NDLERF

Developing and implementing a performance measurement framework for drug law enforcement in Australia

Monograph Series No.18

Funded by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund
An Initiative of the National Drug Strategy

Developing and implementing a performance measurement framework for drug law enforcement in Australia

Katie Willis, Peter Homel and Katie Gray

Australian Institute of Criminology

In conjunction with the

Australian Customs Service

NSW Police Service

NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research

Funded by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund, an initiative of the National Drug Strategy

Produced by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund (NDLERF)
298 Payneham Road, Payneham SA 5070

ISBN: 0 642 47453 2

ISSN: 1449-7476

The research on which this report is based was funded by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund, an initiative of the National Drug Strategy.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACC	Australian Crime Commission
ADHD	Attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
COPS	Computer Operational Policing System
Customs	Australian Customs Service
DHA	Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing
DLE	drug law enforcement
DUMA	Drug Use Monitoring in Australia
HCV	hepatitis C virus
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HOI	Health Outcomes International
ICD-10	International Classification of Diseases Revision 10
IDDR	Illicit Drug Data Report
IDRS	Illicit Drug Reporting System
IGCD	Inter-governmental Committee on Drugs
LAC	Local Area Command
MCS	Methadone/Buprenorphine Client Statistics
MCDS	Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy
MDMA	Methylenedioxymethylamphetamine
NARMP	National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program
NDARC	National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre
NDLERF	National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund
NDSHS	National Drug Strategy Household Survey
NMDS	National Minimum Dataset for Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment
NNDSS	National Notifiable Diseases Surveillance System
NSW Police	New South Wales Police Service
SCC	State Crime Command (NSW)
Turning Point	Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre

Acknowledgements

The research for this report was made possible by funding from the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund (NDLERF). The NDLERF is funded by the Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the invaluable assistance of all the law enforcement agencies who agreed to meet with us during the course of the project and the individuals within those agencies who set aside the time to be interviewed. Special thanks go to the staff at the project's two trial sites, the Australian Customs Service and the New South Wales Police Service. In particular, this research would not have progressed as smoothly at the New South Wales trial site without the generous support and assistance provided by Superintendents Dave Hudson (Mount Druitt Local Area Command) and Daryl Donnelley (Surry Hills Local Area Command).

Project Advisory Group:

Dr Toni Makkai – Australian Institute of Criminology
Superintendent Frank Hansen – NSW Police
Dr Don Weatherburn – NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research
Mr Robert Rushby – Australian Customs Service
Dr Bradley Grant – Australian Customs Service

NDLERF Project Steering Committee:

Deputy Commissioner Jack Johnston – Tasmania Police
Mr Stephen Biggs – Tasmania Police
Federal Agent Victoria Adams – Australian Federal Police
Mr Mark Sullivan – Attorney-General's Department

Executive Summary

This report presents a detailed description of a model process for developing a viable performance measurement framework for drug law enforcement in Australia. It was undertaken by the Australian Institute of Criminology on behalf of the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund in order to help provide a better accounting for the benefits from the estimated annual $1.4 billion expenditure on drug law enforcement in Australia.

Commissioned in March 2004, the eighteen-month-long project arose directly out of the perceived shortage of appropriate and meaningful performance information that could inform the most effective intervention, or combination of interventions, within drug law enforcement. Through the systematic development and implementation of a key set of appropriate performance measures, it was hoped that drug law enforcement agencies would be able to better assess the appropriateness and effectiveness of current drug law enforcement strategies in tackling the supply and distribution of illicit drugs in Australia.

In keeping with their overseas counterparts, Australian drug law enforcement agencies have used seizure and arrest data to measure the effectiveness of their work performance for many years. While such measures are simple, visible and well-understood measures of law enforcement effort, they are in many cases ambiguous measures of law enforcement performance. These measures essentially demonstrate the extent to which law enforcement agencies 'engage' in certain types of activities rather than demonstrating the broader 'impacts' of law enforcement work. For example, they tell us little in terms of the impact of law enforcement in producing something of value for communities, such as making communities feel safer and more secure—these broader impacts were described by drug law enforcement personnel interviewed in the course of the project as important outcomes of drug law enforcement effort. In addition, without an understanding of the size of an illicit drug market, the traditional performance measures provide no sense of the proportion of illicit drugs seized or key players removed by drug law enforcement agencies.

The performance measurement framework that was developed by this project provides a model framework and development process through which to redress the shortcomings of current drug law enforcement performance measurement practices by including a suite of traditional and more innovative performance measures. This framework has the potential to form the basis of a series of organisationally and jurisdictionally specific performance measurement models, suitably modified to reflect local requirements and available information.

The performance measures developed for this framework underpin four high-level outcome areas identified during the project as key outcomes of drug law enforcement effort. In turn, these outcomes support Australia's National Drug Strategy goals to limit the supply of, and demand for, illicit drugs, while also minimising community harms. They also sit comfortably with the type of performance measures currently being used in the human services sector, especially health.

The four high-level outcomes are:

- ***Reducing drug crime and drug-related crime*** – that is, measures directed at addressing specific drug crimes (for instance, the importation, supply and distribution of illicit drugs), measures for assessing drug market dynamics, as well as a measure of the crime most reliably associated with illicit drug use.
- ***Reducing organised crime*** – that is, measures specifically directed at addressing high-level drug crimes that are frequently associated with organised criminal groups that traffic illicit drugs (such as money laundering, extortion, corruption, and the like) and that have serious impacts on the community's safety and welfare.

- ***Improving public health*** – that is, a range of measures for gauging the impact of illicit drugs on the community's health.
- ***Improving public amenity*** – that is, measures of community safety and well-being.

The framework focuses on a key set of measures viewed by drug law enforcement agencies as being central to measuring the impact of drug law enforcement work on drug markets and on overall community health and well-being. The framework's measures are not prescriptive as, depending on the context, certain measures may not be relevant to a given agency or level of drug law enforcement activity. Moreover, the relative importance of different measures will probably change over time and so agencies will need to exercise a degree of judgement as to the best suite of measures to be used.

The performance measures and indicators included in the framework have been developed with the following characteristics:

- clear in their purpose (that is, who will be using the information and how and why it will be used);
- useful (in gauging the effectiveness of policies and strategies);
- valid (that is, measures what it should measure);
- reliable (gives consistent results);
- easy to interpret (makes sense and reflects real events);
- easy to construct (must reflect the real places they will be used in);
- consistent with other performance indicators in the National Drug Strategy (that is, aligned with the wider drugs policy environment); and
- easy to adapt to different settings and develop over time.

As highlighted throughout the report, reliance should not be placed on any single measure to monitor and assess performance, as no single measure is authoritative. Rather, drug law enforcement agencies should select multiple, appropriate measures to reduce the risk of error in the identification of trends.

The framework was a product of a number of different stages of development, including:

- meetings and workshops held with personnel in drug law enforcement agencies in every jurisdiction, including over 100 in-depth interviews, throughout the various stages of the project;
- discussions held during the project's advisory committee meetings; and
- a detailed examination of the available drug law enforcement performance measurement literature (both published and unpublished).

However, much of the framework's development occurred through implementation trials undertaken in two field sites: a site with a national focus (that is, the Australian Customs Service), and a site with a local focus (that is, the NSW Police Service). An in-depth examination of the appropriateness and feasibility of each of the framework's measures occurred at both the national and local-level field sites.

Key elements of the framework were further developed and also tested using field trials in two NSW Police Local Area Commands. These trials focused on the development of a supplementary tool built on the experience and insights that emerged from the progressive implementation of the Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) program. This tool involved the enhancement of a standard offender debriefing process currently applied to all arrestees for the purpose of

gathering local crime intelligence. The conversion of the conventional offender debrief process into a performance management tool was achieved through the inclusion of several questions on illicit drug market activities. Importantly, these questions were derived from the framework's performance measures and so provided the vehicle for testing the utility and application of key elements of the framework.

The on-ground testing of this enhanced offender debriefing process demonstrated two important things. First, as in the case of DUMA, it demonstrated that it was possible for law enforcement personnel to collect useful performance measurement data from offenders on their drug-using behaviours and drug market activity through an instrument delivered in what many might perceive to be a stressful setting for the offender. Second, the information provided by offenders was reliable and useful for both immediate operational and longer-term performance measurement purposes. In particular, it became evident that drug market information extracted from offender debriefs could be used by drug law enforcement personnel at the operational-level to demonstrate to senior managers the successes (or failures) of their work effort. The point is that the project has been able to demonstrate that an existing information-gathering exercise (that is, the offender debrief process) could be readily adapted and enhanced to fulfil both an intelligence function (its original purpose) and a performance measurement purpose.

Unquestionably, one of the clear messages from the trial exercises in both Australian Customs Service (Customs) and NSW Police was that, without strong executive level commitment to the implementation of the performance measurement framework, the system will flounder. At the same time, the measures employed need to be meaningful and relevant to those working at all levels of the drug law enforcement process. Top down imposed frameworks will not be as successful or effective as those developed with the assistance and cooperation of those who have to work with the measures and their outputs on a daily basis. How this process works, and how it is implemented, will vary from agency to agency, depending on their context. However, the basic principles and the basic steps will remain the same:

1. Develop multiple high-level outcomes.
2. Identify adequate measures.
3. Develop methods for dealing with outcome time lag (that is, some initiatives will take longer than others to achieve their goals).
4. Identify tools for attributing outcomes to interventions (for example, the specific inclusion of the outcome of reducing organised crime is an innovation that recognises the key role that organised crime plays in maintaining the drug problems, and that direct impacts on it will impact on other measures such as drug availability and price).

A lack of clarity around purposes (that is, the high-level outcomes) renders performance measurement meaningless. Good performance measurement relies on a foundation of consensus about objectives. Ambiguity and conflict in goals and outcomes is normal, not unusual. Their interaction must simply be accounted for. However, what is clear from this project is that there is a great deal of clarity in the objectives for drug law enforcement in Australia. This clarity is strengthened by the strong coincidence of drug law enforcement (DLE) goals with those of the National Drug Strategy. As a consequence, this project has been able to focus on the last three steps in the process for developing drug law enforcement performance measures.

Having developed a viable model performance measurement framework, the report addresses how the framework can be adopted and implemented by drug law enforcement agencies around the country. As described in the report, the framework is a model in two ways. First, it is a generic drug law enforcement performance measurement framework developed to fill gaps in the existing performance measurement systems in operation in Australia today. Therefore, it is not a

total framework (although it approximates one). Second, the consultative process by which the framework was developed represents a model that specific agencies and jurisdictions may be encouraged to adopt in the development of performance measurement systems.

The model framework itself can also be viewed as a basic guideline for implementation, but a more considered and comprehensive implementation plan would be needed were this recommended model to be adopted as a basic framework for drug law enforcement performance measurement around the country. As such, it is recommended that the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund Board consider referring this report to the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy, the Police Commissioners' Drugs Committee and the Australasia and South West Pacific Region Police Commissioners' Conference for consideration as a potential model framework for drug law enforcement performance measurement in Australia. Subject to this, consideration should be given to supporting further work to develop a strategy and plan for the ongoing implementation of a series of context-specific drug law enforcement performance measurement systems based on the model framework and process contained in this report.

Chapter one: Introduction

Background to the project

Early in 2004 the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) commenced a project commissioned by the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund (NDLERF) to review and assess current performance measurement systems in drug law enforcement (DLE) across Australia and to develop a new performance measurement framework, and trial key aspects of that framework, to address identified gaps or deficiencies. The project arose out of the perceived shortage of appropriate and meaningful performance information that could inform the most effective intervention or combination of interventions within DLE. It was the project's intention that, through the systematic development and implementation of a key set of DLE performance measures, DLE agencies would be able to better assess the appropriateness and effectiveness of current DLE strategies in tackling supply- and demand-side DLE.

The project was undertaken in two stages. The first stage reviewed current performance measurement practices in DLE and identified the gaps and deficiencies. To this end, a series of structured discussions were undertaken with approximately 100 key individuals from the full range of Australian agencies involved in activities directed at drug law enforcement, at both the national and the state and territory levels. The purpose of these discussions was to develop a picture of current activity in DLE in the various jurisdictions, as well as to identify what methods were currently used for measuring performance. From this research, and an examination of Australian and international literature on performance measures for DLE, a preliminary performance measurement framework was developed.

The second stage of the project refined, implemented and assessed the performance measurement framework in two sites: a site with a national focus – that is, the Australian Customs Service (Customs), and a site at the state or territory level, in this case two Local Area Commands (LAC) within the New South Wales Police Service (NSW Police). The Customs trial was undertaken at the central office level while the two NSW Police LAC were Mount Druitt and Surry Hills. An in-depth examination of the appropriateness and feasibility of each of the framework's measures occurred at both the national and local-level field sites, while key elements of the framework were tested at the two NSW LAC.

The project was overseen by the project's Advisory Committee, which comprised senior managers from the AIC, Customs, NSW Police and the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. The project's NDLERF Reference Group included senior managers from the Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, the Australian Federal Police and Tasmania Police.

The project commenced in March 2004 and ran for approximately 18 months.

Report format

The report first provides an overview of the illicit drug and drug law enforcement environments as they existed during the project period (that is, March 2004 to August 2005) and outlines the rationale and importance of performance measurement. The report then covers the development and implementation of the performance measurement framework in the two trial sites, including a discussion of each measure contained in the framework. Finally, the report includes a discussion of findings and issues for future consideration in drug law enforcement performance measurement.

Chapter two: The illicit drug environment in Australia

Introduction

The Australian illicit drug environment is complex and varied. Available Australian data indicate that the trading and use of illicit drugs varies according to drug type, location and time (for example, Australian Crime Commission (ACC) 2005; Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). Drug market dynamics from one area do not necessarily translate to another and the market dynamics of specific types of drug do not necessarily remain constant over time. The health, social and economic costs of illicit drug use are considerable. Large numbers of people report using illicit drugs, although, for most, this use is restricted to occasional cannabis use. However, a minority of people engage in heavier and regular use of a wider variety of drugs and a very few have serious problems of drug dependency. Collins and Lapsley (2002) have estimated that the total economic costs associated with illicit drug use in Australia were just over $6,075 million in 1998. Aside from the substantial criminal justice costs, the health and social costs to the Australian community from illicit drug use have been more recently estimated (Mayhew 2003) to have been around $1,960 million in 2001 alone. Most of these costs were attributed to lost productivity either through death (about $510 million) or ill health ($960 million).

Actually knowing about illicit drug markets is important for a number of reasons. For DLE, drug market information helps with the formulation and targeting of drug unit strategies and activities, particularly where there are new and emerging drug market trends and shifts in criminal patterns. Detailed drug market information can also assist DLE agencies to identify the most cost-effective drug law enforcement strategy to be used. For health and other agencies, information on drug market activity may aid in determining the nature of, and where to position, health and social services, such as drug treatment and counselling centres.

Size and characteristics of the illicit drug market in Australia

The simple fact is that the full extent and nature of Australian illicit drug markets probably will never be known, given the illegal nature of illicit drug use and drug market activity. More than a decade ago, a 1993 workshop on drug market research found that more knowledge about the '*size, nature, economics, and dynamics of individual drug markets on a local, national, and international scale*' was badly needed (Wardlaw, in Bammer 1993, p.11). Over the past ten years there have been improvements, particularly in relation to knowledge about the behaviour of specific types of users. For example, our knowledge about drug-using offenders has improved with the introduction of the AIC's ongoing Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (or DUMA) program (for a full overview of the DUMA program see Makkai 1999a) and through the Drug Use Careers of Offenders project, which were both designed to examine the interplay between offenders' drug-using behaviour and other criminal activities. The National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre's (NDARC) Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) has also improved our understanding of injecting drug users. DUMA and IDRS in particular have become critical research tools as they:

- permit the documenting and tracking of differences in drug usage and markets across jurisdictions and over time;
- establish baselines against which future data can be compared and monitored;
- assist to identify issues requiring more in-depth research; and

- provide law enforcement personnel with useful data in a timely fashion (Urbis Keys Young 2004). For instance, DUMA data are released to relevant police commands within several weeks of the completion of data collection, allowing them to respond in a timely way to local drug market activity (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005).

In particular, DUMA was primarily established to address the interplay between drugs and crime because (at the time) the links between drugs and crime could not be adequately examined by the existing drug and crime data collections (Makkai 1999b). Currently, DUMA collects two major types of data from police detainees in seven police commands across the country: self-reported drug use and offending behaviour, as well as urine samples, which are analysed for the presence of drugs and used to cross-validate the self-reported data. DUMA also allows for the capture of specific information on key or emerging issues (for example, on mental health) through one-off addendum surveys (see Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). As such, DUMA represents a unique national monitoring program that, through its regular reporting, assists the police, policy makers, criminal justice practitioners and others in this country to formulate appropriate strategic responses to illicit drugs and crime more generally.

Notwithstanding the usefulness of DUMA and IDRS, there is no single source of information on Australian illicit drug markets (see Makkai 1999b). Much of what we know comes from intelligence information, a combination of law enforcement and health agency administrative data, as well as the few regularly conducted large-scale surveys (some of which are mentioned above). These data tell us that the size and makeup of the Australian illicit drug market is varied and dynamic. For example, intelligence reports consistently identify active heroin markets in Australia's larger capital cities, but minimal market activity in Darwin and Hobart (ACC 2003). DUMA data reflect similar variations both within and between different jurisdictions (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). Such market differences result in different strategic priorities for DLE around the country. In turn, these differing priorities give rise to different DLE responses.

Intelligence information also tells us that, while there is increasing evidence of cross-over between different illicit drug markets within Australia, there are some generally predictable patterns. Two major illicit drug market differentiators relate to drug type and place of production. That is, whether particular types of drugs are predominantly produced domestically or overseas.

Illicit drugs produced domestically

There are two illicit drug types whose production is primarily domestic: cannabis and amphetamines. Each drug has its own particular market characteristics and these are discussed separately below.

Cannabis

Cannabis is produced in many different parts of Australia and is the most widely available and used illicit drug. In 2004, just over 11 percent of Australians reported using cannabis in the previous 12 months (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2005). However, around 59 percent of adult police arrestees surveyed as part of the DUMA program tested positive to cannabis in the same period (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). Over the past five years cannabis use appears to have been increasing among police arrestees in some parts of Australia (for example, in the South Australian DUMA sites), although it has essentially remained stable in other areas (for example, in the western suburbs of Sydney) (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). These variations illustrate the different markets operating in various parts of the country, possibly reflecting particular DLE activity in those areas.

Cannabis (as opposed to hemp) is mostly used for its psychoactive effects. The drug comes in a number of different forms, including in leaf/flower, resin and oil forms. Each form is used in a slightly different way and the psychoactive effects are also different. Currently, the most common cultivation method for the drug is through hydroponic cultivation. Hydroponic crops vary in size from just a few plants through to large-scale production. Hydroponic cultivation of cannabis is considered to offer a number of advantages, including year-round production, high yields and a greater sense of security about the plants. Despite these perceived advantages, cannabis produced in outdoor crops remains a common production method, in some cases requiring sophisticated cultivation systems. The size and distribution of outdoor cannabis crops varies considerably, with some growers opting for large numbers of plants in a few locations, while others prefer cultivating smaller crops in multiple locations.

Cannabis cultivated in other parts of the world has little impact on the Australian domestic market. Cannabis seized at the Australian border is generally for personal use, has been sent as a gift, or an attempt has been made to import cannabis seeds by mail or over the internet (ACC 2003, ACC 2005).

Amphetamines

'Amphetamines' is a general term that includes a range of amphetamine-based stimulants, including amphetamine, dexamphetamine and methylamphetamine, but excluding amphetamine analogues such as Methylenedioxymethylamphetamine (MDMA) (ecstasy). Amphetamines are powerful central nervous stimulants that act on brain chemicals. It is because of these properties that amphetamines, and in particular the chemicals that are used to make amphetamines, known as 'precursor chemicals', are used to treat a number of legitimate conditions, from minor illnesses such as colds and flu through to more serious conditions, such as attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). In 2004, around three percent of Australians reported using amphetamines in the previous 12 months (AIHW 2005), while around 31 percent of adult police detainees surveyed as part of the DUMA program tested positive to methylamphetamine. [1]

The major source of amphetamine supply within Australia is via clandestine domestic production; scales of production ranging from easily transportable small-scale 'boot labs' (so-called because they can literally fit into the boot of a car for easy transportation) to more permanent large-scale laboratories. The production of methylamphetamine in particular, and also crystalline methylamphetamine (known as 'ice'), has been identified as a problem in Australia (for example, Degenhardt, Day & Hall 2004). However, amphetamines are also produced and trafficked from overseas, especially in its methylamphetamine form, with the primary source countries being in East and Southeast Asia.

The diversion of amphetamines, and particularly their precursor chemicals (ephedrine and pseudoephedrine), into the illicit drug market and the illegal production of amphetamines have been global trends also experienced in Australia. Reducing the supply of amphetamines and their precursor chemicals poses a unique challenge for DLE as, unlike in the case of other illicit drugs, chemical diversion control measures can have repercussions for legitimate commerce, including chemical manufacturers and retail pharmacists, such as the costs associated with legislative compliance. In addition, criminals engaged in the manufacture of amphetamines may shift from one precursor chemical to another in an attempt to avoid detection or they may change sites of production to jurisdictions (including jurisdictions overseas) that do not have well established chemical control measures (Cherney, O'Reilly & Grabosky 2005).

[1] The DUMA program includes testing the urine of surveyed police detainees for six different classes of drugs. One of the limitations of urine testing is that it cannot distinguish between legal and illegal use of amphetamines. However, the detection of methylamphetamine is confirmation of illegal use.

Codes of practice relating to wholesale distribution, and legislation limiting sales of drugs containing ephedrine by Australian pharmacies, are now limiting the viability of domestic sources for precursor chemicals (Cherney, O'Reilly & Grabosky 2005). This is likely to result in increased efforts by law enforcement agencies to monitor and target:

- the theft of bulk quantities of cold and flu preparations;
- the diversion of legally imported bulk ephedrine/pseudoephedrine; and
- the illegal importation of precursor chemicals (ACC 2003, 2005).

Illicit drugs produced internationally

Heroin

Heroin, derived from the opium poppy, is an opiate (other opiates include opium, morphine and codeine). Heroin comes in a number of different forms. The most commonly seized form in Australia is a white powder that is dissolved and then injected. Heroin produces short-term feelings of euphoria, followed by longer periods of reduced sensation and lethargy. It is a highly addictive drug and users can develop both direct and indirect health problems associated with its use, such as infection and serious diseases like hepatitis and Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), as a result of unsafe injecting practices. In 2004, less than one percent (0.2 percent) of Australians reported using heroin in the previous 12 months (AIHW 2005); however, around 14 percent of adult police detainees surveyed as part of the DUMA program tested positive to heroin.

Opium is produced in three major regions of the world: the Golden Triangle (Myanmar, Laos and Thailand); Afghanistan; and in Central and South America. Most of the heroin that is exported to Australia originates from Myanmar, with smaller amounts sourced from the other opium-producing countries. Sydney is the primary point of entry for heroin coming into Australia and is a major distribution hub to other cities and regions. The largest number of detections is via air passenger/crew, followed by postal detections, although significant detections of heroin also occur in ocean-going shipments (ACC 2003, 2005).

Cocaine

Cocaine is a stimulant drug that is extracted from the leaves of the native South American coca plant. It is a white or colourless powder that is mostly used illicitly for its euphoric and stimulating effects. Like heroin, cocaine is highly addictive and, over time, users find that they need to use more of the drug and more frequently to reproduce the feelings when the drug was first used. Its use can also be the cause of serious health problems. Crack cocaine is another form of the drug where the powder is heated, resulting in its change to a rocky or crystalline form. While crack cocaine has dominated illicit drug markets overseas, it is the powder version of cocaine that is most commonly available in Australia. In 2004, one percent of Australians reported using cocaine in the previous 12 months (AIHW 2005). Few police detainees test positive to cocaine, probably reflecting the typical user of this drug (see below). During 2004, the Bankstown DUMA site had the highest number of detainees testing positive to the drug (16, or six percent of the sample) (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). While cocaine use among police detainees is low, recent work indicates that cocaine users among this group are more likely than other illicit drug users to be multiple drug users and to have an extensive history of contact with the criminal justice system (Milner & McGregor 2004).

Globally, the primary source of cocaine is from Colombia in South America. While cocaine is readily available and used extensively overseas, within Australia there is limited knowledge about the market. This appears to be principally related to the type of user, who generally has a higher socio-economic status and so is less visible to law enforcement effort. Despite this, compared to cannabis, amphetamine and even heroin usage, cocaine still appears to be much less available

and used. In recent years, detections of cocaine at the border have been trending towards a large number of smaller importations through the post, air cargo and passenger streams (ACC 2003; ACC 2005).

MDMA

MDMA or 'ecstasy' belongs to the family of synthetic drugs known as phenethylamines, which are similar in chemical makeup to the stimulant amphetamine-type drugs. It is estimated that 80 percent of the world's MDMA is produced in The Netherlands. There is a broad range of criminal involvement in supply of the drug into the country, including from large-scale heroin and other illicit drug trafficking networks through to professional smaller-scale importers and rave scene-specific importers. While the majority of MDMA available in Australia is imported, domestic production of the drug is apparently increasing. In 2004, a little over three percent of Australians reported using MDMA in the previous 12 months (AIHW 2005). The recent use of MDMA among police detainees is low compared to other drug types, with around two percent testing positive to the drug in 2004.

Tablets sold as ecstasy do not necessarily contain MDMA, but may contain a mix of amphetamine-type stimulants, other drugs, and additives such as caffeine and ketamine (ACC 2003; ACC 2005). This finding appears to be supported by the DUMA data. In 2004, of those who did not test positive to MDMA, but self-reported using MDMA in the previous 48 hours, 64 percent tested positive to methylamphetamine (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005).

Supply and distribution of illicit drugs in Australia

Like other types of licit and illicit commodities, the supply and distribution of illicit drugs takes place in a range of settings and depends on factors like (but not limited to) drug type, consumer group and general location. Illicit drug distribution systems take on many different forms, from high-level organisations whose operations are large, complex and hierarchical in nature, through to the more low level dealers who work largely independently at the street-level. What form the distribution system takes generally depends on market function; for example, whether the drugs are imported into Australia, how they are manufactured and their point of sale or distribution. These in turn determine the level for DLE focus (that is, whether effort is undertaken at the border, state-wide or at a local level).

The large criminal networks typically operate at several levels, including the importation or manufacture of the drugs, as well as both their wholesale and retail distribution at the regional and local levels. Such organisations are also commonly involved in other illicit markets, such as in illegal arms smuggling and money laundering. By contrast, people engaged in street-level distribution systems usually operate at only one or two functional levels, such as at the local retail level. A full discussion of the supply and distribution of specific illicit drug types is beyond the scope of this report. For a more in-depth discussion of this subject in Australia, see the Australian Crime Commission's annually published *Illicit Drug Data Report*.

Illicit drug market dynamics

Profits generated in the distribution and sale of illicit drugs are enormous, but the costs of detection by law enforcement agencies, particularly for the more sophisticated crime groups, are high. In a constant effort to avoid detection, those engaged in drug market activity develop new and more efficient ways of manufacturing or distributing drugs. For example, in recent years there has been a trend towards cooperation between previously antagonistic organised crime groups to facilitate the trade in a number of different drug types. There is also evidence indicating that organised crime groups are diversifying their trade into other illicit markets, such as illegal firearms (ACC 2003, 2005). The following discussion highlights these key issues.

Scale of profit in illicit drug markets

Determining the scale of profits of the illicit drug market in Australia is difficult because the data required to achieve this are patchy or currently unavailable. Accurately estimating the scale of profits requires reliable data on drug seizures, drug availability, price and purity, drug consumption patterns and the costs involved in the business of drug production and distribution. Each type of data only provides part of the story. For example, drug seizure data only tell us what drugs come to the attention of law enforcement officers—it is generally acknowledged that the great majority of drugs that are manufactured in, or imported into, Australia do not come to the attention of law enforcement officers. Furthermore, to some extent drug seizures depend on law enforcement priorities and practices, and so can be seen as a measure of law enforcement activity, rather than a true measure of the drugs themselves.

Given the dearth of accurate and reliable data, there are no direct and regular estimates of illicit drug consumption in Australia and so estimating the scale of potential profit is a challenge. However, a crude estimate may be calculated using research undertaken by the Australian Federal Police (Australian Federal Police (AFP) 2004) on annual drug consumption and by the National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre (NDARC) on injecting drug users (Breen et al. 2004). The AFP has estimated the total annual consumption for selected illicit drugs in Australia for 1998 (AFP 2004). For Cannabis, the estimated annual consumption was around 132,024 kilograms, for opioids it was about 2,366 kilograms, and for stimulants it was estimated to have been around 11,319 kilograms. Data from NDARC's Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) (Breen et al. 2004) indicate that in 2003:

- 1 gram of heroin cost users between $300 dollars and $550 dollars;
- 1 gram of cocaine cost users between $200 dollars and $300 dollars;
- 1 gram of methamphetamine cost users between $50 dollars and $260 dollars; and
- 1 gram of cannabis cost users between $20 dollars and $25 dollars.

Multiplying the estimated annual consumption of illicit drugs by the relevant median street prices suggests that between about $3,916 million and $7,998 million is expended on illicit drugs in Australia annually (Table 1). Even though the estimated amount of opioids used here is based on data from the late 1990s, a time of peak heroin consumption, the overall estimated expenditure on illicit drugs may still be a conservative estimate as it does not include all drug types, and heroin consumption at any given time is comparatively low relative to that of most other drugs. However, even given wide margins of error, it nevertheless demonstrates that expenditure on illicit drugs is likely to represent a significant percent of Australia's Gross Domestic Product each year.

Table 1. Estimated annual expenditure on illicit drugs in Australia.

llicit drug	**Annual expenditure ($ million)**
Cannabis	2,640 – 3,301
Opioids	710 – 1,301
Stimulants[a]	566 – 3,396
Total	3,916 – 7,998

Source: Figures derived from data appearing in AFP (2004) and Breen et al. (2004)

[a]Includes methamphetamines and cocaine

Levels of illicit drug consumption have been estimated for some countries overseas, which provide a rough idea of the scale of profits in those countries too, although, like the Australian estimates, they are subject to wide margins of error. In the United Kingdom, annual expenditure on illicit drugs has been estimated to amount to around $6.5 billion (Bramley-Harker 2001). In the United States of America (USA) it was estimated that about $64 billion was expended on illicit drugs in 2000 (Office of National Drug Control Policy 2001). Globally, the annual expenditure on illicit drugs is estimated to be in the order of $320 billion (Calvani 2005).

Changes in the illicit drug market

Continuing consumer demand for illicit drugs and the profits generated from the illicit drug market suggest that the market in Australia will continue well into the future. Due to its popularity among a wide range of users and the relative ease of domestic production, cannabis holds the greatest resource implications for law enforcement, health and other agencies. In particular, law enforcement agencies need to continue to monitor the shift towards hydroponically grown cannabis and its associated links with the hydroponic equipment industry and to the theft of electricity from the power grid. Consumer demand for the more potent psychoactive parts of the cannabis plant will also have flow-on affects for health and social service agencies. Cannabis, once thought by the general community to be a largely benign drug, is now increasingly recognised as a drug that can give rise to serious mental health conditions, such as impaired cognitive functioning, paranoia, depression and psychosis (ACC 2003).

More potent forms of amphetamines are also becoming available and the long-term impact that these may have on the community are a concern. Amphetamine use in Australia has been linked with violent crime (Degenhardt, Day & Hall 2004). For example, offenders in one study who indicated that they were regular amphetamine users were far more likely than regular heroin users to commit physical assault (Payne & Makkai 2003). Aside from the health impacts on users, the effect of the drug on users potentially poses significant problems for street-level police who must not only deal with issues related to their own personal safety, but those of the general public too.

Perhaps the greatest challenge faced by law enforcement agencies is the strengthening ties and cooperation between organised crime groups to facilitate the production, importation and distribution of illicit drugs. Increasingly, financial incentives are motivating crime groups to cooperate with each other (ACC 2003). Where once there were largely ethnic divides in the types of drugs traded and the level of market operation, it is now the case that these divides are becoming blurred. The long-standing involvement of outlaw motorcycle gangs in illicit drug markets further complicates the picture. This trend toward cooperation between organised crime groups will necessitate greater cross-jurisdictional responses by law enforcement agencies as well as collaborative arrangements between law enforcement, other government agencies and industry. As highlighted, some of these already exist. For example, there is ongoing cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the pharmaceutical industry to inhibit the diversion of chemical precursors into the illicit market. Agreements also exist between law enforcement agencies and electricity authorities to identify hydroponically grown cannabis through energy authorities monitoring unusual patterns of electricity consumption, something frequently associated with hydroponic cannabis cultivation.

The dynamic nature of the Australian illicit drug market is such that it will continue to demand new and innovative ways of addressing the trade in illicit drugs. It will be necessary for governments at all levels and across sectors to employ both coordinated and individual approaches to deal with the problem.

Chapter three: The drug law enforcement environment

Management of drug law enforcement in Australia

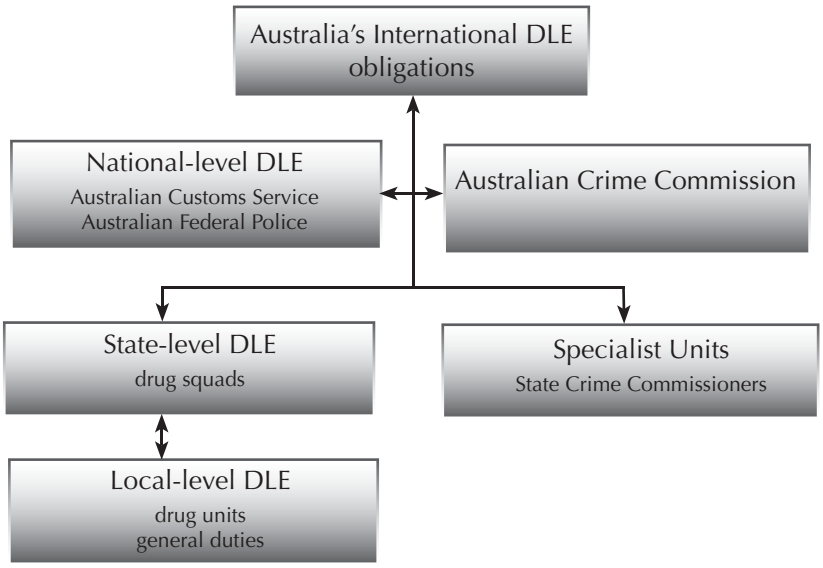
The enforcement of laws relating to the production, importation and distribution of illicit drugs is a major investment for the Australian community. In the early 1990s, Marks (1992) estimated that around $320 million was expended on DLE in Australia each year. This included costs from DLE work conducted by Customs, the Australian Federal Police (AFP) and the various jurisdictional police drug squads and units, as well as costs from the judicial and correctional systems. More recent research (Collins & Lapsley 2002) indicates that the annual cost of DLE is upwards of $1.4 billion.

It is difficult to describe the management of Australia's DLE in a simple way, as the relationship between DLE agencies is complex; largely a product of the independent development of law enforcement within Australia's federated system of government. Moreover, the management of DLE in this country is not static; at any particular point in time a specific jurisdiction may be reviewing or reorganising the way DLE activities are planned and delivered. However, what can be said is that DLE occurs at many levels in Australia, from general duty policing to drug unit and command levels, through to state and federal levels, as well as across jurisdictions. Each level and jurisdiction differs in terms of whether there is a dedicated or generalist organisational structure, and whether this is primarily centralised or regionalised in nature. They also differ according to preferred operational approaches, the number of specialised personnel employed, legislation, agency resources and the character of the different markets for illicit drugs themselves.

The basic relationship between each DLE agency is illustrated in Figure 1. In essence, the general state/territory DLE management model is one where there is a centralised crime agency within a given state/territory police service that undertakes specialist DLE operations at a state/territory-wide and cross-jurisdictional level. Other specialist investigative agencies that also exist in a number of jurisdictions, such as the NSW Crime Commission, frequently focus on DLE work, especially when it involves high-level organised crime. A mixture of specialist drug units and/or the general duty police units at particular local police commands manages local-level state/territory DLE. How this is organised is largely dependent on the nature of illicit drug market activity in specific areas. National-level DLE is managed principally by Customs and the AFP, together with the Australian Crime Commission (ACC), and is focused on drug interdiction, particularly at Australia's border and internationally.

While the description of Australian DLE provided here suggests that each level of DLE is managed in a discrete fashion, in practice (see the discussion on collaborative/partnership working in Chapter three) there is often cross-over between the various levels, so that collaborations and partnerships are formed as the need arises. For example, a centralised state/territory crime agency and the AFP may pool investigative work on an operation in a particular state/territory. Similarly, Customs and the AFP routinely collaborate as well as working together with other agencies overseas on DLE operations conducted outside of Australia's borders.

Figure 1: Australian drug law enforcement – key agencies



Recent regulatory responses to illicit drugs

Growing consumer demand for most illicit drug types and the continually evolving nature of the drug market in Australia present law enforcement agencies with ongoing challenges. Specifically, recent trends in the illicit drug market, already highlighted above, have resulted in changes in not only the way police officers conduct their day-to-day work, but also in the legislative environment in which they operate. In terms of their day to day operations, law enforcement agencies are moving towards 'intelligence-led policing' practices where emphasis is placed on, for example, targeting offenders through both overt and covert means; managing crime and disorder 'hotspots'; investigating links between different crimes and incidents; and applying preventative measures, including working with local partnerships to reduce crime and disorder (Ratcliffe 2003). While these types of policing activities are not specific to drug law enforcement, they may be usefully applied within this setting.

Two of the most significant recent trends related to illicit drugs include the sharp rise in the number of clandestine laboratories for the production of methylamphetamine and the spread of hydroponically cultivated cannabis. Such changes in the production markets for both drugs have spawned new legislation in some jurisdictions as a response to the manufacture and trading in these drugs. For example, changes in scheduling to restrict sales of single entity pseudoephedrine-based products in Queensland, amendments to the law relating to chemical precursors in the Northern Territory, as well as a number of industry initiatives in other jurisdictions, have acted to restrict access to precursor drugs for the manufacture of methylamphetamine. It should also be noted that, in 2006, national restrictions on the sale of these products will come into effect, with these products only being available as over-the-counter medicines from pharmacists. However, tightening the legislative framework and the handling of chemical precursors does not reduce the illicit demand for these substances, and illicit manufacturers have initially turned towards higher risk activities, such as importation and thefts from pharmaceutical companies and warehouses (ACC 2003). Further legislative changes in New South Wales concerning the illegal manufacture of amphetamines in fortified houses (such houses are designed to hinder police access) have

also occurred. Under the *Police Powers (Drug Premises) Act 2001*, police in NSW may enter any premises they suspect of being used in the manufacture of illicit drugs, particularly in the manufacture of amphetamines, and shut down those premises (New South Wales Police 2002).

Recent legislative changes in South Australia have occurred in relation to hydroponically grown cannabis whereby the number of cannabis plants that an individual can have before being charged has been reduced to one (ACC 2003). Similarly, recent legislative changes in the Australian Capital Territory have occurred such that the number of cannabis plants that an individual may grow for personal use and be charged with a Simple Cannabis Offence Notice (no criminal record is recorded) has reduced from five to two, and includes all hydroponically or artificially grown cannabis plants (Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory, 2004).

Drug law enforcement and the National Drug Strategy goals

Generally speaking, all of the strategies pursued by Australian drug law enforcement agencies operating at all jurisdictional levels and/or dealing with each category of drug are actively directed at helping to achieve positive outcomes for the three goals of Australia's National Drug Strategy:

1. Supply reduction – illustrated by strategies to disrupt the production and supply of illicit drugs and the control and regulation of licit substances.
2. Demand reduction – with strategies to prevent the uptake of harmful drug use, including abstinence-orientated strategies to reduce drug use.
3. Harm reduction – reflecting strategies to reduce drug-related harm to individuals and communities.

As would be expected, supply reduction is consistently identified as the primary goal of DLE activity. The bulk of resources and strategic responses are directed towards achieving this goal. However, when interviewed for stage one of this project, it became apparent that personnel from all agencies, regardless of whether they have national, state/territory-wide, regional or local responsibility, reported that they see demand reduction and harm reduction goals as being underlying determinants of their strategic priorities and DLE activity. Where jurisdictional strategic plans for DLE exist, demand and harm reduction goals and strategies are consistently articulated. For example, several published strategy documents articulate measures directed at drug-crime diversion, prevention and early intervention (primarily through education and inter-agency support), and improving community amenity, each of which has demand and harm reduction outcomes.

The extent to which demand and harm reduction goals figure and are reflected in strategies varies according to a number of factors. However, these are not necessarily a function of whether the agency has a national and/or state or territory-wide brief. For example, agencies dealing primarily with border protection (that is, drug importation) have a direct focus on supply reduction strategies and activities, although these do not preclude them from having an influence on demand reduction and harm reduction outcomes. For example, supply control measures such as offshore and border protection operations are seen as contributing to the achievement of 'community well-being' outcomes through reductions in, say, the amount of drugs reaching the street.

At a community policing level, police in a number of jurisdictions speak in terms of applying supply control measures (for example, interdiction, drug market disruption techniques) to achieve harm minimisation goals or demand reduction through the inherent deterrent potential of these approaches, as well as by reducing access to drugs. This orientation is most common in situations where police are dealing with drug problems among socially excluded or remote communities. In spite of this, it remains true that – as very clearly expressed in a number of the interviews in

the first stage of this project and as reflected in most of the documented strategic responses to drug problems, supply reduction is the primary goal and responsibility of DLE agencies. While demand reduction certainly figures quite prominently in terms of goals and strategies (especially in terms of the operation of drug markets and the role of diversionary measures), harm reduction is most often viewed as an incidental outcome and not necessarily a goal in and of itself. This firm hierarchy of goals and strategies is most evident in the work of DLE agencies with jurisdiction-wide responsibility, for example, drug squads, crime agencies and organised crime groups.

Strategic responses to achieving drug law enforcement goals

Agencies operating at different levels of the DLE process and with responsibility for achieving different outcomes give emphasis to different strategic responses. The following is a typical suite of strategies that can be found in most DLE agencies across Australia for dealing with the range of drug-related crime at the various agency levels.

Strategies to limit supply

Activities here include operations to break up organised drug networks importing, cultivating, producing and trafficking drugs. Supply is reduced through controls on production and distribution, seizures, and the arrest and incarceration of those involved in importation, production and distribution. The aim of supply-side DLE is to disrupt the supply or availability of an illegal drug, thereby increasing the costs and risks associated with its importation and distribution.

Typical supply control strategies include action to:

- ***Intercept and seize drugs*** – an activity that is undertaken at all levels of DLE, from national to local. Operations vary considerably in their level of sophistication, particularly in terms of the extent to which they are intelligence-led or dependent on technology such as x-ray of cargo, telephone intercepts (not available in all jurisdictions) and other electronic detection techniques. They also vary depending on whether the activities are targeted towards specific individuals or groups (for example, through passenger alerts, controlled deliveries and surveillance) or are non-targeted (for example, routine passenger searches or street patrols).

  The use of drug detector dogs is a common feature of many agency strategies. This is a key feature of border protection activities as well as in state/territory police drug investigations. They also feature in action to close down domestic drug transport networks. However, it is noteworthy that the role of the dogs is changing in a number of jurisdictions as a result of their increasing use in street-level operations as a tool for deterrence and disruption of drug markets (that is, to reduce demand).
- ***Detect and destroy cannabis crops*** – undertaken within state/territory police services and usually under the coordination of drug squads or crime commands. Initiating such operations can sometimes be the result of information received from other agencies, such as power utilities noting spikes in electricity consumption (characteristic of hydroponic cannabis cultivation).
- ***Detect and dismantle clandestine laboratories*** – given the nature of drug production processes and the hazards associated with the substances, operations normally occur at the state/territory level in cooperation with district or local agencies.
- ***Prevent diversion of precursor chemicals*** – initiatives here are a combination of action by national and state/territory-wide agencies. Work is frequently undertaken in collaboration with industry and business groups with a legitimate interest in the trade and use of precursor substances. Australian agencies with significant regulatory functions such as the Therapeutic Goods Administration (which regulates therapeutic goods, including over the counter cold

and flu medications, to ensure their quality, safety and efficacy), the Health Insurance Commission (which delivers health programs to the community as well as detecting and preventing fraudulent activity in the health sector) and other health agencies are of importance here as they can play a major role in prevention through the enforcement of compliance with regulatory frameworks for ensuring the legitimate use of chemical and pharmaceutical goods.

- ***Arrest and prosecution of drug dealers and importers*** – the goal of action here is to remove significant players in the supply and importation of drugs and to make participation in the drug market more difficult, thereby creating deterrents. These strategies are used by all DLE agencies at all levels.
- ***Disrupt organised criminal networks*** – work on this strategy is generally undertaken by national and state/territory-wide agencies. However, the focus of this action can be on very specific problems evident in discrete communities, as well as national and international networks.

  Intelligence analysis, informant management and intelligence-led policing strategies are all crucial to operations directed at disrupting criminal networks. Significant emphasis is placed on the need for efficient, effective and high quality intelligence systems to facilitate this work. In particular, effective intelligence work is a crucial element of the work of agencies with border protection responsibilities. For example, the volume of goods and passengers moving through Australia's airports and shipping berths is such that indiscriminate screening would be very cost-ineffective as well as disruptive to trade and the operation of transport. Similarly, the off-shore investigation of criminal networks relies heavily on good intelligence as well as effective partnership arrangements with overseas DLE agencies.
- ***Seize criminal assets*** – asset seizure is a characteristic of national/jurisdictional DLE activity. The extent to which the strategy is applied varies significantly across Australia in a manner that largely reflects the period over which the relevant legislation has been in operation. That is, the longer it has been in place the more frequently and extensively it is used. The extent that it is applied is also partly related to the type of legislation that is in place and the burden of proof required to enact the legislation. The goals of this strategy are deterrence, market disruption and incapacitation.
- ***Close down drug premises*** – this is a legislative measure that is used at a state/territory jurisdictional level, but not by all jurisdictions. It seems that this strategy most commonly reflects the different nature of drug problems within different parts of Australia. Where patterns of drug use are not necessarily concentrated into 'hot spot' areas, the measure is less likely to exist or be used.

The primary goal of these sorts of strategies is to reduce drug consumption by influencing the price, purity and availability of illicit drugs.

Strategies to disrupt demand

While strategies to disrupt demand are most often described by DLE personnel as a secondary goal, they nevertheless form a significant part of agencies' strategic and operational portfolios. The aim of demand-side DLE is to reduce the level of demand for illicit drugs within the general community. It is primarily directed at the drug user, not the seller, producer or importer. The rationale behind demand-side DLE is that, even if DLE agencies are unable to increase the financial cost of illicit drug use or restrict its availability, they can increase the non-monetary costs associated with its use. So, as the level of inconvenience, time, risk or cost of trying to find a drug seller increases, more drug purchasers are tempted to leave the illicit drug market (for example, by entering treatment) while those who remain tend to use illicit drugs less frequently (Weatherburn et al. 2000). It is in this context that the capacity of non-police regulatory agencies

such as the Therapeutic Goods Administration and Heath Insurance Commission to impact on demand through their enforcement of frameworks for the legitimate use of licit drugs is recognised as significant.

Many of the measures typical of this broad strategy overlap with supply reduction measures, but seek to generate a different impact. For example, action to arrest and prosecute dealers, when undertaken using high visibility policing methods in 'hot spot' drug markets is directed both at deterring dealers and users. The logic is that the risk and difficulty is increased for both parties and so the trade will either cease or relocate. However, such measures are time consuming and costly and they will frequently only be undertaken for short periods and primarily in response to community concern about public amenity.

Other, generally more sustained and systematic activities, include drug-crime diversionary strategies seeking to encourage low-level or first time users into treatment, and action to interrupt crime, such as property crime intended to generate income for users, by making the disposal of stolen goods more difficult.

As such, the preventive (that is, harm and demand reduction) role of law enforcement activity must not be underestimated. For example, law and enforcement generally, as embodied in the actions of parliament, courts and police, plays a major role in setting and continually reinforcing the community values that are the first and strongest barrier against illicit drug use. It also fulfils a preventive function by keeping before drug users the community's disapproval of their behaviour, and providing incentives to change. It also ensures a high-level of compliance with the regulatory framework for all controlled substances. The constant threat of law enforcement confines drug supply (including the illicit supply of tobacco and alcohol) to irregular and expensive channels and it also confines markets to irregular patterns of trade.

When all these effects are taken into account, the law enforcement role in prevention can be seen as critical, not just in its direct effects on supply, but in underpinning all elements of Australia's balanced anti-drug strategy. Law enforcement outcomes must be measured against these constant preventive effects, and not just by the results of actions against the user and supplier populations.

Reducing drug-related crime, violence and community problems

The relationship between drugs, crime and violence, as well as associated community problems, is widely acknowledged by all DLE agencies, especially at the state and territory level. Plans and strategies recognise this and outline measures for trying to reduce them. However, it is clear that the nature of these relationships and how they operate are not systematically understood or accounted for. For example, the role of property crime and robbery as an income-generating tool for users to be able to afford drugs is widely accepted. Those involved in DLE work will target particular types of offences (for example, domestic burglary, shop theft, theft from motor vehicles, assault and robbery) with the expectation that the offender is in many cases a drug user. Similarly, some violent crimes in specific settings or locations are generally recognised as being associated with disputes between drug dealers and traffickers. However, in only a few jurisdictions are these types of operations specifically identified as being about reducing drug problems. Some of the exceptions are in the plans and priorities of local or district-level police, who identify public concern about community safety and public amenity as motivators for activities such as high visibility 'stop and search/move on' operations in public places with known high-levels of drug problems, targeted repeat offender strategies, and interrupting property disposal avenues directed at drug users involved in domestic burglary.

In a number of jurisdictions there are also examples of community partnership strategies that are aimed at addressing underlying causes of drug involvement, either as users or dealers. Some of these examples are in communities outside of metropolitan areas.

Collaborative/partnership working

Inter-agency and inter-jurisdictional strategies are prevalent in DLE work at all levels. Many take the form of cross-border arrangements with other DLE agencies to deal with problems that either extend across more than one jurisdiction or, in the case of imported drugs or precursor substances, can be prevented from being imported into Australia by cooperation with law enforcement authorities overseas. Many of these relationships are built around the opportunity for sharing intelligence and resources to achieve a mutual goal. However, examples are also given where the actions of an agency in one jurisdiction effectively displaced or aggravated a problem across the border. This is most often the result of a difference in DLE strategic and operational priorities, or legislative differences between jurisdictions, and is usually unintentional.

There are also many examples of collaborative arrangements between industry and commercial groups and other government agencies to facilitate investigations and arrests. Some examples include the role of the pharmaceutical industry in the detection of chemical diversion and amphetamine laboratories, electricity authorities helping to identify hydroponic cannabis plantations, and the role of housing departments in assisting in the identification of drug houses. Cooperation with bodies such as the Therapeutic Goods Administration in looking at the appropriate and licit use of drugs is also significant.

The development of drug-crime diversionary measures, particularly the expansion of cannabis and other illicit drugs police diversion programs in the last five to ten years, has led to closer and more extensive ongoing collaboration with health authorities as well as the community sector treatment providers. Similarly, the growth of therapeutic court systems (for example, Drug Courts – see Makkai & Veraar (2003) for a recent assessment of the South East Queensland Drug Court) has generated the need for a closer relationship with the judicial system. As indicated above, there are also a number of examples where DLE authorities are working with more broad-based community development strategies (for example, urban renewal projects) to assist in the development of longer-term prevention strategies.

Collaborative arrangements are also a major feature of work being undertaken outside Australia's borders, particularly by Customs and the AFP. This collaborative work occurs both in terms of investigative work involving agencies from other nations and through specific projects designed to assist in building up the DLE capacity of overseas partner agencies. Another important and growing area of collaboration apparent in a number of agencies is that involving academic and research bodies. Examples are where research partnerships are being utilised to develop and improve strategic and operational effectiveness as well as to assist in actually developing performance assessment tools.

Chapter four: Performance measurement in drug law enforcement

Introduction

DLE agencies, and law enforcement more generally, have collected data on their performance for many years. Traditional measures of law enforcement performance include such things as crime rates, arrests, seizures and clearance rates as key measures for assessing law enforcement success both in Australia and overseas. While such measures are simple, visible and easily understood measures of police effort, they are also in many cases ambiguous measures of performance. Such measures essentially demonstrate the extent to which law enforcement agencies engage in certain types of activities rather than demonstrating the broader impacts of law enforcement work. For example, they tell us little in terms of the real impact of law enforcement in producing something of value for communities, such as making communities feel safer and more secure (Maguire 2004; Makkai 1999b). In addition, in terms of DLE, without an understanding of the size of the illicit drug market, such measures provide no sense of the proportion of illicit drugs seized, or key players removed, by DLE agencies.

DLE work is not simply about seizing drugs and arresting offenders, although many (including law enforcement personnel themselves) often judge the success of DLE by these factors alone. DLE includes efforts to prevent crimes occurring, address community problems and public disorder and build lasting community relationships, to name but a few. Performance measures should therefore better reflect the complex and multi-dimensional nature of this work. To achieve this, there is now general agreement in Australia and elsewhere that the traditional supply-side indicators of DLE activity should at the very least be complemented by demand-side indicators (public health and amenity indicators). By including a range of key measures, the risk of error in identifying emerging trends is reduced, particularly where trends are, to a greater or lesser extent, the result of factors external to DLE activity. In developing a more comprehensive range of measures to assess overall performance, DLE agencies will begin to be able to demonstrate the returns received on the substantial government investment in DLE. To date, this has not really been possible.

DLE performance measurement: some theoretical considerations

What is performance information?

Performance information is central to modern program management, accountability and reporting. It is not an end in itself, but provides a basis for improving overall performance. It identifies where a program is heading, how it will get there, whether it is heading in the right direction and whether it is using resources in the most cost-effective manner. Aside from providing a basis for informed decision-making, performance information is also an early warning system for program failure, enabling managers to undertake preventative action (ANAO 1996). As such, performance information, together with regular performance monitoring, should not be viewed as an onerous, external requirement imposed on a program, but should be fully embedded within program planning, operation and future development.

Performance information can include quantitative and qualitative data that may be obtained in many different ways, including through administrative data collections, published and unpublished documentation, stakeholder surveys, observation, interview and so on. In essence, quantitative data are information about the world in numerical form, whereas qualitative data

are information about the world in the form of words. Quantitative data permit standardised, objective comparisons to be made, and the measurements of quantitative research permit overall descriptions of situations or phenomena in a systematic and comparable way. Qualitative data are sensitive to context and process and provide in-depth understanding of situations or phenomena (Punch 1998).

The type and mix of performance information used to monitor performance is largely determined by what is being monitored and assessed, and must be considered against the background of the context, circumstances and practical aspects of the assessment (Punch 1998). Where possible, reliance should not be placed on any single type of performance data as each type of data has its own inherent strengths and weaknesses. For example, key informant interview data can provide detailed information on important issues. However, the danger in relying on key informants is that their perspectives may be distorted and biased, thus giving an inaccurate picture of what is occurring—data obtained from informants represent perceptions, not necessarily truths (Patton 1990). Similarly, quantitative data is amenable to large-scale analysis but it is often stripped of meaningful contextual information.

Distinguishing between outputs and outcomes

A clear understanding of both the short- and long-term goals of DLE, the resources used to achieve these goals, and an appreciation of the link between these two factors is needed in order to evaluate DLE performance. Broadly speaking, program 'outcomes' relate to the specific impact a program's outputs have upon the community. Outcomes are often more long-term in nature and are reliant upon the more immediate program 'outputs' – the 'goods and services' produced by law enforcement agencies in order to achieve the desired strategic DLE outcomes (Weatherburn 2000). Distinguishing between program outputs and outcomes is important for evaluating not only outcomes achieved, but also desired outcomes not achieved. Output performance information can prove useful in determining whether failure to attain service delivery goals was as a result of poorly devised strategic responses or simply the internal failure of an agency to actively pursue and support DLE initiatives.

While the terminology surrounding program outputs and outcomes is much used, there is often considerable ambiguity surrounding the use of these terms, particularly in DLE performance measurement. As noted above, this is especially the case in DLE because people often confuse intended DLE goals with the strategies employed by DLE agencies. For example, government, the public, the media and (often) law enforcement agencies, frequently consider drug seizures as successful ends in and of themselves, rather than as a means to producing longer-term improvements in public health and amenity. If drug seizures can be viewed as a 'service' provided by DLE to the community (and outputs are often described as services – see the discussion on Developing performance measures below), then it may be easier for individuals to understand that this service actually derives benefits to the same community, that go beyond the seizure of the drugs themselves (for instance, through inter alia reduced morbidity and mortality).

One major obstacle to providing a definitive link between output measures and program outcomes is that there is currently no way of estimating exactly how big the illicit drug market is in Australia, and thus no way of accurately evaluating the impact specific strategies may have in reducing supply or demand. As such, rather than evaluating the impact of DLE goals directly, it is possible to draw upon measures of performance within the external environment that may indirectly provide a gauge of whether or not short- and longer-term DLE goals are being achieved.

Developing performance measures

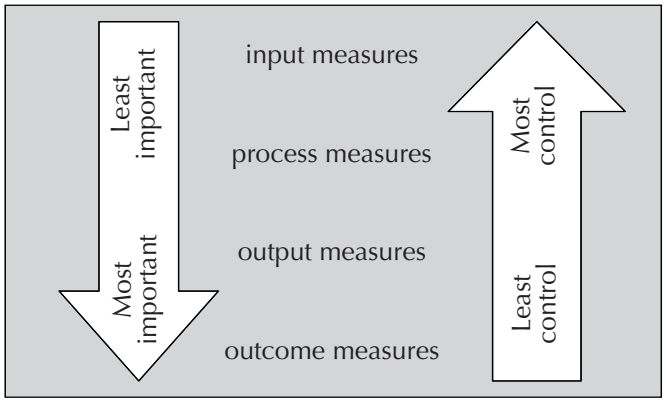
Ideally, a performance measurement system should include a sufficient number of appropriate measures that give a balanced picture of a program's performance. These should be identified and developed through the statement of program purposes or goals. Generally, a small set of key performance measures is likely to be more manageable and useful than a large number of measures. The suite of measures should reflect a balance between the cost of collecting the associated data and the value of the information provided. As such, and where possible, much of the data required should be needed for day-to-day management of the program. Together with these, there is the importance of keeping performance measures up to date to meet changing circumstances and needs. A balance has to be struck between having consistent information to monitor changes in performance over time, and taking advantage of new or improved data and reflecting current program priorities (Audit Commission 2000).

Performance measures may relate to a program's:

- ***inputs*** – which concern resources, both human and other, used to produce program outputs (for example, the number of specialist officers assigned to a drug squad);
- ***processes*** – that concern activities undertaken within a program (for example, whether a particular operation is to be jointly managed with another DLE agency);
- ***outputs*** – which concern products or services produced or delivered (for example, the number of arrests made relating to drug seizures in one jurisdiction); and/or
- ***outcomes*** – concerning all the impacts or consequences of the program beyond its direct outputs (for example, whether a particular community experiences fewer drug-related crimes over a given period).

The relative importance of, and the degree of control over, these measures is illustrated in Figure 2. Historically, and as is the case with DLE, performance measurement has tended to focus on program inputs and outputs because of the higher degree of control surrounding their measurement and the relative ease with which they are measured. However, while focus has been on measuring these things, this has been at the expense of program outcomes. Balanced performance measurement, where there is a focus on a range of measures, facilitates the investigation of the interactions and interrelationships between the factors that influence outcomes. As has occurred in DLE agencies to date, if only one aspect of program performance is measured, it is likely that this is what program managers will focus their attention on at the cost of other important aspects of the program. Under this scenario, overall program performance may deteriorate and program managers will have no understanding about the impact of their work (ANAO 1996).

Figure 2: The relative importance of, and control over, performance measures



Source: Adapted from Friedman (n.d.)

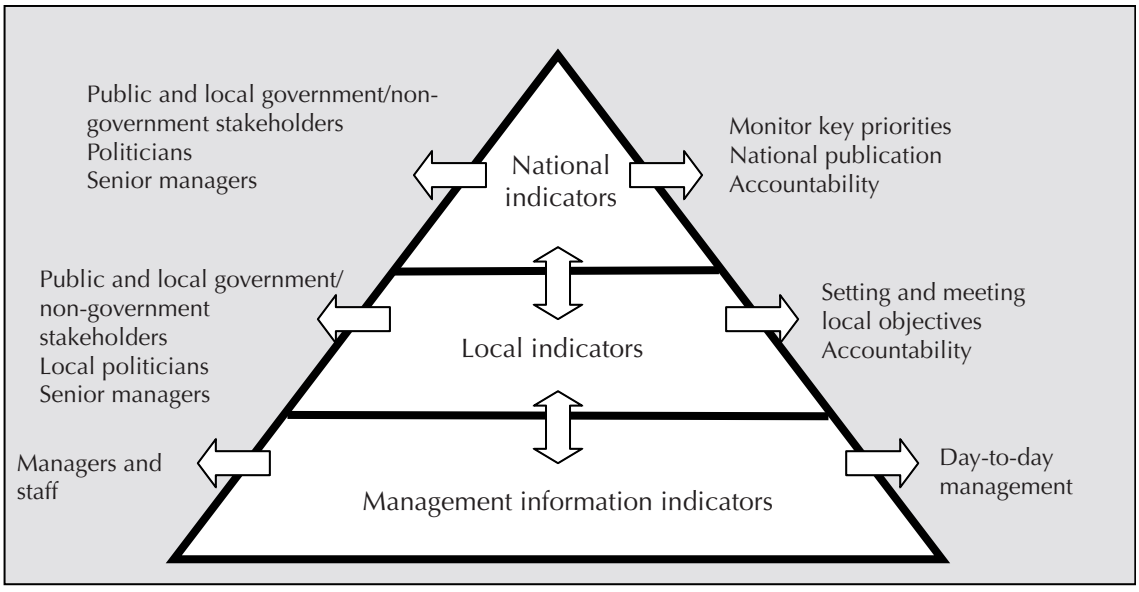
Performance measurement systems: the importance of integration

A fundamental component of any performance management framework is the ability to measure performance at both the organisational and individual level (Australian Public Service Commission (APSC) 2001). In Australia, this is evidenced through an increasing emphasis on the monitoring of achievement against government strategic directions and priorities on a whole-of-government basis. A program's performance measurement system often has a range of interested stakeholders who may use the performance information for different purposes. For example, the ways in which program managers, service agencies, government (local and national), the media and the general public use performance information will all be different. Under the whole-of-government performance measurement approach, these different requirements need to be considered when devising program performance measures.

When performance information and measurement is viewed as not only contributing to an improved understanding of program performance, but also to promoting the accountability of public resources to the community and other stakeholders, it can be seen as forming a continuous process from operational management through to national performance (Figure 3). As such, performance measures underpinning such a system should include:

- measures that reflect national-level priorities for national publication;
- measures that are concerned with local-level interests and objectives (typically measures that provide program managers with information that assists them to run a program effectively); and
- operational measures that may be related to personal performance targets for staff and managers (Audit Commission 2000).

Figure 3: The different users and uses of performance indicators



Source: Audit Commission (2000)

While distinguished for the purposes of discussion here, such measures may not necessarily be mutually exclusive. For example, it may be just as important and relevant for operational police to measure and report on trends in illicit drug consumption patterns to assist in monitoring DLE performance as it is for human service agencies, the media and the general public to be aware of such issues. The difference in this case is the 'focus' of reporting of this information. For instance, police in one LAC may be interested in the performance of their LAC compared to another's at a given point in time, while the public may be interested in national performance over time—the same performance measure is used but how it is reported varies according to the particular situation.

DLE performance measurement: key research evidence

There are few more hotly debated or more resource-intensive aspects of police work than DLE. If you ask police involved in DLE to state their primary objective they will tell you that it is to disrupt illegal drug markets. From the taxpayer's perspective, this is only useful if it results in perceptible improvements in public amenity, suppresses illegal drug use and trafficking, or reduces other drug crime and drug-related crime (including organised crime). It has been argued that DLE has failed in all of these objectives because illegal drug use and trafficking, drug-related crime and drug-related problems of public amenity have increased, despite more and more taxpayer's money being expended on DLE (Caulkins & Reuter 2005). However, this argument ignores the counter-factual: we do not know how large a drug problem we would have had in the absence of DLE.

There is an abundance of literature on developing performance measures for, and measuring the successes of, public policy. In comparison, there is very little information available on performance measurement for law enforcement and especially DLE. Traditionally, the success of DLE has been measured through the number of arrests and seizures, but also (although in many cases less systematically) drug price and purity data. The ACC's annual *Illicit Drug Data Report* (IDDR) includes data obtained from state/territory and national law enforcement agencies (for example, Customs and the AFP) and the analytical laboratories on illicit drug consumer/supplier arrests, seizures, drug purity levels and prices. As such, the data reflect the traditional measurement practices undertaken by DLE agencies. However, the IDDR report provides DLE, together with government and other interested stakeholders, a useful national picture of the overall illicit drug market and includes an analysis of trend and intelligence data. Currently, this information plays a key role in assisting decision-makers to develop illicit drug supply and harm reduction strategies (ACC 2005).

The inherent problems of arrest and seizure data have already been covered above. However, the use of price data is also sometimes contentious. Conducting a review of empirical evidence on drug market prices and how they reflect changes in the USA cocaine market, Caulkins and Reuter (1998) found that the biggest mark-ups occurred among the lower levels of drug dealers, with the major components of price believed to be compensation for physical risk and for risk of imprisonment. They also found that, even after adjusting for inflation, prices and purity varied over time and did not always concur with changes in law enforcement activity. Caulkins and Reuter (1998) argue that market interruption may only lead to short-term changes, as markets will adapt to new conditions. They further argue that price elasticity (that is, the degree to which price affects the amount of drugs consumed) is greater than widely believed and, as a result, short-term interruptions to the market causing price fluctuations do not have lasting affects on consumption patterns.

Manski, Pepper and Petrie (2001) also suggest that price data do not necessarily accurately reflect DLE performance. In a comprehensive review of American research on illicit drugs, they found buyers, not suppliers, primarily determined drug price as (they also found) interruptions to supply

had limited, and often delayed, effects on price. This finding could suggest that, where drug supply is stable, demand-reduction strategies that are aimed at drug users – for example, health and education program activities that are outside the realm of DLE and that assist to reduce the demand for illicit drugs – may ultimately result in lower drug prices. As identified above, this illustrates the importance of employing both supply and harm-reduction methods in addressing the illicit drug problem. Illicit drug price (along with purity and availability information) may also be affected by other factors outside the control of state and even national DLE agencies. For example, policy changes and expenditure on DLE in the source countries of illicit drugs all have the potential to influence the price, purity and availability of illicit drugs in Australia (Weatherburn 2000).

Despite this research, other evidence suggests that much can be gleaned from price data, particularly when used in conjunction with research on price elasticity in licit markets. For example, Cook (2003) argues that increases in price discourage new users and force some current users out of the market; a reduction in the demand for, and consumption of, cigarettes and alcohol by raising the cost of these items appears to support this argument. It also appears likely that DLE activity that assisted to interrupt the supply of heroin in Australia in the early 2000s, resulting in a period of significant heroin shortage in this country, led to a sustained rise in heroin prices (ACC 2005; Breen et al. 2004). These price rises have also had a prolonged impact on overall consumption of the drug since that time (Breen et al. 2004; Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005).

One recent piece of research on the Australian heroin market (Degenhardt, Day and Hall 2004) demonstrates how useful the application of a broad range of data can be to assess DLE performance and how it can assist DLE agencies to develop and implement appropriate strategic responses. In this research, the chain of events leading up to Australia's heroin shortage, as well as what arose both during and after this event, were in large part documented using data on:

- key informant interviews;
- drug seizures and arrests;
- drug price, purity and availability;
- drug use patterns;
- drug-related deaths and emergency department admissions;
- needle distribution for injecting drug users; and
- notifications of relevant transmissible diseases.

There were a number of important implications for DLE from the research findings:

- First, a reduction in supply of a highly addictive drug (in this case heroin) triggered a move away by many users towards other illicit substances and these other substances had behavioural consequences for police; for example, in the move towards stimulant-type drugs, and the potential for dealing with an increase in incidents involving violent and aggressive individuals.
- Second, police were not necessarily aware of the reason for the change in drug-using behaviour at the time of the heroin shortage, nor the change in drug use patterns among drug users—this implied a need for improved communication across all levels of DLE.
- Third, while difficult to prove definitively, heroin distributors appeared to be flexible and adapted to the reduction in heroin availability by switching to alternative drug distribution and/or crime types.
- Fourth, with the removal of key players from Australia's heroin distribution network, the opportunity arose for DLE to focus on removing less-experienced high-level distributors and so maximised the effect on the overall distribution of heroin in the country.

- Finally, that street-level policing has an important role in deterring/displacing local-level drug market activity and in improving public amenity, but that drug supply is not affected in any significant way through policing at the street-level. Rather it is through international and border DLE activity that drug supply is most likely to be impacted, particularly when aimed at the very high-levels of drug trafficking, such as organised criminal networks.

Similarly, and as already outlined earlier, the broad range of DUMA data also provides law enforcement personnel, particularly those within the participating police commands, with a useful and timely means of formulating strategic responses to illicit drug market activity, as well as for monitoring and assessing performance.

Unfortunately, specific discussion on the efficacy of DLE performance measurement practices has been generally overlooked in Australia. What is apparent is the need for meaningful Australian research in this area in order to evaluate the effect of DLE on drug markets in this country. Perhaps the most significant research to date on this subject was that conducted by Sutton and James (1996) nearly 10 years ago. In their evaluation of Australian drug anti-trafficking law enforcement, they found that at the time none of the DLE agencies were satisfied with the traditional types of performance measures available to them, but that there also had been little (if any) attempt to grapple with the problem. Furthermore, they indicated that, even where it was possible to use price, purity and availability data, it was essentially neglected by DLE agencies in terms of their analysis as an indicator of DLE impact.

In a more recent evaluation of Australia's National Illicit Drugs Strategy (Health Outomes International (HOI) 2002), similar issues were encountered. The evaluation report concludes that the current array of DLE performance measures sometimes makes it difficult to judge the value of public investment in this area and that DLE agencies need to consider developing a range of alternative measures around:

- number, size and type of seizures;
- dismantled crime networks;
- perception among criminals that risks are higher;
- improved intelligence;
- improved/increased work with international agencies;
- increased community awareness of, and involvement in, the law enforcement effort against drugs; and
- direct or indirect effect of law enforcement strategies on drug use and in reducing harms associated with drug use (HOI 2002, pp.44-45).

In recognition of the need for more suitable and meaningful measures of DLE performance, there have been attempts (not always in the specific realm of DLE) to address the situation. For instance, the National Action Plan on Illicit Drugs, agreed by all jurisdictions through the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy (MCDS), attempted to provide a nationally agreed direction for addressing drug issues in the period to 2002-2003 (MCDS 2001). As part of this process, jurisdictions were expected to report annually against the Action Plan. The overall suite of measures was focused heavily on public health, with only two measures relating to supply-side DLE:

- purity of illicit drugs; and
- price of illicit drugs.

In November 2001, the Inter-governmental Committee on Drugs (IGCD), through its Monitoring and Evaluation Coordination Committee, proposed the establishment of a working group (comprised of DLE, health and other relevant personnel) to review and further develop

performance indicators for the National Drug Strategy objectives and the appropriateness of the associated datasets (ANAO 2002). One major outcome of this working group has been the development of the annual monitoring report, dealing with implementation of the National Drug Strategy, that the IGCD now provides to the MCDS. In short, this report provides a broad national view of the key drug-related issues affecting Australia, and, in particular, reports against the various interventions undertaken by government agencies to reduce the supply, demand and harms associated with drug use. The small number of key indicators used in the report is derived from a mix of drug detection and public health data (IGCD 2005).

While not explicitly concerning performance measures and indicators, a further attempt to address the problem is currently being undertaken in a study by Mazerolle (2005). In this case, the objective of the 14-month review is to assess the effectiveness of DLE interventions implemented at the local, regional, state, national and global levels to reduce or prevent drug problems (including drug use, drug dealing, supply of, and demand for, drugs and the associated problems with drug dealing places). Still in its early stages, the project outcomes are intended to be achieved through a narrative review, combined with the results of a meta-analysis of available data on the impact of reactive/aggressive and proactive/partnership interventions on reducing drug and associated crime and disorder outcomes.

As outlined in the section below, there have been some attempts by DLE agencies in recent years to improve DLE performance measurement, although it is generally the case that DLE agencies are still in no better position to measure the true impact of their work than they were 10 years ago when Sutton and James (1996) undertook their research (for example, see ANAO (2002)). As Health Outcomes International (2002) identify in their evaluation, this general lack of adequate performance measures means that it is impossible to determine the true value of DLE in Australia. It also means that those involved with DLE may not in some instances be subject to the same levels of performance scrutiny as their non-DLE counterparts (Weatherburn 2000).

DLE performance measurement systems currently in use in Australia

The discussion presented in this section is derived from the stakeholder interviews conducted as part of the first stage of this project and the information provided during 2004. Obviously, different DLE agencies are continuously developing and refining their performance measurement systems, so the following overview should be taken as an indicative picture rather than a definitive one.

Performance measurement systems currently in use by DLE agencies across Australia range from the virtually non-existent to highly innovative. In most cases, where specific DLE performance measurement systems are being used there is a concentration on arrest and seizure data. The limitations of these measures for assessing the performance of DLE are well documented both in Australia and overseas and, as has already been discussed, there is general acknowledgement that they are more a measure of policing activity than outcome.

Frequently, no separate systems exist in DLE agencies for attempting to isolate the relationship of drug use and drug-related criminal activity to other crime types such as property crime or violence. The most consistent exception to this is where there is a strong involvement of a centralised drug squad, an organised crime agency or a jurisdiction-wide crime agency with a significant drug supply control brief. These variations appear to often reflect local jurisdictional crime and/or political priorities. The other exception to this is the seven sites in which the DUMA program is operating. In this case, relevant DUMA data are provided to the participating police commands within four to six weeks of their collection. The DUMA program has been integral to the development of specific DLE strategic responses to local drug issues in the participating police commands (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005).

DLE performance measurement systems are generally stronger within jurisdictions with well-developed strategic and corporate plans. This is particularly the case where there are specific drug-crime strategic plans that are systematically linked to the goals and objectives of the National Drug Strategy. This may be a reflection of the internal strength or clarity of organisational and corporate goals and understanding operational standards and priorities. It may also reflect the extent to which an organisation adopts modern policing methods, such as problem-oriented or intelligence-led policing, as well as a commitment to performance management principles. Where these are evident, there is generally a greater capacity to link strategies to goals and outcomes. In addition, it is also more likely that there is clear evidence of extensive inter-agency and partnership activity, regardless of whether these activities involve other DLE agencies, other criminal justice agencies or agencies outside the main DLE realm (such as industry groups or human service agencies). This is because these partnership arrangements might involve external funding, such as is generally the case with drug-crime diversion initiatives. The reporting requirements arising from external funding arrangements, and the fact that many of the relationships with external partners are new, means that there is a greater focus on such performance monitoring systems. Examples of this are seen in a number of jurisdictions that have recently been involved in the development or review of government-wide drug strategies (for example, in New South Wales and South Australia).

Although DLE agencies primarily direct their activities towards supply reduction goals, they consider that the most satisfactory way to measure their effectiveness is in terms of demand or supply reduction outcomes. That is, using data that are generally outside the realm of DLE agencies, such as drug usage rates, overdose rates, and community attitudes to drug use and public amenity. This view appears to be influenced by an increasing use of data and intelligence from non-DLE sources, such as the health and welfare sectors, as a way of assessing strategic priorities and appropriate operational approaches, particularly in terms of heroin market activity. This view is tempered in jurisdictions where recently enacted privacy legislation is seen as a potential or real impediment to sharing data and information.

Frustration with the conventional performance measurement systems is generating some interesting and innovative approaches. As mentioned, most jurisdictions are working on developing new measurement systems (for example, New South Wales, the Northern Territory and South Australia). In Queensland, systems have been developed that attempt to measure the impact of DLE activity in a particular area in terms of its impact on the drug markets, as measured from the perspective of an economic analysis. Known as the 'illicit drug market scan methodology', the system undertakes a macro-analysis of drug markets to determine the broad features of the market and involves the collection of data including intelligence, demographics, crime and health data. The macro-analysis essentially examines the factors that may facilitate the impact on the drug market in a particular area. It also involves a micro-analysis of the structure and dynamics of the drug market and includes the examination of factors such as barriers to entry, threat of substitute products, bargaining power of suppliers and customers, and manoeuvring among market participants (Voltz 2000).

Within agencies with a national brief, the interest in being able to assess impacts of DLE strategies in terms of improvements in community well-being, for example, is related to a wish to determine whether interdiction work, increasingly being pursued offshore, is reflected in improvements in drug-related problems in the Australian community more generally. An example of this is the effort that the AFP has put into developing the Drug Harm Index, a system for attempting to estimate the impact of supply reduction measures on downstream health outcomes in the community (Smithson et al. 2004).

Another general area in which gaps are identified is in internal processes or existing practices. Such processes are seen to be associated with improvements in the quality of outputs as opposed to the achievement of outcomes. Some examples concern questions about whether costs can be saved or resources more effectively deployed if current practices can be better monitored and assessed in terms of their ability to produce interim outcomes. Examples include the manner in which street-level drug market disruption activities are organised and delivered vis a vis their effectiveness as deterrent or supply reduction interventions, or whether particular detection techniques are optimally effective in relation to screening suspect cargoes.

All state and territory jurisdictions now have processes for reviewing and improving operational performance improvement on a system-wide basis. However, it is a characteristic of these systems, most of which are able to trace their origins to the COMPSTAT system developed by the New York Police Department (see Moore & Braga 2003), that they focus on regional or local area performance. As such, this frequently misses the contribution of the work of central crime agencies. Furthermore, if they include drug issues at all, they tend to not look at the wider relationship of drugs to other crime (for example, property crime). However, there is evidence that these mechanisms are now developing to address these issues.

Chapter five: Implementation and trial of the DLE performance measurement framework at the Australian Customs Service and in the New South Wales Police

Having arisen through a general shortage of appropriate and meaningful DLE performance information and measures, this project intended that DLE agencies would be able to better assess the appropriateness and effectiveness of current DLE strategies through the systematic development and implementation of a key set of DLE performance measures. As part of the project's second stage, this process was undertaken in two trial sites: Customs, a national-level site, and NSW Police, a local-level site. Slightly different methods were used in each site for implementing the trials of the framework.

For Customs, the trial implementation was undertaken at its national headquarters and involved a series of interviews and workshops with key personnel with policy, program and information systems responsibilities. In this way the appropriateness and viability of specific performance measures and associated indicators was assessed. Work at this trial site emphasised the need for measures to be based on readily available data and their ability to be applied to existing and planned practices.

For NSW Police, a similar set of interviews and workshops were undertaken. However, the trial process here extended to the development and implementation of an innovative measurement tool on a trial basis in two LAC. This instrument is described in more detail in Chapter seven below, but its development was again based on the need for measures to be based on readily available data and their ability to be applied to existing and planned practices.

The following section describes the contexts for this fundamental element of the project.

The trial sites

Two trial sites were selected for the project to reflect the two major foci of DLE work – that is, DLE work at the national and local levels. Customs was selected as the national-level site and two LAC within NSW Police (Mount Druitt and Surry Hills) were chosen as the state/territory-level sites.

The Australian Customs Service

Customs is a regulatory agency that has a number of interrelated functions, including:

- to facilitate trade and the movement of people across the Australian border while protecting the community and maintaining appropriate compliance with Australian law;
- to collect Customs revenue; and
- to administer industry-specific schemes and trade measures.

Customs has five divisions: Cargo and Trade; Border Intelligence and Passengers; Border Compliance and Enforcement; Coastwatch; and Information and Office Technology. The agency has also a Governance Group that includes Financial Services, Staffing, Planning and International. In addition to the central office in Canberra, regional offices are also located in each state and territory. It is in the regional offices where much of the organisation's functions are operationalised.

Illicit drug detection is a key component of Customs' wider role for managing the integrity of Australia's border. While much of Customs' work is not primarily concerned with drug detection, this nevertheless forms an important part of their work. As such, responsibility for illicit drugs is spread over a number of different branches within the organisation, but the primary branches are those involved with cargo, air passengers and illicit drug intelligence, investigations and enforcement.

Customs and the AFP are the major agencies that have responsibility for implementing strategies to reduce the supply of illicit drugs into Australia. In line with a Ministerial agreement in 1987, the AFP investigates narcotics offences under the *Customs Act 1901*. The two agencies work collaboratively to detect and intercept the importation of these drugs—Customs' primary role is one of illicit drug detection, while the AFP's is drug seizure and investigation of those responsible for the importation.

New South Wales Police

NSW Police is a statutory authority that provides policing services for the state of New South Wales. The over-arching goals of NSW Police are to:

- reduce crime and violence to maximize the community's sense of safety and security;
- improve and maintain a high-level of public trust and confidence in police integrity; and
- deliver effective, appropriate and quality policing services (NSW Police Annual Report 2004).

There are 80 LAC in New South Wales, with policing services provided through over 500 police stations. LAC are overseen by five regional offices, which in turn facilitate the administration of operational and strategic policing directives from the Commissioner's Executive Team (comprising Operations, Support and Corporate Services branches). LAC are responsible for reducing crime rates within their local area and the bulk of policing work is carried out through LAC. More serious criminal matters, such as large-scale crime, organized crime, or crimes that require specialist investigative support, are referred to State Crime Command (SCC). SCC, part of the Executive Operations Branch, comprises ten specialist squads: property crime; homicide; child protection and sex crimes; drugs; firearms and regulated industries; fraud; robbery and serious crime; South East Asian crime; gangs; and specialist task force projects.

Standard policies concerning high visibility policing and police proactivity across New South Wales are moderated by diversity in the socio-economic and demographic makeup of each LAC. Similarly, strategies aimed at reducing the supply and demand of illicit drugs within the local community are examined within the context of the community itself and the specific nature of the illicit drug environment. While reducing illicit drug use, supply and related crime are considered important strategic priorities for NSW Police at the LAC level, many other policing duties must also be undertaken. As such, a majority of police work may not actually (explicitly) concern illicit drug law enforcement.

SCC plays an important role in focusing DLE approaches at the local level, most notably through the drugs, gangs and South East Asian crime squads, which in addition to providing specialist investigative assistance and resources to LAC, are also able to provide intelligence through state-wide monitoring systems. Whereas LAC primarily concentrate on low- to mid-level illicit drug use and supply, the specialist drugs squad at SCC targets high-level organized drug operations and crime. The drug squad is responsible for the control and regulation of licit substances and for disrupting the production, manufacture and supply of illicit drugs by dismantling clandestine laboratories, for which there is a specialist chemical operations response team.

Framework development

The performance measurement framework presented in this report is the product of a number of different stages of development. The framework draws upon:

- meetings and workshops held at the trial sites;
- initial discussions held with DLE agencies and officers in the first stage of the project;
- discussions held during project advisory committee meetings; and
- the literature.

The framework evolved considerably over time and the process was highly iterative. Where additions and amendments to the framework were made, the revised framework would then be discussed with relevant staff within the trial sites and the Advisory Committee. In turn, these discussions would then inform further versions of the framework and so on.

Two AIC research officers were out-posted to each trial site to aid development and implementation of the framework. A liaison officer was identified by the participating agencies at each trial site, through which the project's research officers worked to identify relevant staff for further in-depth discussions about the DLE environment and DLE performance measurement more specifically. The liaison officers were critical points of contact for the research officers as they not only facilitated entry into the agencies but also acted as important 'sounding boards' for the framework's development and champions of the framework among their colleagues. The two research officers also consulted with each other on a regular basis throughout the project's fieldwork phase. Meeting notes, ideas and experiences were exchanged so that the research officers were aware of potential areas for exploration at their field site and overlap or conflict in the performance measures and indicators selected.

Framework implementation

One of the project's key deliverables was the development of a plan to guide the implementation of the new DLE performance measurement system. This plan would aid the implementation process by providing those engaged in the current project, as well as those involved in future DLE performance measurement development, with a basic 'how to' guide. In this sense it was intended to provide a model process for developing DLE performance measures, rather than a total package of DLE performance measures to be followed like a cook-book. This was because, given the changing nature of DLE, specific indicators or other aspects of the performance measurement system will inevitably need to be revised, updated or replaced.

The steps outlined in the plan below (Table 2) were used in the development of the DLE performance measurement framework presented in this report and they provide some key points for consideration for future framework development too. The plan is not definitive. Rather, it highlights some of the more critical issues within performance measurement system implementation. The plan draws upon a variety of literature within the field of performance measurement, including from the public and private sectors and from the area of DLE itself.

Table 2. The implementation plan.

Implementation area	Key points for consideration
Establishing the context	Identify rationale for development of DLE performance measurement system. Undertake literature review (where appropriate) summarising knowledge to date/important issues raised by previous research. Together with the different Australian DLE agencies (for example, at unit, command, state-wide and national levels), understand their: 1. roles and objectives; 2. strategies to achieve objectives; 3. target populations of DLE activity; 4. intended and unintended effects of DLE activity; and 5. external factors affecting DLE activity. A sound understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the different DLE agencies will assist in the development of appropriate performance measures, as well as in determining areas of potential DLE conflict/commonality.
Identify key DLE goals/intended outcomes	Together with the different Australian DLE agencies, identify major DLE goals. For each goal, ask: 1. why is it a goal? 2. how will the goal be achieved? Posing the 'why' questions helps to pinpoint important goals, while posing the 'how' questions aids identification of potential strategies to achieve goals. In turn, these aid development and organisation of the performance measures themselves.
Identify strategies to meet goals/intended outcomes	For each goal, identify the different DLE strategies employed.
Develop performance indicators for each strategy	Select appropriate performance dimensions in order to measure the performance of each strategy. Focus should be on output and outcome measures. Output measures seek to quantify the amount of work undertaken. They are usually a measure of quantity (for example, the number of people arrested for cannabis possession or the amount of amphetamines seized). Outputs are useful for defining what a program produces and are the vehicles for producing program outcomes. Outcome measures seek to assess whether the program has achieved its intended goals. They can be defined as the intended changes, which are attributable to an intervention (for example, improvements in public safety and health).

Table 2 continued.

Implementation area	Key points for consideration
Identify the data sources that will inform each performance indicator	Think primarily about data that are: 1. already routinely collected; 2. collected but requiring format changes; and 3. available with minor system modification. Also think about data that are available via other means; for example, community surveys.
Select the units that will be compared	Consider whether a comparison will be made on time periods (months, years), units, commands, or different agencies. A comparison may also be made with other indicators or against benchmarks/standards.
Instigate data collection in one state agency and one national agency	Determine: 1. who will conduct the data collection exercise; and 2. the procedures/documents used for collection/recording. An iterative approach should be taken, whereby strategies and techniques are applied, assessed and refined on an ongoing basis. This will also permit exchanges in ideas between the state and national sites. Things to consider should include: 1. the strengths and weaknesses of data sources and methods (for example, ease of access; perceived relevance; ease of interpretation; timeliness/frequency; utility and cost); and 2. documentation of changes made to data collection (if any) and reasons; implications.
Use the measures to monitor and improve your performance	Treat the process as an integral step in organisational learning and act on information gained to assess the environment and implement organisational change (for example, resource allocation).
Repeat the process regularly	The DLE environment is constantly evolving and so measures deemed useful now may not be relevant in two or five years time. As such, the performance measurement system will inevitably need to be revised and updated.

Chapter six: A new DLE performance measurement framework

Introduction

Four high-level outcome areas were identified during the course of the project as important outcomes of DLE activity. These outcomes support the National Drug Strategy goals to limit the supply of, and demand for, illicit drugs, while also minimising community harms. The four high-level outcomes are as follows:

- reducing drug crime and drug-related crime;
- reducing organised crime;
- improving public health; and
- improving public amenity.

The first high-level outcome, 'reducing drug crime and drug-related crime', includes measures directed at addressing specific drug crimes (for instance, the importation, supply and distribution of illicit drugs), measures for assessing drug market dynamics, as well as a measure of the crime most reliably associated with illicit drug use. For example, to assess changes in drug markets, the framework (Appendix 1, pp. 57-58) includes a series of measures related to drug price, purity and availability, as well as measures concerned with drug trafficking practices. The distinction in the framework between drug crime and drug-related crime is deliberate, and made because the latter is often used loosely to describe both types of crime, when in fact their aetiologies are quite different.

The second high-level outcome, 'reducing organised crime', includes measures specifically directed at addressing high-level drug crime. It is distinguished from the framework's first high-level outcome because of the other crimes that usually go hand-in-hand with organised criminal groups that traffic illicit drugs (such as money laundering, extortion, corruption of public officers, and the like) and that have serious and far reaching impacts on the community's safety and welfare. Measures for this high-level outcome focus on elements concerned with trafficking. As can be seen in the framework (p. 57 of Appendix 1), many of the same measures are also incorporated under the first high-level outcome as they may also be applied at a more local DLE level.

The third high-level outcome, 'improving public health', includes a range of measures for gauging the impact of illicit drugs on the community's health. For example, trends in illicit drug-related deaths and morbidity and the health services underpinning these are included in the framework (p. 58 of Appendix 1). The fourth high-level outcome, 'improving public amenity', incorporates a small number of measures of community safety and well-being. A detailed explanation of the reason certain measures were included in the framework is covered in the detailed explanation for each high level outcome and the associated performance measures section of this report.

As can be seen in Appendix 1, the framework outlines the full suite of DLE performance measures and related indicators developed during the fieldwork, together with the potential data sources for each measure, for the four high-level outcomes. The framework includes a mix of both output and outcome measures and indicators. From the outset, these were intended to have the following characteristics:

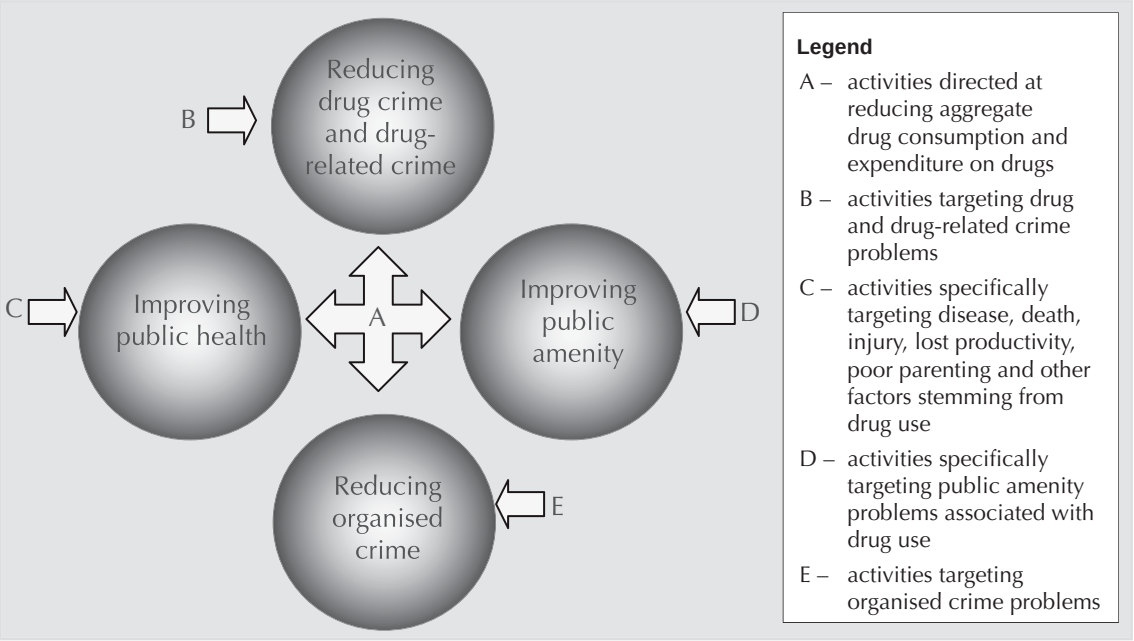
- clear in their purpose (that is, who will be using the information and how and why it will be used);
- useful (in gauging the effectiveness of policies and strategies);

- valid (that is, measures what it should measure);
- reliable (gives consistent results);
- easy to interpret (makes sense and reflects real events);
- easy to construct (must reflect the real places they will be used in);
- consistent with other performance indicators in the National Drug Strategy (that is, aligned with the wider drugs policy environment); and
- easy to adapt to different settings and develop over time.

Reliance is not intended to be placed on any single measure to monitor and assess performance as no single measure in the framework is considered authoritative. Rather it is intended that DLE agencies will select multiple, appropriate measures to reduce the risk of error in the identification of trends.

While separated for the purposes of this report, in practice the four high-level outcomes are not discrete areas but are interrelated. The nature of this interrelationship is complex and varied but how it can operate is illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Relationship between high-level outcomes



For example, activities directed at reducing aggregate drug consumption and expenditure (represented by 'A') are likely to impact on all four high-level outcomes. On the other hand, measures specifically targeting crime problems associated with illicit drugs, such as money laundering and extortion ('E'), are likely to have the most impact on reducing organised crime, and so on. However, because of these linkages, it is likely that activities undertaken by DLE agencies to reduce drug crime and drug-related crime may also contribute to improving public health and/or public amenity. In practice this can be seen in moves both in Australia and overseas to link enforcement action to treatment provision. This aims to ensure that any disruption or depletion of a drug market is sustained by providing treatment and support to drug users if and when there is a decrease in the availability of drugs (Effective Interventions Unit 2004). A further related issue is that each high-level outcome is constrained by the other. As such, activities directed towards one

outcome should not adversely impact on the other outcomes. For instance, police do not generally target clients in the vicinity of drug clinics and they limit their attendance at overdoses so as to minimise drug-related harm.

As already noted, the framework does not include an exhaustive list of performance measures and indicators; rather, it focuses on those identified by representatives of DLE agencies during the fieldwork phase as being central to measuring the impact of DLE work on drug markets and on overall community health and well-being. Also, the measures are not intended to be used prescriptively. Depending on the context, certain measures may not be relevant to a given agency or level of DLE activity. Moreover, the relative importance of different measures may change over time. Therefore agencies must exercise a level of judgement as to the best suite of measures to be used.

Detailed explanation for each high-level outcome and the associated performance measures

Measures of drug crime and drug-related crime

Trends in illicit drug detections/seizures. Illicit drug detections and seizures are a traditional measure of DLE activity at all levels of DLE. The measure is easy to quantify and understand, but is widely acknowledged to be more a measure of policing activity than outcome. Without an understanding of the size of the illicit drug market, the measure also provides no sense of the proportion of illicit drugs seized or key players removed by DLE agencies. Nevertheless, long-term trend information in this key area of DLE activity provides some indication of the degree of problem, particularly when examined alongside public health and amenity measures. The measure also provides a degree of continuity between traditional and new performance measurement systems. Internal DLE agency databases can inform this measure.

Trends in weight of illicit drug detections/seizures. Changes in the weight of illicit drug detections, particularly at border-level DLE, provide an indication of shifts in illicit drug market activity. Larger and heavier detections/seizures are typically associated with organised criminal groups, whereas smaller and lighter detections/seizures are more indicative of opportunistic illicit drug activity. As such, shifts from larger to smaller illicit drug detections/seizures (and vice versa) may suggest that importers and dealers change the way in which they traffic drugs in response to particular DLE activity. One expects that as the level of inconvenience, time, risk or cost of trying to traffic illicit drugs increases, more drug traffickers will alter their trafficking modes or will leave the illicit drug market altogether. This measure is relevant in terms of both organised crime and drug crimes specifically. Median weight is considered the best measure as it removes any outliers that may distort the data. Internal DLE agency databases can inform this measure.

Trends in illicit drug arrests. Like trends in illicit drug detections/seizures, trends in illicit drug arrests is a traditional measure of DLE activity. Again, the measure is easy to quantify and understand, but it is essentially a measure of policing activity rather than outcome. However, long-term trend information does provide some indication of the illicit drug problem, particularly when examined alongside public health and amenity measures. Internal DLE agency databases can inform this measure.

Trends in illicit drug street prices. The use of illicit drug prices is another performance measure that is used to assess DLE performance. DLE strategies such as interdiction, dismantling criminal groups, arresting traffickers and dealers and so on all have the potential to influence the price (as well as purity and availability) of illicit drugs as they not only reduce the supply of illicit drugs,

but they raise the cost and risks associated with drug market business. The underlying logic is that these increased risks and costs force potential dealers to demand higher profits by way of compensation, which then raises illicit drug street prices. In turn, higher street prices reduce demand for and consumption of illicit drugs among users, thereby reducing many drug-related harms. A reduction in the demand for and consumption of cigarettes and alcohol by raising the cost of these items appears to support this argument (Cook 2003). While there is conflicting evidence in relation to illicit drugs specifically (Caulkins and Reuter 1998; Cook 2003), numerous studies support the notion that where increases in price occur, demand for illicit drugs is in many instances reduced (for example, Manski, Pepper & Petrie 2001; Degenhardt, Day & Hall 2004; Donnelly, Weatherburn & Chilvers 2004). A further issue to consider is that illicit drug price, along with purity and availability, may be affected by factors outside the control of state and even national DLE agencies. For example, policy changes and expenditure on DLE in the source countries of illicit drugs also influence the price, purity and availability of illicit drugs in Australia (Weatherburn 2000).

Where DLE agencies collect price information, internal DLE agency databases can inform the measure. Another on-going data collection that could be used to inform the measure includes the National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre's (NDARC) Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS) (see Appendix 2). The price information available through the IDRS is collected and published annually and is largely derived from self-report information provided by a selected group of injecting drug users living in the capital cities. An annual national report and annual reports for each state and territory are available.

Perceived purity of illicit drugs. Like their impacts on illicit drug price and availability, DLE strategies such as interdiction, dismantling criminal groups, arresting traffickers and dealers and so forth all have the potential to influence the purity of illicit drugs at the street level. Available evidence indicates that the purity of illicit drugs seized at the border (particularly heroin) remains relatively stable over time but that there is more fluctuation in drug purity at the street-level (Degenhardt, Day & Hall 2004). This suggests that it may be more useful to monitor the purity of street-level drugs. As already highlighted above, the increased risks and costs of dealing in illicit drugs force potential dealers to demand higher profits by way of compensation, and this then raises illicit drug street prices. Frequently, increased street prices are observed alongside falls in street-level purity as dealers try to maximise the number of sales by diluting the drugs.

Unfortunately, while all 'seizures' are tested to determine that the substances seized are illegal substances, the chemical compositions of illicit drugs obtained 'on the street' are almost never analysed. Even when drug seizures are subjected to detailed forensic analysis, at least in New South Wales, this is usually only done for contested court matters or when the nature of the drug is disputed (Barker et al. 2005). In Victoria all seizures of amphetamines are tested to determine purity levels. Through the Australian Illicit Drug Intelligence Program (formerly the Heroin Signature Program), the AFP also aims to analyse the chemical and physical features of significant heroin, amphetamine and cocaine seizures (AFP 2005).

Perceptions of street-level illicit drug purity may be obtained from injecting drug users through the IDRS. While the data are based on perceptions of purity, they are nevertheless indicative and are the best means of assessing street-level purity at this time.

Perceived availability of illicit drugs. Changes in illicit drug availability (from easy to hard to obtain or vice versa) can tell us about the impact of targeted DLE activity in specific locations (such as high visibility policing in a given area) or about DLE activity more generally. The biggest impact of supply-side DLE should be seen at the street-level among occasional users as these users will either leave the market altogether or switch to other more easily available drugs when their drug of choice is difficult to obtain. Heavy illicit drug users will typically continue to source

their drugs from regular, dependable sources, even in the face of a drug shortage. For example, this appeared to be the case among heavy users of heroin during the heroin shortage in the early 2000s (Makkai & McGregor 2003). Unfortunately, there is a dearth of appropriate data that can inform how easy or difficult illicit drugs are to obtain by occasional users as these types of users are not usually targeted in research—most user groups surveyed are usually heavy, regular users. While the National Drug Strategy Household Survey (NDSHS) does tap into this low profile group, the survey is conducted triennially and there are also significant time delays from data capture to release. As such, the data source is not timely enough and, therefore, not useful for measuring DLE performance in this instance.

A potential proxy for occasional users that could be considered is heavy illicit drug users living in regional and rural locations as, in theory at least, the further away from the source a user is (and major sources of many illicit drugs are in city locations) the more likely it is that their illicit drug supply will be impacted on in times of shortage. While it may be possible to use regional and rural areas as a measure of availability as a proxy for occasional users in a few specific instances, caution would need to be exercised. For example, it may be possible to use regular users of heroin and cocaine in regional and rural areas as a measure of availability, as these drugs are only imported from overseas and thus usually arrive through the major city sea ports and airports. However, users of drugs that are grown or manufactured locally (such as cannabis and amphetamines) may not be a reliable measure of availability because these drugs may well be grown or manufactured in regional and rural areas. DLE agencies and specific LAC (or equivalent) would therefore need to apply judgement as to the appropriateness of this measure for the purposes of their performance monitoring. Even given all of this, most available data do not capture the characteristics of people living in regional and rural locations, but rather are focused on those residing in the city. Should such data become available (see the discussion on the potential for using offender debrief information in Chapter seven), such an analysis may be possible in the future.

The IDRS provides information on illicit drug availability in each capital city. The AIC's Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA) data collection can also be used to inform this measure (Appendix 2). These data are obtained from interviews of police detainees at seven sites in four jurisdictions (Bankstown and Parramatta, New South Wales; Brisbane and Southport, Queensland; Adelaide and Elizabeth, South Australia; and East Perth, Western Australia). Interviews are conducted quarterly and are designed to capture information relating to recent drug use and criminal behaviour among police detainees. Data are fed back to the relevant police commands around six weeks after the interviews are completed and an annual report is also available.

Changes in where users obtain their drugs. DLE agencies considered this an important measure for assessing the impact of DLE activity, particularly among occasional users (for the reasons already outlined above). Like changes in availability, changes in where users obtain their illicit drugs demonstrate whether DLE activity is impacting on organised crime groups through to street-level dealers. Available data include DUMA and IDRS.

Changes in trafficking modes. This is another measure designed to assess the impact of DLE effort on drug market activity by informing DLE agencies about the underlying criminal scene. For example, a change from large-scale drug importations in shipping containers to small-scale 'scatter' importations may suggest changes in trafficking practices as a direct result of DLE activity. Internal DLE agency databases can inform this measure.

Changes in the type of illicit drug trafficker. This measure applies specifically to Customs who have devised a typology of illicit drug trafficker (see below). The measure addresses changes in organised crime groups and is indicative of turnover among the criminal classes. Internal Customs databases can inform this measure.

Customs' typology of illicit drug trafficker includes:

- ***business*** – highly organised criminal group that operates as a true business. The business requires careful planning, uses predictable, tested importation methods and generally trades in the same quantities of drug each time. Highly risk averse and the least visible to law enforcement. Business-level illicit drug traffickers are the major focus of Customs' drug law enforcement effort;
- ***professional*** – well financed groups that typically traffic medium-sized amounts of illicit drugs. Have a tendency towards greediness and are less risk averse than business-level criminal groups. Professional-level drug traffickers are subject to considerable drug law enforcement effort by Customs;
- ***amateur*** – regularly traffic smaller amounts of illicit drugs. Also attract a small amount of Customs' drug law enforcement effort; and
- ***opportunist*** – typically people who engage in ad hoc drug trafficking when on vacation. Receive the least amount of Customs' drug law enforcement effort.

Trends in robberies. The relationship between illicit drugs and crime is not straightforward—put simply, not all drug users commit crime because of their drug use and not all criminals use drugs. However, a disproportionate number of drug-dependent people do engage in criminal activities as a direct result of their drug use (for example, drug-related violence) and/or to support their habit (for example, through property crime). As such, one would expect there to be more violence and theft in areas where there is a high prevalence of drug use (Makkai 2001). Given this, it is still useful to monitor general trends in crimes that are often viewed as 'drug-related'. A measure commonly used to indicate levels of drug-related crime is trends in break and enters. While this measure can provide some indication of the problem, recent Australian research demonstrates that a more reliable measure of drug-related crime is trends in robberies (Chilvers & Weatherburn 2003; Donnelly, Weatherburn & Chilvers 2004).

Data on robberies can be obtained from state and territory law enforcement databases. Such databases are administrative tools designed specifically for managing the operational aspects of policing, the collation and management of intelligence and police investigations. Data are entered into the systems by police officers and are based on crimes reported to, or detected by, police. Data are influenced by factors such as public willingness to report crime and changes in policing policy and activity.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) also manages the national Recorded Crime–Victims data collection. The collection includes data on victims of a selected range of offences that are reported to, or detected by, state and territory police and so can provide an indication of national crime trends for these offences. As the data collection only includes crimes reported to or detected by police, it is likely that the true number of robberies and other crimes are under-represented. It should be noted that data for some violent crimes (for example, sexual assault) are not currently included in the collection. National statistics are published annually by ABS and there is some time delay to release. Breakdowns of these data (for example, into quarterly data) are available for a fee from ABS.

The AIC manages the National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program (NARMP). Currently in its developmental phase, the NARMP has three main aims:

- to monitor trends in armed robbery, specifically trends in weapon use;
- to identify changes in trends; and
- to provide insight into the factors underpinning these trends.

Data from the NARMP permit law enforcement personnel and others to obtain a better understanding of the use of weapons in the commission of crime, particularly armed robbery (Borzycki, Sakurai & Mouzos 2004). There is the capacity for building in additional variables for the purposes of DLE performance measurement.

Measures of organised crime

Trends in weight of illicit drug detections/seizures. As discussed above, this measure is relevant in terms of both organised crime and drug crimes specifically. The rationale for including the measure under this high-level outcome is the same as described under Measures of drug crime and drug-related crime.

Changes in trafficking modes. This measure is also relevant in terms of both organised crime and drug crimes specifically. The rationale for including the measure under this high-level outcome is the same as described under Measures of drug crime and drug-related crime.

Changes in the type of illicit drug trafficker. Again, this measure is relevant in terms of both organised crime and drug crimes. The rationale for including the measure is the same as described under Measures of drug crime and drug-related crime.

Measures of improved public health

As already discussed, DLE agencies have an important role in reducing the amount of harm caused by illicit drug use, particularly in terms of influencing the consumption of illicit drugs and the movement of users into treatment. There are a number of measures of drug-related harm that can be usefully applied to assess the impact of demand-side DLE work. Trends in the types and frequency of illicit drug consumption, trends in hepatitis C and HIV, trends in drug-related deaths, drug-related emergency department presentations, ambulance attendances at overdoses, and users entering treatment can all be used. Brief descriptions of the key data collections that can be used for this purpose for each of the measures are outlined below.

Trends in types and frequency of illicit drugs consumed. Both DUMA and the IDRS can provide regular information on the range of illicit drugs used and the frequency of their use among two specific populations, police arrestees (DUMA providing both self-report data as well as urinalysis data) and injecting drug users. As these two groups typically engage in heavier use of illicit drugs, they are a useful litmus test for the types of drugs found on the street. The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare's (AIHW) National Minimum Data Set for Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment Services (NMDS) is another useful data collection that can be used to examine trends in illicit drug consumption, in this case by users who are receiving treatment for drug problems. One of the advantages of this data collection is that its core data elements have been set up as an online data cube that can be freely and easily accessed and downloaded. However, breakdowns into local area level data and frequency of drug use information (and other useful data elements) are unavailable in the data cube and so AIHW would need to be contacted for access to these data.

Trends in HCV/HIV. Injecting drug users are at a significantly increased risk of acquiring hepatitis C virus (HCV) and HIV, and so, through the monitoring of trends, DLE agencies can observe the impact of demand-side DLE work in reducing the incidence and prevalence of these diseases. The National Notifiable Diseases Surveillance System and the National HIV Database are useful sources of information for trend information on HCV and HIV across Australia, respectively. While HCV and HIV notifications are based on voluntary testing and so may not represent all people who acquire these diseases, once a person is tested positive, the results are notifiable in all Australian states and territories. State/territory and statistical division level data are available. There is the capacity to report to the statistical local area level (or SLA), but this would require approval from individual state/territory health departments. Quarterly and annual reports are available on the internet for both diseases (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005).

Trends in drug-related deaths. Premature drug-related deaths information may be obtained through the Australian Bureau of Statistics' (ABS) Causes of Death data collection, the primary purpose of this collection being to identify the underlying cause or circumstance of death. Since 1997, all deaths recorded in the collection have been coded using the International Classification of Diseases Revision 10 (ICD-10). Prior to 1997, the collection was coded using the ninth revision (ICD-9) and so consideration would need to be given to the different coding rules if pre-1997 trend data was to be compared with data collected after 1997. While ICD-10 does not have a unique code for all illicit drug types, many drugs of interest can be identified by cross-tabulating the external cause of death code (underlying cause) by a specific poison code. For example, if a death is deemed to be an accidental cocaine overdose, the death would be assigned ICD-10 codes of X42 as the underlying cause (accidental poisoning) and T40.5 as the poison code (poisoning by cocaine) (ABS 2002). Data are available for a fee from ABS.

Trends in drug-related emergency department presentations. There is no national data collection that can be used to report on the number of drug-related emergency department presentations (the National Hospital Morbidity Dataset only relates to inpatients and not patients entering through accident and emergency) and so, where available, data would need to be obtained from relevant state and territory health departments. Emergency department data collections may have a number of limitations. For example, in NSW the circumstances of a presentation cannot be determined if the principal diagnosis is coded as an injury and the accuracy and consistency of the recorded diagnoses are questionable because they are entered by a variety of emergency department staff and not by trained clinical coders (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005). Nevertheless, the data still provide a useful indication of general drug-related emergency department presentations and could be applied if caution is exercised in their use.

Trends in ambulance attendances at overdose. The National Ambulance Non-fatal Opioid Overdoses data collection, managed by Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre (Turning Point), can be used to monitor and report ambulance attendances at non-fatal opioid (particularly heroin) overdoses. A particular strength of the collection is that the numbers of overdoses are sufficient to be of use in local area-level data analyses. However, jurisdictional differences in management, treatment and recording of opioid overdoses mean that cross-jurisdictional comparisons are problematic and data aggregated at the national level would need to be used cautiously. Data are reported by Turning Point in quarterly bulletins (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005).

Trends in clients participating in drug treatment. The NMDS can be used to monitor trends of clients receiving certain drug treatments. As highlighted above, core data elements have been set up as an online data cube and can be freely and easily accessed and downloaded. Its major drawbacks are that it does not include: clients from methadone maintenance programs who are not receiving any other form of treatment; clients whose treatment episodes are still open; clients of preventative and education agencies (such as needle and syringe exchanges); clients of correctional treatment services; and clients that receive inpatient treatment (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005).

The Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing (DHA) manages the Methadone/Buprenorphine Client Statistics (MCS) data collection, which is designed to monitor the number of clients receiving methadone or buprenorphine treatment. The collection includes clients registered with public and private prescribers and (unlike the NMDS) correctional institutions in each state and territory. MCS data are not regularly published and so requests for data would need to be made to DHA or to individual state and territory health departments (Willis 2002).

DUMA and IDRS self-report data may also be used to determine the number of people who are in particular drug treatments among police arrestees and injecting drug users, respectively.

Measures of improved public amenity

The relationship between illicit drugs and community problems, including public welfare and safety, property and violent crimes, is long-standing. As such, illicit drugs can have tangible affects on things such as a community's quality of life, business retail success and property values. While there is a general lack of national data on public safety/welfare issues such as needle refuse and street nuisance, a small number of data collections can be used to inform trends in levels of perceived community safety and concern. These data collections are briefly outlined below.

Trends in level of safety felt by the community. Conducted by AC Nielson for state and territory police services, the National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing can be used to monitor community perceptions of illicit drug problems both at the local and state/territory levels. This survey, which includes questions on perceptions of safety in the local neighbourhood as well as satisfaction with policing, was previously conducted by ABS as part of its Population Survey Monitor, but was discontinued in that form in November 2000. The current AC Nielson format has been operating since July 2001. Caution should be taken when comparing data from the two surveys as the methodology, sampling techniques, sample size and coverage are different. In general, community surveys are also subject to the influence of the media, the level of visibility of particular policing initiatives, and individual values and experiences of illicit drug use. As such, survey results need to be interpreted within the context of other data, as people's perceptions may not necessarily reflect the size of the drug problem (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005). AC Nielson results are not published externally and are for internal reporting use only. Results are made available to police services within two months from the end of the financial year.

Trends in community concern about the 'drug problem'. The ABS conducts the Crime and Safety Survey on an irregular basis, although more frequently in recent years. The national survey was conducted in 1983, 1993, 1998, 2002 and 2005. The survey is conducted more frequently in the states and territories: for example, it has been undertaken every year in NSW since 1990. State/territory survey results are published annually around eight months following data collection. National data are available for a fee from ABS. As noted above, community surveys are influenced by the media, the level of visibility of particular policing initiatives, and individual values and experiences of illicit drug use. Results need to be interpreted within the context of other data as people's perceptions may not necessarily reflect the size of the drug problem (Willis 2002; Barker et al. 2005).

Issues of data integrity and usefulness

In a perfect world, any effective performance measurement system will be built on sound measures of performance that are supported by high quality data. High quality data could be expected to include attributes such as being regularly collected, easily accessible, accurate, reliable, able to be compared over time and/or with other data and have no missing elements. In practice, such data are seldom (if ever) available, especially within the realm of DLE performance measurement. As has already been mentioned, data used to inform DLE performance may come from a range of administrative collections of variable quality that are designed to monitor simple throughputs and outputs of agency effort, and not the more complex issues behind performance successes and failures. Survey data can assist to fill such a knowledge gap, although the drawback with these types of data is that they often reflect specific sub-populations (such as injecting drug users), may not be of sufficient size and/or geographic coverage, and so may not be representative of the population as a whole. They may also not be collected very often. The lesson from all of this is that there is no perfect dataset that can be used to measure DLE performance and that DLE agencies must therefore be mindful of the limitations inherent in any given data collection before using

them to monitor and assess their performance. The best way for DLE agencies to ensure that they minimise the risks of error in identifying emerging trends is to select multiple and appropriate measures (and thus also the datasets that support them).

The framework presented in this report reflects some of the difficulties just outlined. A small number of the data collections, that are identified as useful for informing certain measures, may not be available in every jurisdiction. For example, both IDRS and DUMA data are identified as informing several measures under the high-level outcome 'reducing drug crime and drug-related crime'. The DUMA sites are currently restricted to seven sites. As useful as the DUMA data are in improving our understanding of drug market dynamics, the ability of DLE personnel beyond these sites to apply findings to the drug market environment within their own police commands would need to be considered carefully. This underscores the point raised above: that DLE agencies should ensure that they minimise the risks of error in identifying emerging trends by selecting multiple and 'appropriate' measures.

One possible solution to the problem just raised is that law enforcement agencies capture local drug market intelligence in a systematic and quantifiable way that allows them to monitor and assess their DLE work performance. The following chapter explores this idea.

Chapter seven: Using offender debriefing interviews to facilitate improvements in DLE performance measurement

Introduction

As briefly explained at the beginning of Chapter five, the trial of the performance measurement framework at the local level, through the assistance of NSW Police, involved an additional element: the development of an innovative measurement tool based on the existing practice of debriefing arrested offenders.

The interviewing of offenders has a long history in criminal justice research. In Australia, there is much cross-sectional research using offenders' self-reported information. There are also a small number of longitudinal studies that capture individuals' self-reported offending and drug-using behaviours. For example, as already noted, the AIC's ongoing DUMA program is designed to explore the relationship between drug use and crime among police arrestees (Makkai 1999a). This approach to obtaining information from offenders has the potential for strong application in policing for both tactical and strategic intelligence purposes and has recently been explored in the USA for these reasons (see Decker 2005). DUMA also demonstrates how this process can work effectively in Australia. However, such information has the added potential for improving police performance measurement processes, although, as far as the authors are aware, this has not been investigated to date either in Australia or elsewhere.

In the process of trialling and refining the performance measurement framework at the two NSW Police local-level sites, Mount Druitt and Surry Hills LAC, three significant observations were made:

1. The debriefing of offenders at the local-level is a standard policing practice undertaken in all NSW LAC.
2. Police officers, through frequent contact with local offenders and drug users, have a significant understanding of local-level illicit drug use and market activity.
3. Outside of the DUMA sites, there is neither a formalized system in place for capturing or quantifying this information, or any way of reporting consistently upon it.

In observing these three things, it became clear that if police officers could systematically collect and collate relevant drug market information through the offender debriefing process, this information could then be used to help monitor and improve their DLE performance. It was, therefore, proposed that the existing practice of formally debriefing offenders be enhanced to incorporate specific questions relating to offenders' patterns of drug use and purchasing behaviour. To facilitate this, a brief questionnaire was developed in consultation with NSW Police officers and trialled at the two participating LAC.

A major aim of trialling the enhanced offender debrief was to see if the drug market information captured through the process was useful for performance measurement purposes. Second, it was hoped that the offender debrief could provide a 'template' or a formalized process for investigation, with the goal that it be adopted more broadly to improve standard policing performance measurement practices.

The offender debrief

The enhanced offender debrief questionnaire was the product of a number of different stages of development. The key areas of interest identified and the content and format of the questionnaire drew upon:

- workshops and meetings with Local Area Commanders and AIC research officers;
- discussions with SCC (NSW) and LAC Intelligence Divisions and Drug Squads;
- discussions with LAC Custody Management Teams;
- consultations with SCC Alcohol Linking Project Officers (a NSW policing project designed to explore the interactions between alcohol use and offending); and
- DUMA and IDRS reports.

Three major considerations were integral to the development of the enhanced offender debrief questionnaire. First, it was important to determine what information would be meaningful in contributing to a more accurate assessment of current DLE strategies in dealing with supply- and demand-side DLE (that is, what information should be asked of offenders who use illicit drugs that would provide a reliable indication of local level illicit drug market activity). Second, it was important that the offender debrief allow for the capture of illicit drug market intelligence that could be used by DLE agencies to assist in targeting DLE effort more effectively. Finally, the context in which administration of the offender debrief was to occur was important.

As outlined already, monitoring trends in street-level drug prices, availability and purity can provide valuable insight into the impact of DLE on illicit drug market activity. The offender debrief was designed to capture this information from offenders in a systematic manner. The rationale guiding this approach was that those who are in the best position to provide information about the current illicit drug landscape are the drug users themselves. This ideology underpins other established surveys, such as DUMA and the IDRS. Given this, a number of questions in the enhanced offender debrief were adapted from both the DUMA and IDRS surveys. There were two reasons for this: first, both of these surveys are well established and provide a valid and consistent source of comparison; second, DUMA has demonstrated that offenders are willing to respond to questions regarding their drug use, and while the contextual application may differ (DUMA surveys are administered by an independent researcher, during the trial the offender debrief was administered by a police officer), this success influenced the style of questions that were included in the offender debrief.

Discussions with NSW Police revealed that they were interested in establishing where offenders were buying their drugs. For example, the suburb in which offenders last purchased their drugs was considered important strategically as it indicated the level of drug market activity occurring within or outside a particular LAC. If offenders reported that they consistently purchased illicit drugs outside a given LAC when DLE effort is in fact centred within the LAC, then this information suggested to police that they needed to realign their DLE activities to accommodate issues associated with 'use' rather than 'supply'. It was considered important to capture this type of intelligence information as it also provided additional incentive for police to adopt and administer the enhanced range of questions within the offender debriefing process.

The final consideration in developing the enhanced offender debrief was the context in which administration of the offender debrief was to occur for the purposes of the trial. Discussions with police officers involved in NSW Police's Alcohol Linking Project provided valuable insight into the problems they encountered when implementing a project with a similar rationale to that of the offender debrief. The Alcohol Linking Project aims to establish what proportion of crime, or incidences that require police attendance, have an associated alcohol factor and, if alcohol or

intoxication has contributed to an offence, the goal of the project is to 'link' back to where the offender purchased their last alcoholic beverage. The project is based upon a question/response format, asked of the offender by the arresting officer. The project has been operational since 1996 and questions relating to alcohol are now incorporated as a mandatory reporting field in the NSW Police's Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS). However, a number of problems were encountered in the initial implementation phase of the project. There was significant (mooted) opposition amongst some operational police who questioned the value of integrating alcohol linking information into standard policing practices. Alcohol Linking Project officers have commented that the primary cause for dissension was the perception that the questions increased officers' already substantial workloads.

In consideration of these experiences, the design of the offender debrief was therefore an important consideration. In an effort to resolve these issues before they arose, the format of the offender debrief was designed to be user friendly and fit onto one side of a single A4 sheet (see Appendix 3). The form was divided into three parts (Parts A, B and C), with 12 questions in total, the majority of which required only a 'tick and flick' response (suitable options were provided). The remaining questions required one or two word answers. The offender debrief was designed to take no longer that five minutes to complete.

Implementing the enhanced offender debrief

The NSW-based AIC research officer facilitated implementation of the enhanced offender debrief at the Mount Druitt and Surry Hills LAC. In agreement with LAC commanders, the offender debrief was trialled for a period of one month, a time considered sufficient to gauge the likely rates of response by offenders to police about illicit drug use. The questions were administered by LAC custody officers in the course of processing an offender and only 'after' the person had been charged. The enhanced offender debrief questionnaire was applied to 'all' arrestees in custody, not just those arrested for drug-related offences.

Custody officers were targeted to administer the questions because it was felt that offenders would be less likely to cooperate with arresting officers and it was anticipated that the degree of separation afforded by the custody team, not perceived as being as responsible for their arrest, would help to increase rates of response. Furthermore, custody officers are responsible for fulfilling mandatory reporting requirements about offenders' health and well-being while in custody and, as such, incorporating the offender debrief within this process presented less disruption to police workloads than if arresting officers administered the questions. To gain a better understanding of the magnitude of illicit drug use among the offending population, the offender debrief was administered to all persons placed in custody, irrespective of the offence they were charged with. Each offender was advised at the start of the debriefing process that any information that they supplied could potentially be used in evidence against them in a court of law.

The success of the enhanced offender debrief lay not only in offenders providing pertinent information, but, more significantly, was reliant upon police officers providing the opportunity for offenders to do so by ensuring the offender debrief was administered in the first place. In consideration of the definitively hierarchical nature of the police environment, LAC commanders accepted the responsibility of endorsing and enforcing the administration of the offender debrief. Awareness about the offender debrief, what it involved, and what it hoped to achieve were, articulated at LAC parades (a twice weekly meeting of all LAC staff) and at Task and Deployment meetings.

The AIC research officer was involved in facilitating the implementation of the offender debrief through maintaining frequent contact with relevant LAC staff and liaising with custody management personnel. In addition, reminder notices and alerts were positioned around the charge room to act as a prompt for officers to complete the survey. A liaison officer was identified by NSW Police at each site to oversee the trial, and to provide feedback about any problems encountered and to workshop ideas with the AIC research officer about areas for potential exploration. Progress of the offender debrief trial was monitored regularly by the AIC research officer.

Key findings from the enhanced offender debrief

Administration and response rates

The enhanced offender debrief was trialled at the two LAC for a period of one month, commencing in June 2005. During this period a total of 418 people were brought into custody in the two LAC. Offender debrief forms were completed for 320 (77 percent) of these offenders. While there were differences between the two LAC, overall, a high-level of commitment toward the enhanced offender debrief was demonstrated during the trial. In particular, police officers in one LAC took a number of proactive and constructive steps towards increasing rates of administration by revising strategies to ensure custody officers were completing the offender debrief. For example, the offender debrief forms were attached to 'field arrest forms' (a mandatory reporting requirement for all offenders brought into custody) to help remind custody officers that the offender debrief needed to be completed. In addition, all staff were updated and advised at twice-weekly LAC parades about the trial's progress and any relevant issues surrounding the trial. It was found during the trial that increasing awareness throughout the LAC about the offender debrief was integral to increasing administration rates.

Drug use patterns

Of the 320 offenders questioned during the one-month trial, 17 percent reported using illicit drugs. Of these, 67 percent reported that cannabis was their drug of choice; while 13 percent reported amphetamines; 9 percent heroin; 4 percent cocaine; 2 percent ecstasy; and 4 percent 'other' as their drug of choice. While the percent of offenders surveyed who self-reported that they used illicit drugs represents a lower prevalence of drug use compared to that averaged across the seven DUMA sites (47 percent of all DUMA detainees in 2004 self-reported that they used drugs in the 30 days prior to their arrest), the overall 'pattern' of drug use and the ratios in which they are used are similar. For example, in 2004: 70 percent of all DUMA detainees self-reported cannabis use in the 30 days prior to arrest; 14 percent self-reported the use of heroin; 4 percent self-reported using cocaine; and 2 percent self-reported that they used ecstasy in the 30 days prior to arrest (Schulte, Mouzos & Makkai 2005). Intelligence received through the enhanced offender debrief can therefore provide a useful intelligence tool that police can employ to both modify DLE strategic responses and to monitor and assess their work performance. This is discussed in more detail below.

Results

As already outlined, an important goal in evaluating the offender debrief trial was to examine whether meaningful intelligence on illicit drug use at the local level could be captured. Questions concerning drug type, price, purity (perceived quality), availability, frequency and length of use all provide useful information for performance measurement purposes. Selected findings from the two local sites are outlined below.

Of the 17 percent of offenders who reported that they currently use illicit drugs:

- 47 percent indicated that they use illicit drugs on a daily basis;
- 27 percent said that they have used for over 10 years;
- 80 percent reported that their drug of choice is easily or very easily purchased;
- 38 percent reported that they most often purchased their drugs from a private residence, while 24 percent purchased their drugs from the street;
- 47 percent indicated that they purchased their drugs from a regular source; and
- 58 percent reported purchasing their drugs from inside their LAC.

Data captured through the enhanced offender debrief proved useful to the participating LAC. In particular, in the short duration of the trial there were immediate benefits to the LAC in the form of tactical intelligence obtained. For example, several offenders provided information beyond the formal questions asked, such as specific information on residential drug dealing locations, which indicates that the administration of the offender debrief has facilitated more comprehensive interview techniques by the police. Another significant result for police at one of the LAC was described in an email sent to the AIC as follows:

> *On 1/06/05 Police arrested a male adult with break and enter offences. Whilst in custody, the police completed the offender debrief form… The male person freely offered further information which was captured on the rear of the form. This information outlining his drug suppliers operations [sic]. The information was relayed to the local drug team who applied for and were granted a search warrant that same day. Results:*
>
> - *Cannabis on kitchen table 4.5g*
> - *10 orange coloured tablets (form of valium)*
> - *1 steel tin containing green vegetable matter 79g*
> - *1 black coloured steel tin containing green vegetable matter 34.6g*
> - *1 red coloured 'winfield' tin containing seeds believed to be cannabis seeds.*
>
> *Search of the bedroom and lounge rooms located further small amounts of drugs (cannabis and tablets). The location was previously known to police for drug supply but police did not have enough information to apply for a warrant. The success of the search warrant was due only to the information obtained from the offender debrief form. If the male was not debriefed by police regarding his drug/criminal behaviour, police would not obtain the information and these premises would continue to supply and be a resource problem for local police in obtaining adequate information for a search warrant. Information obtained allowed police to execute a warrant timely.*

As already noted above, each offender was advised at the start of the offender debriefing process that any information that they supplied could be used in evidence against them. Clearly this did not appear to affect the willingness of most offenders to respond.

Future directions for an enhanced offender debrief

Considerable potential exists for wider implementation of an enhanced offender debrief, either in its current form or in a modified form considered useful to DLE agencies. For example, while the offender debrief process may not detect illicit drug use rates at the same level as a more sophisticated system such as DUMA, it has the potential to enhance the effectiveness of DUMA by providing timely intelligence on drug market activity in metropolitan locations, as well as areas

where DUMA may not be able to operate, such as in some regional and rural locations. While not containing the level of in-depth information that is regularly and systematically collected and analysed through both DUMA and the IDRS, the intelligence gained through an enhanced offender debrief would nevertheless be a useful addition to the body of illicit drug market knowledge.

A significant factor in contributing to the overall effectiveness of the offender debrief during the trial at the two local-level sites was that useful intelligence information could be immediately extracted and utilized at an operational level. The same information could also be used more strategically to monitor and assess performance on a long-term basis. For example, the question about where drug users source their drugs (from either in or outside their LAC) could be turned into a performance measure that police could use to monitor changes over time. If intelligence suggests that drug market activity is high within a particular LAC, but then later shifts to much lower market activity, then police could reasonably argue that their DLE effort had been successful. Currently, many LAC are unable to do this in any quantifiable way.

Evident from these findings is that an enhanced offender debrief could be adopted by a range of DLE agencies in a number of different settings. For example, aside from being used at the operational level, one potential use of the performance information extracted from offender debriefs, in combination with DUMA and IDRS information, could be at the senior-level operational command reviews (or 'Operation and Command Reviews' as they are known in NSW) that operate in police services across Australia. These review sessions are for the regular appraisal of regional or area-based crime reduction effort. While it varies across the states/territories, it appears that in many cases DLE initiatives do not currently feature in these review processes. The most common explanation given for excluding DLE activities from these review processes was that those who convene them (that is, senior executive law enforcement managers) are not satisfied with the quality or value of the data they can access for forming any assessment regarding DLE performance. The enhanced offender debrief has the potential to provide an opportunity to remedy this situation.

Chapter eight: Conclusions and recommendations

This project has clearly demonstrated that it is practically possible to apply the principles and tools of the modern performance measurement field to the development of a viable performance measurement framework for drug law enforcement. Furthermore, the framework that has been developed is sufficiently flexible to address the needs of national-level DLE agencies with a brief for border protection and offshore operations as well as state and territory-based DLE agencies concerned with a mixture of responsibilities ranging from organised crime suppression to street-level dealing and associated local crime problems. However, because the framework has deliberately been designed to be flexible, it should not be seen as a 'one size fits all' prescription for all DLE agencies. The framework is a model and starting point for the development of appropriate performance measures for specific agencies with specific briefs in different settings.

However, the development of this model DLE performance measurement framework has been achieved by developing a framework built around measures for assessing the achievement of four high-level outcomes that appear to be common across all DLE agencies in Australia:

1. reducing drug crime and drug-related crime;
2. reducing organised crime;
3. improving public health; and
4. improving public amenity.

That these four outcomes have been selected as the cornerstones of the recommended framework for measuring the performance of DLE activity in Australia reflects how well integrated drug law enforcement is into Australia's National Drug Strategy. That strategy places an emphasis on the application of a balanced set of actions designed to bring about a reduction in the supply of drugs, the harm arising from their use, and the demand for drug use.

While it remains true that Australian DLE action is primarily directed at impacting on reducing the supply of drugs, it became very clear quite early in this project that developing a set of performance measures that merely sought to assess the efficacy of activity aimed at supply reduction would be very incomplete. This is because an examination of the variety of DLE strategic plans being used by national, state and territory DLE agencies disclosed that their expectations for the range of impacts and effectiveness of their actions extended well beyond merely reducing the supply of drugs. The goals expressed were associated with improving community well-being (that is, public amenity) as well as the health and well-being of drug-involved individuals.

This view was reinforced by the findings of a series of in-depth interviews with around one hundred people involved in DLE activity from state, territory and national agencies across Australia. These people covered all levels of DLE from local community police officers, through to those involved in specialised drug crime investigations, as well as very senior officers such as Assistant Commissioners and managers of national DLE programs. It was their consistent view that unless the effects of DLE action could be evidenced in reductions in demand and drug-related harm to both individuals and the community at large their effectiveness was incomplete.

Accordingly, in setting about developing and testing a sensible performance measurement framework for DLE work in Australia, this project readily accepted that the range of measures that would need to be included would have to address the full scope of the anticipated impacts. However, the project then needed to consider three important challenges. The first was that much of the data available for measuring the performance of DLE action in achieving goals,

such as improvements in public health and public amenity, were either not readily available to law enforcement agencies or were poorly developed. Furthermore, as was already known, some of the conventional DLE performance measures such as arrest and quantities seized data were acknowledged to have serious limitations. The nature of these limitations has already been discussed in the main body of the report and so will not be restated here.

The second major challenge was a self-imposed one, although based on practical considerations and significant experience with attempting to develop performance measures in other fields. This was the need to avoid having too many individual performance measures, as well as seeking to avoid the need to develop too many measures from scratch. The practical basis for trying to avoid developing a large number of individual measures is that it becomes difficult to properly attribute cause and effect in terms of actions taken and outcomes achieved when there are a large number of measures in place. For example, the logic models through which these input-process-output-outcome chains must be described can quickly become quite complex and difficult to follow, even for the most skilled performance measurement expert.

The other major reason is that performance measurement, when used as a tool for performance improvement, needs to be based on familiar measures – that is, measures that are understood and accepted by those engaged in the work being done. Constructing an entirely new set of measures can sometimes be necessary; it is generally the case that this will most often occur during a wider process of radical organisational and strategic change. These were not the circumstances that the project team identified in the current Australian DLE environment. While strategic organisational change was certainly occurring, it was more of an evolutionary process through which existing practices and techniques were being modified and built upon rather than being abandoned outright. Accordingly, the project sought to identify key measures that could be promoted and developed rather than attempt to introduce entirely new measures. This strategy is reflected in the table in Appendix 1 where the set of recommended performance measures are linked to each of the four high-level outcomes, and specific data sources are identified. It is recognised that not all data sources identified for use in the model will be available in all settings. This reinforces the point that this framework represents a model process that needs to be adapted to suit different organisations within different settings and with different responsibilities.

The third major challenge for this project was developing a performance measurement framework that was dynamic. The four high-level outcomes for the recommended performance measurement framework are all directional – that is, they point to either improvements or reductions in drug-related conditions. This is also true of the National Drug Strategy, which is directed at the reduction of drug supply, demand and harm. This means that the context in which the performance measurement system is going to be operating is a dynamic one in which change, hopefully in the desired direction, will be constantly occurring. Fundamentally, all good performance measures have to be interpreted in context. This means that they have to be able to be compared to each other as well as being able to be interpreted against the backdrop of changes in the wider environment. However, significant elements of this wider environment are always going to be outside the direct control of program managers. Consequently, they need to be accounted for in any performance measurement system. This means that any performance measurement framework will need to be able to be regularly reviewed and updated.

The system presented here has been developed with these challenges in mind. Therefore, the performance measures and indicators included in the framework have been developed with the following characteristics:

- dlear in their purpose (that is, who will be using the information and how and why it will be used);
- useful (in gauging the effectiveness of policies and strategies);

- valid (that is, measures what it should measure);
- reliable (gives consistent results);
- easy to interpret (makes sense and reflects real events);
- easy to construct (must reflect the real places they will be used in);
- consistent with other performance indicators in the National Drug Strategy (that is, aligned with the wider drugs policy environment); and
- easy to adapt to different settings and develop over time.

As highlighted throughout the report, reliance should not be placed on any single measure to monitor and assess performance, as no single measure is authoritative. Rather, DLE agencies should select multiple, appropriate measures to reduce the risk of error in the identification of trends.

This project has highlighted that the process for the selection of appropriate measures will need to be further mediated by the availability of suitable data. But it will also be determined by the need for an internal assessment of the capacity of the specific agency intending to implement a framework to be able to analyse the measures in question, or be able to have ready access to nearby resources for undertaking this analysis. There is simply no point in attempting to include a specific set of measures into a performance measurement framework if there is no capacity available to adequately analyse or report on the outputs from that system. Where it is absent, such capacity can certainly be developed over time. However, introducing a performance measurement framework into an organisation without the capacity to adequately analyse and interpret the outputs will mean that the system will inevitably languish.

It was for this reason that one of the methods used for assessing the practical viability of the performance measurement framework, developed by this project, was to undertake a detailed feasibility and assessment process with one of the trial site agencies – that is, Customs. This feasibility assessment process involved a series of detailed interviews and workshop-style discussions with key staff responsible for strategic, operational and reporting processes within Customs. The practical utility of each proposed measure was examined both in terms of its relevance to the work of the agency and the availability of data. The capacity to analyse the measures was also assessed together with an examination of how they might be reported upon. In this way, the practical strategic perspective and operational requirements of the agency were able to be applied to the framework as a test of its robustness and appropriateness. This also generated an assessment of the agency's likelihood of using the measures contained in the framework. In the case of Customs this likelihood is high.

The framework was also tested at the state/territory level through the project's partnership with NSW Police. While the appropriateness of the high-level outcomes and the associated measures contained in the overall framework were examined through a similar process of assessing the practical utility and capacity for implementation, specific effort was put into testing the design principle of seeking to adapt and extend existing information and activity output collection systems. In the case of the NSW Police, a trial program was developed around the use of an enhanced offender debrief process applied to all arrestees.

As described in more detail earlier in this report, this trial was undertaken at two LAC in Sydney over a four week period. The enhanced offender debrief process is primarily an exercise in criminal intelligence gathering applied to all arrestees in various settings, but particularly when brought into custody. What this project did with the offender debrief process was to exploit an existing information-gathering exercise that was being undertaken for a different reason (that is, gathering criminal intelligence from arrestees) and extend it by adding some drug-specific

questions (for example, whether arrestee has any drug involvement, regardless of the reason for being arrested) and turn it into a performance measurement tool by gathering information that will measure the effectiveness of a local operational activity (for example, whether drugs have been purchased locally). To further illustrate by building on the example already used, a typical scenario may go as follows:

> A person arrested for a property offence is asked about their drug involvement. If they indicate a level of drug involvement, they are asked about what drugs they use, where they buy them and how easy or hard they currently find it to buy those drugs.
>
> Based on intelligence (supported by similar information from other offender debriefs) that has revealed the presence of a local drug market that they were not previously aware of, police may choose to mount an operation to address that market.
>
> The continuing process of undertaking offender debriefs of arrestees subsequent to that operation can be used to assess how effective the operation has been (that is, a performance measure) as well as to reveal further intelligence about the nature of the drug environment of that community.

The point is that the project has been able to demonstrate that where an optimum data collection system like DUMA or IDRS information is unavailable, an existing information gathering exercise (that is, the offender debrief process) could be readily adapted and enhanced to fulfil both an intelligence function (its original purpose) and a performance measurement purpose. While it appears that the enhanced offender debrief does not necessarily produce the same level of accuracy in estimating illicit drug involvement by offenders, the fact that it generates similar patterns of drug involvement supports its utility as a potentially important supplementary intelligence and performance measurement tool.

This is primarily because of the efficiency of this technique: the arrestee is going to be asked a set of additional questions about their criminal behaviour in any case. These questions will frequently delve into issues such as drug involvement in any case, yet this information was not being systematically recorded or used for anything beyond intelligence purposes. By bringing some simple structure to the process it was able to be extended to function as a source if information for performance measurement. In addition, the recording, analysis and reporting structures were each familiar to the everyday work of police, and so did not present any additional burden. Furthermore, the process would frequently generate immediate rewards (that is, some direct new information about a local drug problem) while at the same time being able to be accumulated for later trend analysis.

Unquestionably, one of the clear messages from the trial exercises in both Customs and NSW Police was that, without strong executive level commitment to the implementation of the performance measurement framework, the system will flounder. At the same time, the measures employed need to be meaningful and relevant to those working at all levels of the drug law enforcement process. Top-down imposed frameworks will not be as successful or effective as those developed with the assistance and cooperation of those who have to work with the measures and their outputs on a daily basis. How this process works and how it is implemented will vary from agency to agency, depending on their context. However, the basic principles and the basic steps will remain the same:

1. develop multiple high-level outcomes;
2. identify adequate measures;
3. develop methods for dealing with outcome time lag (that is, some initiatives will take longer than others to achieve their goals); and

4. identify tools for attributing outcomes to interventions (for example, the specific inclusion of the outcome of reducing organised crime is an innovation that recognises the key role that organised crime plays in maintaining the drug problems, and that direct impacts on it will impact on other measures such as drug availability and price).

As has been demonstrated by this project, a lack of clarity around purposes (that is, the high-level outcomes) renders performance measurement meaningless. Good performance measurement relies on a foundation of consensus about objectives. Ambiguity and conflict in goals and outcomes is normal, not unusual. Their interaction must simply be accounted for. However, what is clear from this project is that there is a great deal of clarity regarding the objectives for DLE in Australia. This clarity is strengthened by the strong coincidence of DLE goals with those of the National Drug Strategy. As a consequence, this project has been able to focus on the last three steps in the process for developing DLE performance measures.

In addition, the project has demonstrated the importance of adopting a sensible program logic approach to the analysis and description of the association between outcomes, activities and program inputs. What a program logic model does is to tie together, in a logical chain, the inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes relevant to a program. It is like a vision of 'how the world works' from the perspective of a particular program. A logic model forces program designers and managers to think through, in a systematic way, what the program is trying to accomplish and the steps by which the program will achieve its objectives. The logic model spells out the series of steps by which a program is intended to achieve its objectives (that is, why is 'A' expected to lead to 'B', 'B' to 'C', and so on).

The DLE performance measurement framework is built on a simple form of program logic analysis whereby it was possible to reach consensus on the high-level outcomes for DLE. We then proceeded to link these high-level outcomes to specific strategies and interventions undertaken by Australian DLE agencies, based on the analysis from stage one of the project, in order to identify adequate measures of performance that could be applied. For example, one of the identified performance measures for achieving the high-level outcome of reducing organised crime is change in trafficking modes. As illustrated in Appendix 1, an indicator for this performance measure can be the number and weight of illicit drug detections or seizures trafficked by cargo, postal service, car, private transport company, etc. National as well as state and territory DLE agencies will all have strategies and interventions directed at achieving this goal. So an appropriate mix of the recommended performance indicators for measuring the achievement of this outcome, carefully chosen to reflect the context in which they are operating, can be expected to provide an assessment of how effective the chosen interventions may be over time.

Having laid out this performance measurement framework as a model for DLE in Australia, the question becomes what steps need to be taken to determine how best it may adopted and implemented. The framework is a model in two ways. First, it is a generic DLE performance measurement system developed to fill gaps in the existing performance measurement systems in operation in Australia today. As such it is not a total system, although in practice it approximates that. Second, the process by which the framework was developed represents a model that specific agencies and jurisdictions may be encouraged to adopt in the development of performance measurement systems for their own contexts. It demonstrates how to achieve a process of flexible design and adaptation that any performance measurement system that is implemented will require.

It is clear from our work that the framework has the capacity for being picked up and implemented by a range of DLE agencies operating in a variety of contexts. One such setting could be the senior-level performance review processes currently operating in police services across the country in which regional or area-based crime reduction action is routinely assessed and interventions

reviewed. It was our general observation (although there was variation between the jurisdictions) that DLE initiatives either do not currently feature in these review processes at all or are only addressed in a peripheral manner. The most common explanation for excluding DLE activities from these review processes was that those who convene them (that is, the senior executive law enforcement managers) are not satisfied with the quality or value of the data they can access for forming any assessment regarding performance. The framework provides an opportunity to redress this deficiency, particularly when considering the sort of performance information able to be generated by a component such as the offender debrief process.

It is also clear that the framework is consistent with the goals of the National Drug Strategy and, by implication, the variety of performance measurement systems operating in the non-DLE sector; for example, health. The two high-level outcomes of improved public health and improved public amenity clearly cross over into areas that interest human service agencies. In fact, a significant number of the performance measures identified for these two high-level outcomes rely upon data that can only be sourced from the human services sector and health in particular. The principles and processes by which the performance measurement framework has been developed are sourced from the same tools currently in use for developing performance measures for the human services sector (for example, the Results-Based Accountability model developed by the Fiscal Policy Studies Institute in the USA). It is therefore reasonable to expect that the basic framework for DLE performance measurement presented here can stand beside, and act as a compliment to, any human services sector framework.

However, what this model DLE performance measurement framework currently lacks, because it was outside of the brief for this project, is a full implementation strategy.

The model framework itself can also be viewed as a basic guideline for implementation, but a more considered and comprehensive implementation plan would be needed were this recommended model to be adopted as a basic framework for drug law enforcement performance measurement around the country. As has been noted several times throughout this report, different jurisdictions have access to different levels of usable performance measurement data. These differences will also vary by location within jurisdictions. As such, it is recommended that the National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund Board consider referring this report to the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy, the Police Commissioners' Drugs Committee and the Australasia and South West Pacific Region Police Commissioners' Conference for consideration as a potential model framework for drug law enforcement performance measurement in Australia. Subject to this, consideration should be given to supporting further work to develop a strategy and plan for the ongoing implementation of a series of context-specific drug law enforcement performance measurement systems based on the model framework and process contained in this report.

References

Audit Commission (UK) 2000, *On Target: The Practice of Performance Indicators,* Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the National Health Service in England and Wales, Great Britain.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2002, *Drug-induced Deaths – A Guide to ABS Causes of Death Data*, ABS Catalogue No.4809.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

Australian Crime Commission (ACC) 2003, *Illicit Drug Data Report 2001-02*, Australian Crime Commission, Canberra.

Australian Crime Commission (ACC) 2005, *Illicit Drug Data Report 2003-04*, Australian Crime Commission, Canberra.

Australian Federal Police (AFP) 2004, *AFP Drug Harm Index*, AFP Research Notes Series No. 5, Australian Federal Police, Canberra.

Australian Federal Police (AFP) 2005, 'Australian Illicit Drug Intelligence Program (AIDIP)', http://www.afp.gov.au/afp/page/Crime/Drugs/DrugSeizures/AIDIP.htm (last modified April 2005).

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2005, *2004 National Drug Strategy Household Survey: First Results*, Drug Statistics Series No.13, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, Canberra.

Australian National Audit Office (ANAO) 1996, *Better Practice Principles for Performance Information*, Australian National Audit Office, Canberra.

Australian National Audit Office (ANAO) 2002, *Drug detection in air and containerised sea cargo and small craft*, Audit Report No. 54, Australian National Audit Office, Canberra.

Australian Public Service Commission (APSC) 2001, 'Performance Management in the APS: A Strategic Framework', www.apsc.gov.au/publications01/performancemanagement5.htm (accessed May 2005).

Barker, B., Conroy, E., Degenhardt, L., Kimber, J. & Dolan, K. 2005, *Global Indicators for Monitoring the Illicit Drug Environment in NSW*, The National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Borzycki, M., Sakurai, Y. & Mouzos, J. 2004, *Armed robbery in Australia: 2003 National Armed Robbery Monitoring Program annual report*, Research and Public Policy Series No. 62, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Bramley-Harker, E. 2001, *Sizing the UK Market for Illicit Drugs,* Occasional Paper 74, Home Office, Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, Great Britain.

Breen, C., Degenhardt, L., Roxburgh, A., Bruno, R., Fetherston, J., Jenkinson, R., Kinner, S., Moon, C., Proudfoot, P., Ward, J. & Weekley, J. 2004, *Australian Drug Trends 2003: Findings from the Illicit Drug Reporting System (IDRS)*, NDARC Monograph No. 51, National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Calvani, S. 2005, Quoted in 'The World Today', Monday, 15 August, 2005, ABC News Online, http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/content/2005/s1437714.htm

Caulkins, J.P. & Reuter, P. 1998, 'What price data tell us about drug markets', *Journal of Drug Issues,* Vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 593-612.

Caulkins, J.P. & Reuter, P. 2005, *How Goes the "War on Drugs"? An Assessment of U.S. Drug Problems and Policy*, RAND Corporation, California.

Cherney, A., O'Reilly, J. & Grabosky, P., 2005, *The governance of illicit synthetic drugs*, Monograph Series No. 9, National Drug Law Enforcement Research Fund, Sydney.

Chilvers, M. & Weatherburn, D. 2003, *The impact of heroin dependence on long-term robbery trends*, Crime and Justice Bulletin No. 79, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Collins, D. J. & Lapsley, H. M. 2002, *Counting the cost: estimates of the social costs of drug abuse in Australia in 1998-99*, National Drug Strategies Monograph Series No. 49, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.

Cook, P. 2003, 'Meeting the demand for expert advice on drug policy', *Criminology and Public Policy,* vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 565-570.

Decker, S. H. 2005, *Using Offender Interviews to Inform Police Problem Solving*, Problem-oriented Guides for Police Problem-solving Tools Series, No. 3, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington.

Degenhardt, L., Day, C. & Hall, W. (eds) 2004, *The causes, course and consequences of the heroin shortage in Australia*, National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney.

Donnelly, N., Weatherburn, D. & Chilvers, M. 2003, *The impact of the Australian heroin shortage on robbery in NSW*, Crime and Justice Statistics, NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Effective Interventions Unit 2004, *Reducing the Impact of Local Drug Markets: A Research Review*, Scottish Executive, Edinburgh.

Friedman, M. n.d., 'Results and Performance Accountability, Decision-making and Budgeting', Fiscal Policy Studies Institute, New Mexico, www.resultsaccountability.com.

Green, P. & Purnell, I. 1996, *Measuring the Success of Law Enforcement Agencies in Australia in Targeting Major Drug Offenders Relative to Minor Drug Offenders,* Report Series no. 127, National Police Research Unit, Adelaide.

Health Outcomes International Pty Ltd (HOI) 2002, *Evaluation of Council of Australian Government's Initiatives on Illicit Drugs*, Australian Government Department of Administration and Finance, Canberra.

Intergovernmental Committee on Drugs (IGCD) 2005, *Intergovernmental Committee on Drugs National Drug Strategic Framework Annual Report 2003–04 to the Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy*, Intergovernmental Committee on Drugs, Canberra.

Legislative Assembly for the Australian Capital Territory 2004, *Criminal Code (Serious Drug Offences) Amendment Bill 2004 Revised Explanatory Statement*, ACT Parliamentary Counsel, Canberra.

Maguire, E.R. 2004, 'Measuring the Performance of Law Enforcement Agencies', http://www.calea.org/newweb/newsletter/No83/measurement.htm

Makkai, T. 1999a, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia (DUMA): A Brief Description*, Research and Public Policy Series No. 21, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Makkai, T. 1999b, *Linking drugs and criminal activity: developing an integrated monitoring system*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No.109, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Makkai, T. 2001, *Drug use amongst police detainees: Some comparative data*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No.191, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Makkai, T. & McGregor, K. 2003, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia 2002 Annual Report on Drug Use Among Police Detainees*, Research and Public Policy Series No.47, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Makkai, T. & Veraar, K. 2003, *Final Report on the South East Queensland Drug Court*, Technical and Background Paper Series No. 6, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Manski, C., Pepper, J.V. & Petrie, C.V. (eds) 2001, *Informing America's Policy on Illegal Drugs: What We Don't Know Keeps Hurting Us,* National Academy Press, Washington, DC.

Marks, R. 1992, The Costs of Australian Drug Policy, *Journal of Drug Issues*, no. 22, pp. 535-548.

Mayhew, P. 2003, *Counting the Costs of Crime in Australia*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No. 247, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Mazerolle, L.G, 2005, *A systematic review of drug law enforcement strategies*, Griffith University, Brisbane.

Milner, L. & McGregor, K. 2004, *Cocaine use among a sample of police detainees*, Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, No. 276, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy (MCDS) 2001, *National Action Plan on Illicit Drugs 2001 to 2002-03*, Australian Government Department of Health and Aged Care, Canberra.

Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy (MCDS) 2004, *The National Drug Strategy: Australia's Integrated Framework 2004-2009*, Ministerial Council on Drug Strategy, Canberra.

Moore, M. & Braga, A. 2003, 'Measuring and improving police performance: the lessons of Compstat and its progeny', *Policing: an international journal of Police Strategies and Management,* vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 439-453.

New South Wales Police, 2002, *Illicit Drug Law Enforcement Performance Indicators*, NSW Police Service, Sydney.

New South Wales Police Annual Report, 2004, NSW Police Service, Sydney.

Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) 2001, *What America's Users Spend on Illegal Drugs 1988-2000*, Office of National Drug Control Policy, USA.

Patton, M.Q. 1990, *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, SAGE Publications, California.

Payne, J. & Makkai, T. 2003, *Drugs and Crime: A Study of Incarcerated Male Offenders*, Research and Public Policy Series, No.52, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Punch, K. 1998, *Introduction to Social Research Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*, SAGE Publications, London.

Ratcliffe, J. 2003, *Intelligence-led Policing,* Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice; no. 248, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Schulte, C., Mouzos, J. & Makkai, T. 2005, *Drug Use Monitoring in Australia 2004 Annual Report on Drug Use Among Police Detainees*, Research and Public Policy Series No.65, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Smithson, M., McFadden, M., Mwesigye, S. & Casey, T. 2004, 'The impact of illicit drug supply reduction on health and social outcomes: the heroin shortage in the Australian Capital Territory', *Addiction*, vol. 98, pp. 340–348.

Sutton, A. & James, S. 1996, *Evaluation of Australian Drug Anti-Trafficking Law Enforcement,* Report Series no. 128, National Police Research Unit (Australia), Adelaide.

Urbis Keys Young 2004, *The Relationship Between Drugs and Crime*, Prepared for the National Law Enforcement Policy Branch, Australian Government Attorney-General's Department, Canberra.

Voltz, D. 2000, 'Mapping illicit drug markets', Paper presented to the AIC/GISCA conference Crime mapping: adding value to crime prevention and control, Adelaide, SA. http://www.aic.gov.au/conferences/mapping/voltz.htm.

Wardlaw, G. 1993, *Australian drug markets research: What are we doing? Where are we going? What are the gaps? Proceedings of a one-day workshop.* Summary of presentation, in Bammer G. (ed), pp. 10-13, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, Canberra.

Weatherburn, D. 2000, *Performance Indicators for Drug Law Enforcement*, Contemporary Issues in Crime and Justice, No.48, New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Weatherburn, D., Topp, L., Midford, R. & Allsopp, S. 2000, *Drug Crime Prevention and Mitigation: A literature review and research agenda*, New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, Sydney.

Willis, K. 2002, *Evaluation of the Impact of Drug Summit Initiatives in Two NSW Regions*, A report prepared by the Australian Institute of Criminology for the NSW Cabinet Office, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Appendix 1: DLE performance measurement framework

High-level outcome	Performance measures	Performance indicators	Available data sources
Reduced drug crime and drug-related crime	Trends in illicit drug detections/ seizures	Number of illicit drug detection/seizures by drug type	Law enforcement databases
	Trends in weight of illicit drug detections/seizures	Average median weight of illicit drug detections/ seizures by drug type	Law enforcement databases
	Trends in illicit drug arrests	Number of illicit drug traffic/supply arrests by drug type Number of illicit drug possession/use arrests by drug type	Law enforcement databases
	Trends in illicit drug street prices	Average median street price of illicit drugs by drug type	'Illicit Drug Reporting System' (IDRS)
	Perceived purity of illicit drugs	Number of people who perceive the purity of illicit drugs to be high, medium, low or to fluctuate by drug type	IDRS
	Perceived availability of illicit drugs	Number of people who perceive the availability of illicit drugs to be very easy, easy, difficult or very difficult by drug type	IDRS

High-level outcome	Performance measures	Performance indicators	Available data sources
Reduced drug crime and drug-related crime (continued)	Changes in where users obtain their drugs	Number of users who sourced their illicit drugs the last time from: • a house/flat • a public building • an abandoned building • on the street/outdoors Number of users who contacted their drug supplier the last time by: • email/the internet • calling them on a mobile • calling them on the telephone • visiting a house/flat • paging them on a beeper • approaching them in public • obtaining drugs through a third party • being with them already Number of users who got their drugs the last time from: • a regular source • an occasional source • a new source • number of users who got their drugs the last time from a location different to the arrest location	'Drug Use Monitoring in Australia' (DUMA)

High-level outcome	Performance measures	Performance indicators	Available data sources
Reduced drug crime and drug-related crime (continued)	Changes in trafficking modes	Number and weight of illicit drug detections/seizures (by drug type) that were trafficked via: • cargo • air passengers/crew • postal services • car • private transport company • on the person (not including air passengers/ crew)	Customs' 'Druglan' database and other law enforcement databases
	Changes in the type of illicit drug trafficker	Number of illicit drug traffickers who are categorised by Customs as 'business', 'professional', 'amateur' or 'opportunist'	Customs' Druglan database and other law enforcement databases
	Trends in robberies	Number of people arrested for armed and unarmed robbery	Law enforcement databases 'Recorded Crime – Victims' data collection
Reduced organised crime	Trends in weight of illicit drug detections/seizures	Median weight of illicit drug detections/seizures by drug type	Law enforcement databases
	Changes in trafficking modes	Number and weight of illicit drug detections/seizures (by drug type) that were trafficked via: • cargo • air passengers/crew • postal services • car • private transport company • on the person (not including air passengers/ crew)	Customs' Druglan database and other law enforcement databases
	Changes in the type of illicit drug trafficker	Number of illicit drug traffickers who are categorised by Customs as 'business', 'professional', 'amateur' or 'opportunist'	Customs' Druglan database and other law enforcement databases

High-level outcome	Performance measures	Performance indicators	Available data sources
Improved public health	Trends in the frequency of illicit drugs consumed by drug type	Number of people who used illicit drugs in the past month by drug type Number of people who used illicit drugs in the past month who used: • at least once a day • at least once a week (not daily) • less than weekly	DUMA (both self-report and urinalysis data) IDRS 'National Minimum Data Set for Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment' (NMDS)
	Trends in HCV/HIV	Number of people with positive status of HCV/HIV	'National Notifiable Diseases Surveillance System' (NNDSS) 'National HIV Database'
	Trends in drug-related deaths	Number of drug-related deaths by drug type	'Causes of Death Collection'
	Trends in drug-related emergency department presentations	Number of drug-related emergency department presentations by drug type	State/territory health agencies
	Trends in ambulance attendances at overdose	Number of ambulance attendances at overdose by drug type	State/territory health agencies 'National Ambulance Non-fatal Opioid Overdoses' data collection
	Trends in clients participating in drug treatment	Number of clients: • in detoxification • in a rehabilitation program/therapeutic community • in outpatient/counselling • in a support group • in methadone maintenance • in buprenorphine treatment • in naltrexone treatment • seeing a general practitioner	'National Minimum Dataset for Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment' (does not include methadone clients) 'Methadone/Buprenorphine Client Statistics' (MCS) DUMA IDRS

High-level outcome	Performance measures	Performance indicators	Available data sources
Improved public amenity	Trends in level of safety felt by the community	Number and proportion of people who feel very unsafe, unsafe, safe or very safe in their local area	'National Survey of Community Satisfaction with Policing' for the period 1995 to 2000 'Community Perceptions of Police Services Survey' for the period from 2003 onwards
	Trends in community concern about the 'drug problem'	Number and proportion of people who are very concerned, concerned, unconcerned about the drug problem in their local area and state	'Crime and Safety Survey' (ABS)

Appendix 2: Useful data sources

Data collection	Data custodian	Purpose	Contact
Causes of Death Collection	Australian Bureau of Statistics	To monitor the causes of all deaths in Australia	Manager, Output and Dissemination, Health and Vitals Section Australian Bureau of Statistics
Community Perceptions of Police Services Survey	ACNeilson for state/territory police services	To monitor levels of community satisfaction with policing	Enquiries should be directed towards state/territory police services
Crime and Safety Survey	Australian Bureau of Statistics	To provide information on the perception of local crime, fear of crime, the incidence of certain crime types and reporting behaviour	Client Services, Australian Bureau of Statistics
Drug Use Monitoring in Australia	Australian Institute of Criminology	To monitor drug use and offending among police detainees and to detect changes in drug use patterns	Research Manager, Australian Institute of Criminology
Illicit Drug Reporting System	National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre	To detect local and national emerging drug trends, particularly among injecting drug users	National Coordinator, Illicit Drug Reporting System, National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre
Methadone/Buprenorphine Client Statistics	Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing	To monitor the number of clients in methadone or buprenorphine treatment	Policy Officer, Illicit Drugs, Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing
National Ambulance Non-Fatal Opioid Overdoses Data collection	Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre	To monitor the prevalence, patterns and characteristics of ambulance attendances at opioid overdoses	Chief Investigator, Turning Point Drug and Alcohol Centre
National HIV Database	National Centre for HIV Epidemiology and Clinical Research	To monitor trends in HIV transmission through surveillance of newly diagnosed and acquired HIV infection	Head, Surveillance Program, National Centre for HIV Epidemiology and Clinical Research

Data collection	Data custodian	Purpose	Contact
National Minimum Data Set for Alcohol and Other Drug Treatment Services	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare	To aggregate standardised Commonwealth, state and territory treatment service data for reporting national information on clients of alcohol and other drug treatments	Project Manager, Functioning and Disability Unit, Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
National Notifiable Diseases Surveillance System	Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing	To describe the epidemiology of important communicable diseases and to inform national policy for communicable disease control	Director, Surveillance and Epidemiology Section, Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing
Recorded Crime – Victims	Australian Bureau of Statistics	To provide an indication of the level and nature of victims of recorded crime and a basis for measuring change over time	Client Services, Australian Bureau of Statistics

Appendix 3: Enhanced offender debrief

Offender Debrief

PART A

Officer's Name: **Officer's** Signature: **Officer's** Registered Number:	**Offender's** Name: **Offender's** CNI #: **Offender's** Primary Offence(s): **Offender's** Arrest Location:

PART B

Are you currently using **illicit** drugs?	**YES** ☐ **NO** ☐ (Do not continue)	If **YES**, what is your *main* drug of choice? _____ Please write the name of drug(s)	How **long** have you been using [*drug type*]? _____ Per day/week/month

How **often** do you use [*drug type*]? _____ Per day/week/month	The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] how much did you **pay** for it? _____ $ Per amount (grams/cap/pill)	The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] what **suburb** did you buy it in? _____ Suburb name

The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] what type of **place** did you get it from?	Private Residence (House/Flat) ☐ Public building ☐ Home Delivery ☐ Street/Road/Park/Outdoor ☐ Hotel/Club/Pub ☐ Other ☐ *Additional Information/Comments:*
The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] **who** did you get it from?	A regular source ☐ An occasional source ☐ A new source ☐ *Additional Information/Comments:*
The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] **how** did you contact the person you bought it from?	Call on mobile/telephone ☐ Approach them in public ☐ Visit a house/flat ☐ Page them on beeper ☐ Hotel/Club/Pub ☐ Other ☐ *Additional Information/Comments:*
The LAST time you purchased [*drug type*] how **easy** was it to buy?	Very easy ☐ Easy ☐ Difficult ☐ Very difficult ☐ *Additional Information/Comments:*
In your experience what is the **quality** of [*drug type*] at the moment?	Very Low ☐ Low ☐ Normal ☐ High ☐ Very High ☐ *Additional Information/Comments:*

PART C

*Offender Debrief could not be completed because **offender***	☐ *Refused to respond* ☐ *Intoxicated/drug affected* ☐ *Violent* ☐ *Physically impaired* ☐ *Does not speak English* ☐ *Other*