\) The study found that, while the Tiwi Islands’ CYDU initially only

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38 Waite, above n 20, 10.
provided a traditional diversion alternative for young offenders (i.e. those already in the youth justice system), it has since developed the range of programs offered, and also provides services directed at addressing and managing (using skin groups) family and community disputes. For example, there are programs aimed at encouraging attendance and good behaviour at school by school aged children, meetings with the four skin groups, and an intervention program that involves a whole of community approach.

NTP advises that CYDUs have also been effective in Groote Eylandt, Tennant Creek, Borroloola, and Galiwin’ku. NTP also advises that programs similar to those in the Tiwi Islands and Groote Eylandt operate in the southern region of the Territory in partnership with a number of other Northern Territory and Federal government programs.40

Challenges for CYDUs

The costs of providing services in remote communities are high. Staff accommodation is also an ongoing problem, however, the Federal and Territory governments are working to resolve this issue. Staff recruitment and retention are problematic, and innovative ways need to be found to attract and retain staff. Generous terms and conditions are an obvious way to address this but training local Indigenous people is the ideal solution. To a large extent, local capacity building will depend on the relative functionality of each community. The Review notes that this issue is the subject of consideration under Working Future, and also through the Northern Territory Public Sector Remote Workforce Development Strategy.

The Review travelled to relatively few remote communities: Wadeye, Alyangula, Umbakumba, Borroloola, Lajamanu, Maningrida, Elliot and Hermannsburg. With the exception of Maningrida and Tennant Creek, the Review was advised by community members, police officers and government workers in those areas that youth crime was not considered to be a significant problem and, in fact, in some areas, it was considered to have reduced. It is tempting to attribute this view to the success of the CYDUs or other Territory and/or Federal government initiatives; however, there needs to be more evaluation and changes to the way crime data is collected and published, as discussed in chapter 2.

The Review was able to collect some data on court matters heard in regional and remote courts and is aware of baseline data being collected to evaluate a range of indicators in identified as Remote Service Delivery (RSD) sites. However, the Review notes that the number of matters dealing with young people in the courts is relatively small, making it difficult to identify statistical trends and then to attribute these trends to local programs. In the time available, the Review did not identify current mechanisms to measure the success or otherwise of CYDUs in communities other than those areas referred to in the selected case studies.

40 At Papunya for example, and regionally in partnership with other programs such as NT Integrated Youth Strategy in the four southern regions of Docker River, Mutitjulu, Imampa and Aputula.
Accordingly, the Review considers it may be appropriate for NTP to consider mechanisms to evaluate the CYDU program as a whole and, where relevant, opportunities to coordinate this objective with the baseline indicators being developed by the Federal Government in identified Territory RSD sites. The Review also acknowledges that, given the difficulties in measuring statistical trends in remote communities due to the low numbers involved, indicators of success will likely need to be measured using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Conclusion

NTP plays an important role in the youth justice system. Early intervention programs and initiatives, though difficult to evaluate, provide opportunities for young people, some of whom will enter the youth justice system, to develop positive relationships with individual police officers and form a positive view of the NTP.

Diverting young offenders away from the justice system appears to work well; however, more programs need to be developed across the Territory and existing programs need to be evaluated in order to more accurately determine outcomes and identify where improvements can be made.

YDUs need to be better resourced so that assessments and youth justice conferences can be undertaken and completed more quickly. While diversion can work well for young people, more follow up services are required for young offenders, some of whom will go on to re-offend unless they receive support after the diversion process has ended. Coordination of service delivery is vital and is discussed in part 3 of this report.
Chapter 6: Department of Justice

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Policy coordination
Correctional services
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CHAPTER 6: DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Introduction

The Department of Justice (DoJ):

Coordinates all elements of the Territory’s justice system, with the exception of policing, to provide the services, frameworks and infrastructure required to build a fairer and safer community. The agency also undertakes licensing and regulation within a range of industries.¹

DoJ comprises seven divisions. Those that are relevant to this Review are:

- Court Support and Independent Offices
- Policy Coordination (Legal Policy, Community and Justice Policy (CJP) Research and Statistics)
- Licensing, Regulation and Alcohol Strategy (LRAS)
- Northern Territory Correctional Services (NTCS).

There are four ministerial portfolios that cover the work done by DoJ. The first three are Justice and Attorney-General; Racing, Gaming and Licensing; and Alcohol Policy. These are held by the Minister for Justice and Attorney-General.

The fourth portfolio is Correctional Services, held by the Minister for Correctional Services.

Prior to examining the relevant divisions of DoJ, it is useful to briefly summarise the legislative changes that have brought about the limited role for DoJ in the youth justice system.

DoJ had departmental responsibility for the Youth Justice Act (YJA) following its introduction in 2006, with the exception of Part 3, police diversion. In 2008, government announced its Youth Justice Strategy, which included significant amendments to the YJA. A new Part 6A of the YJA was introduced that built on the key planks of government’s strategy and included the:

- introduction of Family Responsibility Agreements and Orders
- creation of Family Support Centres in Darwin and Alice Springs
- commitment to improve information sharing between government departments
- establishment of Youth Rehabilitation Camps
- creation of the Youth Justice Advisory Committee
- establishment of a ‘youth hub’ in Alice Springs.

As a result of these changes, the former Department of Health and Families² was given responsibility for program and financial administration of Part 6A of the YJA, including funding for diversion programs, although assessment and referral procedures remain

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² The Department of Health and Families was restructured in 2010 and the Department of Children and Families (DCF) was created on 1 January 2011.
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within the Youth Diversion Unit of Northern Territory Police (NTP). The strategy is currently managed by the Department of Children and Families (DCF).

The current Administrative Arrangements Order provides that DoJ has limited responsibility for administering aspects of the youth justice system, as it is responsible only for Part 4 of the YJA (i.e. the Youth Justice Court) as well as juvenile detention matters.

The way responsibility for youth justice has been divided in the Administrative Arrangements Orders has had unintended consequences, delivering a mismatch of ministerial portfolios with the services and operations within DoJ and DCF. This has caused uncertainty and confusion at a bureaucratic level, as well as for service providers, which was the subject of considerable comment during the Review. A recommendation is made to overcome this in part 3.

Divisions

The divisions of DoJ that are relevant for the purposes of this Review are:

Court Support and Independent Offices

This division ‘provides administrative and other support services to courts and tribunals administering justice for the community’, and works with the Chief Justice and the Chief Magistrate to assist in the smooth operation of the Territory’s courts and tribunals. Matters such as infrastructure are also part of this division’s responsibility.

Although the Children’s Commissioner continues to report to the Minister for Child Protection, administrative responsibility for the Office of the Children’s Commissioner was transferred from DCF to DoJ in April 2011 and, as a result of legislative amendments, commenced operation on 1 July 2011.

The Commissioner’s powers were also extended to include monitoring of children who have been arrested or are on bail or ‘in relation to whom an Order is made under the Youth Justice Act’, and the definition of a ‘vulnerable child’ was extended to include these children.
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The Children’s Commissioner advises the Review that, since the commencement of his expanded responsibilities, he has:

noted that in some circumstances there is an unclear case management framework for children and young people who have been placed on a non-custodial order containing certain directions provided by the court such as attendance at an NGO facility treatment/therapeutic facility.

I am concerned that the compliance of orders relating to these young people and their progress in dealing with issues may not be sufficiently monitored, reviewed and reported back to the courts in an informed and timely manner.

In terms of my complaints (and ‘own initiative’) functions, I have already encountered difficulties in establishing just which NT government agency is responsible for the placement of certain young people where a non-custodial order has been made.8

The difficulties to which the Commissioner refers appear to be mainly due to the confused nature and effects of the Administrative Arrangements.

Policy Coordination

The relevant parts of this division for the purposes of this Review are:

Legal Policy

Legal Policy ‘develops, reviews and implements legislative change, and advises the Attorney-General and the Government on law and justice measures’.9 It has a relatively small staffing allocation10 and serves the whole department. It is comprised of generalist lawyers who focus on government issues and priorities, and has particular expertise in the development of legislative advice and reforms. Advice is also provided to support ministers who attend intergovernment meetings, such as the Council of Australian Governments and the Standing Committee of Attorneys-General.

Apart from developing the legislation to give effect to government policy, such as drafting instructions for the YJA and other legislation, Legal Policy does not have any specific youth focus.

Community Justice Policy (CJP)

CJP was established in the Policy Coordination division in 2009. It replaced the Office of Crime Prevention, Community Harmony and the Office of Alcohol Policy and Coordination (since moved to Licensing, Regulation and Alcohol Strategy), which comprised the Building Safer Communities framework for crime prevention and community safety between 2004 and 2009.

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8 The Children’s Commissioner, submission 35, 2
10 Total FTEs are 13.66 as per email from DoJ to the Youth Justice System Review, 22 August 2011.
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The stated function of the CJP is to ‘provide[s] strategic policy and program analysis on community justice issues’; however, it mostly administers a range of community safety and other programs, such as the Cross Border Justice Scheme, the Official Visitors Programs to Territory prisons and detention centres, and the Community Benefit Fund. It has a relatively small staff and does not have any youth focus. It currently appears to have limited ability to provide analysis on community justice issues, although its capacity is expanding.

Research and Statistics

The Research and Statistics unit is responsible for ‘meeting the crime and justice research and statistical reporting needs of the department and produces quarterly, annual and ad-hoc publications on the broad range of crime and justice matters’.

The sources from which the unit obtains relevant information are the Integrated Justice Information System (IJIS), the database used by NTP, courts and NTCS to track movements of all persons, including youth, through the criminal justice system; the Police Real-time Online Management Information System (PROMIS) which contains information pertaining to incidents recorded by NTP; and the Integrated Offender Management System (IOMS), which is the database operated by NTCS.

The division has endured increased demand with limited resources over recent years. As discussed in chapter 2, the Review experienced various difficulties obtaining relevant statistical information from the division, and a recommendation is made accordingly.

Licensing, Regulation and Alcohol Strategy (LRAS)

LRAS promotes ‘community wellbeing and safety through effective and efficient regulatory operations, education and strategic policy leadership and coordination of the Alcohol Reform Program across the Northern Territory Government’.

LRAS has provided government with significant assistance in 2011 with the delivery of a range of legislative changes that comprise the Alcohol Reform Program.

The most significant recent relevant reform for the purposes of this Review is the Alcohol Reform (Substance Misuse Assessment and Referral for Treatment Court) Act, which establishes a new SMART Court that can make orders for adults and young people who have been convicted of an alcohol or drug related offence.

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12 Total FTEs are 20.6 as per email from DoJ to the Youth Justice System Review, 22 August 2011.
When the Bill was introduced in March 2011, the Attorney-General said the principles of the SMART Court:

- include that offenders eligible for referral should be identified as early as possible; the process of the court is to be collaborative and non-adversarial; and there should be significant and ongoing monitoring of the progress of offenders who are subject to SMART orders. The system must be one that contains both rewards and sanctions. Part 2 of the SMART Court bill establishes the SMART Court and provides the defined jurisdiction in which the SMART Court can exercise power as a court of therapeutic justice.\(^{15}\)

The magistrates and some lawyers indicated (publicly and to the Review) their concern that youth who have committed violent offences are excluded from the SMART Court. The magistrates have asked the Review to recommend that this be changed.

Alcohol fuelled violence is one of the most serious issues in the Territory, particularly violence against girls and women, which is entrenched and at shamefully high levels. The Review does not believe that crimes of violence, committed by youth or adults, should be dealt with in a court which is ‘collaborative and non adversarial’.

The SMART Court is in its infancy and cannot therefore be evaluated; however, the Review notes that government is closely monitoring the reforms.

**Correctional Services**

NTCS became a part of DoJ in 2001.$^{16}$ It operates as one of seven divisions of the department although it has its own minister. Its executive director reports directly to the chief executive of DoJ who, in turn, reports directly to the Minister for Correctional Services.$^{17}$

NTCS comprises:

- Custodial Services, which comprises two adult correctional facilities: one in the Top End and the other in Central Australia
- Juvenile Detention, which comprises two juvenile detention centres: one in the Top End and the other in Central Australia
- Community Corrections, which monitors and supervises community-based adults and juveniles in accordance with community based orders made by the courts and as directed by the Parole Board.

In February 2009, government announced its New Era in Corrections, a policy initiative including the construction of a new 800 bed adult correctional facility to replace the prison

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15 Second Reading Speech, Alcohol Reform (Substance Misuse Assessment and Referral Treatment Court) Bill 2011 (NT), Legislative Assembly, 30 March 2011 (Ms Lawrie, Minister for Justice and Attorney-General).

16 NTCS was a separate department from 1984 to 2001; it assumed control of Juvenile Justice in January 1986.

17 Under the Administrative Arrangements Order, 1 July 2011, the Minister for Correctional Services has responsibility for ‘juvenile detention’ and ‘juvenile justice’
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at Berrimah that would ‘adopt best practice in design and construction.’ Construction began in 2011 and is expected to be completed in 2014.

The New Era initiative includes enhanced monitoring and surveillance capacity in the community; increased community based reintegration methods; new community custody and community based orders in urban and remote areas; and the construction of prisoner work camp in the Barkly region of the Territory. The goals of the work camp include:

- community reparation and rehabilitation, linking prisoners to education and vocational training.
- It is about getting prisoners job ready, getting them into work and repaying the community, and reducing the risk of re-offending.

NTCS advises that the development of a prison farm in the Katherine region is also part of the New Era initiative. New Era does not include any initiatives specifically for young offenders.

For the purposes of this Review, it is unnecessary to consider adult custodial services in any detail. The operations of the two relevant divisions of NTCS that involve young offenders, namely juvenile detention centres and Community Corrections, are examined.

**Juvenile Detention Centres**

NTCS operates two juvenile detention centres: one at Berrimah, 15km outside of Darwin, the Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre (DDJDC); the other 25km outside of Alice Springs, the Alice Springs Juvenile Detention Centre (ASJDC).

The AIC has analysed information on detainees received into the two centres between 2005–06 and 2009–10 (see figure 6.1). This information shows little overall change in reception numbers across the period, although annual variations do occur.

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18 Paul Henderson, ‘New Era for Territory Corrections’ (Media Release, 12 February 2009).
19 Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 30 November 2010, Ministerial Statement: A New Era in Corrections (Mr McCarthy, Minister for Correctional Services).
20 A juvenile detention centre must comply with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Administration of Juvenile Justice (the Beijing Rules) for juveniles deprived of their liberty.
21 It should be noted that the detainee numbers in this chart do not necessarily reflect the actual number of distinct individuals received into detention as detainees may first be received into the Alice Springs centre then transferred to the Don Dale centre, and some individuals will have been received into either or both centres more than once.
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Figure 6.1 Juvenile detention receptions, 2005–06 to 2009–10, by detention centre and total

Source: NT Department of Justice

Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre (DDJDC)

DDJDC is close to the Darwin Correctional Centre. It relies on this facility for the provision of meals for detainees, laundry facilities and emergency response should an event require support from NTCS staff. There is no plan under New Era to relocate DDJDC to the new adult prison precinct.

DDJDC is a medium to high security facility with a capacity of 38 detainees, catering for male and females. It offers behavioural case management and offender rehabilitation, including a staged classification system that involves the accumulation of privileges and housing depending on behaviour.

DDJDC offers a ‘full DET managed education program’. The Don Dale Education Unit operates 50 weeks per year and provides academic, manual, recreational and life skills education. Accredited vocational education and training courses are available and detainees may participate in courses that provide formal qualification during their incarceration. The unit also provides schooling through the Northern Territory Open Education Centre for students in years 8 to 11. Since 2008, the Don Dale Education Unit has operated a music program in conjunction with the Australian Children’s School of Music.

Young men are housed in dormitory style accommodation, usually four or five people per cell, and those in medium security share with one other person in an area close to the exercise field. Young women are housed two to a cell. DDJDC includes a basketball court, swimming pool, barbecue area and grassed exercise field. The facility is old and NTCS indicated that a new one would need to be built in the next few years based on current trends.

22 NTCS, submission 18, 4
23 Ibid, 5.
24 DDJDC, consultation, Darwin, 19 May 2011.
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Given the terms of reference, the Review was not required to examine a range of other issues relating to DDJDC. In terms of dealing effectively with young offenders, it is clear that the facility does as well as it can in difficult circumstances. The most challenging aspect of the operations at DDJDC is the lengthy remand periods and short sentences, which are often back-dated, that hamper the development and successful implementation of case management programs. Staff at DDJDC advised the Review that most detainees live in an atmosphere of ‘imminent release’ because of the extremely high remand rates. This makes implementing meaningful case management very difficult.

Alice Springs Juvenile Detention Centre (ASJDC)

The ASJDC was opened in March 2011 in response to public concern about law and order issues in Alice Springs. It opened as a 16 bed facility by converting one of the low security ‘cottages’ located outside of the perimeter of the Alice Springs Correctional Centre. It is intended as a short to medium term option for young offenders in Central Australia.

The centre replaced the Alice Springs Juvenile Holding Centre, which was designed for short stays of less than one week, and which provided no educational facilities or case management.

The ASJDC operates with one case worker who reports to the case management unit at DDJDC. The Owen Springs Education Unit is operated by DET. Classes focus on literacy and numeracy, with the rest of school time providing vocational training programs, manual training skills, computer skills, science and health.

The ASJDC houses only young men; young women continue to be relocated to Don Dale. Accommodation is also dormitory style, with some detainees housed four to a room and others two to a room. As it is a new facility, the ASJDC does not yet have an established sporting field; however, there is an outdoor area suitable for exercise.

The ASJDC is supported by the Alice Springs Correctional Centre for laundry and additional food service provision. Should a decision be made to establish a more permanent juvenile detention centre away from the Alice Springs Correctional Centre, additional infrastructure will be required for these services.

Several submissions were received voicing concern about the proximity of the ASJDC to the adult prison facility in Alice Springs. In particular, stakeholders were concerned that detainees could hear the loud speaker from the Alice Springs Correction Centre (ASCC) and could see and speak through the wire fence surrounding the outdoor area to prisoners housed in the ASCC cottages.

25 Ibid.
26 See, for example: CAALAS, submission 17, 34; CAYJ, submission 20, 16; NTCOSS, submission 19, 12.
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The Review is satisfied that the detainees at ASJDC are sufficiently separated from the ASCC and that there is compliance with the YJA. The entrance to the ASJDC faces away from the entrance to the ASCC. A Colorbond fence has been erected blocking the view of prisoners and detainees from one another. This includes adult prisoners living in other cottages outside the perimeter fence at ASCC. While there is some prospect that adult prisoners might see youth detainees when exercising, moving to the front of the ASCC is not permitted and carries sanctions for adult prisoners.

Further concerns were that staff within the ASJDC were not appropriately trained youth workers and the case management model employed at DDJDC was not fully operational at ASJDC, resulting in inconsistent procedure and management techniques between centres.

Staff at the ASJDC are mostly youth workers who are answerable to the Juvenile Detention division of NTCS and must have completed a Juvenile Detention Induction Training Program.

As the ASJDC has only been operating for a relatively short period of time, it is impossible to evaluate. However, the Review encourages government to commission an independent evaluation by mid 2012. The evaluation should consider how young women can be accommodated; whether the centre at its current location is permanent; and the establishment of additional counselling educational and recreational programs.

Detainee trends and issues

Young people sentenced to periods of detention ‘usually will have a more serious criminal history, have been convicted of a more serious offence and exhibit a far greater range of risk factors commonly associated with an increased likelihood of re-offending.’

Northern Territory juvenile detention data was analysed by the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) including daily average number of youths in detention, number in detention by Indigenous and non Indigenous status and gender, legal status of detention, and detention trends over time.

27 Youth Justice Act, section 26 provides that youth in detention ‘must, as far as practicable, be kept apart from other persons under detention who are not youths’.
28 Email from NTCS to the Youth Justice System Review, 18 August 2011.
29 NTCOSS, submission 19, 14.
31 Data collected by the AIC included the daily average numbers of juveniles in detention in the NT for the financial years 2005–06 to 2009–10, together with the first three-quarters of the 2010–11 financial year (to 31 March 2011). A separate dataset showed daily averages for each month from 1 January 2005 to 30 September 2010, while another showed receptions into the two detention centres in the NT for the period 2005–06 to 2009–10.
In general, and as demonstrated by Figure 6.2:

- A relatively small number of juveniles were detained across the data period with the average daily number in detention ranging from around 18 in 2005–06 to around 39 in 2010–11.
- The vast majority of juveniles in detention were Indigenous.

There is greater difference between Indigenous and non Indigenous youth in detention than seen from the data on youths apprehended by NTP (see chapter 2). This suggests young Indigenous Territorians may be more likely than non Indigenous Territorians to commit offences of a type and seriousness that lead to them being detained.

According to the AIC, it also suggests the possibility that Indigenous youths may tend to have a more extensive or more serious prior offending history than non Indigenous youths, increasing the likelihood of them being detained for subsequent offences. The Review has been unable to explore these issues further; however, the observations made by the AIC are consistent with those made by stakeholders during the course of the Review.

*Figure 6.2 Juveniles in detention, 1 July 2005 to 31 March 2011, daily average number by Indigenous status*

Analysis of the juvenile detention data by gender (see figure 6.3) demonstrates that there are a greater number of males than females in juvenile detention.
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Figure 6.3 Juveniles in detention, 1 July 2005 to 30 June 2011, daily average number by gender

![Graph showing daily average number of juveniles in detention by gender from 2005-06 to 2010-11.]

Source: NT Department of Justice

Over the reporting period, the number of juvenile detainees received into detention on remand was considerably higher than the number received under sentence (figure 6.4). The trend for higher numbers of juvenile detainees being received on remand and not under sentence is nationally consistent.32

Figure 6.4 Juvenile detention receptions, 2005–06 to 2009–10, by legal status

![Graph showing juvenile detention receptions by legal status from 2005-06 to 2009-10.]

Source: NT Department of Justice

For each year from July 2005 to June 2011, there was also a greater daily average number of juveniles in detention on remand than juveniles who were sentenced (figure 6.5).

The age groups of juvenile detainees in the Territory are identified in figure 6.6, which shows the majority of juveniles received into detention were aged from 15 to 17 years, with smaller numbers aged less than 15 years.

While there is some annual variation in the proportion of different age groups for young people in juvenile detention, the numbers of younger people in the under 15 year old age group is increasing.
NTCS also provided data to the Review that outlines the average numbers of juveniles detained in the Territory over the past five years (see figure 6.7). This data demonstrates the volatility of juvenile detainee numbers, although the numbers have been trending upwards since 2006 with ‘unprecedented’ growth in 2010–11.

Figure 6.7 Monthly daily average of juveniles in detention, January 2005 to March 2011

The AIC notes that monthly fluctuations in the number of juveniles in detention are demonstrated more strongly when the numbers of male and female detainees are examined separately (figure 6.8). While both genders show a slightly upward trend, the degree of fluctuation is particularly pronounced in the male detainee population, although the numbers are small.
In its submission, NTCS reported that:\(^{33}\)

- There has been a doubling of daily averages in some months compared to the same period for the preceding year.
- There have been record peaks.
- As at 31 March 2011, the 2009–10 figure of 29 had increased by 38% to 40.
- There has been an increase in the number of offenders from Central Australia.
- The number of detainees who are young women has increased ‘sharply’, doubling from five to 10.
- The daily average of the number of detainees is expected to rise in 2010–11 from 30 to 70 in 2011–12.\(^{34}\)

NTCS also reports anecdotal evidence of the following trends in the composition of the detainee population:

- an increase in urban-based offenders and a related decrease in remote community offenders
- an increase in the seriousness of the nature of crime for which offenders are brought before the courts and subsequently incarcerated
- an increase in the number of young offenders aged 14 or under
- an increase in the display of overt inappropriate sexualised behaviours by detainees.\(^{35}\)

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33 NTCS, submission 18, 6.
35 NTCS, submission 18, 7.
Analysis by the AIC supports the general trends identified by NTCS; however, the AIC also notes that, given the small numbers of juveniles in detention, trends should be interpreted with caution and read in context of overall population increases and monthly volatility.

While the majority of detainees are aged from 15 to 17 years, the youngest detainee present when the Review attended the Alice Springs Juvenile Detention Centre was 13 years old. Staff reported having detained a child as young as 11 years of age.

Case management of detainees

Case management services are an integral part of youth detention. Youth justice case management is described as ‘a collaborative process of assessment, intervention, planning, linking, facilitation, review and advocacy, to assist clients and families to improve their lives, and to provide opportunities that likely to assist in reducing the risk of re-offending.’

Currently, the Case Management Unit for youth detention comprises one senior case worker and two case workers located at DDJDC (one of whom must be a social worker or psychologist) and one case worker located at the ASJDC.

Detainee needs are assessed:
- using a range of suitable tools during their first few weeks in detention. Assessments cover offence and related factors, drug and alcohol factors, family and community resources, mental and general health wellbeing.

All detainees participate in the case management program with the primary behaviour management tool being the classification system in the facility. Maximum security detainees have more limited privileges, whereas open classification detainees have less restrictive security and supervision.

DDJDC offers two treatment programs: Anger Management and Cognitive Skills. These run approximately four times per year with up to eight detainees attending a program. They have been developed with best practice models and are evidence-based.

NTCS advises that it has no data as to the success or otherwise of the programs, and that:

It is hard to answer if the current group programs at Don Dale are enough. We manage as best we can. However the caseworker’s time is mostly taken up with the day to day case management of offenders and crisis interventions. This means that we simply do not have much time left to focus on organising and facilitating group programs. It would be better if we had a position at both centres (under the Senior Caseworker) which were dedicated to facilitating treatment programs.

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37 A strong and capable workforce is paramount to the delivery of youth justice and is discussed further in chapter 9.
38 NTCS, submission 18, 6
39 Ibid, 5.
40 Email from NTCS to the Youth Justice System Review, 14 September 2011.
NTCS advises that work is progressing to develop a rolling group program by the end of 2011, which would be a cognitive program. No programs are operated that address criminogenic factors relating to young offenders.

Psychological interventions are usually outsourced. At DDJDC referrals are made by caseworkers to NGOs such as Catholic Care for drug and alcohol treatment. At ASJDC referrals are made to Central Australian Aboriginal Congress, an Indigenous health provider.

All staff at the ASJDC are trained in crisis intervention and assault response, Advanced First Aid, Mental Health First Aid (MHFA) and suicide risk awareness. The MHFA, crisis intervention and assault response training, suicide risk awareness are youth specific. While staff receive additional training in emergency response, case management and behavioural management training, there is presently only one dedicated case worker employed at ASJDC.

Given the high rate of Indigenous young people in detention, the Review was interested to know what, if any—particularly cultural—programs operated at either facility. No programs are offered; however, NTCS advises that the number of young offenders from remote areas has decreased in recent years. DDJDC encourages local and AFL sporting identities to visit the facility and, where possible, to mentor some of the detainees.

**Post release services**

Reintegration services are available to detainees through sentence planning at DDJDC.

NTCS advises that:

Reintegration services are provided by way of sentence planning with a combination of treatment programs, educating continuance linkages, job readiness programs and community support mechanism for housing and other identified gaps. Reintegration services are supported by the NAAJA Through Care Program and various other government and NGO initiatives. These services can be hampered by lengthy remand periods and short or back dates subsequent sentences which create an atmosphere of imminent release for detainees over a significant period of time.41

NTCS advises that DDJDC staff from the Case Management Unit meet with representatives from NAAJA fortnightly to develop joint case management plans for detainees. At the ASJDC, a Memorandum of Understanding is currently being developed with the Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service (CAALAS) for a similar purpose. Mission Australia also operates a post release program.

It was impossible for the Review to evaluate these programs in the time available; however, results would have been difficult to obtain in any event, based on the difficulties with data identified in chapter 2. If this recommendation is accepted, then government will be able to evaluate the success of post release programs in future, as it will be able to more accurately measure re-offending outcomes.

41 NTCS, submission 18, 5.
Detainees who turn 18 while in detention and the ‘Dual Track’ system

A detainee must be transferred to an adult prison within 28 days of his or her eighteenth birthday\(^2\), although the Director of NTCS has discretion to keep the detainees in the juvenile facility for up to six months.

Victoria has a system known as Dual Track, which permits a court to sentence a ‘young offender’ (aged less than 21 years) to youth detention\(^3\) instead of adult prison. The court makes this decision after assessing the prospects of the young person’s rehabilitation or if it ‘believes that the young offender is particularly impressionable, immature or likely to be subjected to undesirable influences in an adult prison’\(^4\).

The purpose of this system is to encourage diversion away from the adult criminal justice system, having regard to what is known about continued brain development during late adolescence.

The Review did not identify this as a current need in the Territory; however, NTCS may wish to investigate the possibility of adopting a dual track system at some point if it determines that, by doing so, it would assist particular young offenders.

Community Corrections

Northern Territory Community Corrections (NTCC) was independently reviewed in 2010\(^5\) (the Price Report).

The role of NTCC was described in the Price Report as follows:

NTCC functions within the Department of Justice to provide high quality assessment and advice to assist in the formulation of orders and directions of the Court and Parole Board for offenders as well as supervise offenders on orders to ensure order compliance and community safety and to promote offender rehabilitation.\(^6\)

NTCC has offices in Alice Springs, Tennant Creek, Katherine, Nhulunbuy, Palmerston, Casuarina, Groote Eylandt and Wadeye. Despite the significant efforts of individual workers in remote locations, the bulk of their work is with adults. Some NTCC workers reported that they had, at times, none or very few young offenders as clients. Some stated during the consultations that lack of parental motivation and support made it difficult for them to work with young offenders.

Young offenders comprise between 5% and 10% of the work of NTCC. Hence, most of its client base is adults, who comprise the bulk of the prison population and commit most recorded offences. With competing and finite resources, it is understandable what workers

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\(^2\) Youth Justice Act, section 164.

\(^3\) In Victoria a youth may be sentenced to a youth justice centre, if aged at least 15 years, or a youth residential centre, if aged less than 15 years.

\(^4\) Sentencing Act 1991 (Vic), section 32(1)(b).


\(^6\) Ibid, 1.
prioritise. They also face enormous geographic difficulties in remote areas. However, the Price Report made a number of concerning observations:

The Department’s lack of proactive management of juvenile offenders runs contrary to every other State and Territory in Australia … The overall lack of interest and attention to juvenile offender management by many front line staff, middle and senior management was more than apparent during this project.47

And:

There is little or no effort being made within NTCC around prevention or diversion of juveniles, with minimal compliance seeming to be the principal objective. While the current numbers are small, managing juvenile offenders effectively will potentially pay big dividends in the long-term. Other jurisdictions have recognised this, and resourced accordingly.48

During the Review, it emerged that there was relatively little interest or expertise within NTCC in youth justice. The magistrates, in their joint submission, make similar observations:

Although Community Corrections do [sic] prepare reports and undertake what they classify as supervision, there does not appear to be any officers within that section with any expertise in juvenile justice, nor has there been any intention displayed for officers to be trained. It is understood that there are no separate probation officers for youth; they simply form part of a caseload together with adult offenders.49

In addition to low client numbers, lack of expertise and desire to work with young offenders, and the need to balance competing resources, there appears to be an additional reason for NTCC not being proactive in this area. It dates back to 2008, during the development of amendments to the YJA and the Government’s Youth Justice Strategy. The amendments saw administrative and departmental responsibility for parts of the YJA shared between the then Department of Health and Families (DHF)50 and DoJ.

As part of the reforms, the youth function of NTCC was to have been transferred to DHF, to be located in the Youth Services Branch (as it then was) that would have required legislative and other changes. For a variety of reasons, the transfer did not occur.

The effects of this proposed transfer not occurring partly explain the somewhat lethargic approach adopted to young offenders by NTCC. The magistrates observed in their submission:

Under the Youth Justice Act, the responsibility for providing reports and supervision orders remains with Correctional Services. Despite this, the Minister for Families and Children [sic] has retained responsibility for those parts of the Youth Justice Act that deal with sentencing

48 Ibid.
49 The magistrates, submission 16, 12.
50 The Department of Health and Families was divided into two separate departments, the Department of Health and the Department of Children and Families on 1 July 2011.
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by the Court and the supervision of youth offenders in the community. However, under the administrative arrangements order, the Minister for Correctional Services has portfolio responsibility for ‘juvenile justice’. Given there is no ‘juvenile justice’ legislation, it is unclear what this responsibility entails.\(^{51}\)

The magistrates remarked that ‘no single minister or departmental agency takes responsibility for this part of the Youth Justice Act (or indeed the system as a whole)’.\(^{52}\)

Conclusion

DoJ has ‘limited involvement in youth offending, other than management of juvenile detention, and has very limited capacity for the development of crime prevention policy (noting Police responsibility in this realm as well)’.\(^{53}\)

It has ‘shared’ responsibility with DCF for various elements of the youth justice system, and works under a confusing set of Administrative Arrangements.\(^{54}\)

The department has a lack of relevant youth specific expertise in policy coordination and advice; however, if properly resourced, it could develop its capacity to provide government with strategic advice on how to reduce youth offending and re-offending. It also has a limited ability to collect and analyse relevant data.

NTCS’s juvenile detention facilities appear to operate well in the context of small but increasing numbers of young people in detention, increasing numbers serving time on remand, and an increasing number of children under the age of 15 being detained.

The biggest challenge for NTCS is working with young offenders to target their offending behaviours. By the time most young offenders are in detention, NTCS does not have the necessary skill base or resources to address aspects of the offending of its detainees. While some inroads can be made, the importance of other services and responses prior to and after detention cannot be overstated. There will only be a real prospect of detainee numbers reducing when young offenders receive the level and type of interventions they require and which are unable to be provided in detention centres, particularly given that planning is difficult for so many detainees on remand.

NTCC clearly experiences difficulties providing adequate services to young offenders for a variety of reasons. While one-off improvements can be made to NTCC, no significant changes are likely to occur unless NTCC and NTCS are part of a coordinated approach to the youth justice system that ensures a continuum of service and response delivery. This is discussed in more detail in part 3 of this report.

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51 The magistrates, submission 16, 12.
52 Ibid.
53 Email from DoJ to the Youth Justice Review, 22 August 2011.
54 It may also be in part due to confusion which arose from the proposed transfer of all youth justice system matters in 2008 (which did not in fact occur until 2011) resulting in NTCS continuing to assume administrative responsibility for both ‘juvenile detention’ and ‘juvenile justice’.
Chapter 7: Department of Education and Training

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Context and challenges
Legislation and current reforms
Education and justice outcomes
Compulsory school attendance
Youth camps
Interagency collaboration
Partnerships
Cross cultural legal education
CHAPTER 7: DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Introduction

The Department of Education and Training (DET) provides:

- quality early childhood services and education for all young Territorians, with a focus on meeting the needs of Indigenous students, leading to jobs, training and further education. In the training business area, we work to increase access to training pathways for Territorians to build or expand their skills so they can contribute to and benefit from the Territory’s development.¹

The Review considered DET’s strategies, the way it is driving commitment to education through reform, how legislation impacts on its ability to support youth, including those either in or at risk of entering the youth justice system, the importance of education and training for young people, and the risks generated through disengagement with the system. Although it is not a DET focus, cross cultural legal education is also discussed.

Context and challenges

DET provides the majority of mainstream education services in the Territory through 152 schools. Another 36 non government education facilities also provide education services:

- More than 44% of the Territory population resides in remote or very remote areas, and is dispersed over a wide area.
- More than 40% of the school aged population in the Territory is Indigenous.
- 75% of the Indigenous population resides outside a major regional centre.
- A significant proportion of the population is highly mobile.
- The Territory has comparatively young people and a high birth rate, particularly among the Indigenous people.
- 40% of all Territory schools have almost 100% Indigenous enrolment.
- Almost 25% of Territory students attend schools where the Indigenous enrolment exceeds 80%.²

This data, combined with the acknowledged level of socioeconomic disadvantage in many remote communities, presents significant challenges for DET. At present, the Territory has over 50% of government schools in the bottom decile of SEIFA/IRSD (index of relative socio economic disadvantage) list of Australian schools. More than 25% of Territory students attend these schools.³

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² DET, submission 10, 3.
³ Ibid.
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DET recognises the same critical socioeconomic issues present in remote locations that lead to a number of problems including disengagement, offending and re-offending. This was also acknowledged by the departments of Children and Families (DCF) and Health (DoH), and others, including the Parole Board of the Northern Territory. A key priority for DET is to work closely with students, families and communities to address these problems and to increase the value of schooling.

Research shows a clear link between poor academic performance and the onset and frequency of offending. Other factors connected with young people becoming involved in the youth justice system include:

- lack of supervision
- truancy
- family problems
- gender
- aboriginality
- alcohol and other drug use.

Young people who are involved in the youth justice system are also likely to have dropped out of school early. Importantly, some causes of poor attendance are beyond the control of the school. A number of factors underlie this disadvantage. Among them, and key to this Review, is the comparatively low participation rate by adults in work that requires formal education and skills, which in turn leads to a disconnect between school and the opportunities of work or further education post school years. Additional evidence reveals that adults who are the most persistent and serious offenders have been previously involved in the youth justice system.

The connection between education and life outcomes is not necessary well understood by parents and the wider community, and is both a cause and effect of a lack of commitment to school attendance.

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4 Parole Board of the NT, submission 28, 2.
5 DET, submission 10, 3, 6, 8.
8 DET, submission 10, 3.
10 DET, submission 10, 3.
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Data accessed by DET shows that good school attendance habits, developed early, have better long term outcomes, and cooperation between a school and its community improves attendance. The data also indicates:

- Interesting and relevant pathways leading to employment increase engagement with learning.
- Retention in very remote schools in the middle years is decreasing.
- High staff turnover has a substantial negative effect on attendance and engagement.\(^{11}\)

In addition to the responsibility schools have for preparing young people for successful transition to employment, training or further education, those in remote locations often have to address problems of lack of literacy and numeracy as well as those associated with lack of attendance and engagement, which may emerge when children enter formal education or at various stages throughout schooling. Moreover, some children have limited intellectual and social skills, which means they are ‘not ready to learn’.\(^{12}\)

Significant challenges confront education in the Territory. Despite this, reforms in recent years promise improvement in education outcomes generally, and particularly for children in remote areas. DET is well placed both to maintain its present contribution, which provides protections to young people to assist in preventing their involvement in the youth justice system, and assist in rehabilitation of those who are already in the youth justice system.

Legislation and current reforms

The Education Act (EA) underpins the administration of school and training service providers in the Territory. It provides that all children are required to attend formal schooling from six years of age. The compulsory school age extends to 17 years.\(^{13}\)

The Northern Territory Council of Social Services (NTCOSS) highlighted the importance for this legislation to be ‘accompanied by programs and/or initiatives that improve access to … training as it is a particular challenge for young Aboriginal people, and those living remotely.’\(^{14}\)

The Parole Board of the Northern Territory also stressed the importance of children successfully completing education as:

The number of offenders who come before the court who cannot read or write or do arithmetic

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\(^{11}\) DET, submission 10, 2.
\(^{12}\) DET CEO, consultation, Darwin, 5 July 2011; DET, submission 10, 3.
\(^{13}\) Education Act, section 20.
\(^{14}\) NTCOSS, submission 19, 22.
and yet have supposedly completed year 10 or 11 is significant … A youth who has reached year 10 or 11 and cannot read or write or do arithmetic must experience a great sense of disconnection with the community.\textsuperscript{15}

The Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service (CAALAS) confirms the challenges and desperation of disengagement with education:

Many young Aboriginal people who are involved with the youth justice system have histories of poor engagement with education and low education attainment levels. Often, this results in an ongoing cycle of truancy and detachment from education as the young person recognises that they are below average literacy or numeracy standards for their age, are ashamed of this fact and therefore are unwilling to re-engage in mainstream education.\textsuperscript{16}

The Territory has undertaken a number of reforms aimed at providing educational engagement, attainment and successful transitions for young people. Since January 2010, all children in the Territory have been required to complete year 10. Thereafter, they may elect to participate in employment, training, further schooling or a combination of these, until they reach 17 years of age.

Some of this renewed focus on education attainment and successful transitions is occurring in the context of two key DET strategies:

• Strong Start, Bright Future – a model for success in remote service delivery
• Every Child, Every Day – an enrolment, attendance and participation strategy.\textsuperscript{17}

These incorporate school improvement approaches that emphasise establishing partnerships with families, communities, business and industry. The intention is to develop ways in which to support remote students to engage more fully with education and transition pathways.\textsuperscript{18}

In practice, DET offers a series of programs in the Territory Growth Towns where Indigenous people in particular face obstacles in transition from education facilities to employment.

\textit{Key strategies}


\textsuperscript{15} Parole Board of the NT, \textit{submission 28}, 2.
\textsuperscript{16} CAALAS, \textit{submission 17}, 46.
\textsuperscript{17} DET, \textit{submission 10}, 6.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, 3.
The model:

redesigns education, early years and training service delivery for Indigenous students in 20 Territory Growth Towns as well as their surrounding small communities, homelands and outstations. 19

Key features are:

• community/whole school
• engagement
• early childhood
• participation and pathways
• training and job pathways
• research and evaluation.

DET advises that the strategy should provide a more integrated and holistic approach to education and training services in each community with a strong focus on very young children from preschool through school and pathways beyond formal learning.

There is great potential for this model in engagement with local communities, collaboration with cultural advisers, and formalised use of DET facilities for evening, after school and weekend programs. In addition, there are opportunities for development of strong cultural leadership focusing on early childhood, incorporation of cultural perspectives and provision of flexible learning arrangements with the capacity to increase attendance.

There are also possibilities for inclusion of some specialist subject areas with a view to including some for boys and for girls, as well as focusing Vocational Education and Training (VET) on getting jobs for school leavers.

In July 2008, the Federal Government announced three new boarding facilities for Indigenous students in remote communities. The facilities, yet to be completed, will provide access to quality schooling and better education outcomes for Indigenous secondary school students. 20 The Review acknowledges the support this federal initiative will add to the delivery of Strong Start, Bright Future and the opportunities these boarding schools will provide to more than 150 Indigenous students.

The Strong Start, Bright Future model is being evaluated though a longitudinal study by the Menzies School of Health Research.

19 Ibid, 6.
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Every Child, Every Day

DET introduced the Every Child, Every Day strategy and action plan in December 2010, and advises that it is directed to providing a: ‘comprehensive and integrated approach to improving enrolment, attendance, and participation’.21

Five priorities were identified, supported by initiatives oriented to helping parents, schools and communities to overcome some barriers to success:

- shared belief and understandings
- strong leadership
- making schools safe and welcoming places
- real home, school, business and community partnerships
- relevant and interesting learning pathways.22

DET states in its submission that the strategy is based on a belief that strong leadership combined with real partnerships with families and communities are critical to supporting young people to attend and engage with education, as well as having them participate in an eligible option at completion of year 10.

Clearly, it will be some time before sufficient data can be collated and analysed for both Strong Start, Bright Future and Every Child, Every Day; nevertheless, there are early and promising signs of positive results in the Territory education system that have their origins in a series of reforms aimed at improving student outcomes.

Education and justice outcomes

A body of national and international research shows that engagement with education is both a preventative and rehabilitative factor in offending behaviour that may otherwise bring young people into contact, or further involvement, with the youth justice system.23

DET is already playing a role in prevention and rehabilitation of young people who come into contact with the system. Its current role can be described as one in which DET:

- is identified as an ‘appropriate agency’ in relation to the Family Responsibility Program
- is an authorised officer of the FRA interagency collaboration panel
- provides services to improve the wellbeing and engagement of young people in schooling
- provides school counsellors, attendance officers and school liaison officers
- provides programs for young people at risk of disengaging from school

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21 DET, submission 10, 7.
22 Ibid, 7-8.
23 Baker, above n 6.
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• provides drug and personal awareness programs
• is identified as an appropriate agency in relation to FRAs and orders with families where persistent truancy is an issue.24

DET also has a strong and continuing presence in communities and for many of these it is the only point of government service delivery. Along with the integration of early childhood services within education and initiatives to increase high quality early childhood programs, DET has the opportunity for DET to establish links with young children and families much earlier than other agencies.25

DET advises that earlier access to families will enable comprehensive screening of children for a range of wellbeing related problems and provide for early intervention. In turn, this should lead to improved success rates at all age levels. The recently restructured service delivery model, which now has a regional focus, allows for local services to provide more rapid and responsive interventions.

DET delivers a number of supports and programs for young people at risk of disengaging or who have dropped out of school, including pathways to year 12, employment and VET qualifications. However the department advises that ‘enhancement and expansion of existing services and measures’ are required.26

Re-engaging youth who are at risk of or who are already disengaged from education requires a case management approach to ensure the flexibility and responsiveness to address individual needs. These kinds of interventions are necessarily resource intensive, but developing individualised learning plans and providing intensive support are fundamental to re-engage young people.

The North Australia Aboriginal Justice Agency (NAAJA) advises there is a ‘need for Aboriginal-specific mentoring and positive role model programs to be developed.’27

Mentoring can have a positive impact on participation and performance in education, training and employment. Evidence suggests that some young people who are assigned a mentor feel more confident about their performance at school, attend school more regularly and achieve better outcomes than young offenders who do not have a mentor.28 Studies have also shown that mentoring can result in a doubling of participation rates in education, training and employment.29

25 DET, submission 10, 8.
26 Ibid.
27 NAAJA, submission 2, 77.
DET supports, as does the Review, mentoring programs and has identified that it can also take a role in establishing a mentoring program for young offenders, particularly for Indigenous youth. Government and the business community may wish to consider working together to develop initiatives aimed at young people who are the subject of this Review. Establishing mentoring programs and providing financial and other support are worthy of consideration, particularly if they result in reductions in youth offending.

**Suspension from school and orders to attend school**

The issues of suspension from school and the lack of support services provided to children while suspended arose during consultations. While disruptive students often need to be removed from a school, with the exception of a recent DET initiative, there are no programs available to these students when they are removed. Some research suggests that suspension can contribute to offending:

> The key risk factors are those associated with school attendance/behaviour and past contact with the criminal justice system. Not being at school, having been suspended or expelled from school and having had several prior contacts with the criminal justice system all independently increase the likelihood of another conviction.\(^{30}\)

This year, DET commenced operating a ‘suspension centre’ in Palmerston. It is voluntary, only operates in the mornings, and is only available to students who have been suspended for more than five days, and is the only one in the Territory.

This is a positive step and, subject to an evaluation, it may be that additional centres should be established. In the meantime, government should consider alternatives.

DET commented on the challenges associated with the lack of specificity of court orders made regarding school attendance:

> Officers also report instances of court orders being too general, making enforcement difficult and compliance ambiguous. For example, lack of specificity in court orders means a young person could effectively comply with an order to attend school by arriving at school, being marked for attendance for part of the day and then leaving.

To rectify this, an order should specify what ‘attend school’ means and include what will be considered a reasonable excuse for non-attendance: for example: the young person must attend school with a 90% attendance record and provide a medical certificate for absences. In this way, breaches of the order would be more identifiable.\(^{31}\)

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\(^{31}\) DET, submission 10, 11.
The Review considers that this issue should be addressed. Legislative amendment may be an option; however, in the first instance, it would be sensible for the CEO of DET to meet with the Chief Magistrate to appraise her of his concerns with a view to the latter issuing a relevant practice direction.

Given the importance of children attending school, the Chief Magistrate may also wish to consider including additional school based options when orders are made by the Youth Justice Court. For instance, the law provides that children must go to school, but sentencing or bail orders could be made by the court that require the child to complete a semester, or a year level.

An order of this nature would clearly need to take into account the young person’s intellectual capacity, family circumstances, and a number of other factors; however, there is no reason why such an order cannot be made.

DET, other government agencies, the legal and non government sectors during consultations, and in submissions affirm the importance of education for young people generally, and its ability to impact on re-offending in particular. While detention is required for particular young offenders whose crimes require it, efforts must be made to broaden the use of existing sentencing options and bail options. An order made to attend and complete school would appear to do this.

Compulsory school attendance: different departmental approaches

Parts of the *Youth Justice Act* (YJA) and the EA appear to be at odds. The EA makes school attendance compulsory. Yet, under Part 6A of the YJA, Family Responsibility Agreements (FRAs) are intended to operate differently, and provide a system of support rather than compulsion. As outlined in chapter 4, FRAs are agreements between families and an authorised agency, such as a Family Support Centre (FSC).

While there is provision in the YJA to enforce FRAs, no orders have been made and DCF advises that this is because none have been required. Some families fail to get their children to school, and FRAs are designed to provide assistance to those families in the hope that, over time, their parenting will improve and result in better outcomes for the child.

In its submission, DET points to the different approaches and argues that ‘the *Education Act* and the *Youth Justice Act* must complement each other and should have the same or similar enforcement capabilities’.

The Review accepts that there should be different approaches to working with families and children, and that those contained in the EA and the YJA appear to be intentionally different policy responses. Nevertheless, government may wish to further consider the effect of DET’s suggestion.
Youth camps

As outlined in chapter 4, DCF is responsible for the development and delivery, through non-government organisation (NGO) partners, of youth camps. DET supports the use of youth camps as bail and sentencing options available to courts.

DET supports an expansion of youth rehabilitation camps that could meet the educational needs of young offenders, who would be assisted in their return to school, or participation in an alternative eligible program. DET has the capacity to provide practical assistance in this regard.32

Interagency collaboration

DET states in its submissions that ‘interagency collaboration is critical to reducing to youth offending and recidivism’.33 It also comments that:

|There is no overarching strategy for youth in the Northern Territory. This results in ‘ad hoc’ arrangements between departments, usually on a local level, rather than strategic partnerships that facilitate tactical alignment of effort.34 |

Partnerships across government agencies and NGOs are fundamental to the continuum of youth justice service delivery. During consultations, partnerships, collaboration and cooperation were discussed and supported.

While there is a certain level of collaboration and cooperation demonstrated across agencies—for example, by NTP working with DET to have Blue Light Discos in schools and DET and DCF officers working together in the Family Responsibility Program—more can be done. Recommendations are made in part 3 and are aimed to achieve this.

Partnerships

In order to better address low school attendance rates in remote Aboriginal communities, CAALAS recommends:

greater collaboration between schools and community Elders to develop mechanisms that encourage school attendance rather than punishing parents and children for non-attendance ... [and] notes recent progress in the community of Hermannsburg involving consideration of innovative strategies such as the developments of a ‘Men’s Only Shed’ to enable young men

32 Ibid, 10.
33 Ibid, 11
34 Ibid.
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who have passed through customary Men’s Business to continue their education away from initiated young people and school timings and terms that account for traditional initiation and sorry business.\textsuperscript{35}

CAALAS also recommends that ‘education providers work collaboratively with Aboriginal communities to develop a system of attendance and participation’.\textsuperscript{36}

Partnerships, collaboration and cooperation across government and with NGO service providers are essential if better outcomes are to be achieved for young offenders, and if service and response delivery are to be improved.

Cross cultural legal education

NAAJA operates a legal education practice that involves working with young people at youth camps, high schools and at the Clontarf Football academy. It also provides work placements for Indigenous school students in the Top End.

Meaningful cross-cultural legal education should not be through an ‘information-dumping’ process. It should rather engage with the specific linguistic and cultural needs of particular groups of people, so that barriers to understanding can be identified.\textsuperscript{37}

NAAJA advises that the type of legal education offered includes information about police powers, understanding basic legal rights and the court process and also advice about civil law rights. The provision of legal education is an important service provided by NAAJA.

Given that many young offenders have little or no family support, NAAJA may wish to consider including legal education about other people’s rights. It is easy to take for granted the basic rules instilled in most children about respecting other people and their property. If those are not taught by parents, it is important that they be taught by others.

The Review encourages DET to obtain further information about NAAJA’s legal education program with a view to collaborating so that the program could be expanded.

\textsuperscript{35} CAALAS, submission 17, 46.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 47.
\textsuperscript{37} NAAJA submission 2, 69.
Chapter 8: Department of Health

Introduction
Primary, preventive health and early intervention
Mental health
Alcohol and other drugs
Aged and disability program
Improvements to be made
CHAPTER 8: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Introduction

The Department of Health (DoH) is responsible for the provision of all primary and acute health services across the Territory and aims to promote, protect and improve the health and wellbeing of all Territorians in partnership with individuals, families and the community.¹

The services that are relevant to this Review include:

• mental health
• remote health (primary health care and allied health)
• alcohol and other drugs (including volatile substances)
• aged and disability
• health development and community health.

The Review is required to take into account vulnerable groups, in particular, in a health context, young people affected by alcohol and other drugs and young people with mental health issues when considering its proposals and recommendations.

Nationally, around 15.4% of all children and adolescents aged up to 17 years have a mental disorder², and mental illness remains the biggest risk factor for suicide.³ At 17 years of age, 61% of males and 43% of females drink alcohol. Around 30% of young people have used marijuana at some time in their lives.⁴

Several submissions to the Review highlight the effects of mental illness and substance use on young people and offending.⁵

Research suggests that high rates of mental illness and disability are a key risk factor for youth offending.⁶ However, there is very little data available that measures these indicators for young offenders in the Territory. Therefore, it is difficult to estimate the quantity of need and to plan services for young offenders.

The only Northern Territory Government agency that records data on offending and illness is the Northern Territory Police (NTP). NTP categorises each record of contact with an offender by a number of factors, including mental illness, alcohol and drug use. However,

³ Ibid.
⁵ NTLAC, submission 13; The magistrates, submission 16; AMSANT, submission 22; Headspace, submission 24.
as discussed in chapter 2, the data collected by this process is not comprehensive and relies on an assessment of risk that may not be evident upon presentation.

Given that health issues such as mental illness and substance abuse are identified ‘risk factors’ for offending, DoH plays an important role in preventing and reducing youth offending. DoH provided four helpful submissions to the Review, three of which specifically focus on the vulnerable groups to which the terms of reference refer:

- Northern Territory Mental Health Program (NTMHP)
- Alcohol and Other Drugs Program (AODP)
- Aged and Disability Program (ADP)

The fourth submission is from the Office of the Chief Health Officer (OCHO).

Primary, preventive health and early intervention

The Territory health system is dominated by acute care services that consume most of the health budget. Comprehesive reform and expansion of primary health care are contained in many elements of Territory 2030 and Working Future, and seek to develop more cohesive and inclusive frameworks for a healthier and safer Territory. The determinants of health in this context include a range of individual, behaviour, social, economic, physical and environment factors.

Preventive health and early intervention programs have been found to be effective in addressing the risk factors that contribute to offending by young people.

In its four submissions, DoH focuses on providing preventive and early intervention health strategies in order to reduce the number of known risk factors for entry into the youth justice system, particularly in early childhood. However, DoH acknowledges that there is a lack of capacity to provide them and current delivery is limited and ad hoc.

7 Northern Territory Government, Budget 2011-12: Budget Paper No. 3 The Budget (2011) 133.
8 DoH, submission 14(b), 2.
9 Ibid.
11 DoH, submission 14(b), 2 notes that the NTMHP does not have the capacity to participate in primary prevention or health promotion activities for youth or younger age groups or their families.
CHAPTER 8: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

Mental health

Mental health is defined by the World Health Organisation as:

> a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community.12

Mental health problems and mental illness refer to the range of cognitive, emotional and behavioural disorders that interfere with the lives and productivity of people.13 Serious problems emerge for young people when mental health problems are left untreated and develop into a major mental disorder.14 ‘Untreated conduct disorders in childhood significantly increase the social and economic costs to the individual and the community later in life, including through the criminal justice system.'15

Often the first contact with police or other youth justice service providers is also the first opportunity for contact with mental health assistance or programs.16

In their submission, the magistrates identify that young offenders are often affected by mental illness and other health issues:

> Virtually all youths who come before the Youth Justice Court have some risks to their wellbeing for often complex reasons including homelessness, substance misuse, having been the victim of abuse or having mental or physical health problems.17

This suggests that a significant proportion of young offenders who appear in court have some form of mental illness or disorder although, as previously discussed, the Review was unable to source primary, diagnostic data to confirm this.

Some health workers consulted by the Review advise that mental illness is common in young people at risk, including young offenders.

NTMHP states in its submission that:

> trauma lies at the heart of a significant portion of criminal activity, and the residing trauma in young offenders must be taken seriously and dealt with sensitively.18

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16 NTLAC, *submission 13, 10*; Headspace, *submission 24, 5.*
17 The magistrates, *submission 16, 5.*
18 DoH, *submission 14(b), 3.*
CHAPTER 8: DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

It suggests that strategies to deal with young offenders need to address the complex range of issues that may include: ‘social and cultural distress, poverty, illness, family dislocation, truancy, trauma, substance misuse [and] homelessness,’ which are also significant indicators for the development of mental illness.

Under the NTMHP, multi-disciplinary child and youth mental health teams exist in Darwin and Central Australia, providing assessment, treatment, management of at risk episodes, preparation of court reports, liaison with other service providers, support of staff at the youth detention centres and community follow up. There is no dedicated forensic mental health facility for young people in detention, nor is there an inpatient facility for young people in the Territory.

The Northern Territory Legal Aid Commission (NTLAC) states in its submission that government struggles to meet demand in respect of young people:

[DoH] is already stretched in terms of its resources, and reports can take between 4 to 6 weeks to be prepared. This has led to a situation where reports are only requested where the charges are serious, a term of detention is imminent and/or the behaviour is highly suggestive of a health issue.

Given the above difficulties in assessing mental health conditions for young offenders, it is not surprising that the Review was not able to source basic information on the numbers of young offenders with mental health problems.

It was also suggested during consultations that private psychology practitioners would not attend the detention centres or provide assessments of young offenders or remandees, due to professional concerns about the expertise required for forensic assessments.

The NTMHP acknowledges the need for more resources for forensic mental health programs and enhanced services for young people.

It suggests, as an interim measure, that dedicated specialist staff be placed on call in court and detention settings for assessment and acute interventions as required and as a link to ongoing community based care following release.

In Palmerston and Alice Springs, headspace centres provide services for 12 to 25 year olds experiencing mental health challenges. The centres offer local or visiting youth the chance for early intervention through their community based youth friendly service model

19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
23 NTLAC, submission 13, 7.
24 DoH Mental Health program, consultation, Darwin, 27 June 2011.
25 DoH, submission 14(b), 4.
26 Ibid.
27 headspace, submission 24, 3.
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and have the ability to treat a broad range of problems. The headspace program is part of the Federal Government’s Youth Mental Health Initiative established in 2006.

In its submission to the Review, headspace notes that:

the prevalence of mental health disorders in youth involved in justice is particularly high with an estimated 70 to 80% suffering from a mental health disorder.

The headspace program is generally viewed as a positive initiative in urban areas; however, it is not always seen as appropriate for young Indigenous people. The program received a positive independent evaluation in 2009.

In New South Wales, diversion programs support youth who have come into contact with the youth justice system and who may have an unresolved mental health complaint.

The Justice Health Adolescent Court and Community Team can refer a young person for a mental health assessment and report to the court on issues and possible options for dealing with the young person.

The program was evaluated in 2009 and found reductions in offending frequency, as well as other positive outcomes, particularly the assistance it offered to the court in identifying mental health issues and offering diversion or treatment options. The Review considers that a similar program could be of benefit in the Territory’s Youth Justice Court; however, further investigation needs to be undertaken.

Alcohol and other drugs

Strategies and programs designed to address alcohol and drug misuse in youth populations must examine the underlying causes of this behaviour, as well as provide treatment and support for social reintegration. The links between substance misuse, mental ill health and offending behaviour cannot be overlooked.

In the Northern Territory, 60% of all assaults are alcohol-related. It is very clear: if you are not tackling alcohol, you are not tackling crime. It is not just crime; the scourge of alcohol-related violence and neglect of children hits the health budget, stops kids going to school, and increases the vulnerability of children throughout the Northern Territory. In fact, every aspect


29 headspace, submission 24, 5.


32 Ibid.

of our society is adversely affected by the abuse of alcohol. The figures show – and they are somewhat dated now – it costs us over $640m a year.\(^\text{34}\)

While the Review was unable to identify the number of young people in the youth justice system with alcohol or other drug issues, it is reasonable to assume, based on submissions received, that they represent a significant proportion of young offenders. Hence, treatment services would form an integral part of addressing youth crime, since:

Reductions in harm caused by alcohol and other drugs…will contribute to community safety … [and in turn] …improve participation and performance in education, and reduce the prevalence of youth involved with the justice system.\(^\text{35}\)

The Review notes that under age drinking and illicit drug use are themselves criminal activities and, while a young person may engage in such conduct for a variety of reasons such as adolescent experimentation, the activity is nevertheless an entry point into the youth justice system.

The Alcohol and Other Drugs Program (AODP) develops policies and programs, and delivers services to respond to the misuse of alcohol and drugs in the community. AODP notes that:

- substance misuse issues are key contributors to the underlying determinants of family dysfunction in the Northern Territory and a major contributor to … interaction with the justice system.\(^\text{36}\)

AODP offers a workforce development program that aims to develop and support a local workforce to promote harm minimisation and intervention. Training is provided at certificate and diploma level, thereby providing an education and employment pathway. The program supports a number of full time Indigenous, rural and remote students, as well as a number of students from non government organisations.\(^\text{37}\)

In its submission, AODP identifies a lack of services, such as residential treatment programs that address complex client needs. This is exacerbated by the remote location of many clients, although the AODP notes that alcohol reform funding contributes to programs in this area.\(^\text{38}\)

NTP also identifies this service gap:

- The distinct lack of appropriate youth focussed services, particularly for those with complex needs is an acknowledged service gap, for young people. This is further exacerbated by the remoteness of many Northern Territory communities and the difficulty in identifying, managing and supporting those that require intensive services.\(^\text{39}\)

\(^{34}\) Northern Territory, *Parliamentary Debates*, Legislative Assembly, 5 May 2011 (Mr Henderson, Chief Minister).

\(^{35}\) DoH, *submission 14(d)*, 2.

\(^{36}\) Ibid.

\(^{37}\) Ibid, 6.

\(^{38}\) Ibid, 2.

\(^{39}\) NTP, *submission 33*, 11.
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NTP comments in its submission on the shortfall of appropriate services, such as residential treatment programs for youth with long term substance abuse who ‘repeatedly’ enter the youth justice system; the lack of supported accommodation programs; and the lack of culturally appropriate ‘holistic programs such as alternative education, access to counselling, life skills and anger management’.40

The NT Early Intervention Pilot Program (NTEIPP) referred to in chapter 5 was established to target:

- binge drinking and support the referral of young people to appropriate services, such as assessments, counselling and on the ground support.41

An evaluation of the pilot is underway, although NTP suggests the model is a good example of a program that could be offered to address alcohol abuse in young people.42

Alcohol reforms commenced in July 2011 and incorporate a response to substance misuse where offending behaviour is a major contributing factor.

The new SMART Court43 discussed in chapter 3 enables adult and youth offenders with a substance misuse problem to receive treatment and rehabilitation as part of their community based sentence. The significance of the SMART program for young people lies in the potential to reduce substance misuse.

The lack of drug and alcohol rehabilitation services for young people is a concern. In particular, the availability of residential rehabilitation services has been identified as a major gap in the continuum of services by many in the non government sector.

In its submission, AODP outlines a number of existing programs for young people affected by alcohol and other drug issues.

For example, BushMob in Alice Springs is funded to provide a youth treatment centre and case management service for 12 to 25 year olds with mental health and substance abuse problems. This includes a Bush Adventure Therapy Program and a Residential Rehabilitation Service. BushMob also provides an education and multimedia training program funded by the Federal Government;44 however, it advised the Review more funding for more beds was required.

The AODP also provides, through inreach to the Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre, assessment and counselling services for young people on remand or sentenced for less than six months. This service includes discharge planning and referrals for the young person for ongoing support and counselling on release.45

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40 Ibid.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 SMART Court is established under the Alcohol Reform (Substance Misuse Assessment and Referral for Treatment Court) Act.
44 DoH, submission 14(d), 10.
The Red Dust Role Models Program is funded by DoH to work with Indigenous communities on drug and alcohol issues, using positive role models from the fields of sport, businesses, music, film and entertainment. The program operates in the Daly River and on the Tiwi Islands, with a permanent office established in Alice Springs in 2009 to service Central Australian communities.

Volatile substance abuse

The Volatile Substance Abuse Prevention Act (VSAP Act) provides a comprehensive and systematic approach to prevention, intervention and treatment of volatile substance abuse (VSA) in the Territory. The VSAP Act does not criminalise the sniffing of volatile substances although, anecdotally, many young people who are diverted for volatile substance abuse treatment under the legislation have concurrent matters before the Youth Justice Court, or are at significant risk of future contact with the youth justice system.

The VSA program provides assessment, counselling, coordinated care, and referrals for mandated and voluntary treatment for clients of all ages. Families, police and health workers may apply for an assessment of an individual under the program for intervention, and then apply to the court for mandatory treatment as a person at risk of severe harm.

Since commencement of the VSAP Act in 2006, 693 requests have been made for assessment for court ordered treatment: 286 from Central Australia and 353 from the Top End. During the first three years of the program, the majority of referrals were from Central Australia (see Figure 8.1). This shifted from 2008–09, with a larger proportion of referrals coming from the Top End.

The majority of referrals came from NTP, followed by DoH, and then child protection workers. Children under 18 years account for 57% of referrals. Most referrals are resolved through case management and working with the client and family. Of the 73 applications that have proceeded to court, 63 resulted in orders for treatment.

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46 DoH, submission 14(d), 5.
47 Ibid.
49 DoH, submission 14(d), 3.
51 DoH, submission 14(d), 3.
52 Ibid.
DoH notes that, while the use of Opal fuel has been successful in reducing sniffing overall in Central Australia, outbreaks continue in groups of young people in town camps with complex needs and challenging behaviours. There have also been outbreaks in Tennant Creek where historically sniffing has not occurred.

The Review was advised that some girls (aged between about 8 and 14 years) sniff petrol because it suppresses their appetites—these girls are unlikely to be provided food by their families and would otherwise feel hungry. Sniffing is also associated with a peer group activity; however, some reportedly sniff petrol alone, which is an additional concern.53

In some communities where Opal fuel had been rolled out, many youth were moving towards other volatile substances such as paint and aerosols. Criminal activity was observed in relation to this, as addicted youth broke into premises stocking these items.54

DoH advises that further amendments are planned to the VSAP Act to ensure retailers securely store volatile substances in response to the emerging issue of youth obtaining harmful inhalants.55 The Review encourages government to fast track these amendments.

**Foetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD)**

FASD refers to a range of features that affect some babies exposed to alcohol before birth.56 FASD describes a range of physical, mental, behavioural and learning disabilities, resulting in hyperactivity, behavioural problems, learning problems, learning disabilities and

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53 Steps, consultation, Tennant Creek, 13 July 2011.
54 Thamarrurr Development Corporation, consultation, Wadeye, 2 June 2011 and YMCA, consultation, Katherine, 15 June 2011 observed that nail polish remover and butane gas were also replacing petrol.
55 DoH, submission 14(c), 3.
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a general inability to function normally.57 People with FASD tend to be impulsive, unable to change their behaviour, unable to learn from their mistakes and often do not understand the consequences of their actions.

FASD is not a problem endemic to Indigenous populations. Estimates suggest that up to 60% of children born with FASD will make contact with the justice system.58 There is no diagnostic tool presently available for FASD. Given the FASD can lead to poor appreciation of consequences and impulsivity, it is critical that governments not only fund more research into FASD, but also incorporate remedial responses into any youth justice strategy. Government may wish to consider pursuing this issue at a national level.

Healing programs

The impact of violence, trauma, dislocation from family and culture, and subsequent entry into the youth justice system can be lessened by culturally appropriate healing programs.59 Healing programs address trauma resulting from neglect, domestic violence and sexual abuse, and do so in a positive cultural and spiritual environment.60

The Balunu Healing Program, as well as other programs that offer rehabilitation and treatment services in a culturally appropriate environment (such as the Mt Theo program outside Yuendumu, and the Ilpurla outstation), can improve self esteem and develop positive social norms for young Indigenous Territorians.61 It is not known whether these programs directly reduce offending and re-offending rates; however, their broader impact on young people either in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system is seen as positive, and is generally supported by legal aid providers.

Aged and Disability Program (ADP)

ADP provides assessment, therapy, case management, equipment and subsidies for people with disabilities.

The Review was unable to source details as to how many young people in the youth justice system have a disability.

DoH advises that disabled people identified as ‘at risk’ of entering the youth justice system due to offending behaviours will have a plan developed to manage the risk and the behaviours of concern.62

59 Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, Voices From the Campfires: establishing the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Healing Foundation (2009) Australian Government, Canberra.
62 DoH, submission 14(c), 1.
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A young person’s ability to access services relies on identification and diagnosis of disability. As with mental illness, diagnosis of some intellectual disabilities in young people can be challenging. Difficulties in diagnosis are likely to be heightened for disengaged young people or those who are geographically isolated.

A NSW report on the juvenile justice system suggests that young people with a disability are more likely to become entrenched in the criminal justice system due to their need to be accepted by a peer group and also because of their increased vulnerability to copying the behaviour of others. The same report notes that it can be more difficult to reintegrate a young person with an intellectual disability back into the community and this generates an increased likelihood of further re-offending. The Review was unable to determine whether reintegration for disabled offenders is problematic in the Territory, but given the known range of complex issues already facing young Indigenous offenders, it is likely that reintegration for disabled offenders would be even more difficult.

In its submission, the ADP outlines the proposed Exceptional Needs program, which aims to provide support to older youths and adults at risk of entering or re-entering the criminal justice system. Using an intensive case management approach, the program will assist clients who experience a combination of mental illness, intellectual disability, acquired brain injury, behavioural difficulties, family dysfunction and drug or alcohol abuse. DoH will lead the project to ‘provide a multi agency strategic approach to the management of this client group’.65

Hearing loss

During its inquiry, the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders heard evidence about the impact poor hearing has on a number of young Indigenous persons, particularly in the context of their contacts with police, the courts and correctional services.66

The rates of hearing loss for Indigenous children are higher than for other children, with hearing or ear problems experienced by 9% of Indigenous children aged 0 to 14 years, compared with only 3% of non Indigenous children of the same age.67

Middle ear infection, or otitis media, is more common in children experiencing overcrowded housing, poor health and nutrition and is known to be more prevalent among Indigenous children than among other groups of children in Australia. Hearing loss or poor hearing can manifest itself in behavioural and learning problems in school, which can result in disengagement from the education system through truancy or poor learning outcomes.

63 Noetic Solutions, above n 31, 126.
64 DoH, submission 14(c), 1.
65 Ibid.
66 Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, above n 61, 108.
67 ABS, National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Survey, 4715.0, Canberra, cited in ABS, The Health and Welfare of Australia’s Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, 4704.0, Canberra.
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In 2004, 62% of children tested in remote communities were found to have varying degrees of hearing loss in one or both ears. Court recording systems do not amplify the sound which, combined with a lack of English comprehension, can make understanding court proceedings more difficult for Indigenous young offenders.

Improvements to be made

Clearly there needs to be better data collection of materials likely to impact upon a young person’s ongoing health needs, as well as supports put in place to reduce the risk of further entrenchment in the youth justice system.

There are particular difficulties in collecting mental health, alcohol, substance abuse and disability data for young offenders or those at risk of offending. This then limits proper assessment and treatment options for many young people.

Fragmented service delivery fails to address the systemic roots of many of the problems faced by young people at risk. There is ample evidence that fragmentation of services has adverse effects on outcomes delivered by those services, with a flow on effect to families and children receiving those services.

The human dimension is too often missing from approaches to integration of services: the key to better collaboration is to provide the conditions for interpersonal relationships at all levels. The principles underpinning these conditions are trust, authority and negotiation. Integration cannot simply be imposed from above, but must be developed at strategic and operational levels. Practitioners need to be entrusted with the authority to develop relationships that support innovation in collaborative practices in community settings.

The Review identified there is a lack of coordination to identify, assess and treat the health and wellbeing of young offenders. DoH suggests that to improve service delivery for young people the following is required:

• a strategic plan and service delivery framework to align and coordinate health services from all areas of the department and other health service providers for young people at risk/offenders; which
• fits into a human services strategic plan and service delivery framework for young people at risk/offenders.

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71 See Calma, above n 6.
72 See Robinson et al, above n 10.
75 Ibid.
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Recommendations are made in part 3 that will, if accepted and implemented, go some way to achieving this.

NTMHP proposes in its submission that ‘culturally appropriate multi-system programs employing local Indigenous workers’ supported by forensic child and youth service specialists are required to address the complex issues presented by youth at risk and young offenders.

NTMHP also notes that whole of government approaches to health and wellbeing of young people, reflected in policy documents such as *Territory 2030* and *Working Future*, will:

- provide a stronger social framework for developing education and training options, housing, health and safety for communities enabling more positive and rewarding possibilities for a young person’s future to be held.

To complement the ‘continuum of services’ for young people in the justice system, the OCHO recommends a ‘developmental continuum’, or a:

- life course approach, given the important aspects of pre-natal, infancy and childhood factors on adolescent outcomes and also outcomes further in life ...[and]... Policies should be developed in an integrated manner that focus on both prevention and intervention strategies at all stages of development.

This approach is required because of the need to integrate and coordinate services between multiple providers.

The OCHO proposes a framework of strategies for youth justice including:

- early childhood interventions
- improved collaboration, information sharing, referrals and data management
- increasing community based interventions rather than detention with community engagement underpinning program design
- improvement in management and follow-up of re-offenders through secondary prevention measures like rehabilitation programs and intensive assistance
- embedded monitoring and evaluation in programs with performance indicators.

The proven success of targeting preventable risk factors in health settings has refocussed
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health policy makers from tertiary service delivery in high cost medical facilities to community based primary prevention strategies. Many of the early indicators for chronic ill health correspond to, or influence, the likely risk of a young person entering the justice system.80

The Review supports the continuation and expansion of the systematic approach to crime prevention through the ‘developmental continuum’ outlined by DoH and agrees that this method is likely to reduce the risks contributing to young people offending.

The Review also notes that the expansion of new and existing programs offered by DoH for young people, particularly those with risk factors such as alcohol and drug abuse, and mental health problems, will require the commitment of additional resources by government.

80 Ibid, 3.
Part 3: How government agencies can better assist in the continuum of services to reduce offending and re-offending

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Introduction

In addition to evaluating the impact of existing legislation, policy and practice on the operations of individual departments that provide services and responses to the youth justice system, the Review has considered how government departments can work together – the ‘whole of government’ – to better assist in the coordination of services to reduce offending and re-offending. These include:

- the establishment of a comprehensive youth justice strategy
- improved interagency collaboration
- improved information sharing
- streamlined Administrative Arrangements
- continued focus on workforce development.

A youth justice strategy

A number of agencies and representatives from the non government (NGO) sector commented on the need to develop a new youth justice strategy. The Department of Children and Families (DCF), in its submission commented that:

The concern is that the Government’s Youth Justice Strategy is not well developed and not delivering the outcomes needed to reduce the level of contact with the youth justice system by young people.¹

The Review agrees. A new, comprehensive, aspirational and deliverable youth justice strategy, with performance measures, should be developed, underpinned by a sound policy framework, and build on government’s youth policy framework.

The strategy should include a statement of principles and objectives. Ideally, the strategy should involve consultation with young people who are in, or have been involved in, the youth justice system. The Review notes the existence of the Youth Minister’s Round Table of Young Territorians, which aims to ‘facilitate positive social change, raise awareness of youth issues, and undertake youth research in areas that affect them and their peers’.² This may be a suitable body to assist with the youth engagement process in the consultation phase.

Given the interconnectedness of health and education, it is appropriate that the strategy include establishing benchmarks and targets to improve access to, and the delivery of, youth specific health and education services.

¹ DCF, submission 5, 6.
CHAPTER 9: GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The strategy should also specifically address how each part of the youth justice system can meet the needs of young offenders and those at risk of offending.

The strategy should include targets to reduce youth crime and the number of young people in detention, particularly in remand:

- Having clear statistical targets demonstrates a tangible commitment to change. Introducing targets to reduce youth incarceration rates, including remand rates, would provide an incentive to develop new and creative ways of lowering the current figures.3

No targets or benchmarks appear to be set for any part of the youth justice system. There is an absence of a youth crime reduction strategy: there are no targets to reduce youth offending, no targets to increase the number of young people entering and completing diversion programs or expanding education and training opportunities in the prison system, and no targets to reduce the particularly high number of Indigenous offenders.

There are, however, targets set across departments for a number of matters, ranging from energy reduction targets to targets for reporting and meeting timelines. While these are important, it highlights what can reasonably be said is that youth offending is a low priority for a number of departments.

Territory 2030 lists as one of its objectives in public safety: ‘reduce the rate of assault, including domestic violence and property crime incrementally to 2030’.4 Other targets and benchmarks for numerous issues appear throughout the strategy. However, there are no specific targets and benchmarks aimed at youth offending.

While the Review recommends that targets be set, caution should be exercised and a long term view must be taken. The Review does not believe government can expect to see meaningful results for three to five years due to the nature of the interventions required.

A thorough evaluation process must be developed to measure the effectiveness of delivery of services in the youth justice system and, ultimately, the strategy itself. For this to occur, adequate resources must be allocated to improve data collection, maintenance and analysis. A rigorous evaluation mechanism, based on sound data, will assist in monitoring the effective use of public monies, and assist government to make informed, sensible and strategic decisions about future funding allocations and support.

The strategy should complement the goals and outcomes of Territory 2030 and Working Future.

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3 NTCOSS, submission 19, 5.
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Interagency collaboration

Interagency cooperation and collaboration is a vital element in achieving reductions in young offending and re-offending. Collaboration can take many forms, including agency staff collocated and working towards common goals.

Existing examples include the NT Early Intervention Pilot Program (NTEIPP) and the Child Abuse Taskforce, both comprising DCF and Northern Territory Police (NTP) staff; and Family Support Centres, comprising DCF and the Department of Education and Training (DET). The Community Child Safety and Wellbeing Teams (CCST) and the Alice Springs Youth Hub are other examples.

Collaboration will be easier if all agencies work within the same framework, namely a youth justice strategy.

The outcomes of this strategy will alleviate the present fragmentation of youth services and funding, thereby enhancing the opportunities for young people at risk of offending to become more connected and successful in education, training and employment by equipping them with the skills and personal networks they need to be active and productive citizens in their communities.

Improved information sharing

During the consultation period a number of public servants commented on difficulties relating to information sharing. There was a widespread view that the Information Act was not well-understood, and the ‘sharing’ of information often depended on individuals making uninformed decisions.

The division of the former Department of Health and Families, NT Families and Children (now DCF), referred, in its submission to the Board of Inquiry into the Child Protection System in the Northern Territory (BOI)\(^5\), to poor information sharing—some of which was personality driven—and a reluctance to share information among organisations due to doubts about the lawfulness of doing so.

This Review has been advised by staff in several government agencies that these problems still exist, and even the Police Commissioner expressed a level of frustration that staff in his organisation failed to share information with other agencies.

Sharing of information between departments has been an issue for some years and was commented on at length in the BOI, which recommended that the Care and Protection of Children Act be amended to:

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CHAPTER 9: GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

provide a workable and accessible framework for the exchange of information between public sector organisations and between these organisations and the NGOs that is relatively simple in its interpretation and application according to objectives listed in this report.6

The BOI made a number of recommendations to improve information sharing between agencies to protect and promote the safety and wellbeing of children.

Consultation with government and non government organisations, foster carers and magistrates has taken place across the Northern Territory on these recommendations and the changes required to create better information sharing arrangements.

The consultations have revealed:

• a general lack of understanding of what information can be shared and who it can be shared with
• a poor understanding of the roles and responsibilities of individuals and organisations with a heavy reliance on personal relationships
• a requirement for some means of achieving better information sharing including legislative changes, memoranda of understanding, policies, training and improved recording systems.

Legislative amendments to progress new information sharing arrangements are being developed for introduction in the November 2011 sittings of the Legislative Assembly. Work is also underway on the development of training and other resources to support better information sharing.

Until all necessary measures have been implemented and relevant training completed, this Review makes the following practical suggestions:

• Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) must carry the responsibility for making change happen. They are responsible for the staff who work in their agencies, and they are all part of government. It is extraordinary that, given well-known problems that have been the subject of reviews and inquiries in the past, information is still not regularly or completely shared between agencies.
• Clear guidelines and protocols, including a complaint mechanism for when information is unreasonably withheld, should be introduced and championed by CEOs to ensure appropriate and critical information sharing across government and non government agencies. This is almost an absurdly simplistic suggestion; however, it is obviously required.

6 Ibid, 445.
CHAPTER 9: GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Streamlined Administrative Arrangements

Administrative Arrangements Orders set out the principal responsibilities of government ministers and their portfolios, and specify the matters dealt with by each department. A number of individuals, organisations and government departments commented on the fragmentation of departmental responsibilities caused by different components of the youth justice system reporting to four different ministers. The issue is not new and has been the subject of comment in an earlier evaluation conducted for DCF.

The submission from the magistrates is one example of the comments received:

It is essential that there be available a range of services to address the criminogenic factors and that these services be well-coordinated. At present, what is seen is a youth justice system fragmented across a number of government departments with different Ministers, each having responsibility for different parts of the Act and delivery of services attached to those individual functions.

The fragmentation of responsibilities and confusion about the delineation of roles of departments must be remedied.

Streamlining the Administrative Arrangements and reducing the number of Ministers responsible will directly and indirectly assist young people in the youth justice system, who rely on a system that works well, and the people working in that system having a better understanding of their responsibilities.

Continued focus on workforce development

A strong and capable workforce within government and the non government organisations (NGO) sector is an integral part of achieving the aim of this Review.

Workforce development issues exist across the Territory in areas such as child protection, community and welfare services, education and health. The Review supports efforts currently being made to develop a strategy by the Department of the Chief Minister.

At present, a range of professionals work across youth services in the government and the NGO sectors, ranging from generalists to specialist youth workers. They have diverse subject matter expertise including mental health, alcohol and other drugs, education, counselling and statutory knowledge.

The workforce required to deliver end to end services for young people within and on either side of the youth justice system needs to be flexible, responsive and hold the young professions required.

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7 DoJ to the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice; NTCS to the Minister for Correctional Services; DCF to the Minister for Children and Families; NTP to the Minister for Police.
9 The magistrates, submission 16, 7.
person as the priority. To achieve this, a competent and confident workforce that is well resourced and work within a transparent and efficient framework is critical to ensure that high quality and measurable outcomes are achieved.

In addition to work that is already underway, consideration must be given to whether the Territory can train its own youth workers, some of whom could work in the area of court support. The level of qualification varies, as does the scope for practice. Government is encouraged to look to other jurisdictions to obtain details on the type of training that could be delivered in the Territory.

Workforce and resource capacity

Within both the Northern Territory Public Sector (NTPS) and NGO workforce, significant challenges exist when comparing the relatively small workforce size servicing a population that is so widely dispersed geographically.

These challenges impact on the capacity of small organisations or teams to deliver services within limited human resources. Often the challenges are coupled with a high and intense workload level beyond what would be achievable for the existing workforce, leading to burnout. These pressures are magnified by managing significant overhead costs and duplication of administration tasks.

Human resource levels are restricted in part by insufficient financial resources, often heavily reliant on government funds. The need for securing diverse and non traditional sources of income to supplement government support, including partnering with the private sector, is critical for the long term sustainability of the workforce and its capacity.

Qualifications and skill currency

Within the NTPS, there is no consistent approach across agencies as to the accepted qualifications required for entry into the professional streams. Determination 9/1999 from the Commissioner for Public Employment outlines the qualifications required to hold specific positions; however, the document is over 10 years old, outdated in many areas and is not always complied with operationally. Case managers, caseworkers and youth workers need to work within a common knowledge framework, for young people to obtain a consistent and effective service from government. A potential way to achieve this is to ensure practitioners have a shared knowledge base from which to work.

There are many challenges associated with recruiting qualified staff in rural and remote locations, including a limited resource base. This may lead to staff being recruited to administrative streams rather than professional streams, which represents a risk when dealing within the statutory service area. This is complicated further by Administrative Officers performing human service work without minimum education standards (as articulated by the Determination). An example of this is Aboriginal Community Workers covered by the Determination, who are required to have their level linked with specific qualifications that are not currently offered in the Territory. Youth workers, family support workers and similar positions are not always covered by the Determination and therefore may not have educational requirements attached to their role.
CHAPTER 9: GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

There is also a gap in the accessibility and availability of relevant Territory based industry education and training. This disadvantages those working in the sector who are unable to receive standardised qualifications and accreditation for positions that are already dealt with inconsistently under the Determination.

In addition to the challenges in skill and qualification equity, there is a clear inconsistency and in many cases an absence of adequate cross cultural training and support within the NTPS and NGO workforce in urban and remote communities.

Within the NGO sector similar challenges exist in relation to inequity in qualifications, the modernisation of the award and a transient workforce that often leads to a loss of corporate knowledge, continuity of relationships and experience with young people.

The Review encourages government to assess the approach to recruiting to these professional streams in partnership with the NGO sector to ensure the workforce across both sectors is capable of responding.

**Coordinated systems for partnerships and service delivery**

Workforce development is not simply a human resource issue centred on professional development and up-skilling of the workforce. Strengthened capacity across the workforce involves streamlining systems, structures and processes within and between government and NGOs to ensure effective and sustainable outcomes are achieved through efficient collaboration and partnerships.

Attracting and retaining suitable staff, particularly in remote areas, is additionally difficult due to insufficient levels of housing and services to support their relocation.

The aim should be to improve the functioning of the entire workforce with a focus on the systems and structural factors including legislation, policy funding, recruitment and retention, resources, support mechanisms and incentives.¹⁰

These can be achieved by: streamlined funding agreements at a whole of government level, coordinated service plans with common performance indicators across agencies, centralised system for data collection and reporting across agencies and stakeholders, and an adequately resourced workforce development plan that includes training and ongoing professional development.

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Chapter 10: Cost benefit analysis

Introduction
Evidence from other jurisdictions
Prevention and early intervention
Justice reinvestment
CHAPTER 10: COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS

Introduction

It is difficult to define, collect and analyse the data needed to fully and accurately describe and evaluate a range of issues across the youth justice system, as outlined in chapter 2. The Review has found this aspect of the project challenging.

The Review’s terms of reference (number 5) required a cost benefit analysis—a technical and specialised approach to measuring the impact and effectiveness of crime prevention programs—to be undertaken in relation to proposed strategies and options. Such an analysis requires examining savings generated from one program in relation to an investment to be made, calculating the range of costs involved in resolving matters in different settings, and comparing them against the savings made in each setting for participants, the community and the organisations involved. It also involves quantifying outcomes, for example, for the purposes of this Review, the reduction in offending and re-offending. It is particularly difficult to identify and quantify longer term benefits and social welfare outcomes, and translate them into financial terms.

Very few cost benefit analyses have been undertaken in Australia in relation to crime prevention.1 Given the limitations of data and reliable methodology in this area, it has not been possible to undertake a formal cost benefit analysis during the review. However, as part of government’s analysis of this report, Northern Territory Treasury has advised that an assessment of the costs of implementation compared with the likely benefits of the various recommendations would be undertaken after this Review.

Evidence from other jurisdictions

While the availability of cost effectiveness studies in relation to youth justice is limited, there is some evidence available from other jurisdictions that can be drawn on to support decision making in the Territory.

The Western Australian Auditor-General conducted a cost benefit analysis of pre sentence redirection measures implemented for young offenders in Western Australia in 2008. The findings are significant:

- There was a total cost reduction of using pre sentence redirection measures of 10.5% of total juvenile justice system costs, not including potential community benefit through behavioural changes as a result of diversion.2
- It was estimated that incorporation of benefits of behavioural change (reduction of offending behaviour) would add up to 6.3% to estimated savings.

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CHAPTER 10: COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS

- More frequent use of redirection measures (diversion) results in cost savings to the system of 19.1% compared to lower use of these.
- Although use of redirection measures had reduced, total estimated savings to the system from the combined effect of diversion from court and increased use of redirection measures would be 27.6% if implemented.3
- There were gender and Indigenous offender cost differences, reflecting different patterns of contact with the system and regional and remote cost differences. Costs for Indigenous young offenders were greatest in areas of arrest, bail, remand and community orders and custodial sentences and were lowest in terms of pre sentencing redirection measures, cautions and use of juvenile justice teams.4

The cost benefit analysis suggests that the reduction in offending achieved from implementing redirection measures lowers the cost of the juvenile justice system – even without taking into account the savings for welfare, health and community safety.

Prevention and early intervention

There are few comprehensive cost effectiveness or cost benefit studies that examine whether prevention or early intervention programs are useful in reducing offending behaviours or reducing the risk factors for offending behaviours for young people.5

However, the Department of Children and Families (DCF) notes in its submission:

In March 2010, in the Northern Territory it was estimated that the cost of keeping a young person in custody was $555 per day. Investment in community-based services aimed at reducing recidivism and the specialist treatment of young people could improve outcomes for young people and reduce the cost to the community.

It is also of note that the most intensively supported young people in DCF care are costed in the vicinity of $83,000 per annum, compared to about $200,000 per annum to hold a young person in detention. This demonstrates the cost of detention compared to a more therapeutically based approach and the potential; for efficiencies in service delivery as much as improve outcomes.6

There is evidence that suggests that savings can be made by diverting resources into targeted interventions such as assisting young people leaving statutory care. The savings are made in direct costs to police, health and welfare agencies and the youth justice system and it has been shown that there is a high financial cost for inadequate support to these young people.7

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid, 10.
6 DCF, submission 5, 12.
CHAPTER 10: COST BENEFIT ANALYSIS

The Review considers that access to accurate financial and statistical data is crucial in ensuring the efficient and effective use of the scarce resources available for the welfare of young people at risk of offending, their families and the community. The Review also acknowledges the inherent difficulties in accessing data and conducting studies of costs and benefits which are resource intensive and technically challenging. Justice reinvestment, suggested in several submissions to the Review as an alternative rigorous approach to crime prevention, is discussed below.

Justice reinvestment

Justice reinvestment involves:

- diverting funds that would otherwise have been used for imprisonment, to crime prevention, reduction and rehabilitation programs and services in local communities with high concentrations of offenders.9

Justice reinvestment is a ‘data driven approach’10 and is based on evidence that a large proportion of offenders come from a relatively small number of disadvantaged communities.11 It is achieved through increased support for offenders in prison and in the community, community capacity and development programs, and targeted interventions for criminogenic risk factors (for example, alcohol and substance abuse and mental ill health) that are often highly prevalent in disadvantaged communities.

Several commentators have suggested that justice reinvestment may present a way to address the over-representation of Indigenous people in the criminal justice system.12 This has, therefore, particular application in the Territory.

The Review believes that a justice reinvestment approach fits with the principles of prevention and early intervention for young people in the criminal justice system and that the conditions in the Territory are such that the potential benefits of a justice reinvestment approach are significant.

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8 See, for example, Noetic Solutions, submission 12.
11 Calma, above n 9, 12.
12 Ibid, 9; Noetic Solutions, submission 12.
Chapter 11: Recommendations and Models

Recommendations
Models for change
CHAPTER 11: RECOMMENDATIONS AND MODELS

Recommendations

There are a number of ways the Northern Territory Government can better assist the continuum of services and responses to reduce offending and re-offending, and strategies that deal effectively with young offenders.

The Review makes nine key recommendations that will, if accepted, will make a significant difference. The Review could have made many more recommendations; however, the Chair believes the nine key recommendations provide a framework within which detailed improvements to the youth justice system can be made.

There is one difficulty with the nine recommendations: they will take time to implement, and it will therefore be some time before results can be measured. However, it is hoped that government will look to the long term and accept all nine recommendations as the basis of a framework that will reduce recidivism and effectively deal with young people in the youth justice system.

Recommendations appear below in summary and are followed by an overview and explanation.

The Chair recommends that the Northern Territory Government:

1. establish a new unit within an existing department with responsibility for administering all services and responses to the youth justice system
2. develop a new youth justice strategy
3. streamline administrative arrangements and ministerial responsibilities
4. improve data collection and distribution to ensure appropriate and critical information sharing across both government and non-government agencies and that programs delivered contain built-in evaluations
5. increase investment in police diversion, including increased eligibility for diversion, and expand diversion programs
6. increase the number of youth rehabilitation camps
7. expand the Family Support Program and increase capacity of Family Support Centres
8. develop workforce capacity
9. establish an external monitoring and evaluation process.
CHAPTER 11: RECOMMENDATIONS AND MODELS

**Recommendation 1**

That a youth justice unit, with statutory authority, be established within a government department and that it have responsibility for administering and coordinating services and responses to young people in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system.

A new, stand-alone youth justice unit within a government department should be established that would be responsible for administering all aspects of the youth justice system, and that would ensure the delivery of a continuum of services and responses.

It would build on existing strengths of the youth justice system from government departments and ensure that service and response delivery are coordinated. If implemented correctly, and managed well, it would meet the needs of young people and the community.

It would comprise personnel from the key government agencies, including the departments of Children and Families, Justice, Education and Training, Health and the Police. Additionally a non government organisation representative should be seconded to the unit to further enhance service delivery. Staff would represent the role and efforts of each department and would work collaboratively in order to provide a continuum of service and response delivery. A youth justice team, comprised of professional case managers and youth workers, could be based in the unit or alternatively at the Family Support Centres that would implement a through-care model for young offenders.

In addition to its coordinating role, the youth justice unit would be responsible for developing a through-care model of service delivery, which would include, but not be limited to, providing intensive case management plans for young offenders. It would also be responsible for policy development.

This multi-agency and multi-disciplinary approach would overcome many of the difficulties identified that arise from failures to share information and fragmented service delivery.

The unit should have its own statutory powers and have a legislative base, similar in nature to the Work Health Authority and to Consumer Affairs.

The youth justice unit would have responsibility for coordinating the matters relating to all of the following Recommendations.

**Recommendation 2**

That a new, comprehensive youth justice strategy be developed and implemented.

The need for a new youth justice strategy has been illustrated throughout this report. The strategy should establish benchmarks and targets to improve access to services and the delivery of youth specific health services.
The strategy should include targets to reduce youth crime, decrease the number of young people in detention (on remand and under sentence), reduce the number of Indigenous offenders in the youth justice system, and increase the number of young people entering and completing diversion programs.

Performance measures should be developed. To this end, the *Territory 2030* Sub-committee of Cabinet should endorse the youth strategy as a recognised priority for achieving a number of targets and actions and the youth justice unit should coordinate with relevant government agencies and other stakeholders to embed the youth strategy within those existing targets and actions for *Territory 2030*.

**Recommendation 3**

That the Administrative Arrangements order be reviewed and that the number of ministers responsible for parts of the youth justice system be reduced to mirror the existence of the youth justice unit and ministerial responsibility.

The youth justice system falls within the ministerial portfolios of four ministers. As noted throughout this report, the fragmentation of ministerial portfolio responsibility is confusing and difficult, and is partly responsible for the lack of continuum of service and response delivery. A single portfolio of youth justice with responsibilities vested in one (or at most two) ministers and his or her agencies is required.

Streamlining the administrative arrangements will clarify roles and responsibilities, and foster improved cooperation and coordination.

**Recommendation 4**

That resources be provided to the youth justice unit for the purposes of collecting, coordinating, interpreting, analysing and disseminating whole of government data and statistics on youth justice issues, and that a Territory-wide and nationally consistent set of systems and measurement indicators (including recidivism) be developed to provide information for decision makers on a range of youth justice issues.

The importance of accurate, relevant and easy-to-obtain data cannot be overstated—it forms the basis of government decisions and allocations of resources. Investment of financial and staff resources are required if there is to be improved data collection.

Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) must carry the responsibility for making change happen.

Clear guidelines and protocols, including a complaint mechanism for when information is unreasonably withheld, should be introduced and championed by CEOs to ensure appropriate and critical information sharing across government and non government agencies.
CHAPTER 11: RECOMMENDATIONS AND MODELS

Recommendation 5

That resources be increased for police diversion to include the establishment of Youth Diversion Units in Katherine and Tennant Creek, that eligibility for diversion be expanded and that additional community based programs be established that have a measurable rehabilitative value.

Diversion can assist young offenders and end or limit their offending, and options need to be expanded. As a result of issues identified in this Report a number of areas should be increased or expanded:

The Youth Diversion Units (YDUs) within NTP should be expanded so they have enough staff, with relevant skill and training to enable them to assess young people eligible for diversion more quickly, and to assist the YDUs to liaise with non government service providers for programs.

Additional staff would assist in reducing delays caused in arranging diversion programs for young offenders. YDUs should be established in Katherine and Tennant Creek so that assessments could be undertaken in conjunction with local service providers and local police.

Additional expertise, including a greater capacity to conduct youth justice conferences, needs to be developed.

Community-based diversion programs should be increased after the planned review of programs is undertaken by the Department of Children and Families (DCF), which should occur by June 2012. This will ensure that outcomes are assessed and that more targeted programs can be identified and developed. The programs must provide a level of rehabilitative value. Programs should be developed in consultation with people in remote communities, and in line with Local Implementation Plans in Territory Growth Towns.

Legislative amendments should be made to increase eligibility for diversion including for offences outlined in chapter 3.

Recommendation 6

That the number of youth rehabilitation camps be increased and include: the establishment of one short term therapeutic camp program in the greater Darwin area and one in Central Australia, as well as a longer term therapeutic residential program in the Top End and one in Central Australia, and that the youth rehabilitation camps be regulated by legislation.
CHAPTER 11: RECOMMENDATIONS AND MODELS

The Review does not propose changes to the existing youth camps.

As outlined in chapter 4, this Review does not propose to repeat all details that have already been provided to government regarding the costing, models and framework for the youth rehabilitation camps, but supports the models therein.

The youth justice unit, contained in recommendation 1, should be responsible for developing and implementing the youth rehabilitation camps. The Review notes that the Service Delivery Coordination Unit in the Department of the Chief Minister retains extensive details regarding infrastructure in remote areas. This information may assist in determining some locations. In Central Australia, there may be an opportunity to share some resources with the Barkly Work Camp, established under the New Era in Corrections initiative.

The Review recommends that the new facilities be subject to regulation.

The establishment of these facilities would represent a justice reinvestment, namely allocating resources now that will provide a return on investment by delivering benefits such as reductions in offending and re-offending and, ultimately, cost savings. They also provide the Youth Justice Court with an alternative placement for sentencing and remanding young offenders and alleged offenders.

The youth justice unit referred to in recommendation 1 should assess whether the facilities could also operate as post-release facilities, so that young offenders with high needs can be reintegrated into the community. Short term accommodation options also need to be developed.

Recommendation 7

That additional resources be allocated to the Family Support Program and existing Family Support Centres.

An increase of resources to the Family Support Program and Family Support Centres (FSCs) is recommended based on its capacity to work with the families and, indirectly, children, many of whom are offenders or at risk of offending and entering the youth justice system.

The Review notes, if government accepts all the recommendations in this report, the FSCs can build on their resources and complement therapeutic work that should occur at the therapeutic camp program and therapeutic residential programs.

The youth justice unit, proposed in recommendation 1, would have the responsibility of coordinating services, responses and resources to the facilities and the FSCs, and their capacity to provide, among other services, multi-disciplinary expertise and delivery of intensive supervision programs.
Currently, FSCs exist in Darwin and Alice Springs. The Review makes no specific recommendation that FSCs should be established in Katherine and Tennant Creek, as suggested by DCF in its submission, although this should assessed by the youth justice unit.

The youth justice unit should evaluate whether FSCs can be developed into a central referral facility along the lines of a form of triage centre so that assessments can be made for young people as soon as they come into contact with the youth justice system.

Recommendation 8

That the capacity of the Northern Territory workforce be strengthened to include training of workers across the youth justice system including, though not limited to, youth workers, court support workers and community youth justice workers.

A strong and capable workforce within government and the NGO sector is an integral part of achieving the aim of this Review, which is to ensure the Territory’s youth justice system delivers best practice programs and services to meet the needs of young people and the public, including victims.

The youth justice unit, proposed in recommendation 1, would have the responsibility of driving workforce development issues and strategies for government and NGO sectors.

Recommendation 9

That all programs delivered for young people in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system have built in evaluation processes, that an external monitoring committee oversee progress of the youth justice unit; that the youth justice unit’s activities are included in the department’s annual report, and that government report on the recommendations of this Review by 30 June 2012, again by the end of 2012 and annually thereafter.

Ongoing internal and external monitoring and evaluation are essential to ensure both the progress of delivery against these recommendations and progress of the youth justice unit in meeting the requirements of youth in, or at risk of entering, the youth justice system.
CHAPTER 11: RECOMMENDATIONS AND MODELS

Models for change

The recommendations made by this Review can be delivered in a number of ways. Initially, four models were identified that could give effect to the recommendations. They were the creation of a new unit in an existing department, the establishment of a new department, individual department improvements or a series of pilot programs.

However, ultimately, the Review determined that in fact there are two models best suited for government that will maximise its capacity to implement the recommendations. They are:

1. A new unit in an existing department

The creation of a new unit within an existing government department is the preferred option.

As outlined, the unit would be responsible for administering all aspects of the youth justice system and ensure the delivery of a continuum of services and responses to young people who are in, or at risk of entering, the system.

This model represents an opportunity to build on existing strengths and initiatives in a range of departments, provide the means by which identified gaps in the continuum of services and responses can be filled, and develop a greater working relationship with the NGO sector. There was widespread support for this model among stakeholders including officers from key government departments.

The advantages of this model include:

• uniting key elements of the justice system continuum, which currently exist in a number of departments, in one division
• coordinated service and response delivery
• a centre of youth experience and expertise
• streamlining administrative responsibility to one ministerial portfolio
• reassuring the public that government is providing a sustainable results driven response to youth offending and re-offending
• reassuring the public and the NGO sector that government is providing a sustainable holistic approach to youth justice
• information sharing.

Government would need to allow an appropriate timeframe for the unit to be created and resourced. It is also understood that resourcing the new unit could create service delivery challenges for existing agencies and programs. Contingencies to reduce the risk to the new and existing divisions must be established.

If accepted, government must consider which department the unit would sit. In many, but not all, Australian jurisdictions, youth justice is administered by human services departments. Given DCF’s focus on implementing the Board of Inquiry into the Child
Protection System in the Northern Territory 2010 recommendations, the Review considers that DCF is not in a position to absorb the additional responsibility of a new unit focused on youth. The Review considers that the Department of Justice is the best placed department at present for the new unit. Over time, government may wish to consider transferring the unit to DCF.

2. Individual departmental improvements

This model provides for specific changes to be made to individual departments; however, it would not guarantee the implementation of all of the Recommendations.

This is a reasonable option for the government to consider; however, there is a risk that, over time, service delivery would revert to being fractured and that the ability to provide a continuum of services and responses would be limited.

The report also identifies significant challenges agencies have in sharing information that is critical to supporting youth. This model could not succeed without a thorough overhaul of information guidelines and processes.

This model would receive general support as a number of suggestions were made to the Review regarding the need for improved policies, practices and processes within key departments.

The advantages of this model include:

• minimal structural change
• increased individual agency responsibility to assist young people who offend or who risk offending

The Chair’s preferred model is to establish a new unit within an existing government department.

Cost benefit analysis

As discussed in chapter 10, the Review has been unable to provide a cost benefit analysis. However, as part of government’s analysis of this report, the Northern Territory Treasury has advised that an assessment of the costs of implementation compared with the likely benefits of the various recommendations, including the proposed models, would be undertaken after the Review.
Part 4: Appendices

1. Reference panel members
2. Consultations
3. List of submissions
4. Historical summary
5. Youth Diversion Programs
APPENDIX 1: REFERENCE PANEL MEMBERS

1. Mr Jared Sharpe, NAAJA
2. Ms Cherise Taiyi, Tamarind Centre
3. Ms Janet Buhagair, Department of the Chief Minister
4. Ms Marianne Conaty, Department of Justice
5. Mr John Adams, Department of Children and Families
6. Ms Jo Townsend, Department of Children and Families
7. Superintendent Sean Parnell, NT Police
8. Mr John Fattore, Department of Justice
9. Ms Susan Macpherson, Department of Education and Training
10. Mrs Hillary Hannam CSM (did not attend)

The Chair met with the Reference Panel in Darwin on the following dates:

- Monday, 6 June 2011
- Wednesday, 6 July 2011
- Wednesday, 10 August 2011
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 10 May 2011
Department of Justice
Mr Greg Shanahan, Chief Executive Officer

Darwin: 12 May 2011
Department of Children and Families – Youth Justice Advisory Committee
Ms Antoinette Carroll, Chair
Mr Stewart Willey
Ms Helena Blundell
Ms Barbara Kelly
Superintendent Sean Parnell
Mr Eddie Fabijan
Mr Peter Curwen-Walker
Mrs June Noble

Darwin: 16 May 2011
NT Government
Hon. Delia Lawrie MLA, Minister for Justice and Attorney-General
Department of Justice
Dr Howard Bath, NT Children's Commissioner
NT Correctional Services
Mr Ken Middlebrook, Executive Director

Darwin: 17 May 2011
Department of Children and Families
Ms Clare Gardiner-Barnes, Chief Executive Officer
Mr Steve Wheelhouse, Senior Policy Officer
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

NT Community Corrections
Mr John Daulby, Deputy Director
Ms Tracy Luke, General Manager

Darwin: 18 May 2011
NT Magistrates Court
Mrs Hillary Hannam CM
Australasian Juvenile Justice Administrators
Ms Robyn Hopkins, NT representative

Darwin: 19 May 2011
Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre
Mr John Fattore, General Manager Juvenile Detention
Mr Michael Yaxley, Assistant Manager Juvenile Detention
Male and female detainees
NT Supreme Court
Justice Stephen Southwood

Darwin: 20 May 2011
NT Legal Aid Commission
Ms Fiona Hussein
Ms Julie Franz

NT Police – Youth Diversion Unit
Ms Jeanette Callaghan
Superintendent Sean Parnell
Mr Kieran Wells
Mr Paul Wood
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 31 May 2011

NT Magistrates Court
Ms Sue Oliver SM, Youth Justice Magistrate

NT Government
Hon. Gerry McCarthy MLA, Minister for Correctional Services
Hon. Kon Vatskalis MLA, Minister for Children and Families

Darwin: 1 June 2011

North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency
Ms Priscilla Collins, Chief Executive Officer
Mr Jonathon Hunyer, Principal Legal Officer
Mr Jared Sharpe, Advocacy Manager
Ms Ruth Barson, Advocacy Solicitor
Ms Sarah Crellin, Youth Solicitor

Wadeye: 2 June 2011

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart School
Mr Shayne Kidd, Principal

NT Police
Sergeant George Watkinson

Thamarrurr Development Corporation
Mr William Parmbuck, Board Member
Mr Phil Mitchell, Manager

NT Community Corrections
Mr Matthew McCormack, Team Leader
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Casuarina: 3 June 2011
Department of Children and Families – Family Support Centre
Ms Mary Culhane-Brown, Co-ordinator
Ms Karen McLoughlan-Goldstraw, Child Protection Worker
Ms Natalie Crisp, Education Officer
Ms Margaret Wilson, Practice Advisor
Ms Vera Draper, Aboriginal Community Worker

Darwin: 3 June 2011
NT Police
Mr John McRoberts, Commissioner of Police
Mr Shayne Maines, Deputy Commissioner of Police
Victims of Crime NT
Mr Mike Campbell, Manager
NT Treasury Corporation
Ms Jennifer Prince, Under-Treasurer
Ms Jodie Kirman, Deputy Under-Treasurer

Darwin: 6 June 2011
NT Magistrates Court
Ms Sue Oliver SM, Youth Justice Magistrate

Alyangula: 7 June 2011
NT Community Corrections
Ms Deborah Cass, Team Leader
Groote Eylandt & Milyakburra Youth Development Unit
Ms Barbora Ramlah
Ms Debra Shannon
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Umbakumba: 7 June 2011

East Arnhem Shire Council

Mr Kamahl Wilson

Borroloola: 8 June 2011

Community Stakeholders

Mr Robert Sitlington, General Business Manager
Mr David D’Antoine, NT Police
Mr Noel Dixon, NT Police
Mr Damien Mullen, NT Police
Ms Melissa Sanderson, NT Police
Mr Ray Morrison, Community Court Co-ordinator (Department of Justice)
Mr Burton Willis, Mabunji
Mr Bruce Hansen, Chair – Borroloola Action Group
Ms Lizzie Hogan, Mabunji and Safe House Co-ordinator
Mr Trevor Jones
Mr Graham Matthew, Principal – Borroloola School
Ms Kelly Green, Borroloola School
Ms Jennifer Reynard, Borroloola School
Ms Rochelle Roch, Borroloola Crèche
Mr Jack Green, Northern Land Council
Mr Jimmy Morrison, Northern Land Council
Ms Val Rogers
Ms Louise Beilby, Remote Engagement (Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services)
Ms Marlene Kakadu
Pastor John Friend
Ms Daphne Mawson
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 9 June 2011

NT Government
Hon. Gerry McCarthy MLA, Minister for Correctional Services

NT Community Corrections
Ms Robyn Hopkins

Darwin: 10 June 2011

Mrs Robyn Lambley MLA, Shadow Minister for Child Protection

Darwin: 14 June 2011

Catholic Diocese of Darwin
The Most Reverend Eugene Hurley, DD

Balanu Foundation
Mr David Cole
Ms Nolita McKenzie
Mr Kelvin Gardiner

Katherine: 15 June 2011

Peace at Home (NT Police and Department of Children and Families)
Ms Meryn Hughes, Child Protection Officer
Mr Peter Fletcher
Ms Sarel Wallace
Ms Andrea Turner

Young Men’s Christian Association
Ms Tammy Frean
Ms Kassie Mills
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Lajamanu: 16 June 2011

Government Business Manager
Mr Robert Paynter
Mr Lamun (Cyril) Tasman, Indigenous Engagement Officer

NT Police
Senior Constable Jonas Johnson

Katherine West Health Board
Dr Merrilyn Williams, General Practitioner – Lajamanu Clinic
Kathryn Drummond, Registered Nurse – Lajamanu Clinic

Darwin: 16 June 2011

Department of Children and Families – Youth Services, Darwin Family Support Centre
Ms Mary Culhane-Brown

Katherine: 17 June 2011

Venndale
Mr Casey Bishop

NT Police
Senior Constable Daniela Matiuzzo
Constable Trudi Tilley
Sergeant Suzane Hollingsworth
Superintendent Brent Warren

Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Ms Louise Beilby, Remote Engagement Officer
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Alice Springs: 20 June 2011

Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service
Mrs Patricia Millar, Chief Executive Officer
Mr Mark O’Reilly, Principal Lawyer
Ms Antoinette Carroll, Community Legal Project Officer
Ms Shanna Satyna, Advocacy Manager and Youth Justice Lawyer

Department of Children and Families – Youth Hub
Mr John Adams, Youth Services Coordinator (Alice Springs)
Department of Children and Families team
Youth Street Outreach Service team
Family Support team
Alice Springs Action Plan Implementation team
Mr Edmund Rice, Incite Youth Affairs (NGO)

Darwin: 20 June 2011

Department of Children and Families – Child Protection
Ms Jennie Guinane, Senior Manager – Regional Services

Darwin: 21 June 2011

Department of Education and Training
Ms Susan MacPherson, Senior Director – Participation and Pathways

Department of Justice
Mr John Fattore, General Manager Juvenile Detention

Alice Springs: 21 June 2011

Central Australian Youth Justice
Ms Amanda Watkinson, Jesuit Social Services
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Ms Sarah Lovill, Jesuit Social Services
Mr Xavier Desmarchelier, Jesuit Social Services
Ms Kerry Diamond, Bushmob
Ms Robyn Donnelly, Relationships Australia
Mr Jonothan Pilbrow, NTCOSS
Mr John Adams, Alice Springs Youth Hub Co-ordinator (Department of Children and Families)
Mr Adrian Scoltos
Mr Tom Caldwell
Mr Scott Hupalo, Relationships Australia
Mr Michael Clerk, Tangentyere Council
Ms Donna Cellents, Steps (Tennant Creek)
Ms Michelle Crower
Mr Tony Corcoran, Congress
Mrs June Noble, Official Visitor
Ms Katie Allen, Waltja Papanya
Ms Robert Kopp, Waltja Papanya

NT Shelter
Alice Springs Action Group

Alice Springs: 22 June 2011

Central Australian Aboriginal Congress
Ms Farley Aldridge
Ms Bianka Schultz Allan

Alice Springs Magistrates Court
Ms Sarah McNamara, Registrar
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Alice Springs: 23 June 2011

NT Police – Youth Diversion Scheme
Senior Constable Paul Dixon

NT Council of Social Service Inc
Mr Jonathan Pilbrow
Ms Tess Reinsch

Department of Children and Families – Family Support Centre
Ms Christa Bartjen-Westermann, Manager
Ms Chris Castle, Advanced Practitioner
Mr Henry O’Loughlan, Family Support Worker
Mr Glen Davey, Advanced Practitioner

Darwin: 24 June 2011

NT Police – Youth Diversion Unit and Policy
Ms Jennie Renfrey, Senior Program and Policy Officer
Ms Jeanette Callaghan

Darwin: 27 June 2011

Department of Health – Mental Health
Ms Sarah O’Regan

NT Shelter
Ms Toni Vine-Bromley, NT Shelter
Mr Mike Byrne, St Vincent de Paul
Ms Sandie Hyde, Salvation Army
Mr Anthony Clift, Salvation Army
Ms Marilyn Roberts, Somerville
Ms Leanne Butler, Somerville
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Ms Kate Booth, Legal Services
Ms Joan Cruse
Ms Fiona Remfrey
Ms Felicity Munns, Department of Children and Families
Ms Sharon Hurst, Anglicare
Ms Tina Skewes, Anglicare
Mr Chris Wright, Anglicare
Ms Mandy Olsen, Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Mr Michael Beattie, Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Mr Peter Holt, Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Ms Kate Smith, Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Ms Kylie Campbell, Catholic Care
Mr Warwick Sweeney, Catholic Care
Mr Ian Murdoch, Mission Australia
Ms Jessica Ettridge, Mission Australia
Mr Jack Hamilton, Coral House

Catholic Education Centre
Mr Robbie Lloyd

Sydney: 27 June 2011 (teleconference)

Australasian Juvenile Justice Administrators

Mr John Hubby, Chief Executive – NSW Department of the Attorney-General and Justice, and Chair, Australasian Juvenile Justice Administrators

Mt Theo: 28 June 2011 (teleconference)

Warlpiri Youth Development Aboriginal Corporation

Mr Brett Badger, Operations Manager
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 28 June 2011

Magistrates Court
Ms Amanda Gunn

Darwin: 29 June 2011

Mission Australia
Mr Phillip Leslie, NT Director

Darwin: 30 June 2011

NT Government
Hon. Paul Henderson MLA, Chief Minister

Catholic Education Centre
Mr Robbie Lloyd

Department of Health – Alcohol and Other Drugs
Mr Anthony Sievers, Director

Darwin: 1 July 2011

Department of Children and Families – Child Protection
Ms Jennie Guinane
Regional Managers

Darwin: 5 July 2011

Department of Education and Training
Mr Gary Barnes, Chief Executive Officer
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 6 July 2011
NT Youth Affairs Network and Darwin and Rural Workers With Youth Network
Ms Morgan Sabbith, Project Officer
Young Men’s Christian Association
Mr Bill Groom, Program Manager

Sydney: 6 July 2011 (teleconference)
NSW Department of Attorney-General and Justice
Mr Michael Szyjan, Manager, Intensive Supervision Program, Juvenile Justice

Darwin: 7 July 2011
PARYS
Ms Leanne Pattison, Community Development Officer
Multicultural Council of the NT
Mr Ron Mitchell, Director – Policy and Projects

Maningrida: 7 July 2011
Maningrida School
Ms Roslyn Dunne, School Counsellor
General Business Manager
Mr Chris Davies
Remote Service Delivery Reference Group
Mr Reggie Wuridjal
Ms Bernadette Yibarbuk
Ms Laurie Magaldagi Williams
Mr Ben Pascoe, Indigenous Engagement Officer
Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation
Mr Peter Danaji, Youth Engagement Officer
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 8 July 2011

Brahminy Group
Ms Ange Bevan, National General Manager

Darwin: 8 July 2011

Remote Service Delivery Co-ordination Unit
Mr Matt Fagan, Executive Director
Department of Education and Training – Family Support Centre
Ms Natalie Crisp, Education Officer
NT Magistrates Court
Ms Sue Oliver SM, Youth Justice Magistrate

Alice Springs: 11 July 2011

NT Police
Acting Commander Michael White
Superintendent Michael Murphy

Darwin: 11 July 2011

Department of Health – Disability
Ms Annie Rily

Darwin: 12 July 2011

Department of Children and Families – Youth Policy
Ms Karen McLoughlin-Goldstraw
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Elliott: 12 July 2011

Community Stakeholders
Ms Annette Kingston, Centrelink
Ms Leslie Huen, Librarian
Ms Mona Rennie, Indigenous Support Officer, Elliott School

NT Police
Brevet Sergeant Michael Kent
Constable Callum Blackstone

Tennant Creek: 12 July 2011

NT Community Corrections
Mr Yvon Magnery, Team Leader

Red Cross
Mr Tong Galiki, Youth Service Co-ordinator (Barkly)

Tennant Creek: 13 July 2011

Barkly Youth Service Provider’s Network
Ms Rebecca Healy, IEDO
Ms Karina Files, BYSPN Member
Mr Stewart Wiley, Steps
Mr Carlos Boton, Catholic Care
Mr Matthew Hopwood, Department of Housing, Local Government and Regional Services
Ms Melissa Hopwood, Department of Health
Mr Tong Galiki, Red Cross
Ms Shirleen Alim, Women’s Refuge
Mr Adam Drake, Jalalakari Youth Development Unit
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Steps
Mr Peter Cain
Mr Stewart Willey
Ms Coral Franklin
Mr Noble Jo

Gunbalanya: 13 July 2011 (teleconference)

Night Patrol
Mr Gregory Sheldon, Team Leader

Alice Springs: 14 July 2011

Tangentyere Council
Mr Reg Hatch, Youth Services Manager
Ms Cait Ryan, Youth Worker
Ms Leonie Sheedy, Youth Worker

NT Community Corrections
Ms Serena Williams, Team Leader (Hermannsburg)

Alice Springs Juvenile Detention Centre
Mr Derek Tasker, Second-in-charge/Manager
Male detainees

Hermannsburg: 15 July 2011

West MacDonnell Shire Council
Ms Shelli Madden, Youth Co-ordinator

NT Police
Sergeant John Tickner
Senior Constable Michael Valladarez, Community Engagement Officer
Constable Adrian O’Toole
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 15 July 2011

Department of Education and Training – Student Services
Mr Paul Nuhuis

Darwin: 18 July 2011

NT Police
Ms Karen O’Dwyer, Youth Engagement Police Officer

Alice Springs: 18 July 2011

Central Australian Youth Link Up Service
Mr Blair McFarlane

Multicultural Community Services of Central Australia
Ms Marguerite Baptiste-Rooke, Community Settlement Co-ordinator

Alice Springs Youth Accommodation and Support Services
Mr Darren Liddle, Interim Manager and Senior Youth Housing Program Officer
Ms Davina Edwards, Ampeakweke Coordinator

Alice Springs: 19 July 2011

Bushmob
Mr Will McGregor, Manager

Relationships Australia
Ms Robyn Donnelly, Manager
Mr Scott Hupalo, Co-ordinator of Youth Diversion
APPENDIX 2: CONSULTATIONS

Darwin: 19 July 2011

NT Police
Constable Ward Tucker, Blue Light Disco

Palmerston: 20 July 2011

Danila Dilba Youth Services
Ms Desley Tamiano, Manager Youth Services
Ms Karina Tamiano
Ms Seileshia Calma-Goodrem
Mr Trevor Alley

Darwin: 21 July 2011

NT Police
Senior Constable Naomi Beale

Darwin: 3 August 2011

NT Police
Senior Constable Karen O'Dwyer
Senior Constable Jennifer Roe
Senior Constable Dan Bull
## APPENDIX 3: LIST OF SUBMISSIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No:</th>
<th>Submission</th>
<th>Publicly available***</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kalano Youth Services</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ms Coral Franklin, Steps, Tennant Creek</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Brahminy Group</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Department of Children and Families*</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Youth Minister's Round Table of Young Territorians</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Office of Women's Policy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mission Australia</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mr Marcus Becker</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Young Women's Christian Association, Darwin</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Community Justice Centre</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Department of Education and Training</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>NT Youth Affairs Network</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Noetic Solutions Pty Ltd</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>NT Legal Aid Commission</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Program areas in Department of Health:**</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) Office of the Chief Health Officer: Health Protection</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td></td>
<td>b) Mental Health Program</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c) Aged and Disability Program</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d) Alcohol and Other Drugs Program</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Youth Justice Advisory Committee</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mrs Hillary Hannam CM and Ms Sue Oliver SM</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Central Australian Aboriginal Legal Aid Service</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>NT Correctional Services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>NT Council of Social Service Inc.</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Central Australian Youth Justice</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Jesuit Social Services</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Aboriginal Medical Services Alliance of the Northern Territory</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Country Liberals Parliamentary Wing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>National Youth Mental Health Foundation – Headspace</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Tangentyere Council</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Ms Karen McLoughlin-Goldstraw</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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</table>
**APPENDIX 3: LIST OF SUBMISSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Organisation/Individual</th>
<th>Approval Status</th>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Aboriginal Peak Organisations Northern Territory (an alliance of the CLC, NLC, CAALAS, NAAJA and AMSANT)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Justice Stephen Southwood, Chairperson Parole Board of the NT</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Central Australian Youth Link Up Service</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>NT Shelter on behalf of NGO representatives from the Alice Springs Accommodation Group</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mr Ben Pascoe, Yarwiny Diversion Program, Maningrida Community</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>NT Law Society</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>NT Police</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Ms Kezia Purick MLA</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Dr Howard Bath, NT Children’s Commissioner</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*DCF provided three separate submissions to the Review from different program areas within DCF
**DoH provided four separate submissions to the Review from different program areas within DoH
***Those submissions with approval for public release will be available until 31 November 2011 via an email request to: YouthJusticeSystemReview@nt.gov.au*
APPENDIX 4: HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Background

1883 The Fannie Bay Gaol operated between from 1883 to 1979, initially housing male and female prisoners including juveniles. Juveniles were not permitted to associate with adult prisoners and accordingly, they were not permitted to participate in work or education programs.

1909 The Stuart Town Gaol, Alice Springs, was built in 1909, housing prisoners serving relatively minor offences.

1939 The purpose-built Alice Springs Gaol opened on the corner of Stuart and Telegraph Terraces, providing a bigger and more suitable venue for prisoners. The Review was unable to ascertain whether juveniles were detained at this facility.

Prior to 1970, it was common for identified ‘vulnerable’ prisoners, including women, the mentally ill and juvenile offenders, to be transferred from the Northern Territory to South Australia, due to the lack of available facilities.

1960s

Essington House was opened in Darwin in the late 1960s. It was the only juvenile holding centre in the Northern Territory.

1970s

1973 The Commonwealth Minister for the Northern Territory commissioned a report from the University of Sydney. Gordon Hawkins and Robert Misner conducted three wide-ranging assessments of the criminal justice system in the Northern Territory, including the gaols at Fannie Bay in Darwin, and Alice Springs. There was no probation and parole system, no mental health services and no facility in which to accommodate the large Aboriginal population, who made contact with the criminal justice system mostly for public drunkenness.

In their report, Hawkins and Misner called for the establishment of a juvenile remand centre, and noted that juveniles could be held in gaol for up to a week before being transferred to Essington House. They also noted that community work placements were preferable to detaining juvenile offenders.

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3 Hawkins and Misner, above n 2, 1-3.

4 Ibid, 6
APPENDIX 4: HISTORICAL SUMMARY

1974

The Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into Prisons and Prison Legislation⁵ (the Ward Report) recommended, inter alia, that alternatives to juvenile incarceration should be investigated. The Ward Report described the treatment of juvenile offenders as a matter of grave concern:

that they should have to be sent to such prisons as those at Fannie Bay and Alice Springs because of the lack of other facilities is a public disgrace. Suitable alternatives should be provided without delay.⁶

1979

Fannie Bay Gaol closed and the new Berrimah prison opened, providing specialist accommodation for both female and juvenile prisoners in the Darwin area.

1980s

Throughout the 1980s:

the Territory’s rate of detention for juveniles was 5 times the national average and 3 times higher than that of the closest jurisdiction … [and] the number of juveniles in detention per 100,000 people increased strongly in the Territory through the mid-to late 1980s.⁷

1983

The Juvenile Justice Bill was introduced to the Parliament in September 1983.⁸ An explanation of the ‘welfare’ and ‘justice’ models of youth justice was provided by the then Minister:

The introduction of a separate bill for juvenile justice heralds a significant change in philosophy from past approaches to laws relating to juvenile offenders. In the past, the issue of dealing with young people who break the law has been lumped together with those laws relating to the general welfare and protection of children. The theory behind this was that young offenders were really only victims of their circumstances and required care and treatment rather than punishment …

However, the reality is that, throughout the western world, this welfare approach to juvenile justice has proved to be to the detriment of offenders and the community alike. I shall refer to some of the consequences which these provisions have had. Because the dispositions provided for young offenders are welfare rather than justice oriented, the consistency of the law in dealing with the offenders can be lost. The system is not geared to hold juveniles accountable for their actions in such a way that there are predictable consequences for breaking

---

⁶ Ibid, 21.
⁷ Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 17 November 1992, 6749 (Mr Reed, Minister for Correctional Services).
⁸ On same day, the Community Welfare Bill was introduced. It was considered progressive for its time, and included, inter alia, laws requiring the mandatory reporting of child abuse. The Territory was the first jurisdiction in Australia introduce mandatory reporting for child abuse.
APPENDIX 4: HISTORICAL SUMMARY

the law …This bill will provide legislative backing to current practice in the Northern Territory as well as continuing a widely enhanced range of provisions for dealing with juvenile offenders.9

The Juvenile Justice Act established the Juvenile Court, created the Juvenile Justice Review Committee, and included:

- such diversionary procedures as Police warnings and early intervention by welfare authorities which attempt to address the problems of juvenile offenders without recourse to the formal justice system.10

It also created Community Service Orders ad contained provisions which allowed for the Juvenile Offender Placement Program (JOPP). This was based on the Department of Community Development’s welfare division’s ‘community care program’. It enabled correctional services to place a juvenile offender with a family in circumstances akin to an out-of-home care placement for a maximum period of 28 days. In-care treatment for the juvenile was provided, targeting issues of family displacement and trauma.

The Juvenile Justice Act defined a ‘juvenile’ as a person aged under 17 years. The explanation for this was given during the Parliamentary debate on the Bill:

At present, 17 is the age at which young people are dealt with by the adult court and, although this is 1 year younger than the age of majority, it is seen as more appropriate. Contrary to the belief that all the privileges and responsibilities of adulthood should be foisted onto people at 17, it is seen by this government as more desirable that the process be a gradual one. Young people, for example, have been able to obtain driving licences at 17 years of age and will soon be able to obtain licences, excluding taxis and bus licences, at the age of 16. All unemployment benefits are available to 18-year-olds, while partial benefits are available to 16 and 17-year-olds.11

1984   Giles House, in Alice Springs, was opened as the first juvenile detention centre in the Northern Territory.

Giles House (and later Malak House), focused on providing detainees with life skills and education, thereby ensuring young offenders were not ‘put in prisons; that they did not come under the influence of hardened criminals and that they did not, after being released, follow a life of crime’.12

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9  Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 1 September 1983, 1028 (Mr Tuxworth, Minister for Community Development).
10  Ibid, 1030.
11  Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 19 October 1983, 1353 (Mr Tuxworth, Minister for Community Development).
12  Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 19 November 1991, 3366 (Mr Reed, Minister for Correctional Services).
APPENDIX 4: HISTORICAL SUMMARY

1985  The first meeting of the Juvenile Justice Review Committee was held in April. The committee made a number of recommendations to improve the juvenile justice system in the Northern Territory over the following several years.

1986  The functions and administration of juvenile justice were transferred to the Department of Correctional Services from the Department of Community Development.

1987  Malak House was approved as a juvenile detention centre in Darwin.

The first legislative amendments were made to the Juvenile Justice Act, replacing the Juvenile Justice Review Committee with two boards of management.

Established in May 1987, the Wildman River Wilderness Work Camp was considered an innovative initiative. The camp was based on the ‘Outward Bound’ model of providing youths with a series of increasingly challenging tasks. The work camp was a low security facility and programs included the construction of the Shady Camp tourist destination on the Mary River, as well as laying fencing to protect the Mary River region from feral animals. Wildman River was for boys only, as the facilities were not considered suitable for girls.

Alcohol and petrol sniffing amongst the juvenile populations became prevalent, with devastating effects, and often resulted in a court appearance. The over-representation of Aboriginal juveniles in detention centres was noted as was low education rates and the need to re-engage Aboriginal youths with traditional elders. It was noted:

By implementing what are considered to be more culturally appropriate and relevant practices and providing alternatives to traditional correctional programs, it is anticipated there will be longer term positive results. These results may take a generation or more but the emphasis has been shifted away from surveillance type activities to emphasising vocational and life skills.

1990s

One of the priorities of the Department of Correctional Services was to reduce the high imprisonment rates by preventing juvenile offenders from graduating to the adult criminal justice system.

1990  A review of the Act occurred, culminating in the Juvenile Justice Amendment Bill 1990. Its purpose was to:

13 Established under the new Juvenile Justice Act, this committee set about formulating recommendations to clearly separate the gaps between the ‘welfare’ and ‘justice’ models of youth justice. See Kenneth Newman, ‘Juvenile Offender Diversionary Programs in the Northern Territory’ in Heather Strang and Sally-Anne Gerull (eds), Keeping People Out of Prisons (1991) 135.

14 Established in 1984.

15 Newman, above n 13, 140.

16 Ibid, 143.
allow the Juvenile Court to make an order for restitution against the parents of the juvenile offender where the juvenile offender cannot pay the restitution in whole or in part, and where it is not unreasonable to make such an order against the parent in the circumstances of the case. The bill also allows the Juvenile Court to order that the parents of the juvenile contribute to a maximum of $100 per week towards the cost of detention, where the juvenile offender is sentenced for a period of detention at a juvenile detention centre.17

The Scheme was not ultimately implemented, but it was the first time an attempt would be made by Government to make parents responsible for the actions of their ‘delinquent’ children. It would be revisited in 2008.

The Katherine Community Aid Panel was established. A Magistrate could defer sentencing of a juvenile offender who entered a plea of guilty for three months following referral to the panel, which would then meet the young person and decide on an appropriate course of counseling and other interventions, which would then be reported back to the Court at sentence.

1991  The Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre was opened in Darwin replacing Malak House. It was the first facility in the Territory that was specifically designed and built for juvenile detainees and was considered, a ‘state of the art’ facility. It detained up to 22 young offenders from around the Territory.

In Alice Springs, Giles House, after being closed for two years following the opening of Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre, was reopened and re-named Aranda House. It was operated by the Central Australian Child Care Agency, its purpose being to accommodate youth at risk, particularly Aboriginal children, but it also provided an approved residential placement option for juvenile offenders on bail. As accommodation was offered on a ‘fee for service’ basis, Aranda House developed into a holding facility, paid for by the Department of Correctional Services, with a 10 bed capacity, for juveniles awaiting relocation to Darwin.

Aranda House did not operate as a fully functional detention centre, did not offer educational facilities, rehabilitation programs, and had little scope even for outside activities such as sport. This contrasted with facilities available in the previous decade. Aranda House operated between 1989 until early 2011.

Following community consultation, the Juvenile Justice Amendment Act 1991 and the Law Reform (Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Act 1991 were introduced, amending the Juvenile Justice Act to permit a sentencing Court to make an order against the parents to contribute towards the cost of the detention of a juvenile offender to a maximum amount of $100 per week. The Law Reform

17 Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 1 May 1991, 865 (Mr Manzie, Attorney-General).
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(Miscellaneous Provisions) Amendment Bill had provided that parents would be held liable for property damage where their child intentionally caused property damage to a ceiling limit of $5,000.¹⁸

1992  A Youth Policy Strategy Working Group was established by Government, which produced a report titled ‘Juvenile Crime Prevention.’ The report found that juvenile crime had remained static since 1984, and that juvenile crime could largely be described as ‘petty’ or ‘minor’ and rarely involved violent crime, and that a small number of youths appeared to be responsible for the majority of crimes.¹⁹

Other initiatives for young offenders were developed in the 1990s. In Central Australia, the Juvenile Offender Station Placement Program commenced. This was a pre-release program for juveniles in detention to be placed on a rural property to receive training in stock-handling and property maintenance such as fencing and horticulture. A well-known example of this program was the King Valley Station program, which specifically targeted juveniles who had made contact with the criminal justice system because of problems with alcohol.²⁰

1993  The second Juvenile Crime Workshop was conducted in Darwin. The profile of offenders causes of crime and solutions were canvassed, and reported to Government. Statistical snapshots were provided to participants. Police reported that:

    In the period 1 July 1991 to 31 December 1992, a total of 3,752 charges were made against 917 juvenile offenders. The vast majority of charges were for offences against property, being 2251 charges, representing 60% of the total laid in this period. Police statistics indicated that the majority of juvenile offenders charged were male, Aboriginal, between 14 and 16 years of age, and resided in the Darwin metropolitan area.²¹

Correctional Services reported that:

    The proportion of Aboriginal juveniles sentenced to detention decreased from 89.41% in 1991 to 68.75% in 1992. The percentage of Aboriginal juveniles on remand decreased from 80.11% to 67.85% over the same period. Since February 1987, there has been a 10% reduction in juvenile detention rates, and a reduction of 91% in juvenile imprisonment rates. As with police figures, the vast majority of offences (74%) committed by juveniles on Correctional Services programs were property offences.²²

¹⁸ Ibid, 866.
²⁰ Bonney, above n 19, 5.
²¹ Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 27 May 1996, 8606 (Mr Poole, Minister for Correctional Services).
²² Ibid.
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The workshop recommended the following:

- establishing Community Justice Panels (following on from a trial panel which had been established in Katherine)
- development of NT Youth Policy review
- formulation of research projects related to juvenile offending
- developing solutions for young Aboriginal people in contact with the law.

1994  A Juvenile Crime Workshop was held in Alice Springs, titled ‘Crime Prevention – Whose responsibility is it?’ It developed policies and ideas to reduce juvenile crime in the Territory. Recommendations were circulated among an inter-departmental working group within the Alice Springs region, including discussions addressing:

- substance and alcohol abuse;
- alienation of youths; and
- juveniles as victims.

It was clear that the community was becoming more concerned about juvenile crime, and that long-term solutions were required.

1995  Further legislative amendment in the form of the Juvenile Justice Amendment Act saw changes to the length of time a juvenile could be held in a detention centre. Previously, a juvenile who had been sentenced to detention in a juvenile detention centre could remain there to complete their sentence, and would be transferred to a prison only on becoming 18 years of age. The amendments saw juveniles being transferred from the detention centre to a prison within 28 days of reaching 17 years of age. The reason for this was that the Act did not apply to 17 year olds and it was ‘a highly undesirable situation where mature adolescents in their late teens can be held in the same facility with children as young as 10 years of age’.

However, the Act also enabled a juvenile detainee to be released 48 hours prior to the discharge date on compassionate grounds. A number of other changes were made, including:

- the introduction of the Official Visitor Scheme to the detention centre
- ended the responsible Minister becoming involved in matters of discipline, particularly when placing a detainee in isolation
- prevented the sentence of a juvenile detainee to continue to run while the detainee remained at large.

23 Bonney, above n 19, 8.
24 Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 17 May 1995, 3295 (Mrs Hickey, Member for Barkly).
25 Ibid, 3296.
26 Northern Territory, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 23 February 1995, 2699-2700 (Mr Poole, Minister for Correctional Services).
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1995-96 A pilot program called the Community Justice Program operated in Yuendumu and Alice Springs. This was operated by the NT Police and provided an opportunity for young offenders who had admitted guilt to participate in a victim conference to discuss and repair any damage caused by the offence committed.27

1997 Changes to the Sentencing Act and the Juvenile Justice Act introduced mandatory sentencing in the Territory. The laws required Courts to impose minimum sentences of detention for adults and young people convicted of property offences. While adults went straight to gaol, juveniles required one prior conviction before a period of mandatory detention could be imposed. It was mandatory for young people aged 15 or 16 to be sentenced to a period of at least 28 days.

When introducing the Bills, the then Attorney-General, Denis Burke, stated that the Government believed that ‘compulsory imprisonment’ would have the following benefits:

Send a clear and strong message to offenders that these offences will not be treated lightly; force sentencing courts to adopt a tougher policy on sentencing property offenders; deal with present community concern that penalties imposed are too light; and encourage law enforcement agencies that their efforts in apprehending villains will not be wasted …These bills are intended to make our community safer by ensuring that those who are guilty of breaking the law repeatedly will go to prison.28

The changes also gave Courts the additional option of imposing a ‘punitive work order.’ An ‘approved project’29 for such orders were for periods of 224 hours to be undertaken cumulatively or concurrently with the period of detention. The purpose of these orders was ‘the performance of hard physical labour in circumstances designed to stress the shame of performing the sentence …The order will be intensive and highly visible to the community.’30

The effect of mandatory sentencing was that significantly more young offenders were imprisoned. In one year to June 1998, for instance, the number of juveniles sentenced as a result of the laws increased by 53%.31

28 Second Reading Speech, Juvenile Justice Amendment Bill 1996 (NT), Legislative Assembly, 17 October 1996 (Mr Burke, Attorney-General).
29 Juvenile Justice Amendment Act (No 2) 1996, section 53AH.
30 Second Reading Speech, Juvenile Justice Amendment Bill 1996 (NT), Legislative Assembly, 17 October 1996 (Mr Burke, Attorney-General).
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2000s

2000  In late 2000, the Commonwealth Government offered funding of $5m over four years to the Territory Government to operate a Pre-Court Juvenile Diversion scheme, to be managed by Northern Territory Police.

The Government enacted legislation amending the Police Administration Act that provided that diversion must be offered to all juveniles who committed minor property offences. Under the scheme, young people who committed relatively minor offences were diverted away from the Courts; and young offenders would only appear before the Court when they committed more serious offences, or where diversion had failed. Nevertheless, the mandatory sentencing laws were not repealed.

2001  The Country Liberal Party had been in power in the Territory since self-government in 1978. In August 2001, the Labor Party was elected to govern for the first time. In the election campaign, Labor promised to abolish the controversial mandatory sentencing laws, which was done swiftly. The new Government made changes to the Department of Justice (DoJ) which included, inter alia, the abolition of Correctional Services as a separate department. As Correctional Services became a division of DoJ, matters pertaining to juvenile justice became the responsibility of the Department of Justice.

2003  The Wildman River work camp closed. The reasons publicly given for its closure included: a significant reduction in the number of detainees assessable for placement at such a low security facility; resource challenges associated with new best practice models for provision of appropriate case management and intervention services; in such a remote location and the need for considerable further investment to replace aging infrastructure at the camp.

2004-2006  Following discussions between the Northern Territory Magistrates Court and the Yilli Rreung Council in Darwin, Community Courts were trialled in the Northern Territory. These Courts were developed ‘to recognise that in some cases community, cultural or other factors play a significant role in reaching a sentencing outcome which is more beneficial to the community.’ Modelled on concepts of restorative justice, these Courts permitted the participation of victims, offender, community elders or other significant persons, as well as Magistrates, lawyers and correctional services officers, in the sentencing process, with an emphasis on problem solving. The program was

33 The Bills were introduced by Mr Toyne, Attorney-General, on 17 August 2001.
34 NTCS, submission 18.
35 Mr H B Bradley CM, Northern Territory Magistrates Court, Community Court Darwin: Guidelines (27 May 2005) 1.
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made available to any person who fit the criteria for admission to the program, although overwhelmingly the majority of people who came to be sentenced before the Community Court were Aboriginal.

During 2004 and 2005 another review of the Juvenile Justice Act was undertaken, resulting in its repeal. It was replaced by the Youth Justice Act, which commenced in August 2006. This Act reflected further changes in policy and academic reflection on the area of ‘youth’ justice, heralding the commencement of a ‘restorative’ model of youth justice in the Northern Territory.

However in keeping with the new ‘restorative’ focus on youth justice the Community Welfare Act was also reviewed, and was eventually replaced by the Care and Protection of Children Act in December 2008.

The Youth Justice Act introduced a number of progressive initiatives which brought all aspects of youth justice into one piece of legislation. These included:

• the creation of a dedicated Youth Justice Court, with a specialist Youth Magistrate;

• a Youth Justice Advisory Committee;

• a pre-Court Youth Diversion Scheme designed to keep young offenders out of the court system, including the capacity of the Youth Justice Court to refer offenders for consideration in the program;

• a broader range of interventions than those offered under the Juvenile Justice Act, which included community based sentencing options for young offenders, such as periodic detention, alternative detention and community work orders; and

• pre-sentence conferences which include family group conferences or victim/ offender conferences.

An 18 bed medium security section was added to the Don Dale Juvenile Detention Centre which enabled detainees to progress through a classification system, and which increased the capacity to 38 beds.

2007 The pre-Court diversion scheme was evaluated\textsuperscript{36} and found to make a positive impact on the range of community based options for young offenders. Community Courts now received funding under the ‘Closing the Gap’ initiative but were not formalised into any legislative regime.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} See Teresa Cunningham, Pre-Court Diversion in the Northern Territory: Impact on Juvenile Offending, Trends & Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice No 339 (2007) Australian Institute of Criminology. Cunningham reviewed the juvenile pre-court diversion scheme and found it was effective in reducing recidivism amongst young offenders.

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In late 2007 government announced that it would make the parents of young offenders more accountable for the actions of children who repeatedly broke the law, and that a package of measures would be announced early the following year.38

At the same time, Government announced that a ‘Youth Action Plan’ would be finalised and that youth camps would be established in both the Top End and Central Australia, in addition to the establishment of ‘youth hubs’ in both Darwin and Alice Springs.

2008

Amendments to the Youth Justice Act were introduced to the Parliament through the Youth Justice Amendment (Family Responsibility) Act 2008. The amendments created the ability for certain Government departments to enter into Family Responsibility Agreements with families who were struggling with their child’s anti-social or criminal behaviour. Parents who were unwilling to enter into an agreement would face the possibility of a Family Responsibility Order being made against them, and Police would be able to seek such an order if the youth had been charged with an offence or breached a bail condition.

If an order was made, parents would be provided with various forms of assistance to ensure that conditions were met, but in the event that they were not, the amendments provided that parents would face fines of up to $2,200, Community Work Orders, or the seizure of ‘non-essential household items’, such as plasma televisions.39

The amending legislation also amended provisions relating to the Youth Diversion Scheme, by limiting the number of times a youth could be diverted by Police.

As part of the new ‘Youth Justice Strategy’ the Youth Justice Advisory Committee was formally established and commenced operation. Youth camps were commenced targeting ‘youth at risk’. Two camps were established in Darwin: the Brahmminy Youth Camp and Balanu Foundation. In Alice Springs, Tangentyere Council facilitated the provision of a youth camp.

Commensurate with the introduction of the Family Responsibility Program and the advent of the ‘Youth Justice Strategy’, a further portfolio shift occurred. The administration of the Youth Justice Act was largely transferred from the Department of Justice to the then Department of Health and Families (DHF), with notable exceptions being the provisions around police diversion and juvenile detention. Part of the shift included the transfer of a portion of the DoJ division

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of Community Corrections within Correctional Services, to sit within the DHF administration and provide community-based sentencing support to young offenders.

2010 The Government announced a ‘New Era in Corrections’ largely comprised of the announcement of a new 800 bed adult prison facility, to be built at Holtze, south of Darwin by 2014. This is a $300 million infrastructure project, but does not include provisions for young offenders.

2011 Northern Territory Correctional Services opened a new juvenile detention centre at the Alice Springs Correctional Centre. Made up of one of the low-security cottages at the gaol, this new facility enables youths from central Australia to remain in their local area, but also to receive facilities not previously available at Giles House, such as education, rehabilitation programs, and other training facilities. The Alice Springs Juvenile Detention Centre holds 16 beds, and has the capacity to be expanded to 24 beds. Currently this centre averages about 10 male youths. Girls are still relocated to Darwin.

In March 2011 the Attorney-General announced a Review of the Youth Justice System.
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<table>
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