

Crime in Relation to the Sydney Harbour Casino^{*}

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Introduction

The opening of a temporary legal casino in Sydney in 1995¹ was preceded by a long and controversial process involving state government inquiries, bungled casino bid processes, political about faces, accusations of casino-bidders having criminal associations and court actions instigated by unsuccessful bidders. As has been the case elsewhere in Australia and the world, part of the controversy revolves around the possibility of criminal activity being associated with legal casinos. The 1991 state government inquiry into the legalisation of casinos (NSW Government 1991:47, 60, 95-108) devotes considerable attention to the relationship between crime and casinos, and such attention is in keeping with both historical fact and popular cultural perception. There is a significant literature on the relationship between crime and casinos (see below) however while there has been a local association between crime and the nation's *illegal* casinos, and established connections between organised crime figures and the early Las Vegas casinos, there is no evidence of any direct connection in Australia's legal casino industry. Since the inception of legal casinos in Australia, there have however been some criminal convictions against approved individuals associated with the ownership of licensed casinos, but these offences have not been related to their role in the casinos themselves (Connor 1991; McMillen 1996:84-6).

There are many aspects of the relationship between crime and casinos and the purpose of this paper is to develop a general assessment of the crime impacts which the Sydney casino has had in relation to the Pyrmont casino precinct in inner Sydney, and on various public institutions. This assessment is developed through an analysis of issues related to: policing; crime patterns in the casino precinct; incidents within the casino; headline-catching casino related crimes; local community perceptions; proactive crime prevention measures; and the effect of the legal casino on illegal gambling.

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1 The temporary Sydney Harbour Casino opened for trading in the inner city suburb of Pyrmont on 13 September 1995 and was the forerunner of the permanent Star City casino complex which opened on an adjacent site on 26th November, 1997.

The inner city location of the temporary Sydney Harbour Casino (SHC) in the peninsula suburbs of Pymont-Ultimo allows for relatively discrete data to be gathered on incidents in the area adjacent to the casino. However, the substantial redevelopment of the area, occurring under the City West Development Corporation's (1995) masterplans has meant that casino, and urban redevelopment effects, interact on the Pymont peninsula. This suggests caution in the attribution of both casino and urban development effects, and the analysis which follows proceeds with this caution at hand.

The question of whether crime increases with the introduction of legalised casinos is a vexed one and some of the major research on the topic has emerged from Atlantic City in the USA. Atlantic City began operating legalised casinos in 1978 and data are available prior to this on crime rates in a 'casino-free' environment, making this city fertile ground for research into pre and post crime situations.

Hakim and Buck (1989) studied changes in crime in 64 Atlantic City communities for the years between 1972 and 1984. They concluded (1989:414) that 'levels of crime appear to have been higher in the post casino years 1978 to 1984, than in the earlier period of 1972 to 1977.' Albanese (1985) however reached the opposite conclusion through arguing that studies which had shown a crime rate increase had failed to calculate crime rates based on the population at risk. Albanese (1985) concluded that if tourists (visitors to the casino jurisdiction) were included in the population at risk, the actual crime rate was less after legalisation of gambling than before. Following these earlier studies, Curran and Scarpitti (1991) conducted one of the most thorough analyses of crime to reach the conclusion that the legalisation of gambling has not resulted in a significant increase in index crimes in Atlantic City and that the crime rate post casinos, was comparable to that of other cities in the USA.

Other research in the crime-casino area fails to resolve the debates above, nor present any clear conclusions with the exception that legalised casino gambling is usually accompanied by an increase in the *incidence* of crime in areas near to the casino, but not necessarily an increase in the *rate* of crime *per head of population at risk*.

Methodology for assessing crime impacts of the casino

1. Within the overall social impacts framework of the study, several data sources are used to interpret crime impacts for the period of operation of the temporary casino:
Pre and post casino data (1995 & 1996) for criminal incidents in the casino precinct of Pymont and Ultimo (postcode areas). The data were gathered by the NSW Police (incidents reported to or detected by the Police) and accessed via the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1997b);
2. Data from an inner-city Sydney study of assaults and robberies for 1995/96 (see NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, 1997a)
3. Newspaper articles reporting on crime as it relates to the casino and other sectors of the gambling industry;
4. Liaison with members of the Pymont Precinct Committee and the Harris Community centre;
5. Estimates of the extent of problem gambling present in the research literature, coupled with estimates of the extent of crime among problem gamblers;
6. A 1996 survey of 250 Pymont-Ultimo residents;
7. Interviews with senior members of the NSW Police Service and;
8. Official government documents relevant to the casino.

Absence of anticipated crime wave in relation to the casino

Prior to the 1995 opening of the temporary Sydney casino in Pyrmont, the NSW Police Service had been gathering intelligence regarding crime and policing in other jurisdictions housing casinos. The evidence available from the region surrounding Jupiters Casino on the Gold Coast pointed to a considerable increase in crime (such as robbery and assault) accompanying the opening of a legal casino in a densely populated urban area. On the basis of this evidence, and other initiatives from within the NSW Police Service, an additional casino police presence of twelve officers was established at the Broadway Patrol, a two-minute response time from the casino. A mobile police van was also stationed near to the casino during the early months of operation.

However within eight months of the temporary casino's opening it became apparent that the rate of casino-related crime was below that anticipated and so the additional twelve officers were transferred to other duties.

Early crime patterns in the casino precinct

In the 9 months of operation up until June 1996, the predominant recorded casino-related crimes were assault, theft and offensive behaviour. Other less frequent crimes in and around the casino in this period included fraud, bomb hoaxes and some drug offences (interview with Police Inspector, Broadway Patrol, 18 September, 1996).

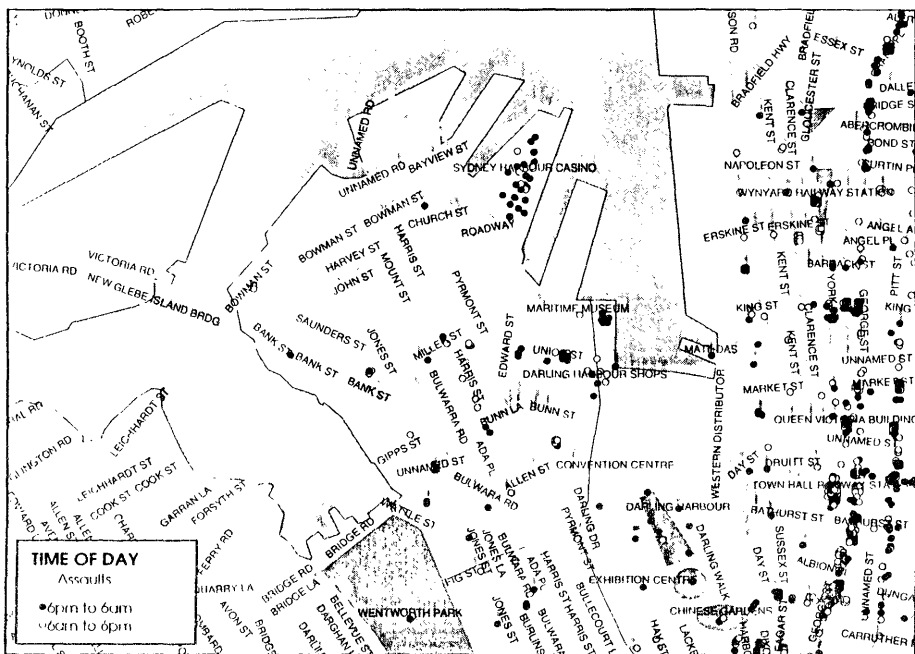
The predominance of assault and theft as casino-related crimes (in terms of being located in and around the casino) is confirmed in a 1997 study by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1997a). The study - *Crime and Place: An Analysis of Assaults and Robberies in Inner Sydney* - contains detailed maps of offences for the period 1 July 1995 to 30 June 1996. Figure 1 indicates the extent of assault within and near to the casino for this 12-month period and that the period 6pm to 6am is the most likely time for offenses to occur.

There are two important points to make in relation to these data. The first is that when compared to assaults in the main Central Business District (CBD) for example, the crime rate in the casino precinct is much lower and has not been included in what the study has referred to as the *Hot Spot Zones* of assault and robbery in the Sydney district. The five major *Hot Spot Zones* were associated with busy commercial streets accommodating entertainment premises, licensed premises or transport facilities (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997a:viii). The second point refers to the possible under-reporting of criminal or civil disorder incidents in the Casino-Darling Harbour precinct. Both of these locales rely on a positive public image of fun, excitement and safety in order to 'invite' people to patronise their enterprises, and both devote significant resources to private security-surveillance companies. It is likely, although difficult to establish in any rigorous way, that the casino (and other similar entertainment and gambling facilities) deals with many instances of offensive behaviour, trespass and such matters 'in-house' so to speak, leading to an under-reporting of instances which might normally lead to some police action. Indeed a senior Gaming and Vice Officer indicated that the SHC Security staff were active in excluding a large number of patrons, and it was due to the numbers involved, and petty nature (in Police terms) of the precipitating incidents, that the Gaming and Vice Unit stopped attending the casino for most exclusion incidents.

While the data from the 'Assault and Robbery' study (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997a) do not lead to the conclusion that there is a significant crime problem associated with the casino (indeed less so than for some other licensed premises in the

adjacent city area), the number of incidents is some cause for concern, if not at this point, following the opening of the permanent casino when the visitation rate is projected to rise from its current 4.48 million visitors per annum (NSW CCA, 1995/96:2) [12 month projection] to 11 million visits per year.

Figure 1: Recorded assaults in the Pyrmont, Darling Harbour area, July 1st 1995 to June 30th 1996



Source: Unpublished data, New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, (1997b).

Besides the mapping of assault and robbery incidents, another component of the NSW BCS&R (1997a) project involved some 270 victim interviews. Interview schedules were completed by victims at Police Stations where they were taken following the incident in which they had been involved. The following examples provide an indication of the types of crime which occur in relation to the casino.

I had won \$9000 at the casino, Darling Harbour. I was drunk. I was escorted to a taxi. That's all I remember. I awoke in an alley opposite the Novotel Darling Harbour with bruising to my head. My wallet, phone and \$9000 was stolen.

Sorry, I don't remember much. I was drunk and got knocked out. However I did try to get the casino to put my winnings straight into my bank account but they could not.² I asked for a secure passage to the boat berthed at Darling Harbour wharf No. 9 (male victim, 31 years, September 1996).

Criminal incident comparisons between 1995 and 1996 for the Pyrmont-Ultimo area

As indicated above, the matter about which there is most agreement in the research literature on crime and casinos is that the *incidence* of crime increases in the locale of a casino. Findings with regard to rates of crime per head of population are more contentious, with some researchers (e.g. Albanese 1985) concluding that there is even a slight decrease in the likelihood of being a crime victim in post-casino Atlantic City. In the interpretation which follows, rates per head of population have not been calculated because of the small population base in Pyrmont-Ultimo (6,673 in 1996) and the 100,000 base rate which is used for calculating statewide crime rates (see NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997b).

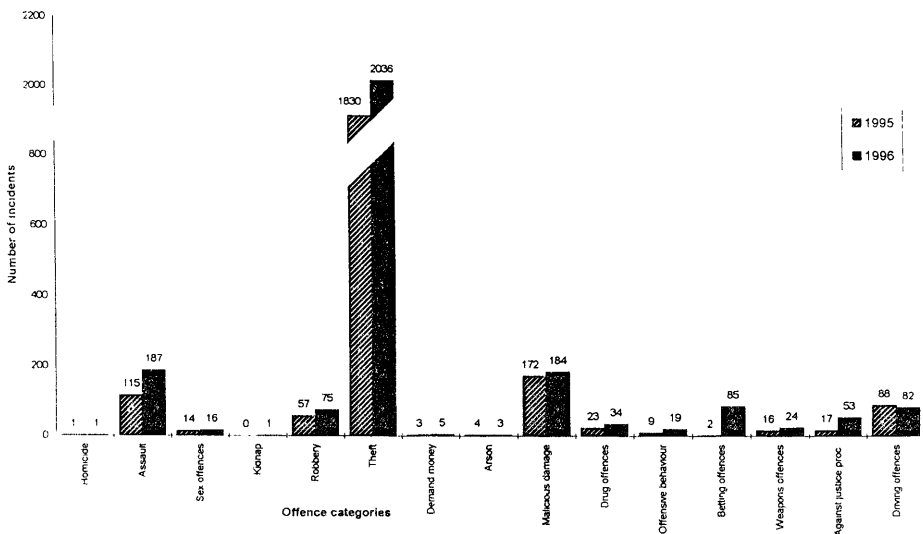
In this section the recorded incidents in various offence categories are examined for the casino precinct. The trends between 1995 and 1996 are presented below in Figure 2. The data upon which these figures are based were derived from the NSW Bureau of Crime, Statistics and Research (accessing police data) who responded to a brief to compile 1995-96 criminal incident data for the Pyrmont-Ultimo postcode areas. The offence categories are each defined in some detail in the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1997b) crime statistics report, however a brief outline of each category referred to in the above figures is presented below.³

The units reported refer to recorded criminal incidents⁴ (except for homicide) rather than recorded offences. The data presented in Figure 2 highlight an increase in most of the offence categories referred to and the interpretation which follows suggests some of the non-casino factors which have likely influenced these increases. First, Pyrmont-Ultimo is undergoing rapid expansion via the City West Development Corporation's charter to revitalise the area. The population base has risen from some 3132 at the time of the 1991 census to some 6673 in the 1996 census, which is a considerable increase in population in a short time span. The construction work on the new casino has also added some 1320 building workers to the peninsula area. Apart from the initial assignment and subsequent withdrawal of twelve Police officers to the Broadway Patrol, and the mobile Police Station at the casino for its first six months operation, there have been no additional officers assigned directly to police the casino. However policing strategies have included patrols targeting the casino precinct and Broadway patrol area as part of normal police operations. The relationship between the Police Service and the Casino Security staff is a workable one with apparent room for improvement in communication. Lines of demarcation between Police and casino Security were worked out in the days when the Broadway patrol had responsibility for the area. The number of casino visitors has also risen sharply in 1996

2 This situation has apparently been rectified. According to the casino's Media Director, the SHC has always had the facility for patrons to take a winner's cheque and have encouraged patrons not to take large amounts of cash from the casino. Additionally, the casino will hold winnings for patrons at their request and under some circumstances arrange for electronic transfer of funds.

(4.48 million) in comparison to 1995 when the temporary casino only opened its doors on September 13th. The 1996 figures then, represent a full years' casino trading and visitation whereas the 1995 figures represent only 3.5 months of casino operation.

Figure 2: Incidence of selected offence categories in Pymont-Ultimo, 1995-1996



3 Summary descriptions of Offence categories utilised in Figure 2 (see NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997b, pp 4-12 and 63-7, for full descriptions and definitions).

Assault: actual bodily and grievous harm, assault of an officer, common assault.

The recorded rate of assault is strongly influenced by both the exercise of police discretion and public willingness to report.

Sexual offences: sexual assault, indecent assault, incest, obscene exposure, peep or pry.

Robbery: without a weapon, with a firearm, with a weapon not a firearm.

Theft: breaking and entering a dwelling/non-dwelling, possess implements, goods in custody.

Against justice procedures: escapee from corrective services, police or juvenile detention custody; breach of bail, recognizance or apprehended violence order.

Driving offences: culpable driving, PCA, dangerous/negligent driving.

Homicide: murder, manslaughter.

Betting and gaming offences: conduct or play illegal game or betting; own/manage premises for games or betting, other gaming offences.

Weapons offences: possess whilst unlicensed, dealer offence, possess prohibited weapon etc.

Kidnap: abduction and kidnapping.

Arson: malicious damage or destruction by fire.

Drug offences: possession and use of illegal drugs; dealing and trafficking in narcotics, cultivating and importing.

Demand money with menaces: demand money with menaces.

Malicious damage to property: malicious damage, graffiti, public place damage.

Offensive behaviour: offensive conduct and language.

In Figure 2, the most appreciable increases in incidents are in the 'assault' and 'against justice procedures' categories. With regard to assault, there were an additional 72 reported cases in 1996, however approximately 50 of these cases occurred within the casino suggesting that the incidence of assault in Pyrmont-Ultimo, outside of the casino itself, has not risen markedly. Within the casino, the majority of recorded assaults are against security staff who at the time of incident were escorting someone off the premises or perhaps preventing some excluded or intoxicated person from entering. Other assaults in the casino have involved 'friends' or workmates entering into disputes, and one fatal brawl in October 1997 ('Bashed soccer fan dies,' *SMH*, 16 October 1997:3). The other category where there has been a marked increase is 'against justice procedures' which refers to escape from corrective services or police custody, breach of bail and recognisance of apprehended violence order. There is also an 'other judicial offences' classification in this category which refers to persons having warrants out against them for outstanding payment of parking or court fines and the like. During 1996, there were 33 instances in this category, which accounts for almost all of the increase. Police indicated that the Broadway Patrol did do some target patrols in their patrol area, including the casino precinct during late 1995 and 1996 which would explain the rise in recorded incidents.

When Police were called to the casino to assist, only three people detained up to July 1997 had warrants out against them. In 1996 there was however one person apprehended as an escapee from Goulburn gaol. After he was detained at the casino Police ran a check on him and found that he had escaped some two years previously. At the time of his apprehension, he was gambling in the 'high rollers' room of the casino.

In Figure 2, there is also a dramatic rise in 'betting and gaming offences' however the entirety of the 85 offences appearing in the Police statistics for 1996 are in relation to offences within the casino such as cheating, bet capping, bet switching and chip theft (see below section on 'Casino offences and prosecutions'). The increase in offences in this category therefore arises from the implementation of the provisions of the Casino Control Act of 1992. The absence of any illegal betting or gaming house incidents in the casino precinct corresponds with the apparent closure of illegal casinos in the inner city area since the opening of the temporary legal casino (see below). The absence also corresponds with Police Service awareness of the potential for the operation of illegal gaming houses to draw patrons from the casino. Prior to the opening of the temporary casino, one suspected illegal gaming house in Chinatown voluntarily closed down during Police investigations.

There has also been an appreciable rise in the number of offensive behaviour incidents, although the frequencies are relatively low (from 9 to 19 in 1996). Police report that most of the incidents for 1996 occurred in and around the casino where the likelihood of detection, with 24-hour casino security staff as the first point of detection, is higher than for other areas without such surveillance.

4 In brief, a criminal incident is defined as an activity detected by or reported to police and which involved the same offender(s), victim(s), occurred at one location and falls into one offence category. The data used in Fig 2 are extracted from the NSW Police Service's Computerised Operational Policing System (COPS) used for all police operations record keeping (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997b:vi). While the data derived from this source are readily understandable, the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1997b:3) goes to some length to express a cautionary note in their interpretation. 'However they are presented' reads the report 'the interpretation of trends in recorded crimes is a difficult task.' Statistics are influenced greatly by public willingness to report crime, shifts in policing policy and other matters, and the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (1997b) certainly suggest that the readers of their statistical reports be aware of this.

Other comparisons can also be made between the incidence of crime in the precincts of the Sydney and Brisbane casinos. McMillen and Rolfe (1997) have conducted a related study of crime patterns in and around the Brisbane casino. Results to hand suggest that for the early years of operation, casino-related crime patterns in both Sydney and Brisbane are somewhat similar, with neither establishment contributing to any significant increase in street crime in the casino precinct.

Decline in illegal casinos

Sydney has a long history of illegal gambling casinos and illegal gambling has been the subject of several inquiries (see Lynch 1996:163). One major inquiry (Parliament of NSW 1985) found that there were some 200 illegal gaming houses operating illicitly by exploiting loopholes in present laws. The inquiry also reported that associated with the illegal casinos, there was substantial criminal involvement, corruption and the use of illegal gambling to fund other crime including drug trafficking.

Sir Laurence Street also addressed the issue of illegal casinos in his report noting that they had been known to exist for a long time and that there were believed to be some twenty, traditional-style illegal casinos in the area around the Sydney CBD at the time of his report (NSW Government 1991:47). He concluded that 'the introduction of legal casinos in Sydney is unlikely to eliminate illegal casino gambling' (1991:47). Street was not alone in concluding this way as others have even noted an increase in illegal gambling which accompanies legalisation (see Thompson et al 1996:7; Data Resources 1979). However time was to prove Street both right and wrong with regard to this matter.

Data available⁵ from the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research shows no appreciable increase in the number of criminal incidents which have occurred in declared common (illegal) gaming clubs in the Pymont - Ultimo area between 1995 and 1996. This suggests there has been no increase in illegal gambling in the area. More significantly, two senior Police officers interviewed, indicated that all of the major casinos (those with blackjack games and roulette wheels) in the CBD (such as in Goulburn and Thomas Streets) had closed down and that the era of the illegal casinos of the 1960s was in the past. While the closure of these casinos can't be directly attributed to the opening of the legal casino, there was no official police strategy in place at the time, aimed at illegal casinos, and the closures roughly correspond to the period after the opening of the legal casino. It appears as though the patrons of Sydney's inner city, illegal casinos have voted with their feet to move to a livelier, peopled environment with an apparently more appealing ambience, and presumably better odds.

Other illegal casinos, including large establishments and small ethnically-based card games, may well still be operating in areas away from the city centre such as the inner west, south and south west of Sydney. However to the extent that the inner city illegal casinos have closed, these shutdowns appear to have been consumer driven, rather than the result of any deliberate government strategy in place at the time.

5 The NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research responded to a brief to compile criminal incident statistics for the Pymont-Ultimo postcode area. The Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research draw their data from the Police computerised system. Currently however, there is no separate category on the Computerised Operational Police System (COPS) for casino incidents and so data on casino crime is entered under existing categories of gaming house, gambling club or declared common gaming club. The interpretation of 1995 and 1996 data has involved disentangling casino-specific incidents from those which have occurred in establishments outside the casino.

Incidents in the Pymont leisure-entertainment precinct

By virtue of its location alone, the casino enters into relationships with major leisure and entertainment sites nearby such as Darling Harbour, the National Maritime Museum, the Pymont Bridge Hotel and other licensed premises and entertainment venues in the area. Interviews with professionals working in these areas have revealed some civil disorder problems which appear to be a by-product of the 24-hour licences operating in the area. When patrons arrive late at night at the casino in an intoxicated state, or they are rejected from the casino in the same state, they are lawfully refused access to the licensed casino facility. When they are turned away or out, as the case may be, there have been some examples in August 1997, of large numbers of people (estimated 100 plus) approaching the nearby Pymont Bridge Hotel, and there, also rightfully being refused entry because of their apparent intoxicated condition.

The end result of this process is that large numbers of intoxicated 'pleasure seekers' turn their attention to the Darling Harbour entertainment precinct, and its facilities, the overwhelming majority of which are closed, with the last ferry running at 8.30pm. The National Maritime Museum for example has been keeping records of incidents between December 1996 and August 1997 and have recorded 90 cases of mischief, drunks trespassing, and other kinds of nuisance, usually not requiring police action. Some of the trespassers have been trying to walk around the waters' edge, from the temporary casino to get to Darling Harbour.

As indicated earlier, such instances as those reported above, do not find their way into police statistics as security officers deal them with. This arguably leads to an underestimate of the extent of civil disorder in official statistics of reported criminal incidents (e.g. NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 1997a).

Incidents within the casino

The Casino Control Act of 1992 contains provisions for the creation of the office of Director of Casino Surveillance which is responsible for probity investigations of applicants for casino employee licences, investigation and reporting on contractors involved in the supply of goods and services to the casino, verification of gross gaming revenue and casino duty, and the 24 hour inspection of operations in the Sydney Casino (NSW Department of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:1). The Casino Surveillance Division is responsible for on-site supervision, closed circuit television surveillance and various accounting controls. The Inspectorate is located within the Casino and operates a 24-hour shift, 365 days of the year.

Casino offences and prosecutions. The 1992 Casino Control Act contains provisions relating to offences committed within the casino including cheating, stealing, fraudulent practices, bribery and forgery. During the 9.5 months of operation to June 30, 1996, some 135 instances of illegal activity were detected,⁶ including: cheating in the form of past-posting (placing bets after the result is known [or the 'horse is past the winning post']). This was the predominant offence during the first nine months and of the 135 illegal incidents, 34 arrests were made for cheating offences (including the following two categories), bet capping (placing an additional bet on a winning wager), bet switching, and chip theft from

6 There is a disparity between the NSW Department of Gaming and Racing (1995/96:40) figure for illegal gambling activity (135 illegal instances to June 30 1996) and that presented in Figure 1 (85 instances for all of 1996), derived from Police statistics and collated by the NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. The Police statistics only represent those incidents reported to, or detected by the police, and it is apparent that not all instances of illegal activity within the casino are reported to, or recorded by the police.

other patrons (NSW Department of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:40). Sixteen persons were arrested for larceny.

A number of prosecutions were finalised in relation to instances of illegal activity in the casino including

...the successful prosecution of a patron who past-posted, by placing a \$5,000 chip on the winning section at the game of baccarat, after the result was known; and the successful prosecution of two overseas visitors involved in a scam where they switched chips on a winning bet, substituting higher denomination chips for lower denomination chips.

There has been one instance of a Casino staff member assisting a patron in a dishonest scheme or practice. In this instance the staff member, who was a dealer, had on a number of NSW occasions paid his accomplice with chips to a higher value than those to which the patron was entitled. Both persons were successfully prosecuted for these offences (NSW Department of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:40-1).

Exclusions from the casino. Under the Casino Control Act, persons may be excluded for a range of inappropriate and criminal behaviours including cheating, stealing, assault, offensive behaviour or leaving children unattended in a car. These exclusions may be made on the recommendation of the SHC management, the Casino Surveillance Division, the Police or by individuals themselves who recognise that they have a gambling problem and have themselves excluded under a SHC policy to deal with problem gamblers.

For the period from September 1995 to 30 June, 1996, the NSW Casino Control Authority (1995/96:20) reports that there were 222 exclusion orders issued, with 27 of these being self exclusions.⁷ Of the remaining 195 exclusion orders, these were issued by Casino management or the Director of Casino Surveillance for reasons including cheating (50), theft (60), disorderly conduct (including minor assault, (24), voluntary request (27) and leaving a child unattended (20) (NSW Department of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:40). During this same period, the 'casino operator estimated that 3,538,875 patrons visited the casino' (NSW Casino Control Authority 1995/96:21).

Proactive crime prevention measures

In his report on the establishment of legal casinos in NSW, Street (NSW Government 1991:100ff) devoted considerable attention to the regulatory structure which should be put in place to protect the casino from criminal influence, exploitation, money laundering, disposal of the proceeds of criminal activity and dishonest conduct of gaming.

Street (NSW Government 1991:7) acknowledges that the introduction of the casino 'is feared on criminological grounds' but goes on to state that these fears can be put aside with attention to the three requirements of selecting an operator of high integrity, formulating a comprehensive regulatory structure and the diligent enforcement of that structure.

The structure outlined in the NSW Government (1991) report, coupled with various other government, police and community actions, constitute a series of proactive measures aimed at preventing crime. These measures are assessed below.

Probity screening. Under the Casino Control Act, almost every person actively engaged in casino operation is required to be licensed by the NSW Casino Control Authority. This is a standard way of excluding persons with criminal backgrounds or connections from

7 Pursuant to section 79[3] of the Act, a person can make a voluntary application to be excluded from the casino (NSW Casino Control Authority 1995/96:20).

working in the casino. The Director of Casino Surveillance (DCS) investigates each applicant for a licence and makes a recommendation to the Authority regarding the granting or refusal of the application. The DCS is assisted by various law enforcement agencies and gaming regulatory bodies in Australia and overseas in its investigations of applicants (NSW Dept. of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:38-9). A summary of licensing decisions is contained in Table 1 below.

Table: 1 Recommendations of the Director of Casino Surveillance in relation to casino employee licences, 1995-1996

Applications recommended for refusal	76
Applications recommended for provisional licence	2,546
Applications recommended for full licence	168
Variations recommended for approval	104
Total	2,894

Source: NSW Department of Gaming and Racing 1995/96:39.

It is in relation to the licensing of employees to perform specific functions, for specified periods of time, that several breaches of the Casino Control Act have occurred, resulting in the disciplinary actions referred to below.

Disciplinary actions by the Casino Control Authority against the Sydney Harbour Casino. Under the provisions of the Casino Control Act 1992, the Casino Control Authority (NSW Casino Control Authority) has the power to take disciplinary action against the holder of the licence to operate the Sydney casino. These disciplinary actions are set out in Section 23 (1) of the Act.

As indicated above, the disciplinary powers of the regulator are a central plank in the control and prevention of criminal activity in relation to the operation of the casino and the NSW Casino Control Authority has shown a willingness to act in the public interest by exercising its powers. During 1996, the NSW Casino Control Authority acted against the licensee for several contraventions of sections 44(3) and 62(1), (a), (b) and (c) of the Casino Control Act (see NSW Casino Control Authority 1995/96:55-60):

Disciplinary action was taken against SHC for failing to supply an accurate list of all licensed employees with functions in relation to the casino (\$15,000 fine), the employment of 202 licensed employees, exercising functions for which they had not been authorised (\$100,000 fine), failure to notify the NSW Casino Control Authority on time of commencement date of exercise of employee functions (\$30,000 fine) and failure to notify of the cessation of the functions of 190 employees within 7 days (\$33,000 fine) (NSW Casino Control Authority 1995/96:55-60).

The NSW Casino Control Authority argued that the breaches were serious while the SHC in its response argued that none of the breaches was deliberate and the NSW Casino Control Authority was asked to consider the rapid growth of the SHC from a few employees in 1995 to an organisation with 3000 employees at the end of 1996 (NSW Casino Control Authority 1995/96:58).

Pawnbroking prohibition in Pyrmont-Ultimo. One source of crime used to fund casino and other forms of gambling occurs when persons with stolen goods use pawnbroking shops⁸ to turn these goods into cash (see McMillen and Rolfe 1997).

In some places such as Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide, there have been increased numbers of pawn shops established in the nearby surrounds of the casino which arguably serve to 'lower the tone' of the area and increase the possibility of crime. McMillen and Rolfe (1997:69) refer to the pawnbroking business in Brisbane in areas near to the casino. They note that the Brisbane CBD contains many large department stores and the growth of pawnbrokers in the area (from two to five between 1994-1996) reduces the turn-around time for organised shoplifters.

In Sydney this problem was recognised in the casino development process, and acted upon by the Minister for Urban Affairs and Planning. On 6 November 1995, the Minister introduced an amendment (subsequently passed and gazetted) to the Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 26 - City West (Amendment no 6, NSW Government Gazette 1995:7848). The amendment prevents any building or place in Pyrmont-Ultimo being used for the purpose of carrying on the business of pawnbroking or any other type of moneylender. This of course excludes ordinary banks, building societies or credit unions.

This proactive measure effectively means that the area in the vicinity will be relatively clean of the risk of crime which might be related to pawnbroking establishments. However assuming that such crime will occur as it has occurred elsewhere, the NSW Minister's act of 'geographic prohibition' is one which will disperse the crime impacts of the casino further into the suburbs and areas where pawnbrokers prevail. The patterns and effects of such dispersion remain to be seen and will be difficult to establish.

At the time of the announcement of this measure, the President of the NSW Council on Compulsive Gambling, Paul Symond, applauded the move and said he would also like to see pawnbrokers and money lenders banned from the vicinity of major RSL (Returned Servicemen's League) and leagues clubs. Mr Symond is also reported as saying that a vast majority of compulsive gamblers have pawned goods at various times and the placement of pawn shops and other organisations which lend money at high cost is often aimed at someone who can't get money in any other way and who is in dire straits. The Minister responsible for the Darling Harbour area, Michael Knight, is reported as saying 'the ban (on pawnbrokers) would protect gamblers and their families' ('Pawn shop protection for casino gamblers,' *SMH* 1 January 1996:2).

Policing. There have been several casino policing initiatives including the previously mentioned proactive measure of adding twelve officers to the Broadway Patrol in anticipation of an increase in street crime in the casino precinct. A mobile police station also operated adjacent the temporary casino for its first six months of operation and Police advised the casino in terms of safety design features (lighting, bushes, potentially unsafe corridors). This process continued in relation to the permanent Star City casino. Late in 1996 a Police shopfront was opened at 52 Harris Street Pyrmont and although this site is attached to the City Central Command, and is located in the casino precinct, its main policing function is in relation to the development, via the City West project, of the new land use theme.

8 Pawn shops are shops dealing in second hand goods and short term loans, a pawnbroker being a person who carries on a business of lending money on the security of pawned goods.

During 1997, in response to findings of the Royal Commission into the NSW Police Service a major restructuring of the Service has occurred. This has led to a situation, late in 1997, where the City Central Command, located in Day Street (immediately to the East of Darling Harbour) had been assigned the major responsibility for policing the casino following the significant downscaling of the Gaming and Vice Squad, and the change of the Broadway Patrol to a shopfront. The Broadway Patrol previously policed the casino precinct. Towards the end of 1997 the City Central Local Area Command had incorporated local level casino operations into the crime management function. Four additional positions were allocated to Detectives in this area and a Senior Detective was appointed in a liaison role at Crime Agencies.

Police Commissioner's actions to exclude persons under the Casino Control Act. Under the 1992 Act, the Commissioner has the power to ban patrons who are believed to be not of good character, and in September 1997, following several reports of crime gangs apparently operating in and around the casino, Commissioner Ryan banned twenty-eight reported Sydney underworld figures from entering and gambling in the casino. As indicated above, the Commissioner announced the ban as part of 'the need to tackle organised crime in any form that it manifests itself' and apparently acted with some pressure from the NSW Casino Control Authority, on advice from the NSW Police service, the Australian Federal Police and the State Crime Commission. Casino security staff were reported to have passed on a list of the SHC's big punters to the police.

Ultimo Safety Audit In 1997 an *Ultimo Safety Audit* was conducted by the residents of Ultimo, SHC, the Harris Community Centre and the NSW Crime Prevention Unit. The Safety Audit was prepared after a number of incidents involving 'muggings, bag-snatching, robberies and other forms of theft' in the area, coupled with insurance companies classifying Ultimo a high risk area, were 'beginning to create negative feelings among residents and workers alike' (Ultimo Community Safety Audit 1997:3). The audit makes recommendations in relation to lighting, signalling, traffic flow, future development, transport and awareness of such things as bag snatching, preventative planning and architecture. The main concerns of the Audit were 'with movements to and from Ultimo, not within it.'

Headline, casino-related crimes

Sydney and the state of NSW has a history of gambling-related crime as the large number of Parliamentary Inquiries and Commissions will attest (see Lynch 1996:163). However the headline-grabbing crimes of the past, committed by gamblers, have been somewhat restricted, at least in the sphere of legal gambling and particularly the club and hotel gambling areas (the direct competitors of the casino) due in part to the upper limit of gambling being set at \$10 per bet. In the course of 1997, and particularly in relation to casino gambling, a more spectacular genre of gambling-related crime has emerged and several examples of this genre are outlined below.

The Daily Telegraph (L Power & I Horswill, 'Thief lost \$1.7 million at casino tables,' 15 May, 1997:7) carried a report of a north shore businessman who stole \$1.7 million from his clients' trust accounts in order to feed his gambling activities in the VIP high rollers room at SHC. He pleaded guilty to fraudulently obtaining \$1,735,792 between August 1995 and January last year and \$700,000 of this was directly traced to the casino.

A related series of incidents was first reported in the *The Sydney Morning Herald* (G Bearup, 'Gamblers' wives "sold" to pay loan shark bills,' 24 March 1997:5). The report by

the *Herald's* Chief Police Writer concerns women from Sydney's Korean community being forced into prostitution to pay for their husband's gambling losses at the Sydney Harbour Casino. 'Police believe three Korean gangs are at war for control of a lucrative loan sharking market, driven by "gambling mad" Koreans betting at the casino...'

This issue re-emerged four months later on page one (G Bearup & K McClymont, *SMH*, 28 July, 1997:1) under the following banner:

'Korean gangs blamed for new city crime wave'

The article contains a series of allegations about 'gangs of Korean standover men operating virtually unchecked at the Sydney Harbour Casino', and an interview with a reported 'loan shark' victim. The article draws from evidence given at the committal hearing of four men charged with the killing of two Korean men in Kings Cross in January of 1997 by bludgeoning them to death.

In another more detailed article, also in the *SMH*, Bearup ('Street justice - gangster style,' 28 July, 1997:10) refers to the importation of standover thugs from Korea, (loan sharks) prowling the Sydney casino and 'meting out horrific violence.' The issue appeared again the next day on the front page of the *Sydney Morning Herald* under the banner:

'Casino pledges crime clean up'

Follow up items on page 7 of the *SMH* (and the following day) also deal with the issue of Korean loan sharks and refer to a shocked, angry and disappointed reaction from the Korean community.

The Daily Telegraph bought into the same casino crime story line on 29 July with a page 9 banner headline as follows:

'Criminal flypaper - Magistrate labels casino'

In this story, Magistrate Graeme Henson is reported as saying that the Sydney Harbour Casino is like 'criminal flypaper' because of the number of offences committed in and around the premises. In sentencing an offender, the Magistrate also said the parade of thieves he referred to 'was not a reflection on the management but on the "standard" of customer that appears to be attending (the casino).'

The issue of a 'Korean gang' crime wave linked to the casino, and the comments of Magistrate Henson and others were picked up on July 30 by ABC radio with Richard Glover doing a morning talk-back session in which he interviewed prominent figures who had bought into the debate. The issue continued to appear in the press for several days after it first appeared and a strategic meeting was held between the Casino Control Authority, the Police Service and the Casino operators with a view to finding solutions to what appeared to be a crime problem of which the Police were apparently aware, but not the NSW Casino Control Authority or the SHC (see G Bearup, 'Dangerous Games,' *SMH*, August 2, 1997:35).

The matter reappeared on the front page of the *Herald* (Nick Papadopoulos et al *SMH*, 29 August 1997:1) in late August under the banner:

'Murder hunt targets gambling husband'

The bodies of a young Korean woman and her children aged two and three were found in the Hunter Valley and police were reported as suspecting a link with her estranged husband's gambling debts. The matter remains under investigation at the time of writing.

Some two weeks later, the *SMH* ran a related story on page one:

'Drug bosses banned from casino'

(G Bearup, *SMH*, 11 September, 1997:1). As briefly mentioned above, the NSW Police Commissioner Ryan, following up on the July-August reports of alleged Korean crime in the casino, used his powers under the Casino Control Act to ban twenty-eight Sydney underworld figures from entering, and gambling in the casino. The Commissioner has the authority to ban patrons believed not to be of good character. One of those banned was reported to be a 'prominent Cabramatta heroin dealer who has gambled more than \$30 million at the casino' and another 'allegedly operates an underground banking system at Cabramatta, financed by drug money, and has wagered \$35 million at the casino.' The Commissioner's actions in banning persons reported as having gained their substantial gambling stakes through illegal means suggests that the casino is being used to launder money,⁹ despite the Cash Transactions Reporting Act (1988) requirements that all significant cash transactions of or above \$10,000 be reported to AUSTRAC (the agency responsible for cash transactions reporting).

A 'loan shark', exposed in an August newspaper report, was also among those banned as were two Sydney prostitutes who allegedly 'lure gamblers from the casino and drug them and rob them' (Mark Riley, 'Collins wants casino crime figures jailed,' *SMH*, 12 September, 1997:3). Peter Grimshaw, the SHC Media and Government Affairs director is reported as conceding that the casino 'stood to lose money by banning big gamblers but it was prepared to do whatever to protect its "squeaky clean" image.' (Riley, *SMH*, 12 September 1997:3). This issue was also picked up in the *SMH* editorial on the same day ('Clean-up at the casino', *SMH*, 12 September 1997:18).

Another headline-grabbing crime occurred in mid July 1997 when a pregnant woman and mother, was kidnapped (G Bearup, 'Kidnapped after \$1.4m casino win,' *SMH*, 17 July 1997:1,8). In four days of gambling with her partner, she apparently had won \$1.4 million at the casino, prior to being abducted and held to ransom for 16 hours. The woman was safely retrieved from her abductors by the NSW Police State Protection Group (SPG) after a deal was made with the abductors to hand over the woman for a ransom of \$50,000 (the initial ransom demand was for \$200,000 cash). In a curious twist, the abducted woman's partner reappeared on the front page of the Herald in October, reported as one of the twenty-eight suspected criminals, banned from the casino by the Police Commissioner (G. Bearup, 'Uncle Six: from refugee to high roller,' *SMH*, 27 October 1997:1, 7).

The appearance of the preceding 'headline' crimes on the front pages of the Sydney newspapers during 1997 is cause for some alarm given the enormity of the crimes (e.g. murder, kidnap). However the 'thickness' of the newspaper headlines appears to be out of proportion to the relatively small number of crime incidents reported in Figure 2 for example.

Non-casino gambling crime. The focus here on casino-related crimes is not meant to imply that headline-grabbing crimes are associated only with casino gambling. David Hickie's 1985 book on Premier Askin (in office from 1965 to 1975) and gambling 'identity' Perce Galea provides numerous headline cases of crime in relation to gambling, particularly, illegal casinos which flourished in this era. Nigel Austin ('Sport of kings and

9 Following the definition used by the National Crime Authority Task Force on Money Laundering, also adopted by Street in his report (NSW Government 1991:101), money laundering refers to 'the conversion or transfer of property for the purpose of concealing or disguising the illicit origins of the property... The essential character of money laundering is legitimising the source or creating an alibi for its origin.'

crims,' *Bulletin*, 6 November 1990:106-7) refers to a variety of spectacular horseracing crimes and the illegal operations of Starting Price bookmakers. 'The Costigan Royal Commission estimated that SP Bookmaking turnover was \$4 billion in 1984 compared with legal gambling turnover on all racing of \$6 billion' (Austin 1997:106). There were in the 1960s and 70s, also some spectacular crimes associated with illegal skimming activities in the NSW Registered Clubs at a time when machines were not as 'cheatproof' as they now are, money was counted manually and collusion was much more possible between club employees and patrons (Wilcox 1983:Ch. 6).

However, while there is a well documented 'litany' of crimes associated with gambling in Sydney and NSW (see Lynch 1996:163) it is casino-linked incidents which have brought crime and gambling back onto the front page headlines of the newspapers in the second half of the 1990s.

The local Pymont - Ultimo community and crime

Local communities are affected by developments such as casinos and other studies throughout Australia and the world (see McMillen 1995; Stokowski 1996; Thompson et al 1993; Long 1996) have demonstrated several effects on such matters as safety, street crime, real estate and rental markets, crowding noise and tourism. The literature on community impacts reveals a trend as follows. Prior to the opening of a casino in their vicinity, members of a community will regard the casino as an economic boon in terms of job creation and growth, but that the pay off will be negative social impacts including increased problem gambling and crime. A tentative conclusion which can be drawn from these trends is that the longer a community has experienced a casino in its midst, the less tolerant they become of it.

The immediate community affected by the SHC is that which resides in Pymont and the adjoining inner-city suburb of Ultimo. The population of Pymont-Ultimo (P-U) at the 1991 census was 3132 and some 6673 at the time of the 1996 census, having recovered from a declining population in the 1970s and 80s (population in 1981 - 1590). Besides the casino, there is a major redevelopment underway via the State Government's City West Development Corporation (1995) project. This project will take the population of the area to an estimated 16,500 in the year 2020. This means that any impact on the local community needs to be interpreted not only in relation to the casino but also to the City West development process.

Since the City West project got underway in the early 1990s two community precinct groups commenced operation in Pymont and Ultimo, with the latter group still operating.¹⁰ The current study has involved interaction with the former group. At a meeting of the Pymont Precinct Committee, held on 17 October 1995, a month after the opening of the temporary casino, the impact of the casino was discussed at some length. Two crime issues were identified by local residents: an additional three burglaries in the area since the casino opening 4 weeks earlier and 3-4 needles, used for injecting drugs, were found in a Pymont park. People were also reported to be seen sleeping in the park and it was suggested by one attendee at the meeting that these might have been casino patrons. None of the issues could

10 Not surprisingly, after several years of responding monthly and sometimes, weekly to multi million dollar developments, planning approvals, surveys, meetings with councils and developers, the Pymont Precinct Committee encountered difficulty in 1995 in filling its office bearers for the year. The committee no longer meets on a regular and institutional basis however the work of the Committee while in existence, along with that of the Ultimo Precinct Committee, has arguably made the area a more livable urban precinct.

be directly linked to the casino, however each was apparently linked in the perceptions of the residents who reported the matters at the October meeting.

In December of 1996, as part of the current impact study a survey was conducted on the local P-U community (Toms et al 1996) containing questions regarding the casino and local crime. The residents reported feeling ambivalence about such a connection, with the majority reporting that the casino has not caused an increase in local crime, or being unsure of whether it has. In fact, a larger number of residents regarded the casino as a safe venue, albeit one they perceived to attract undesirable people. Some 46 % of residents were however of the view that the permanent casino will generate an increase in local problems.

The data available on assaults and robberies near to the casino (see Fig. 1) indicate that there has been an increase in crime in the area, however local residents are either unaware of this in their assessments of crime occurrence in the area, or consider this to be an acceptable rate of crime thus allowing them to report feelings of relative safety in the area.

Problem gambling and crime

Some gamblers, whether they have a problem or not, fund at least part of their gambling activities through the profits of a variety of criminal acts. The focus here is on those who have a severe problem, who shall be referred to, for the sake of the analysis, as pathological gamblers.¹¹ Pathological gamblers are defined following Rosenthal and Lorenz (1992:648) as progressively being characterised by:

a continuous or periodic loss of control over gambling; a preoccupation with gambling and with obtaining money with which to gamble; irrational thinking; and a continuation of the behaviour despite adverse consequences.

From their review of research in this area, Rosenthal and Lorenz (1992:650) present evidence that between 1.2 % and 2.3 % of the adult population are 'probable pathological gamblers.' They conclude that 'the majority of pathological gamblers (at least 70 - 80 %) commit offences late in the disorder and that these offences are strictly gambling related. This is however a population which is essentially non-violent and which turns to property crimes out of desperation over gambling losses and their sequelae' (1992:657).

Blaszczynski et al (1989), working in an Australian context, found that for the pathological gamblers they interviewed, their criminal behaviour and anti social features emerged as the gambling progressed and were consequences of pathological gambling. These researchers also confirm the predominance of nonviolent crimes among pathological gamblers who engage in criminal activity. Further research by Blaszczynski and McConaghy (1992, 1994) established that 59 percent of a sample of 306 problem gamblers receiving treatment, admitted to having participated in some form of illegal offence for the purpose of gaining funds to gamble. On average, each offending gambler committed 10 offences over a ten year period. The medium sum involved in each offence was \$300.

11 There is a debate among researchers as to the most and least appropriate terms in this area: pathological, compulsive or problem gambler (see Rosenthal & Lorenz, 1992:648). The term 'problem' is a more inclusive term for any gambling which disrupts an individual's person, family or vocation. The term pathological is considered more accurate than compulsive, however the implications of illness in the former term have brought it into question. Mark Dickerson's paper, *Pathological gambling: or what's in a name?* at the opening session of the 10th International Conference on Gambling and Risk Taking (Montreal, 1997) presents the case for the 'use-by date being up', for the term pathological gambling.

Dickerson and colleagues (1996:56) report various determinations of the extent of problem gambling in the state of NSW beginning with a 1991-92 benchmark figure of 1.16 percent (using a score of 10 on the South Oaks Gambling Screen [SOGS]) of the population based on a sample of 2500 metropolitan residents. However in a later study, Dickerson et al (1996:56) report that 5.3 percent of the adult population could be classified as problem/pathological gamblers, using a score of three and over on the South Oaks Gambling Screen as the defining point. They note that these results, when placed in the context of other international data, are the highest recorded.

The next step in the analysis of problem gambling and crime would be to begin to estimate the number of patrons of the casino (rather than visits) then to estimate the number of these who might be considered 'pathological' gamblers, followed by another estimate of the number who might predictably engage in illegal activity. At this stage of the current project however, there are enough uncertainties and contradictions in the existing data to caution against proceeding with such an analysis (which would also be an expensive undertaking). It will suffice to say here that given the large numbers of people who gamble at the casino (and the other sectors of the gambling industry in NSW) it is reasonable to speculate that the extent of crime associated with the later stages of pathological, or severe problem gambling would be significant.

Rosenthal and Lorenz (1992:652) report that the American Insurance Institute estimates that gambling is at the root of at least 40 percent of all white collar crime. In Sydney at a Public Interest Forum for a statutory investigation of the Sydney casino license holder, Jim Connolly of Wesley Gambling Counselling Services reported his concerns regarding gambling related crime. Connolly (1997:6) rightfully observes that there appears to be no central reporting measure to enable a proper analysis of the overall impact of gambling-related crime on the community. He also argues that given the number of times gambling was mentioned in the Wood Royal Commission into the NSW Police, 'there is an urgent need to establish an independent body to look at the whole issue of gambling related crime...'

Conclusion

During the two years of its operation, the temporary casino has certainly attracted headlines, several of which have been in relation to high profile criminal incidents, beginning with the reporting of apparent 'loan shark gang' activity in March of 1997. This, and related issues of reported Korean crime activities within and around the casino, re-emerged several more times throughout the year culminating in September 1997 with the Police Commissioner acting to ban twenty-eight underworld figures from the casino. Two persons banned were reported, one as operating an underground banking system financed by drug money at Cabramatta and the other as being a prominent heroin dealer in the same area. The two were reported as having wagered \$35 million and \$30 million each at the casino. If such sums are the proceeds of illegal activities, and others are involved in similar activities, there is cause for concern. There are also grounds for pressing the casino management to widen its surveillance activity beyond that of ensuring honest gaming to ensure that the casino acts in the public interest in keeping the casino free of criminal elements.

The situation which prevails after some two years operation of the temporary Sydney Harbour Casino is one of relative order without any significant increases in crime in the casino precinct, nor suggestion of criminality in the operation of the casino.¹² This can be put down to several factors including: an appropriate regulatory structure and the willingness of the Casino Control Authority and its affiliated regulatory bodies to enforce

this; proactive measures taken by Police, particularly in the early months of casino operation; legislation to prohibit pawnbrokers from operating in the casino precinct; the relatively 'off the beaten track' location of the casino despite its proximity to the CBD; constructive relations being established between SHC and the local community including SHC's significant involvement in a Safety Audit of the Ultimo area; twenty four hour SHC security staff presence and surveillance in and around the casino; the crime deterrent of more than 1000 construction workers having an ongoing presence in the area adjacent the casino and; an effective Casino Surveillance Division within the casino. Additionally a well established culture of gambling within the city of Sydney and state of New South Wales arguably contributes to the situation which prevails.

NSW has, until recent years, had the highest per capita gambling figures of any state or territory in Australia, due in part to the legalisation of poker machines in the state's 1500 Registered Clubs back in 1956, and to the range of other gambling outlets in existence, some for nearly the entire history of the state of NSW. The implications are that there have been many opportunities for criminal activities to emerge, flourish and be detected around various sectors of the legal and illegal gambling industry, at various times in the state's history. The several gambling-related parliamentary inquiries of the past two decades attest to this observation. The temporary casino, with its 500 poker machines and 150 gaming tables was not much larger than some of Sydney's bigger Registered Clubs, and indeed smaller than some (in 1997, the largest NSW Club had 772 machines). Hence the patterns of social order, self policing by gambling patrons, and policing by the State around and within large gambling-entertainment establishments, arguably transfer to the casino.

There are of course some exceptional circumstances mitigating against a total transfer of existing club/gambling culture, including: the 24 hour operations of the casino (now however adopted partially and fully by several clubs and hotels); the absence of membership and visitor regulations as a requirement to enter the casino; the presence of table games in the casino, several of which are of Asian origin and appeal to Australian-Asian gamblers and; the absence of a betting limit in the casino (which remains at \$10 for Registered Clubs).

The Star City casino complex which opened in November 1997 with 1500 poker machines and 200 gaming tables is however a considerably different, much larger and more diverse establishment than its temporary predecessor. Star City has a projected 7.8 to 11 million visitors per year and the internal and external policing and regulation of such a facility and its precinct, will take all involved into a new scale of operations. However, with the exception of the spate of disturbing incidents which brought the crime-gambling duo back onto the front pages of the papers in 1997, the crime prevention 'platform' which has been built around the temporary casino is a relatively well ordered one from which the permanent Star City casino and its regulators can proceed.

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