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CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT: REALITIES AND PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Inventory of comprehensive crime prevention measures

Note by the Secretary-General

1. The Interregional Preparatory Meeting for the Eighth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders on item 3 (topic I), of the provisional agenda for the Congress, "Crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development: realities and perspectives of international co-operation", recommended that an inventory of crime prevention measures should be submitted to the Congress. 1/ Close co-operation was maintained with the Helsinki Institute for Crime Prevention and Control affiliated with the United Nations in the preparation of an inventory. A text was submitted in draft form to a group of experts convened in November 1989 with the support of the Home Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.**

2. The Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, at its eleventh session, considered the text emanating from that meeting. The Committee, in its decision 11/104, 2/ considered the recommendations of the Interregional Preparatory Meeting and recommended that the Economic and Social Council transmit to the Congress a draft resolution*** in which the Congress would adopt the recommendations set out in the annex to the draft resolution, including a reference to the inventory (recommendation 12). The inventory was subsequently discussed and approved by the International Seminar on Practical Strategies for the Prevention of Crime (26 February-2 March 1990), organized in Moscow by the Ministry of Interior of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Helsinki Institute for Crime Prevention and Control affiliated with the United Nations, the participants including various members of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, experts in this field and representatives of the United Nations network of interregional and regional institutes.

3. The text of the inventory is contained in the annex to the present note.

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*A/CONF.144/1.

**Originally prepared at the request of the Institute by Mr. John Graham from the Home Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

***Subsequently, transmitted by the council in its resolution 1990/23.

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Annex

INVENTORY OF CRIME PREVENTION MEASURES

CONTENTS

BACKGROUND AND SCOPE

1. The formal processes of criminal justice - apprehension, prosecution, sentencing, punishment and rehabilitation of offenders - have in recent years been shown to have only a limited effect in controlling crime. In many countries, therefore, criminal policy has increasingly focused on developing informal measures to prevent and reduce crime. This inventory brings together the experiences of countries in preventing crime with a view to providing a wide-ranging overview of general strategies and specific measures. While most of them stem from developed countries, further work at the cross-national level will help to review in a more comprehensive way measures which are being applied in the broader United Nations membership.

2. The present inventory is therefore neither prescriptive nor exhaustive: some measures apply only to certain types of offences that are not necessarily prevalent in all societies, and others may require considerable investment in financial and other resources. Many measures, however costly, are not highly technical. The report describes and assesses the strengths and weaknesses of established and emerging approaches to preventing crime, and offers policy-makers and practitioners an opportunity to adopt the most appropriate measures for the particular situations they have to face.

3. The report is divided into four sections. Section I deals with social measures to tackle the root causes of crime and the dispositions of individuals to offend. They may be targeted either at the general population or at specific groups at risk. Section II deals with situational crime prevention, which is primarily concerned with reducing the opportunities to offend. Section III is on community-based crime prevention, which improves the capacity of communities to reduce crime by combining both situational and social measures. Section IV covers the prevention of crime, from the planning of initiatives to their implementation and evaluation. The strategies described in the first three sections are not separate or discrete but interconnected and complementary approaches.

4. Most of the experience gained and most of the successes so far achieved have been in relation to property offences (personal theft, burglaries of homes, commercial and public property, criminal damage etc.). The United Nations surveys of crime trends, operations of criminal justice systems and crime prevention strategies* have shown that, in all countries, property offences form by far the majority of all offences reported. Furthermore, the situations in which such offences as theft, burglary and robbery are committed do not differ significantly from one country to the other, regardless of the stage of development or the cultural, legal or social system. Although the main focus of the inventory is, accordingly, on property offences, the strategies outlined are applicable to other common types of offences, such as street crime, assaults and various kinds of juvenile offences.

I. CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH SOCIAL MEASURES

5. The reasons why people offend are complex and wide-ranging. Two important influences are the degree of restraint on offending (i.e. controls externally imposed upon or internalized by individuals, which deter them from committing offences) and the absence of incentives to be law-abiding (i.e. lack of a personal stake in conforming).

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*For the relevant reports, see A/CONF.121/18 and A/CONF.144/6.

6. Social policy is, and should be, valuable in its own right and should not be justified on the ground of its crime preventive effect. Since, however, some aspects of social policy can have an important effect on crime, these implications need to be acknowledged. Monitoring social trends and government policies and issuing crime impact statements when new social policies are introduced, outlining their possible consequences on crime, can be of help in this respect. A range of social policies may have a bearing on crime. Six areas are cited most frequently: family; education, including policies affecting pre-school children; youth, including recreation, leisure and culture; employment, particularly the creation of employment opportunities; health; and urban and rural development, particularly housing policies. Evidence suggests that regions of the world that do not yet have large and over-populated cities would do well to pursue an urban planning policy that would deliberately limit the size and population of their urban communities, to adopt rural development policies to stem the exodus to towns, and to provide the necessary services and facilities for migrants.

7. Social crime prevention differs from situational crime prevention in at least three ways. First, it focuses primarily on young people, including children. Secondly, it covers a broader but less definable area of crime and, particularly, juvenile delinquency. Thirdly, even if short-term situational crime prevention projects can be tested, crime prevention through social measures is a long-term programme-based approach that is very difficult to evaluate in terms of its direct impact upon crime.

A. Family

8. The ability of families to function effectively is a crucial factor in preventing delinquency. Research has shown that, along with good education and proper employment, stable and emotionally healthy families are powerful sources of effective socialization and social integration. Studies of child development have shown that early troublesome, dishonest and in general antisocial behaviour is an important predictor of later offending and that the structure and functioning of families play a central role in shaping the behaviour of children. The key to preventing delinquency would therefore seem to lie in the promotion of wholesome family life styles and coping skills, and - in case of problems - in measures for early childhood intervention.

9. Children who show early signs of antisocial behaviour are more likely to become serious, persistent offenders than those who begin offending in their mid-teens, who tend to grow out of crime. The former often come from families under severe stress, with multiple social and personal problems, discord and interpersonal conflict. The parents are likely to be of relatively low socio-economic status, to have a criminal record, to exercise harsh and erratic discipline, to neglect their children and to come themselves from similar families. Where children have only one parent, they are even more vulnerable to social maladjustment, especially if the parent is young, socially isolated and dependent on welfare. Low socio-economic status, separation or the fact of having only one parent need not necessarily predispose children to antisocial and delinquent behaviour. It is not the absence of a parent so much as the quality and endurance of the child's relationship with the remaining parent that are important. An unstable family or inadequate parenting can be compensated for by one good relationship outside the family or successful experiences in other areas of socialization, particularly at school.

10. There are limitations on the development of crime prevention policies based on supporting families. Politicians and professionals are sometimes reluctant to interfere in what is a very personal and private area of life.

But a social and material support system is particularly important to avoid criminogenic marginalization and to offset family breakdown or the loosening of family ties.

11. There are several forms of early family intervention that can help to prevent crime. They are summarized in the following paragraphs.

12. Family support programmes. A range of family support systems can be developed to assist parents who find themselves in a difficult situation. In addition to financial and material support, families should be able to avail themselves of child-care services, emergency day-care, health assistance, crisis intervention, counselling and temporary respite schemes, especially for single parents. Child care by trained professionals permits the identification of behavioural problems or child abuse at an early stage and provides an opportunity for informal child-rearing advice. Home support services using outreach workers, based at drop-in or day-care centres, can also furnish informal advice on parenting and home management skills, nutrition and other aspects. Family support programmes, especially if linked to other social services and informal neighbourhood networks, can improve school behaviour and performance, both of which are associated with lower rates of delinquency.

13. Parental guidance and education. Parenting courses can be useful for helping parents to recognize and respond more appropriately to family behaviours that may adversely affect children. They can be taught to respond more constructively, to use discipline less harshly and more consistently and to avoid situations that can precipitate discord. In practice, initial participation rates are often low and drop-out rates high, although both can be improved with financial incentives (i.e. larger family allowances). Some evaluations of parent training programmes have shown limited success in reducing early disruptive and aggressive behaviour; the question as to whether this also results in reductions in later delinquency is more difficult to establish and the evaluations conducted provide no evidence of such results.

14. Pre-school programmes. Pre-school programmes focus on improving the educational achievement, social competence and behaviour of young children from immigrant families, socially and economically disadvantaged families, or children with various difficulties. Two-year programmes for infants have been shown to improve educational achievement, social competence and behaviour in school and, to some extent, to reduce rates of later offending. Where pre-school programmes can be supplemented by special socialization and enhanced educational programmes during primary school, crime prevention may be improved.

15. Other family-based interventions. There are certain stages at which families are naturally placed under greater strain. Specific resources can be used to support families during such periods. Centres providing counselling and advice for parents and voluntary conciliation schemes for families in the process of breaking up are two examples. Difficulties in the family can cause teenagers to leave home prematurely. As a consequence, they may well become homeless and involved in crime, sometimes just to survive. Family and housing policies that reduce the risk and incidence of homelessness and programmes that make provision for those who become homeless are therefore important social crime prevention strategies. If and when a runaway is picked up by the authorities, parents should have the right to be informed that their child is safe. Taking into account the child's right to protection from abusive parents, reasons for leaving home must be carefully examined prior to any decision being taken on his or her possible return to the family. Sensitive procedures for initiating and conducting reconciliation between parent and child should be developed. Special centres with emergency shelter and access to longer-term

hostel accommodation, as well as efforts to reunite runaways with their families and dissuade would-be runaways from leaving home should form the main focus of a strategic response to the problem. Other services, such as counselling, training in survival skills and help in finding employment or alternative means of subsistence, should also be provided for runaways, preferably as part of a multi-agency response. Providing accommodation and other services for them cannot make up for the loss of a stable family environment. The provision of alternative, extended families for high-risk youths, including runaways, can partly compensate for such a loss. An extended family, which may consist of surrogate parents and use peer group pressure to exert discipline and control, can provide a sanctuary in which members can build new relationships, acquire a sense of self-esteem and develop emotional and financial independence. The essence of the extended family concept is to protect young people at risk by linking the stability of family life to the protective elements of education, training, employment and roots in the community. Where decisions are taken to remove a child from his or her parents, efforts should be made to provide suitable alternatives, such as foster parents or adoption, and institutionalization should be avoided as far as possible. In all cases the rights of children to be heard and to have their opinions taken into account should be protected.

B. School

16. Schools represent a powerful influence upon the young. Children spend a great deal of their formative years in various establishments designed to meet their need for education and socialization. Schools, which provide a captive audience for policy-makers, therefore constitute an attractive focus of intervention. They offer opportunities for promoting social equality, cultural pluralism and personal belonging, and for helping young people to acquire moral standards, social skills and a sense of responsibility as citizens. More specifically, they can provide pupils with guidance on their civic duties, the nature of delinquency and the importance of respect for the law, the implications of committing an offence, the workings of the criminal justice system and ways of preventing crime.

17. Pupils who fail or behave disruptively at school, or who are persistent truants, are more likely to offend. The causes of these three problems are not entirely clear, but policies that influence the capacity of schools to minimize their occurrence form the central focus of school-based social crime prevention strategies.

18. School-based prevention strategies that focus upon the treatment of individual pupils may have a limited impact on the reduction or prevention of delinquency and can even be counter-productive. Introducing social learning and life-skill courses into the school curriculum can increase the ability of pupils to anticipate and handle conflicts, including potentially criminal situations, but not on a permanent, long-term basis. The most promising approach to school-based crime prevention is to attempt to change the organization and "ethos" of schools, in other words the history, values, attitudes and practices of school as an institution, which, in combination, give it a unique atmosphere or climate.

19. Social interaction within the school, the school's values and its organizational structure represent the focus of such strategies. A number of features of schooling have been identified by research as important constituents of effective schools, including: (a) the content, range and flexibility of the curriculum; (b) the expertise of the teachers, in terms of both their instructional and their class management skills; (c) the nature of relations between pupils and teachers, and the system of rewards and punishments; and

(d) the integration of teaching, disciplining and caring functions. Schools are effective where there is a high level of commitment and pupil participation, where all pupils succeed in some way or another, where teachers and pupils like and trust one another, where rules are clear and consistently and fairly enforced and where schools accept full responsibility for looking after as well as teaching their pupils. Schools that successfully motivate, integrate and reward their pupils, irrespective of social class, ethnic origin or academic ability, are likely to contribute the most to preventing crime.

20. The schools that are likely to have high rates of delinquency among their pupils are those which, inadvertently or otherwise, segregate pupils according to academic ability, concentrate on academic success at the expense of practical and social skills, categorize pupils as deviants, inadequates and failures, and transfer responsibility for the behaviour and welfare of their pupils to outside agencies and institutions. Schools that permanently exclude their most difficult pupils, or ignore those who persistently fail to attend school, may themselves be contributing to the promotion of delinquency.

21. A range of measures can assist schools in the responsibility for fully integrating those most at risk of offending - the persistent truants, the failures, the most troublesome. Schools should be informed of known truants and special reintegration programmes should be devised to encourage this type of juvenile to come back to school. Locally based teams of peripatetic teachers, skilled in work with difficult children, to be made available to schools, could help to resolve problems of disruptive behaviour within the school or the classroom at the earliest possible stage. It is important that, as far as possible, disruptive behaviour should be tackled within the context in which it arises, without making the child a scapegoat. In some cases, schools may need to review their own organization and "ethos" with a view to changing the internal conditions that give rise to truancy and disruptive behaviour.

C. Youth activities

22. The main object of youth activities is to secure the personal development of the individual through social education, a crucial component of which is to encourage young people to take responsibility for their own actions. Young people should therefore be offered as much scope as possible to participate in and take responsibility for the activities in which they engage. While it can be difficult to maintain a balance between exercising control and allowing young people to manage their own affairs, it is important that they learn to take responsibility for their own actions, including those which amount to breaking the law. With the greater exposure of young people to periods of underemployment or unemployment during the transition to adulthood, cultural and leisure activities have become increasingly important. With limited opportunities for making decisions and taking responsibility in the world of work, young people need to be offered alternative ways of acquiring independence and maturity. The importance of providing diverse and imaginative forms of leisure and cultural activities in a world that increasingly values and encourages passive consumption and creates for many young people unattainable expectations should not be underestimated.

23. Young people need to feel they are useful, appreciated and of value. Projects initiated and managed by young people themselves can help them gain a sense of self-esteem and independence. Sport, music, theatre, dance, literature and other such activities can help them to gain self-knowledge and insights into their worth and their ability to relate to others. As well as relieving their boredom, such pursuits can help to counter ethnic and racial

ignorance and prejudice and to integrate young people into the wider community. One traditional form of activity is the organization of youth clubs. Some clubs tend to experience difficulty in attracting older teenagers and those most at risk of offending; in some cases, they may even become a breeding ground for delinquency. Other forms of youth work, such as information, counselling and advice centres, drop-in centres, skills centres and detached and outreach work, are also unlikely to prevent crime on their own, and should not be expected to do so, but they can be a valuable part of multi-pronged efforts.

24. There are at least five ways in which youth workers, in collaboration with young people, can contribute to crime prevention. They can: (a) identify peer group networks and patterns of behaviour that lead to conflicts and the commission of offences; (b) explore the relationships between these patterns and situations and the individual and collective needs and identities of the young people concerned; (c) seek to encourage alternative sources of prestige and status; (d) provide access to the services of local agencies; and (e) divert young people from crime-prone situations into legitimate self-chosen activities.

25. Services and facilities for young people should be provided in a broader, multi-agency framework (see section III below). The complex, interconnecting network of services - education, training, employment, accommodation, cultural and leisure activities and social security - needs to be co-ordinated at the local level with due regard to local conditions. Street workers or their equivalent are often in the best position to discover the precise needs of young people and can therefore play an important mediating role between them and this network. Further information can be collected from small, local surveys on the social and economic situation of young people and by monitoring the effects of national and local policies on young people at risk of committing an offence.

26. Resources should be targeted primarily at areas with limited delivery of services, high crime and high unemployment and at particular periods, such as after-school and school holidays. In addition, care should be taken to ensure that the groups most in need of resources have easy access to them. Clear principles of co-operation between youth workers and law-enforcement authorities should be developed. The respective areas of police and youth work need to be clearly defined and a code of practice drawn up outlining how they should work with one another. The police should recognize the youth worker's need to maintain the confidence and trust of young people and, similarly, youth workers should respect the importance of the law. Youth workers have to come to an understanding with the police about how to respond to offences by clients.

D. Employment

27. The relationship between employment and crime is very complex. The effects of unemployment on crime have not so far been successfully isolated from a wide range of other socio-economic factors, such as income distribution and inequality, urban deprivation and deficits in education. Nevertheless, it is widely felt that unemployment is closely interrelated with social and economic deprivation and is an important factor in crime. The relationship between local and national employment policies is also very complex. Employment policies at different levels should be consistent, but in practice this may not be the case. Generally, employment and training programmes concerned only with reducing crime have, with some exceptions, been largely ineffective. Programmes that focus on providing long-term, quality employment are more likely to be effective than those which attempt to change attitudes and

behaviour or provide only short-term employment. Programmes that remove participants from high-crime neighbourhoods and crime-prone peer groups have had some short-term success, but since most participants return to their natural environment, they are of only limited value.

28. Two main kinds of employment-based approaches may help to reduce or to prevent crime: (a) the provision of training and work experience; and (b) improvement and expansion of employment opportunities.

29. Training and work experience. Training and retraining should be linked to the requirements of the local market in general and of local employers in particular, and should take account of changes in patterns of employment, technological developments and career aspirations. Along with work experience, they should develop technical and vocational skills and provide formal qualifications. Courses in life-skills and community service and, if necessary, remedial courses in areas such as literacy and numeracy are usually required. The training should also focus on improving the readiness of individuals for the discipline of the world of work, with its rules and expectations. Those unemployed for a prolonged period, and those who never had an opportunity to work, may need on-the-job training, gradual exposure to work and various forms of social support. Placement strategies should be used to fit trainees to jobs and vice versa. Where only short-term, unskilled work is available, strategies for placing trainees in long-term, semi-skilled or skilled work with prospects should be formulated. Ultimately, however, resources for training and work experience will be largely wasted without the development of employment opportunities.

30. Improvement and expansion of employment opportunities. The creation of new employment opportunities should be based on developing the local economy and creating new opportunities for work to benefit the community. New jobs should be created with a view to long-term employment rather than merely serving as stop-gaps of the sort that employees may well be familiar with, and to which crime is likely to seem an attractive alternative. Local participation enhances commitment and is more likely to produce employment opportunities that coincide with the needs and skills of local residents. The private and public sectors should co-operate to make the most of employment opportunities, for example by offering incentives, including financial incentives such as those used to persuade organizations to employ ex-offenders, and grants for relocation and a new beginning. The quality of existing employment should be enhanced so as to provide a greater incentive to apply for and keep jobs. As well as income, work should, as far as possible, provide a degree of satisfaction, a source of identity and status and long-term prospects. Networks should be developed, providing basic information on the types of jobs available and the requirements for and daily content of different jobs. Informal networks - the provision and connections through personal contact with friends and relatives - can also be supported and enhanced. In unstable, socially disorganized communities, where economic development faces considerable difficulties, the public or private sector may have to compensate for the lack of informal networks among the most marginalized groups.

E. Health policy

31. Many persons have physical or mental disabilities that contribute to their marginalization. To ease their social integration, these disabilities should be dealt with through an integrated health policy. National policies to promote better health, nutrition and psychological and emotional well-being should be co-ordinated with targeted programmes at the local level.

F. Urban planning and housing policies

32. Social development and planning of neighbourhoods, including subsidized housing, are important elements in preventive crime. Urban planning, and in particular housing policies, have tended to focus on subsidized housing for multi-problem, low-income families. However, concentrated subsidized housing can increase the likelihood that young people already prone to delinquency will meet others similarly predisposed, thus amplifying the potential for delinquency. Social housing programmes should therefore emphasize the importance of integrating subdidized with non-subsidized housing. The development of urban planning and housing policies should involve the close participation of all residents.

II. SITUATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION

A. Measures that reduce opportunities to offend and increase the risk of detection

33. Situational crime prevention comprises measures directed at specific forms of crime; such measures involve the management, design or manipulation of the immediate environment in which these crimes occur in as systematic and permanent way as possible, so as to reduce the opportunities for criminal behaviour and increase the risk of detection as perceived by a broad range of potential offenders. The "situational perspective" is most useful for explaining crime committed by normally law-abiding people acting rationally, but under specific pressures, and in specific, usually "opportunistic", situations. It is generally applicable to petty and acquisitive crime such as residential burglary, shoplifting and vandalism. It may also be applicable to violent offences committed under certain circumstances. Situational measures have frequently been adopted in residential areas, but apply equally in other settings, especially retail premises and transport undertakings.

34. Their success depends on the extent to which potential offenders believe that situational changes adversely affect the ease, the risks and the rewards of committing offences, and on how this belief influences their decision whether or not to commit an offence. Clearly some situational measures will affect the decision-making of potential offenders more than others. Equally, certain potential offenders will be more influenced than others by changes in a situation.

B. Measures that hinder the commission of offences

35. There are at least three ways in which opportunities for committing crimes can be made physically more restrictive: by "hardening" the target; by removing the target; and by removing the means of committing a crime.

1. Hardening the target

36. The target may be hardened by increasing the physical security of targets through the use of locks, reinforced and unbreakable materials, alarms, and immobilizing devices, while vulnerable objects can be placed behind fences, grills or meshes or in safes. Vandalism to and thefts from telephone kiosks have been reduced by, for example, replacing aluminium coin boxes with steel ones, and thefts from retail and commercial premises have been reduced by the skilful deployment of intruder alarms. The most frequently targeted offences, which attract various hardening strategies, are robberies, burglaries, shoplifting and thefts of and from vehicles. Four target-hardening strategies are

commonly adopted: security improvements; building and design codes; publicity campaigns; and insurance incentives. The first two act directly on targets, while the second two act largely through persuasion.

(a) Security improvements

37. Locks and other devices are commonly employed to protect various kinds of premises from outside intrusion. Once installed, such devices are of little value if not used, so attempts to increase the security of property must also focus on encouraging owners to be more cautious. Security surveys may be undertaken by specialized police officers or others, such as insurance companies and community crime prevention agencies, which should tailor their advice to the security needs of individual property owners. To be most effective, security advice should advocate measures that fit in with the needs and priorities of people's daily lives. Their effectiveness depends largely on what targets are being hardened. For example, the installation of compulsory steering column locks on cars has been known to reduce car thefts dramatically, and cost-effectively, although all cars, both old and new, should also be secured. In contrast, there is some limited evidence to suggest that target-hardening measures in public housing have reduced the number of burglaries, since there may be some displacement to other areas or forms of crime (see section IV).

(b) Building and design codes

38. A more comprehensive, long-term approach to the protection of property is to ensure that new buildings and, indeed, entire areas, comply with specific security standards. National codes detailing the costs of installing different levels of security in various kinds of properties and guidelines for architects and builders on building security have been developed in some countries. Care should be taken to ensure that security standards do not conflict with fire-prevention requirements. In addition to steering column locks, the "crime-free car" should have central locking systems, alarms, windows made of reinforced glass and registration numbers etched on windows to reduce their resaleability if stolen. Motor manufacturers need to be persuaded that they are responsible for producing secure vehicles. Insurance companies should provide incentives to consumers to purchase vehicle security, and the public needs to be persuaded that people are themselves ultimately responsible for the security of their vehicles. If possible, builders and manufacturers should be obliged to conform to minimum security requirements which should be a part of building or design codes, both for housing and for producing security devices.

(c) Publicity campaigns

39. Because certain crimes, for example thefts from homes and cars, are widespread and many are facilitated by the negligence of owners, publicity campaigns aimed at inducing potential victims to guard against such crimes have become commonplace. But the effects of such campaigns, whether conducted through radio, television broadcasts, advertising in the press or the distribution of leaflets, are difficult to measure. Initiatives that combine them with other measures, such as police patrols or the installation of central locking devices in vehicles, can increase the willingness of householders and vehicle owners to take precautions. While general publicity campaigns tend to augment levels of knowledge and concern, it is rare for them to change actual behaviour substantially or to reduce crime rates, except, perhaps, in the short term.

(d) Insurance incentives

40. Insurance companies, by insisting on the installation of security hardware as a condition of insurance cover, can increase the use of security devices, although care must be taken that the additional costs involved do not deter potential purchasers. Crime tends to be more widespread in poorer areas, which consequently have a greater need both for security measures and for insurance against the effects of victimization. Since insurance premiums in such areas tend to be very high, it may be necessary to provide the poorest with subsidies or to offer discounts to tenants who install security devices. There is as yet little evidence on the effects of commercial insurance on the prevention of crime. The computerization of insurance claims can increase the detection of insurance fraud but is unlikely to eliminate it. Given that the costs of insurance claims, including fraudulent claims, are passed on to the consumer, and that the poor are most likely to be victimized by crime, insurance tends to discriminate against those least able to afford protection.

2. Removing the target

41. Some crimes can be prevented by removing access to the target or by designing the environment so that opportunities for crime are minimized. Blank walls can be covered with special materials to discourage graffiti; using cheques, credit cards and other forms of "plastic" money instead of cash reduces the opportunities for crimes such as security van robberies and thefts from telephone kiosks; similarly, theft of fares deposited in trams or bus boxes can be prevented by a system of pre-paid tickets.

3. Removing the means of committing an offence

42. Certain offences can be prevented if the means for committing them are made unavailable. Screening airline passengers for weapons and explosive devices has reduced the incidence of aircraft "skyjacking" and football violence has been tackled through the systematic searching of fans prior to matches and the removal of bricks, stones and other potential weapons around football grounds. An important example of removing the means of committing a crime is gun control, namely the restriction or registration of firearms ownership, even though the extent to which gun control applies may become a very debatable issue.

C. Measures that influence the costs and benefits of committing an offence

43. The costs and benefits of committing an offence can be influenced either by reducing the incentive to do so or by increasing the perceived threat of apprehension and conviction. The former consists in decreasing the expected benefits from committing an offence, in the case of theft, for example, by reducing the value of whatever property is stolen, usually by marking the property. Such measures extend beyond prevention and into the realm of detection. Installing dye on bank notes and painting markings on retail goods, or using olfactory chemicals on carpets, may not only deter offenders but may also assist in their detection. One way of increasing the perceived threat of apprehension would be to strengthen the various forms of surveillance, and it could be applied to most forms of crime. It is not capital-intensive, like other situational measures, but "person-intensive". It can be divided into formal and informal surveillance on the one hand and natural surveillance on the other.

1. Property marking

44. The durable marking of property such as cars, bicycles and valuable household goods reduces its value in the eyes of the offender by making the property easier to identify and thus less marketable and less usable. Names or identity numbers can be engraved on property with special engraving equipment or invisible ink. This alone, however, rarely affects the chances of recovering property should it be stolen, or of preventing its resale. Where schemes use stickers advertising that goods are marked and where high participation rates can be secured with a minimum amount of effort (which is rare), burglary and theft rates are more likely to decline. This suggests that the success of property marking schemes lies not only in their capacity to reduce the value of stolen goods, but also in their capacity to suggest to potential offenders that owners are more wary of being victimized and that the risk of apprehension is thus greater.

45. There are a few examples of very successful property marking schemes in rural areas. The application of highly visible paint marks to all containers of farm chemicals, along with stickers announcing they have been marked and a publicity campaign to raise public awareness, have been known to reduce radically the theft of farm chemicals. Grain can be very inexpensively marked by mixing it with small pieces of numbered paper. Other goods, such as timber, mechanized farming equipment and livestock have been successfully marked, tagged or branded. It is not known, however, to what extent these initiatives may displace crime to other areas or other forms of offence.

2. Formal and informal surveillance

46. Formal surveillance refers to the activities of those, usually the police, whose sole or primary function is to deter potential offenders by providing a constant threat of apprehension. However, while the mere presence of the police (or security personnel) in certain places may be enough to deter offenders, simply employing more police officers does not automatically lead to a reduction in crime. Formal surveillance by private security firms has become increasingly commonplace. Traditionally, companies have hired the services of private security firms to patrol and control access to mainly privately owned premises. In recent years, security firms have become active in semi-public premises such as shopping centres, airports and holiday camps. In some countries, central and local governments have established their own security firms. Elsewhere, police forces have entered into partnerships with private firms. The expansion of the size and scope of surveillance by private firms raises questions about those firms' authority and their relationship with the police. The activities of private security officers need to be regulated by legislation, which should include requirements for the screening and training of security officers and arrangements for supervision by local police.

47. In contrast, informal surveillance is carried out by public service officials, company employees and ordinary citizens as part of a wider role or job. Employees in a position to assist in preventing crime include concierges, car park attendants, bus and tram drivers, ticket inspectors, shop assistants, teachers and stewards at sports stadiums. Surveillance by caretakers on housing estates and concierges at the entrances to high-rise residential blocks and other premises has been found to reduce levels of vandalism and burglary (and maintenance costs) and increase feelings of safety and social interaction amongst occupants. The reintroduction of supervisors on public transport has also increased informal supervision and led to a reduction in vandalism and in non-payment of fares. The effectiveness of employee surveillance in reducing crime in residential, retail and recreational premises and on public transport

can be enhanced by technical equipment, such as entry phones, closed circuit television and radiotelephones. The most informal kind of surveillance is that carried out by ordinary citizens in their places of residence and elsewhere. There are two main ways in which the potential for surveillance by ordinary citizens can be tapped, namely by organizing citizen patrols and neighbourhood watch schemes.

(a) Citizen patrols

48. Where crime prevention is thought of as the task of every responsible member of society, ordinary citizens may form patrols to act as the "eyes and ears" of the police. Citizen patrols usually consist of groups of volunteers who help the police by watching from particular vantage points, checking on strangers and patrolling areas, often at night. They check property and buildings and report deficiencies (e.g. open windows and unlocked car doors) to the owners and suspicious incidents to the police. Patrols vary according to location and area (individual buildings, factories, estates, neighbourhoods, rural areas, transport systems, schools etc.), function (property protection, person protection, monitoring of police behaviour and community safety issues such as fire prevention) and mode of transport (foot, vehicular). While citizen patrols may alert potential offenders to the fact that a community is continuously being watched, they have not yet convincingly demonstrated their independent effectiveness in reducing crime. A variation of citizen patrols in residential areas is the neighbourhood or block watch. Another variation is patrol by parents in areas where large numbers of adolescents usually gather: experience has shown that the mere presence of such patrols serves as a deterrent.

49. Some voluntary patrols bear a close resemblance to the regular police. They are given special training, wear uniforms and may under certain conditions use measures similar to those of the police. While they act within the law, they may not be accountable for their actions to the same extent as the police are.

50. The dividing line between active public involvement and unacceptable interference is a thin one. Voluntary patrols may be accused of vigilantism, of unnecessarily intruding into areas of personal privacy, of usurping rather than assisting the police in their duty to uphold the law, of arousing suspicion among neighbours and of inadvertently undermining civil liberties. Constant vigilance should accompany the expansion of surveillance in this form if human rights and freedoms are to remain intact.

(b) Neighbourhood watch

51. The essence of the neighbourhood watch scheme is to encourage citizens to watch out for and report suspicious incidents. Small groups of citizens come together to share information about local crime problems, exchange crime prevention tips and make plans for engaging in surveillance of the neighbourhood. Members keep an eye on each other's property, mark their goods, improve the security of their homes and in some programmes make suggestions for upgrading the physical environment. Other activities include victim/witness assistance schemes, and block (or estate) parenting schemes, which provide safe havens for children in trouble. Neighbourhood watch programmes are usually started by the police or by a group of active residents. They may cover only a few residences or extend to thousands, although the most common size tends to be between 300 and 500 dwellings. A local co-ordinator is usually appointed and individual estates within a neighbourhood may appoint representatives to act as intermediaries. Meetings and newsletters keep members up to date and

offer crime prevention advice, stickers are applied to the outside of dwellings to denote membership and street signs can be used to signify that an area is covered by a neighbourhood watch scheme.

52. Neighbourhood watch is easiest to set up and sustain in homogeneous, stable neighbourhoods, where participation in voluntary and community organizations is common. In dwellings where occupancy rates are low and there is poor visibility, the effectiveness of public surveillance is more limited. In areas with a high resident turnover, the identification of strangers is difficult, particularly since in many communities outsiders may enter the area for legitimate reasons. Participation rates in such areas may also be low or difficult to sustain and it may be necessary to broaden schemes to cover other issues or attach schemes to other, pre-existing initiatives. In practice, there is no conclusive evidence that potential offenders are substantially deterred by the knowledge that an area is covered by a neighbourhood watch. An accurate assessment of the scheme's effectiveness in reducing crime is complicated by the considerable number of poorly evaluated projects, many of which claim unequivocal success. The underlying theory is that, by extending informal surveillance, the number of cases reported to the police and the number of arrests increases, the number of offenders on the street declines and other potential offenders are deterred from committing offences in what is perceived as a more risky area. The benefits of neighbourhood watch can go beyond informal surveillance. By coming together to fight a common problem, the frequency and quality of social relations amongst residents may improve, community bonds may be enhanced and the community's capacity to defend the neighbourhood from offenders may increase. This is one, if not the main, objective of community-based crime prevention, which is covered in section III.

3. Natural surveillance of the physical environment

53. Some areas are naturally endowed with high visibility, while others, such as those with poor street lighting or with pedestrian tunnels and blind alleys, may not be. Offences are less likely to occur if potential offenders think they can be observed. In this respect, surveillance can be achieved by manipulating the environment - the design, location and lay-out of buildings and the spaces around them. Premises, and especially entry points, communal areas, car parks (particularly underground garages), playgrounds and footpaths, should be easily visible; opportunities for concealment near and inside dwellings should be minimized; cul-de-sacs and the careful placing of fences and other barriers should ensure that access to and exit from an area discourage strangers; and land uses should be mixed to encourage a bustling activity and to increase the number of "eyes on the street". Proper maintenance of property can also reduce opportunities for crime. Windows broken by vandals should be mended quickly. Security devices to prevent unauthorized entry or to detect intruders require checking at regular intervals. In public and commercial buildings, someone should be given explicit responsibility for security matters.

54. Premises that are thought of as occupied, guarded or easily visible are the least likely to be victimized. Thus, measures that give the impression of occupancy may also help to prevent crime. Where premises are left unoccupied for long periods, particularly in residential areas with a high proportion of childless families and working parents, extra precautions should be taken to give the impression that the premises are occupied. The complexity and cost inherent in carrying out environmental improvements may limit their effectiveness. Measures for increasing visibility and limiting accessibility can, for example, also reduce privacy; similarly, measures designed to instil or increase a sense of territoriality by, for example, erecting fences around public spaces, can reduce surveillance.

55. The effectiveness of natural surveillance is contingent upon the preparedness (or perceived preparedness) of individuals to intervene if they witness a suspicious incident. If they are to report such an incident, residents must feel positively disposed towards the police. They should have no fear of retaliation and should believe that the police will respond promptly and constructively. Willingness to report incidents is therefore partly dependent upon police and community relations and the policies and roles adopted by the police in particular communities (see section IV). The relationship between the physical environment and crime is complex and the subject of considerable dispute. The key appears to lie in the effects that changes in the environment have on the social behaviour of residents and potential offenders. If, as a result of redesigning a neighbourhood, residents begin to become more involved in their community and with one another, then some of the conditions for reversing neighbourhood decline and improving the capacity of the community to defend itself can be developed. Research has shown that areas with a similar design can and do experience very different crime rates. This suggests that a total approach to the physical environment needs to be combined with social and community development measures if substantial reductions in crime are to be sustained.

D. Multiple-measure situational crime prevention

56. Experience in situational crime prevention has shown that it is only under certain circumstances that individual measures affect crime rates in the long term and without displacement. It has also shown that strategies should be targeted on the basis of an assessment of local needs and problems (see section IV). Consequently, situational crime prevention has been steadily moving towards a more systematic application of multiple strategies, targeted locally and sometimes involving several agencies. The following examples in the areas of transport-related offences and offences in residential areas, will help to illustrate this trend.

57. A multi-strategic approach to transport systems consists in combining measures for reducing criminal opportunities with measures for improving detection rates and passenger safety. Thus, measures such as providing automatic entry and exit gates to reduce fare-dodging and issuing travel-cards to reduce ticket fraud are combined with measures to increase staff visibility at high-risk times and in vulnerable places and the installation of technical equipment, such as closed circuit television and alarm buttons for summoning assistance. Run down, dimly lit and vandalized stations induce fear and may facilitate the commission of offences. A multi-strategic approach can therefore also help to improve standards of lighting, cleanliness, maintenance and repair. In some cases, it may also be worth employing specialized crime prevention officers to advise management, staff and passengers, conduct security surveys and publicity campaigns, inform staff of specific crime problems and advise architects and builders on the security aspects of new works.

58. This approach is becoming increasingly common in residential areas, particularly on high-rise public housing estates, where tenants tend to feel isolated and often have little personal stake in the property. The use of situational measures in such areas can lead to a kind of "fortress" mentality, as residents become increasingly security conscious and withdraw into what they see as the safety of their homes. Also, they frequently experience increased feelings of isolation and fear of crime. Individual protection should therefore not be at the expense of social interaction within the community. Thus, projects that combine improvements in security and surveillance with community development and victim support work are more likely to

improve overall levels of community safety. To increase social cohesion and generate greater feelings of safety, tenants need to be involved with other key participants, such as caretakers, the police and representatives of the local authority, in the identification of needs, problems and preventive strategies.

III. COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION: PROGRAMMES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND MULTI-AGENCY CO-OPERATION

59. Community-based crime prevention approaches have developed out of a recognition that physical measures to reduce opportunities for committing offences should be part of a broader, community-based response. The first approach consists in preventing crime through one aspect of urban planning, namely housing policy, the second, through community development. Both are concerned with influencing the behaviour of residents and potential offenders in order to reverse neighbourhood decline and increase the capacity of communities to exert a greater degree of control over their environment and their lives.

A. Preventing crime through housing policy

60. The trend towards consciously considering the crime preventive implications of housing policy has led to the development of a range of improvements on run-down, high-crime public housing estates, which combine environmental design criteria with changes in housing management and allocation policies. Decentralizing housing management, providing maintenance and caretaking services, speeding up renting and transfers to keep the number of vacant properties to a minimum and encouraging involvement by residents are three of the main strategies employed. Others include restricting the number of children in any one housing block, locating families with children in low-rise blocks and providing better recreational facilities for the young. In more sophisticated programmes, co-ordinators are employed to galvanize residents into acting together with local agencies and the police to improve environmental and social conditions.

61. Some neighbourhoods are so entrenched in a cycle of decline that only a combination of physical, environmental, managerial and social measures can reverse the process. The difficulty of making accurate assessments of the precise state of the physical and social health of neighbourhoods in order to make correct investment decisions should not be underestimated. Even where crime and disorder are high, some neighbourhoods may still not slip into decline. It is important to resist the temptation to flood neighbourhoods with every kind of crime prevention measure available in the hope that something will work. The art of cost-effective policy making is to develop solutions that match the scale and the nature of problems. An essential component of comprehensive community-based programmes should therefore be a thorough assessment of the needs, problems, socio-economic and cultural structure and resources of the community, as well as an analysis of the problem of crime in the area (see section IV).

B. Crime prevention through community development

62. The nature of the problem, and thus the strategies to combat it, clearly vary from one housing project, neighbourhood or local area to another. Some neighourhoods comprise settled communities with established local institutions and informal networks of family, employment and friendship. Such communities are usually characterized by a strong sense of cohesion, good access to local

agencies and a co-operative relationship with the police. Crime prevention in these communities tends to revolve around the mobilization of existing resources, including volunteers, to strengthen and protect the community from outside threats. Where neighbourhoods are characterized by highly transient, heterogeneous and unstable communities with high proportions of low-income, single-parent, and multi-problem families, residents feel threatened not only from outside but also from within. If the neighbourhood also comprises run-down, poorly managed, high-rise blocks of flats, both the risk and the fear of crime are likly to be very high. In such communities, redesigning the physical environment needs to be combined with community development strategies that encourage all parties (residents, landlords, local agencies and police) to work together to reduce crime and fear of crime.

63. Existing community resources will need to be supplemented by incorporating the assistance of local agencies and tapping the resources of private as well as public institutions with a stake in the community. Where relations with local agencies are characterized by apathy and alienation, improving service delivery and access to the professionals who can provide solutions to some of the problems will be an important prerequisite of neighbourhood improvement. It is often very difficult to mobilize community support and co-operation in these kinds of communities, particularly where concern about crime is an expression of conflict between groups within the community. Consequently, where high-crime areas contain high concentrations of ethnic minorities and suffer from latent or overt racism, measures are needed to reinforce a sense of community. Similarly, where relations with the police are strained or antagonistic, mobilizing community support and generating a greater sense of "community" must partly depend on building a basis of trust and co-operation between residents and the police.

64. The approach to crime prevention required in these two contrasting types of communities will be very different. In better-off communities concerned with protecting themselves and their property from outside threats, programmes can be developed by reassessing priorities in existing community organizations. Voluntary forces can be mobilized and, together with the police, a crime preventive strategy can be constructed which focuses on improving existing relations rather than changing social conditions. In such communities, reducing the fear of crime may be as important as reducing actual crime. In poorer areas, resources from outside the community will need to be mobilized. New community organizations may have to be nurtured and potential leaders identified. Crime prevention should focus on the root causes of crime and, in particular, on the social and economic conditions that underpin the capacity of the prime socializing institutions to function effectively. Programmes to support families, improve employment opportunities and provide adequate schooling and housing must be started. Social, economic and community development are the cornerstones of this approach.

65. Preventing crime in the better-off community tends to be less of a problem. Unfortunately, conditions are far less favourable in the communities that suffer the most from crime and the fear of crime. Given this dilemma, decisions concerning the targeting of crime prevention resources - whether, for example, to concentrate on the areas that need the resources most or on areas where efforts are most likely to succeed - must be taken with care. In areas characterized by transient populations, high proportions of immigrants, weak community bonds, an absence of shared norms of behaviour, social disorganization and a range of intractable social problems, crime can usually only be reduced by tackling these endemic causes. In these kinds of areas, the threat of crime can be exacerbated by conflicts between different groups (particularly youths and ethnic minorities) and sometimes by conflicts with the police. Thus

the capacity of such communities to organize a collective response to crime and to socialize residents, especially the young, may be severely limited.

66. To a large extent, the success of community efforts to alter the social and economic fabric of neighbourhoods will ultimately depend on the development of, or at least support for, the same policies at both national and regional levels. However, there is some room for local communities to manoeuvre within the overall constraints of national and regional socio-economic policies. Resources for combating crime can be allocated to the areas that need them most; residents in high-crime areas can learn how to use existing resources more effectively; administrative arrangements can be reorganized in order to focus resources more closely on the needs identified by local inhabitants; the democratization of political power can empower local citizens to achieve their objectives more readily and effectively. There is therefore scope for developing local strategies for combating crime which go beyond tinkering with the physical environment and influence the social, economic and cultural conditions associated with crime in particular areas.

67. The range of problems that may have to be resolved includes poverty, relative deprivation, excessive consumerism, limited employment and training opportunities, drug and alcohol abuse, racial and cultural conflict, inadequate schooling, lack of community facilities, overcrowding, slum housing and urban deterioration, broken homes, poor family functioning and homelessness. Attempts to reduce crime in unstable neighbourhoods suffering from such problems require not just the mobilization of community members but also a reassessment of how existing resources are allocated and managed. In some instances, particularly at the beginning of an initiative, additional outside resources (financial, organizational and personnel) may be required. The key institutions that can influence community crime rates are networks of families, peers and neighbours, and local institutions such as schools and places of employment and, if they exist, other community organizations.

68. Crime prevention in such communities is unlikely to be effective without a concerted attempt to target resources on the groups most at risk of offending. Two important groups are likely to be marginalized: adolescents and immigrants, both of which may experience difficult transitional problems. Immigrants have to adapt to strange cultural conditions and sometimes hostile social attitudes. Marginalized adolescents have to adapt to the demanding expectations of adulthood, often without the necessary skills or resources for doing so. Both groups must find ways of successfully bridging a stage of transition not necessarily of their own making and for which they are often ill-equipped. Turning to crime may provide a "solution" for some of those who experience difficulty.

C. Integrating young people into society

69. Schemes for young people are the most common forms of community-based initiatives that focus on reducing dispositions to offend rather than blocking opportunities or increasing surveillance and detection rates. National networks of youth centres are becoming increasingly common. They can provide unemployed and unqualified school leavers with training and access to work experience, homeless youngsters with temporary accommodation and others with various forms of advice and assistance on matters ranging from how to claim welfare benefits to where to go for treatment for drug and alcohol problems. Such centres aim to give young people self-confidence and self esteem, to tell them they are worthy in spite of their limitations and difficulties and to teach them how to make decisions for themselves and live with the consequences. They can help young people to survive, grow and acquire independence.

70. Youth centres may not, however, be sufficient to build up relationships with the most alienated young people and those most at risk of committing offences. Neither is the idea that young offenders can be deterred from crime by giving them something to do and keeping them off the street an adequate solution. By identifying and working with natural peer groups at risk of offending and by keeping in close contact with local schools, parents and a range of community and other agencies, including the police and the representatives of the judiciary, youth workers and organizations can play a more central role in integrating young people into the community and in preventing offences from occurring. To a growing extent, work with young people at risk is carried out within a locally based, multi-agency network, which provides access to a range of financial, political and administrative resources, which can alter the whole range of socio-economic conditions affecting their lives and their disposition towards committing offences.

D. Crime prevention through multi-agency co-operation

71. The multi-agency approach is becoming increasingly common in efforts to start crime prevention programmes that require wide-ranging resources for generating social, economic and community development. In contrast to earlier, "top down" approaches to social engineering and crime prevention, which with hindsight were found to be politically, financially and administratively over-ambitious, recent developments have become more low-key and grass-rooted. Now, local, multi-agency committees, comprising elected representatives, members of the judiciary, the police, trade unions, the local administration, local residents and in some cases local business and industry, develop and implement their own policies based on local needs and conditions. They are usually responsible for identifying problem areas, encouraging joint strategies of intervention and prevention, co-ordinating preventive measures and targeting "at-risk" groups. Considerable emphasis is placed on local communities to determine collectively the quality of their lives. Community facilities are planned with local residents and attempts to develop or redevelop the community proceed with the community's consent.

72. Initiatives based on local decision-making and participatory democracy require national leadership and endorsement. A common form of national organization is a crime prevention council, consisting of representatives from political parties, trade unions, industry, ministries and various organizations, which is responsible for formulating policy. An alternative form of leadership can be provided by interministerial committees, with representatives from various government departments (e.g. employment, housing, health and social services, education, transport and urban planning and local government, justice and the interior). Such committees are particularly well placed to monitor and assess the impact of social, economic and educational policies upon crime. Whatever form national leadership assumes, it should take the responsibility for collecting and disseminating relevant information and should provide at least initial funding for setting up, running and evaluating local projects. In carrying out its tasks, it will benefit from strong links with the network of local multi-agency committees.

73. An important part of crime prevention is the efficient delivery of local services. In some circumstances, the decentralization of services, particularly housing services, may improve their efficiency. Special committees or other bodies can be set up to consider all local services in relation to crime and community safety. Such multi-agency committees can help to develop corporate expertise, assist in the resolution of conflicting departmental interests and disseminate good practice. Special training courses or seminars may need to be organized for departmental representatives on such committees.

74. Members of multi-agency committees should have sufficient authority with their own organizations to integrate the views of the committee into departmental policies and vice versa. They should be made fully aware that the initiative does not represent a response to exceptional circumstances. Procedures and areas of responsibility should be clearly delineated at the outset. Care should be taken to ensure that multi-agency networks do not become an end in themselves. This may mean acknowledging, facing up to and resolving any conflicts that arise, for example, in connection with the sharing of confidential information. Agencies may feel reluctant to undermine a basis of trust which exists between themselves and other agencies or individual clients. Codes of practice can be constructed to balance the need for an exchange of information with the need for restraint and protection. Power differences between participating agencies are inevitable, but need to be tempered wherever possible. It is particularly important that the "police view" does not become dominant, to the exclusion, or partial exclusion, of the contribution of other interested parties, including victims and minority groups. Relations between multi-agency committees and local residents also require careful handling, as they, too, may have conflicting priorities.

75. Multi-agency networks can be quite complex. They must be effectively directed and their work is best managed by a professional co-ordinator, who monitors progress to stay abreast of developments and who can act as a catalyst, a negotiator and a motivator. Co-ordinators can be appointed from one of the agencies in question or externally. Both have advantages and disadvantages. Externally recruited co-ordinators may mean extra expense and they may antagonize agency workers who resent what they see as inteference. Co-ordinators appointed from one of the agencies may upset the balance of power between agencies, particularly if a consensus on goals and ways of achieving them has not yet been reached. There is little hard evidence to demonstrate whether or not the multi-agency approach is effective in targeting those most in need, building community cohesion, lessening fear of crime or reducing community crime rates. The very few evaluations that have been completed are either flawed or have focused on implementation issues. Initiatives that direct resources to small "at-risk" groups are unlikely to affect overall area crime rates, but may, if targeted on specific offences, influence their rates in the area.

76. Evaluations that have focused on implementation have produced interesting findings on the problems and conflicts associated with inter-agency co-operation. While there are considerable benefits to be had from pooling professional resources and improving communications between local agencies, care must be taken to ensure that the legal rights of the individual are protected, particularly where multi-agency committees deal with individual cases. Mutual distrust between agencies, particularly between the police and the educational and social services departments, is not uncommon and can restrict the capacity of committees to co-operate and to develop a joint strategy. Their expectations of each other are sometimes unrealistic and agency representatives may work on the basis of very different principles. One of the most important findings of these studies is the need to integrate the police into the local decision-making and service provision machinery.

E. Community policing

77. The police increasingly acknowledge the importance of getting the co-operation of the community. Community policing, with its emphasis on consultation, participation and consent, reflects this and represents a significant shift away from traditional law-enforcement models of policing. Research on its effects has, however, been somewhat inconclusive, both with

respect to its effects on crime and on relations between police and public. The degree to which community policing has been implemented is itself questionable. Nevertheless, research has identified at least four ways of improving both its concept and practice.

(a) The nature and focus of crime prevention work within the police profession need to be made clear to police officers, particularly among the lower ranks. The status of this work should be enhanced;

(b) The introduction of other performance indicators, in addition to arrest and process reports, could enhance the status of preventive work. These could include the development of productive contacts with local groups and agencies and changes in reporting levels and clearance rates for those crimes of most concern to the public;

(c) Police training should focus more on increasing professional skills relevant to community policing, particularly in developing communication and organization skills, on work with other agencies and on community relations work, especially with minority groups and with the young and the elderly;

(d) In so far as police effectiveness depends upon public co-operation, the police should construct strategies to prevent the crimes and public nuisances that are of greatest concern to the community. Since the police should not and cannot "own" the crime problem, strategies should be developed together with residents and local agencies. The police should keep the public informed about developments. Local surveys can establish the community's priorities, its expectations and demands of the police, and the areas most at risk of crime and victimization.

78. In run-down areas with high crime rates, the police task can be daunting. It may be necessary to provide a high level of service, within a community policing model, at least temporarily. Care should be taken to ensure that the work of different police units is not, inadvertently, counter-productive. Policing in such areas must be part of a multi-agency network. This, together with resident consultation and participation, is essential if the socio-economic conditions that underpin crime are to be improved.

79. Traditional forms of policing are beginning to change. Research on police patrols, the most fundamental feature of policing, has shown that the police spend most of their time offering help and advice. This means that patrols are highly unlikely to be present at the scene of all crimes, and increasing the number of patrols (with the costly exception of "saturation" policing) is unlikely to make a significant impact on overall crime levels. The experience with car patrols is similar, with the added disadvantage that they are associated with the law-enforcement aspects of policing at the expense of the community relations or peace-keeping aspects. Patrols can, however, provide a sense of security.

80. Directed patrolling appears to be more effective, particularly if integrated into an overall strategy. Where police patrols are deployed on the basis of an analysis of crime patterns, are based in small geographical areas and establish productive relationships with community residents, their effectiveness can be greater. They need to be seen, known and valued, all of which can be achieved by patrol officers spending as much time as possible in the community. Mini stations, staffed by one police officer and several volunteers and located in the vicinity of other community organizations, can increase accessibility and awareness, but usually do not reduce crime beyond the station's immediate catchment area.

IV. PLANNING, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION OF CRIME PREVENTION

81. The approaches outlined in sections I-III describe what can be done outside the criminal justice system. None of them is mutually exclusive, nor does any one of them represent a self-contained blueprint for action. They contain elements that can be borrowed, adapted and implemented according to the needs and problems faced by local communities. But whatever approaches are favoured, they must be properly planned and implemented. The process of crime prevention - from an initial analysis of the problem, through the selection and implementation of appropriate measures, to an evaluation of the initiative's success, is extremely important.

A. Analysis of the crime problem

82. The first task is to conduct a systematic analysis of crime in, and the needs and problems of, the community. Crime does not occur randomly, but shows distinct patterns, which can give important clues to prevention. Different types of crime tend to occur in specific places, usually around certain times. They tend to focus on certain kinds of property and victims and are committed by particular kinds of people using a range of methods. These patterns need to be ascertained by building up data bases, preferably computerized, of quantitative and qualitative information from a range of sources.

83. Police and other official records will provide much valuable information on where, when and how different kinds of incidents have occurred. Information from different sources can be pooled to provide a fuller picture, taking care to ensure adherence to data protection provisions. Police and official records can be supplemented by surveys on crimes, victims and offenders, which provide more accurate data. Information on "good practice" elsewhere, while not necessarily directly transferable, may also be useful. Special training in the basic techniques of data collection and greater organizational priority are needed if crime pattern analysis is to become an accepted and routine part of management. The following gives some idea of the breadth and depth of information that can be collected and analysed:

(a) Nature and location of the offence, including legal categorization and contextual information, such as motive and grounds for dispute, physical proximity (e.g. near railway station, in shopping precinct) and generic location (e.g. on platform, in subway);

(b) Timing and method of the offence, such as date, day of week, time of day, point and means of gaining entry;

(c) Target or victim of offence, such as car, bicycle, domestic goods, and age, gender and life-style of victim, including activity at time of offence (e.g. commuting, shopping, sightseeing);

(d) Physical and social circumstances of the offence (i.e. lighting, degree of crowding, presence of potential interveners etc.), and whether offence was successful or not;

(e) Cost (financial and social) of the offence, or associated damage and to whom, and type of goods stolen or damaged;

(f) Characteristics of the offender (i.e. age, gender, class, race, whether alone or accompanied, criminal record, criminal contacts, school and employment record, family status etc.);

(g) Involvement of alcohol and drugs as a motive, and contributory behaviour of the victim, such as provocation.

84. This information should be supplemented by site visits to trouble spots and general information on the neighbourhood, such as demographic characteristics, levels of unemployment and local employment opportunities, housing conditions, racial mix, local amenities, and migration patterns. Further information should also be collected on the public's definition of the crime problem, their priorities for action, their views of the police and the provision of services by other local agencies. Surveys can be repeated to assess progress and chart the need to alter priorities. To interpret these patterns, it may be prudent to draw on the wider resources of criminological research as well as on local knowledge.

B. Devising appropriate measures

85. Once patterns have been established and interpreted, situational, social and community-based measures can be devised and targeted on areas, situations, offenders and methods of offending. At this stage, impractical, expensive or politically unacceptable measures should be filtered out. Where agencies are working together, each department should assess its potential contribution. The determination of priorities between measures, when it is necessary to make a choice on the allocation of funds, will pose problems. Issues to be considered include the relative practical benefit to the community of different measures and the social and economic costs of the criminal activity under consideration. Priorities will need to be established in accordance with local circumstances. Sometimes inter-agency tensions and individual agency interests may influence the choice of measures. Nevertheless, their selection should be based on rational assessments of their likely effectiveness rather than their administrative or political convenience. Research and evaluation can help agencies to select appropriate measures and methods of working, which transcend such difficulties. If possible, crime and community analysis should also anticipate some of the constraints that may arise in implementation.

C. Implementation

86. While crime analysis is imperative for identifying the nature of the problem, it does not guarantee effective action. It is just as important to know how to implement prevention strategies effectively as to know what strategies to adopt in the first place. Unless prevention measures are successfully implemented, the theory and validity of crime prevention cannot be tested. Even partial implementation can be prejudicial, since failure to implement all measures fully can undermine the effectiveness of those which are implemented. Sometimes, however, little attention has been given to the process of implementation and the associated difficulties.

87. There are basically two approaches to implementation. Either a programme starts with a fixed agenda and implementation is designed to correspond as closely as possible to what was originally planned, or a flexible approach is adopted and a set of general measures is refined and reworked in the course of events. Under the first approach, strategies must closely match the needs and problems of the local community and conform to existing social relations and political priorities. The second approach is probably more suitable, since it can accommodate unforeseen problems. Public agencies need to respond to a wide range of competing pressures and are almost inevitably subject to the constraint of political processes and considerations. As information is acquired on their effectiveness, measures can be changed to fit the new circumstances.

88. Five main strategies can be identified: (a) the use of regulations to enforce norms of conduct; (b) the provision of facilities and practical assistance to support desired actions and advice on the best practice regarding methods; (c) the development of motivation and the use of material and non-material incentives to encourage people to adopt measures, including training for participants in preventive programmes; (d) negotiation to resolve conflicts of interest; and (e) the use of prevailing traditions and customs. Which strategies are adopted will depend upon the nature of the problem and the particular difficulties that have to be overcome. There are a number of ways of increasing the chances of effective implementation. Some are associated with programmes that are generally designed to implement public policy, while others apply more specifically to multi-agency crime prevention initiatives.

89. It is important to ensure from the outset that the community accepts joint responsibility for initiating and sustaining these programmes. Initiatives are more likely to be supported if generated from the bottom up rather than imposed. A community-based, participatory forum such as neighbourhood committees or public meetings can help to facilitate the sharing of responsibility. Such forums can increase public awareness, facilitate joint decision-making and support the initiation and co-ordination of action. Caution should be exercised to ensure that agreements reached during the decision-making stages are not progressively watered down or undone during implementation. Open forums can assist in this by bringing potential conflicts out into the open before implementation begins. Programmes that attempt to confront crime at its roots will need to establish a philosophical consensus on the major contributory factors and the potential solutions. An articulate, charismatic and committed individual is helpful for the successful introduction of such programmes, which may have to start by generating a sense of community before residents can be expected to participate.

90. A major problem is that social measures are unlikely to be seen as an appropriate response by those who perceive the threat of crime as immediate, and favour reactive policing and punitive responses to convicted offenders. Social initiatives are inevitably long-term ones, and will require individuals with a strong and continuing sense of commitment. Programmes that adopt almost exclusively situational measures are easier to implement and maintain. They are less dependent on a consensus of values, are more likely to be seen as a direct response to crime and offer solid incentives for maintaining participation. But they may well be affected by technical difficulties. Measures may conflict with fire regulations or fail to meet technical specifications. Delays may arise because materials are unavailable or in short supply. But perhaps the most important potential side-effect of situational initiatives is that the poorly designed deployment of physical and surveillance measures can inadvertently lead to a "fortress" mentality, which increases fear of crime and can worsen a community's reputation.

D. Evaluation

91. The next stage is evaluation. It is important to assess whether and to what extent crime has been reduced and whether the reductions can be attributed to the preventive measures as opposed to other events. It is also important to know whether crime has increased, remained stable or declined in relation to the regional or national levels and whether, if crime has declined in the area, it has been displaced to neighbouring areas. Some assessment of the cost of the measures, in terms of input and output, should also be undertaken. This information can help to build up a body of theoretical and practical knowledge to assist managers and funders of crime prevention initiatives to make sounder decisions on what to support, at what cost, and for how long.

1. Sources of information

92. Information for evaluations can be acquired from official records, interview surveys and direct observation. All have various advantages and limitations and need to be treated carefully. Police and other official records are very convenient, but can be misleading. Not all crimes are reported to the police and some of those that are may not be recorded. Official records have not usually been prepared with research in mind, and they may lack continuity, reliability and objectivity. Interview surveys with victims and residents usually provide more accurate data and are especially useful for assessing whether target groups have been reached. They can complement official sources and provide useful information on the contrasting perceptions of the different parties affected. If they are to encompass enough crimes, however, victim surveys need to be based on large samples and therefore tend to be time-consuming. Direct observation can provide valuable insights into actual behaviour, but can also be costly, as well as open to criticisms of subjectivity. Teams of observers can counteract this tendency, but it may be difficult to ensure that individual assessments are comparable. A combination of observation with other research methods should nevertheless be a very useful tool for interpreting changes.

2. Process and outcome evaluations

93. There are two main parts to an evaluation. The first part is "process evaluation", which consists of an assessment of what actually happened (not what was intended to happen) and how the programme was implemented in practice. Some programmes are only implemented in part, others are hardly implemented at all or are quite different from what was originally planned. Statements about the effectiveness of a programme need to be qualified on the basis of what the process evaluation says about what actually happened and why. Process evaluations often make use of qualitative data to describe and assess not only the process but also the effects of the initiative on aspects other than the crime rate, such as social cohesion, levels of fear of crime and the ability of the community to organize itself around local issues and problems. The key function of a process evaluation is not to determine whether an initiative reduces crime or not, but the conditions under which certain outcomes arise. Information from process evaluations is particularly useful for assessing whether the lack of impact of an initiative is due to measurement failure (the evaluation was faulty), programme failure (the schemes were not properly or fully implemented) or theoretical failure (the idea that the preventive strategies chosen can reduce crime is itself false).

94. The second part is an "outcome evaluation", which assesses whether a programme has done what it set out to do. Preventive measures can only be assessed in relative terms - either in relation to other preventive measures or to an absence of preventive measures. The standard procedure is to compare an area or group that has been subjected to preventive measures with an area or group that has not. Ideally, areas or groups should be randomly assigned to preventive and non-preventive categories. In practice, however, ethical and practical difficulties rarely allow this to occur. It is therefore necessary to ensure that the differences between the target areas or groups and those chosen as controls are clearly shown. One problem with outcome evaluations based on the principles of an experimental or quasi-experimental design is that they can be easily affected by extraneous events, such as the introduction of other programmes and initiatives, which may themselves influence crime rates. There are other methods that can be used, such as "before and after" studies or attitude surveys, but these also have their limitations. In practice, the approach and methods adopted will vary

according to a range of factors, including cost, time-scales, the type of programme being evaluated and the skills and preferences of the researcher.

3. Problems and limitations of evaluation

95. Evaluation is technically and conceptually fraught with difficulties. Most evaluations have been either over-simplistic or seriously flawed. It is often impossible to differentiate the independent effects of individual measures in multi-strategic initiatives. Even where a positive effect is discernible, it is usually not possible to prove that the drop in crime was caused by the initiative or whether the reduction represented value for money. If the technical and financial resources for a rigorous, detailed evaluation are not available or forthcoming, it may be preferable to forgo evaluation altogether, since poor evaluations can easily produce misinformation.

96. The task of gathering basic information on the level of crime can be time-consuming, costly and even disruptive. Research can expose management deficiencies or unethical practices. Sometimes political or financial pressure to illustrate the effectiveness of an initiative can overrule objectivity. Researchers can, however, benefit from close collaboration with practitioners, even though they may have conflicting interests. Practitioners can help researchers to be realistic and pragmatic and to apply a degree of healthy scepticism to the validity of their results. They can help to put success or failure into a cost-related perspective. Evaluation should not be seen as a purely technical and scientific process and in some cases assessments by practitioners of changes can usefully complement measurements by independent evaluators.

97. A central problem in evaluation is to ensure that any reductions in crime in one area are not made at the expense of increases elsewhere or in other, more serious, offences. While displacement is difficult to identify and measure, it is essential that an evaluation includes an assessment of whether it has occurred and, if so, to what extent and level of seriousness. Of those deterred by preventive measures, some are more likely than others to commit offences elsewhere. Professional criminals are more likely to persist than petty opportunist offenders. Where an offender has the deliberate intention to commit a crime and the opportunity to do so, displacement is more difficult to avoid. In contrast, petty, opportunistic crimes, such as shoplifting, employee theft and vandalism, are less likely to be displaced. By asking offenders about their choice of targets and *modus operandi*, researchers can learn something about their decision-making processes, which can help to assess the likelihood and extent of displacement, including the conditions that would favour a change in target area. Similarly, monitoring changes in crime patterns over a period of time can help to determine when a crime is likely to occur, thus enabling practitioners to act accordingly.

E. International co-operation and exchange of information

98. Crime prevention requires that policy-makers and practitioners should be alert to experiences and developments in other countries and should participate actively in international exchanges. Crime prevention still being a relatively new area, it is particularly in need of the advocacy and stimulus that can arise from the transfer and cross-fertilization of ideas between countries and cultures. The first requisite is to set up institutionalized arrangements for the systematic exchange of information on policies and programmes. To this end, regular conferences, seminars and workshops should be held, which would bring together policy-makers, practitioners and researchers, as well as

representatives of the public. This could lead to the formation of an international association of crime prevention practitioners.

99. Some countries have taken the lead in establishing national computerized crime-prevention information systems. Discussions are under way to establish collaborative links between them and the International Crime Prevention Information Network based in the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, to enable all interested countries to participate in the emerging network. Integration of its data base into the recently created United Nations Criminal Justice Information Network would appear to be an important step in this direction. The exchange of information would be greatly facilitated if standardized indicators of the levels of crime and of relevant criminogenic factors were to become available. Standardized victimization surveys of the general public, in as many countries as possible, would serve this purpose very well. An international crime prevention journal devoted to the dissemination of practical information, published in several languages, would fill an evident gap. An immediate step could be the production of an international news bulletin focusing, for example, on forthcoming conferences, seminars and training courses.

100. To secure an exchange of information for practitioners on a more permanent basis, an international programme for safer cities, in which cities that are planning and implementing comprehensive crime prevention strategies could be "twinned", would provide an opportunity for regular meetings between policy-makers and practitioners with a view to having a mutual substantive feedback. Comparative evaluation studies would also play an important part. The importance of promoting evaluative research in crime prevention and disseminating research findings across countries and cultures cannot be too highly stressed. Countries need to learn from each others' successes and failures, particularly through comparative intercountry studies. Since mass media campaigns, public lectures and awards for exemplary projects are important in making the public aware of the role it should play in preventing crime, it might be opportune to organize an International Crime Prevention Week.

101. Countries should avoid the mistakes made elsewhere and benefit from successful experiences. In planning new towns and urban development or redevelopment projects, the insights gained in one context can be put into effect in others. The growing concern about the human environment, in both its social and natural senses, means that many developing countries are likely to need technical co-operation in formulating and implementing crime prevention policies and programmes. This calls for the involvement of bilateral and multilateral funding agencies, for example, the United Nations Development Programme, in crime prevention projects, as an integral part of socio-economic development. Crime prevention is an area in which much can be achieved through international co-operation.

Notes

1/ A/CONF.144/IPM.1, "Recommendations", sect. A, recommendation 9.

2/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1990, Supplement No. 10 (E/1990/31), chap. I, sect. A.