

# EFFECTIVE MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRIME ASSOCIATED WITH URBANIZATION

*By Prof. Irvin Waller\**



## I. INTRODUCTION

*Many who live with violence day in and day out assume that it is an intrinsic part of the human condition. But this is not so. Violence can be prevented. ... In my own country and around the world, we have shining examples of how violence has been encountered. (Nelson Mandela, WHO, 2002)*

The developments in the last decade demonstrate that crime and victimization can be reduced significantly by prevention that uses the scientific knowledge about what works and policies that follow new norms established by the United Nations. These reductions will avoid billions of dollars in loss to victims and communities and ensure that taxes are used to invest in youth and communities as well as pay for effective police, courts and corrections.

The first section of this text provides the background in terms of the knowledge base to support the statement that crime can be reduced as well as the international norms that guide the implementation of programmes that will reduce crime and victimisation significantly.

For the norm base, a handbook is in preparation on the implementation of the UN Guidelines (Waller, Kirvan et al., 2005) which will provide Canadian and International examples to illustrate how to operationalise the principles.

In order to implement effective measures, it is essential to understand the key elements of the UN Guidelines for Prevention and the Bonnemaision version of how agencies work together to identify, plan, implement and evaluate effective crime prevention strategies.

The second section presents examples that have successfully applied those principles. For the knowledge base and the examples, the reader is encouraged particularly to look at the reports prepared by the International Centre for Prevention of Crime (1999a, 1999b) and Waller (2000) which provide more details and references on the knowledge base. They also provide details on the examples of inspiring programmes and projects that are listed in my charts below. These details provide about a page on the crime problem, the programme, the results and sources for further information which are usually available for free over the Internet.

## II. THE KNOWLEDGE BASE

The prestigious and encyclopaedic reviews that have accumulated in the last decade repeatedly recognize the cost-effectiveness of prevention. However, they do not show that the common ways for using police, courts and corrections have an impact on crime, unless there are mammoth investments. Reviews such as those done by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in England suggest that policing would have an impact on crime when it is targeted and in "strategic" partnership with school boards, and municipalities. Indeed small scale projects using these principles have had a measured impact on crime.

These reviews have examined the empirical research on what reduces crime and victimisation. They have been completed by governments, intergovernmental agencies and a few university groups (Australia, National Committee on Violence (1990); Canada, Standing Committee on Justice and Solicitor General (1993); Audit Commission, UK (1996); Home Office and Treasury, UK (Goldblatt and Lewis, 1998);

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UNODCP (Newman, 1998), International Centre for Prevention of Crime, (1999a); US Congress (Sherman et al., 2002 and 1997); Blumstein and Wallman (2000); Washington State Public Policy Institute, USA (Aos et al., 2002); HM Inspectorate of Constabulary, UK (1998/2001); US, Surgeon General, (2001); World Health Organisation (2002)).

Full references for these texts are available with a summary and internet reference on [www.crime-prevention.ca](http://www.crime-prevention.ca), which is the internet site of the Canadian Forum for Crime Prevention. This is a recently formed public interest group established to reduce crime and victimisation through evidence based prevention.

One of the most frequently cited was done in the United States. The US Congress required the Attorney General to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the effectiveness of over \$3 Billion annually spent in crime prevention grants. As independent researchers, Lawrence Sherman and his colleagues reviewed more than 600 scientific evaluations of programmes intended to prevent crime. Their seminal report pinpoints what works, what does not work, and what is promising in preventing crime and victimization. It examines the results from community, family, school and situational approaches to crime reduction as well as the effectiveness of the police, courts and corrections. This report serves as an important tool in understanding which prevention programmes are backed by scientific proof of effectiveness.

Another frequently cited review was completed by the International Centre for Prevention of Crime (1999a). This reviews both scientific literature and the government literature. It looks at projects that have worked as well as the consensus that is developing about how to implement crime prevention across cities and countries in both the developed and the developing world. It has formed the basis for the background materials used at the UN Congresses on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice as well as the influential review undertaken by the British Home Office and Treasury. The International Centre for Prevention of Crime (Montreal) also brought together 100 descriptions of prevention programmes to inspire action (International Centre for Prevention of Crime, 1999b). These have been translated into several languages including French and Spanish. They provide easy access to this extensive government literature to elected and permanent government officials with or without expertise in criminology or crime prevention.

The reviews are consistent in their conclusions that rates of interpersonal violence can be significantly reduced through well planned and multi-sector strategies that tackle multiple causes. They are cautious on the degree to which increasing expenditures on policing and corrections will reduce rates of crime and victimisation, particularly because of the costs involved. For instance, policing will not reduce rates of victimisation by:

- Increasing budgets even by large amounts, though these will take scarce financial resources away from public health nurses, teachers and youth workers all of which can significantly reduce crime and victimisation
- Continuing the common ways of delivering policing based on patrols, response to calls for service and investigation, all of which will become less and less effective in reducing crime as fewer:
  - victims report their victimisation to the police
  - offences known to the police result in an offender being identified
- Using popular American programmes, such as neighbourhood watch, boot camps and drug resistance education (DARE), which have been shown not to be effective in reducing crime

Some of the reviews were undertaken as comprehensive spending reviews to determine how governments should allocate their funds to reduce crime and victimisation. In the USA, they have had little influence but in the United Kingdom they led to trail blazing government action to reduce crime

In 1996, the *British Audit Commission* completed a comprehensive spending review of programmes to tackle youth offending, concluding that expenditures on policing, courts and prisons were misspending (on) youth. Rather than leaving police and criminal justice to only sanction offenders after the victimisation, the British government legislated a permanent commission named the *Youth Justice Board* to focus partly on preventing crime before it happens.

The *British Home Office and Treasury* also collaborated on a comprehensive spending review, in order to identify the comparative cost-effectiveness of crime prevention programmes (Goldblatt & Lewis, 1998). The report concluded that optimal crime prevention strategies involve the multi-sector tackling of the multiple

causes of crime. The components of such an integrated strategy would include (but are not limited to) interventions focusing on children and families at-risk, increasing social cohesion, improving the environmental conditions of crime "hot spots", and placing more emphasis on problem-oriented policing. This report provided the basis for the cabinet approval of a \$600 million budget re-allocation over three years, in order to invest in the *Effective Crime Reduction Strategy*.

Further, a benchmark report by the *British Inspectorate of Police* (1998 and 2001) for Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary called for the fostering of partnerships between police services and social/educational partners. In 1998, the trend setting *Crime and Disorder Act* required, among other priorities, that all municipalities undertake a multi-sector *Local Crime Reduction Strategy*. These strategies are centred upon the diagnosis of the local crime problem, the implementation of a plan, and the evaluation of the implementation process and impacts on local crime rates.

In sum the prestigious reviews conclude that social and situational prevention are effective by:

- Tackling particular social causes (inconsistent parenting, school abandonment, and so on) reduces offending.
- Tackling particular situational determinants (lack of surveillance, ease of turning into cash and so on) reduces victimization.
- Using enforcement strategically or in partnership to work (using GIS, intelligence, accountability).
- Being more cost effective than current policing, judicial and particularly prison practices, when evaluated.
- Providing additional social benefits (school completion, jobs, paid taxes and so on) when the prevention tackled the problems of youth at risk.

A key concept behind strategic approaches to crime prevention is that crime is concentrated in certain families and neighbourhoods as demonstrated by repeated large scale surveys undertaken in affluent democracies. The following highlights the conclusions.

Large scale data sets confirm social, situational and location of crime

- 5% of youth account for 55% of offences
  - Longitudinal studies confirm 5% risk factors such as relative poverty, ineffective parenting and dropping out of school
- 4% of victims account for 44% of victimisation
  - Victimization studies confirm 4% risk life routines such as not guarding goods, vulnerable to opportunity, close to offenders
- Hot spot locations for drugs and other offences
  - Police statistics confirm that hotspots concentrate offenders and victims geographically

Though there is no definitive analysis that identifies an exhaustive list of the causes of crime, the UN Congresses concur with the scientific literature that the causes are multiple and include social development, cultural, situational and law enforcement related factors. These include that crime trends are determined by changes in societies summarised below.

1. Social Development, e.g.
  - Gap between rich and poor
  - Youth excluded from school, jobs and hope
  - Demographic proportion of 15-24 males in population
2. Cultural Disposition, e.g.
  - Females dependency on males - violence in home
  - Urban shift - atomisation of families and communities
3. Physical Design of Communities, e.g.
  - Transportable property not looked after or designed for protection
  - Access to firearms, alcohol and other drugs
4. Enforcement and Justice, e.g.
  - Faceless society - low clearance rates
  - Persistent offenders not incarcerated (but huge opportunity cost)

Much of the knowledge about the effectiveness of law enforcement and factors associated with crime victimisation has come from crime victimisation surveys.

A crime victimisation survey is a survey of a representative sample of the general public to measure:

- Who has been a victim of different types of common crime (burglary, theft, assault ...),
- What motivates folk to report to police or not
- Differences between those victimised and those not
- Impact of the crime on the victim
- Attitudes to prevention and criminal justice.

National crime victim surveys have been undertaken for many years. In the USA, every year since 1972, 80,000 individuals aged twelve and over in 43,000 different households are interviewed twice for the National Crime/Victimization Survey. This survey provides the USA with annual information on trends in crime and the lack of reporting to police. It further helps to identify current crime prevention issues that need to be addressed. [www.icpsr.umich.edu/NACJD/NCVS/] [www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/]

The annual British Crime Survey conducted by the United Kingdom’s Home office is an excellent example of providing the necessary data to plan and track prevention efforts. More than 60,000 households have been interviewed every second year since 1982 in the “British Crime Survey” The survey questions adults about common offences such as residential break-ins, car thefts, assaults as well as less frequent crimes such as robbery and sexual assault. This survey produces key data for crime prevention, including the extent of repeat victimization in the United Kingdom. [www.statistics.gov.uk/ssd/surveys/british\_crime\_survey.asp]

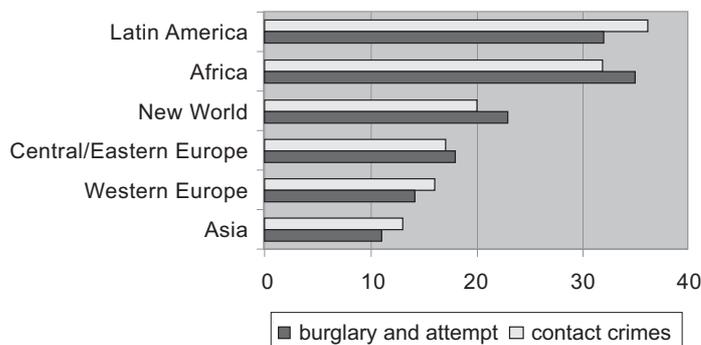
Globally, since 1989, some 40,000 different households across the world have been surveyed in the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) in four different years. This survey allows for cross-national comparisons and the examination of international victimization trends over time. Many major cities in the developing world have participated in one or more of these surveys. [www.unicri.it/icvs/]

The World Health Organisation Report on Health and Violence has identified some of the risk factors associated with violent victimization as follows:

- Routine life styles
  - Interaction with persons who are violent
  - Going out frequently
- A culture of violence
  - Violent role models at home and school
  - Tolerance of violence
  - Firearms
- Presence of facilitators
  - Alcohol
  - Other drugs

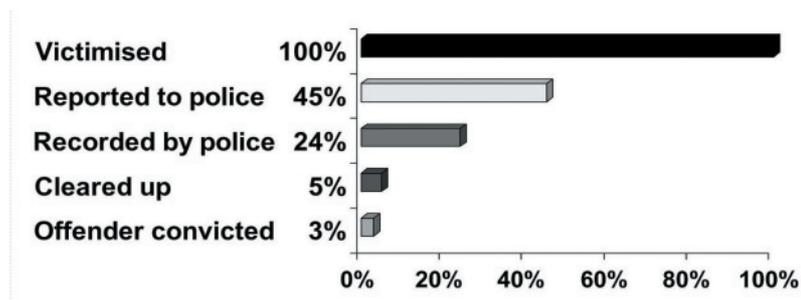
**Interpersonal Crime is a Continuing and Increasing Cost to Victims**

**Percentage of Adults Victimized:  
Previous 5 Years**



The International Victim Survey provides some important data on the rates of victimisation. These show how rates of property and violent crime vary from world region to region as well as the high proportion of victimisation that is not reported. The chart below illustrates the relatively small proportion of victimisations that are reported to police even in countries where police are very professional and popular as these data are taken from England.

**Outcomes Following Victimisation by  
Different Stages - Impunity**



The UN International norms were developed originally from experience but now are increasingly influenced by scientific reviews. The most significant are:

Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh) (1990)

Guidelines for the Prevention of Urban Crime (1995)

Habitat - Safer Cities

Guidelines on Crime Prevention (2002)

WHO - World Report on Health and Violence

There is much in common between the different instruments and intergovernmental policy perspectives. Presented below is an identification of seven key elements that run through the principles in the UN guidelines for crime prevention. There are also principles relating to overseas development and aid.

Effective Elements in UN Guidelines for Crime Prevention follow on a first paragraph that affirms the conclusions that we have already seen from the prestigious reviews

*1. There is clear evidence that well-planned crime prevention strategies not only prevent crime and victimization, but also promote community safety and contribute to the sustainable development of countries. Effective, responsible crime prevention enhances the quality of life of all citizens. It has long-term benefits in terms of reducing the costs associated with the formal criminal justice system, as well as other social costs that result from crime. Crime prevention offers opportunities for a humane and more cost-effective approach to the problems of crime. The present Guidelines outline the necessary elements for effective crime prevention.*

The following key strategies specify the essential elements required from all levels of government and civil society to achieve significant reductions in crime and victimization.

Although governments primarily bear the responsibility of ensuring proper legislation, funding, and organizational capacity, the active participation of communities, non-governmental organizations, the private sector and so on is also required to ensure effective crime prevention.

1. Systematic analysis, planning, implementation, and evaluation
2. Knowledge-driven strategies with appropriate human capacity and data systems
3. Multi-sector partnerships to tackle the multiple social factors associated with crime
4. Comprehensive strategies, targeting high risk neighbourhoods and encompassing environmental design

5. Local prevention strategies that reduce opportunities for trans-national crime
6. Public engagement and outreach
7. A permanent and funded responsibility centre for prevention

More than any other, I want to draw your attention to a process originally inspired by Bonnemaïson as a Mayor and later Speaker (Questeur) of the National Assembly of France. Crime will be solved through wise partnerships of schools, local government and policing to tackle multiple causes. The diagram is one critical key to success in reducing crime.



### III. MEASURES THAT HAVE WORKED

There are many problem oriented policing examples that have reduced crime successfully. Unfortunately many of them are at the level of the individual officer. The most important examples are those where a police agency has gone over to a problem oriented policing strategy. Here are some interesting examples, all of which have relevance for developing countries. They all represent an application of the Bonnemaïson problem solving model, though the secretariat is limited to the police and so their success is more limited. They are often limited in time because there was no structure or procedure as in the UN Guidelines to ensure their sustainability.

SACSI is particularly important for countries with concentrations of violence associated with handguns and illicit drugs. In the United States, programmes in selected Safer Cities have successfully tackled the trafficking of guns and drugs at the local level. The city of Boston launched “Operation Ceasefire” in 1995, a project based in a systematic problem-solving process that involved the implementation of problem-oriented policing through team work of the analytic capability of Harvard University and the practical knowledge of the Boston police. This strategy combined police enforcement action to eliminate access to firearms with social programmes designed to help youth in difficulty complete school and gain meaningful employment. The evaluation of Boston’s strategy revealed that youth homicide fell from an average rate of 44 per year (1991 to 1995) to 15 in 1998. In light of the success in Boston, the Department of Justice sought to replicate the process, and launched a multi-site initiative called Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative (SACSI). The sites most successful in reducing the incidence of gun-related violence and drug trafficking were those dedicated to the strategic problem-solving process of analysing local crime problems and implementing and evaluating problem-oriented solutions. [[www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/sacsi/](http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/sacsi/)]

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- Police Service Problem Solving (Newport News, USA, 1980's)  
Police chief formed analysis unit of 20 officers  
Reduced burglary, street prostitution and robbery
- "Hot Spot" Analysis and Problem-solving (Edmonton, Canada, 1990's)  
use police crime data to identify local challenges and "hot spots"  
engage high-risk neighbourhood in planning and implementing  
Edmonton Police: reduces crime 41%, violence 31% over 4 years
- Strategic Approaches to Community Safety (Boston +, SACSI, 1990-),  
joint police and university teams to analyse causes of violence  
NB success of Operation Cease-Fire in Boston for youth homicides  
Replications across USA and now piloted in Brazil
- Partnership between police and business (e.g., Netherlands, 1990's)  
reduce commercial robbery by improving situational prevention measures (limit access to cash, improve surveillance, etc.)  
create a tracking system for robbery offenders  
support community youth employment and educational initiatives  
26% drop in commercial robberies and doubled solved robberies

There are other examples of problem oriented strategies. I will mention three others that illustrate different uses of the model. I then mention an internet site that gives myriad examples in a very accessible format.

- Respond to domestic violence with police officer and social worker  
provide immediate assessment, intervention, and follow-up in crisis situations  
decreases the number of repeat calls for service  
decreases delinquency among kids of participating families
- Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)  
Increases arrests and displaces crime  
Reduces theft from and of cars  
Debate on other crime reduction impact
- Targeting offenders with stable jobs and families  
Traffic violations  
Occasional intra-familial violence
- [www.popcenter.org](http://www.popcenter.org)  
Internet site that gives many examples

There are an increasing number of projects that successfully reduce crime that engage local residents. The most famous of these started with an initiative by the Mayor of Seattle in the early 1970's. He established a Law and Justice Planning Office that undertook a Bonnemaison style analysis and then implemented three programmes to reduce burglary, sexual assault and store robberies. The burglary programme achieved large reductions in an experiment that enabled the evaluation to confirm large reductions. This programme inspired Neighbourhood Watch but unfortunately the spread of neighbourhood watch was based only on multiplying the programme itself rather than doing the problem analysis first. Also often neighbourhood watch is implemented without professionally trained workers, so that the results are not generally enduring or impressive.

Nearly fifteen years later, the UK reinvented the Seattle approach but added in an element focussed on repeat victimisation. The best example of this was the Kirkholt experiment that achieved a 75% reduction in residential burglary within four years using a "cocoon" model which refers to the mobilisation of the immediate neighbourhoods. The project involved a university professor, city officials, and others collaborating to reduce residential burglaries, by analysing the extent and causes of burglary in a high crime estate called Kirkholt. They noted a very high level of residences that were repeatedly being victimized. With the help of hired staff, they gathered neighbours and encouraged them to watch out for each others' property. They also improved the physical security of the area, such as by installing locks and lights and removing gas meters containing cash inside them, which was attracting offenders. The Kirkholt probation service was persuaded to provide high-risk offenders with rehabilitative programming. A comparison between residential burglaries in Kirkholt and in the surrounding area confirmed a 58% burglary reduction in one year and a 75% reduction over four years in Kirkholt (ICPC, 1999b, p.132).

The efforts to multiply this success across the UK produced some results but were not sustained by any permanent responsibility centre as called for by the UN Guidelines.

- City of Seattle (1970)
  - Mayor created Law and Justice Planning Office
  - City plan, priorities, implementation
  - Targeting causes with paid workers
  - 61% reduction in residential burglary in scientific experiment
- Empowering potential victims to protect themselves
  - Cocoon neighbourhood watch
  - Avoid repeat victimisation
  - Kirkholt Experiment, UK (1988) - 75% reduction
- Safer Cities, UK (1992)
- Crime Reduction Strategy, UK (1998)

In the 1970's, initial efforts to design out crime in Australia, Canada, England and the USA led to concepts such as Crime Prevention through Environmental Design, Defensible Space and later Situational Crime Prevention. It is now common in many of these jurisdictions to have police officers, architects and others trained in these concepts who sit on the planning boards that approve designs that go from entries to buildings through houses, offices, parking lots, street layout to whole cities.

The approach known as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) aims to effectively design and use the built environment in a way that reduces opportunities for crime and lessens the fear of crime within communities. CPTED is a strategy commonly used by planners, architects, police services, security professionals, and so on. Examples of direct applications of CPTED include (but are not limited to) appropriate lighting in public spaces, visible entrances to businesses and private property, deadbolt locks and peep holes on doors, and neighbourhood cohesion.

In Canada, CPTED concepts have been used to design towns with reduced opportunities for crime (Tumbler Ridge, B. C.), to design public housing projects (Vancouver, B. C.), to design schools (Brampton, ON), and to encourage resident interaction and social cohesion (Montreal, QC), among others. Various organizations across Canada strive to disseminate CPTED knowledge and practice, such as "CPTED Ontario". [[www.cptedontario.ca](http://www.cptedontario.ca)] [[www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca](http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca)].

In the Netherlands, the police developed a manual on secure housing by design in order to help housing project developers render their homes unattractive to burglars. The manual covers areas such as parking, grounds, locks, entries, and resident participation and responsibility. In order to obtain the police label of approval on their housing projects, housing developers must meet the various specifications of the manual. An evaluation revealed a 70% reduction in property crime over one year among the participating houses, which prompted the national implementation of the Secured Housing Label in 1996.

In Germany, the government introduced a requirement for all new vehicles to be fitted with steering wheel ignition locks. An evaluation revealed that cars fitted with the ignition locks were significantly less likely to be stolen than older models. [[www.crimeprevention.rutgers.edu](http://www.crimeprevention.rutgers.edu)]

Clarke has systematised some of the concepts into those that decrease rewards, reduce opportunity, increase risk and spike excuses. There are many examples of the application of these approaches. For some large scale programmes such as steering wheel locks, it has been possible to establish their preventive effects. Others such as searching airline passengers are generally accepted as working though the proof is not scientific. Still others seem to displace crime without clear evidence of reduction. These are used widely by private security companies where displacement may be sufficient. They have costs to citizens' freedoms but typically citizens will pay this price because they believe they are protected. The Clarke and Felson web site is a source of examples.

#### *Designing Out Crime*

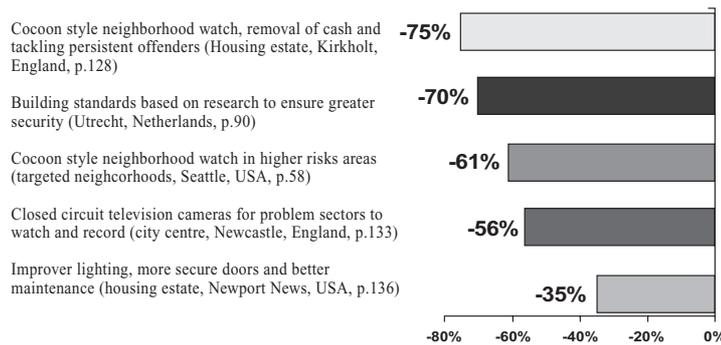
- Situational crime prevention - Clarke, USA  
[www.crimeprevention.org](http://www.crimeprevention.org)
- Firearm regulations, 1978, Canada

- Code for new housing, The Netherlands
- Steering wheel locks, Germany

Tackling causes of repeat victimisation (4% experiencing 44%) reduces crime by 35% or more. The next table provides a comparison of the types of reductions in crime achieved by these measures together with the page in the “100 Programmes” (ICPC, 1999b). These reductions justify a significantly greater investment in the use of these types of measures.

**Tackling Causes of Repeat Victimisation (4% Experiencing 44%) Reduces Crime by 35% or More**

**Solutions to increase the risks and reduces the benefits for offenders**



Problem Oriented Justice also holds out hope for crime reduction. Restorative justice has become a popular phrase and indeed will be part of a workshop at the UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice. These are typically experimental projects that have not yet become a mainstream way of doing justice.

However, France has had victims represented by lawyers in their courts for more than 30 years and many cases are settled by the offender paying some restitution to the victim. *France* provides for reparation through their system of *partie civile*. This enables the victim to have standing in the criminal court so that the judges will decide what payments the offender will make to the victim for the damages that were incurred in the criminal act. The legislation for the *partie civile* process is similar to that in many other jurisdictions. However, it is not a dead letter as in most of those jurisdictions because France provides “legal aid” or funding to lawyers who assist victims without the resources to pay for lawyers themselves. Finland has a similar system.

Even in 1986 when other countries were focussing only on assisting victims, France emphasised both this assistance and mediation. Its national organisation - L'Institut National d'Aide aux Victimes et de Médiation (INAVEM) - was established as a national voluntary organization to coordinate and support victim assistance and mediation throughout France. In 1998, France launched an extensive innovation which set a new benchmark for other countries. They created 20,000 positions for community social mediators. Essentially, young persons who were unemployed would be hired to work with municipal, transportation and other sectors to help resolve conflicts between individuals and between individuals and various state agencies. France also has many community justice centres where professional magistrates solve local problems between neighbours or within families.

In *the Netherlands* the police can refer first or second time juvenile offenders to HALT offices in 65 communities. The HALT office organizes both reparation from the offender to the victim and assistance with everyday problems such as jobs, school, peers and family. The HALT programme has become particularly famous internationally because the scientific evaluations have shown that the programme reduces recidivism.

- Problem Oriented Justice
  - Restorative justice (Halt, The Netherlands)
    - Holding young first offenders accountable through reparation to victims
    - ensuring assistance with life goals through counselling and school participation
- Counselling for domestic violence male offenders
- Community justice centres (Maison de Justice, France)
- Use of technology in courts for victims

Improving victim collaboration with police is critical to policing. The “*Crime Victims’ Bill of Rights*” (International Association of Chiefs of Police) urges police to “establish procedures and train personnel” to implement the “incontrovertible rights of all crime victims,”

The police department is the agency most often and first contacted by victims after a crime. The police are available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. They call ambulances and fire departments. They can separate the parties in a dispute. They may recover property, protect the victims from an aggressor, and arrest the suspect. The victim is essential to the police because research shows that it is the victim who alerts the police in more than 60% of offences. It is the victim who describes the details of the crime and the suspect. It is very often the victim’s cooperation that facilitates an arrest and a conviction.

The police are well situated to initiate crisis support to victims. Because they are often the first officials to talk to the crime victim, they are able to reassure and refer the victim to appropriate services in the community. Therefore, the training of all police officers should include how to reassure and refer victims so that victims receive not only emergency medical care, but information and social support.

The Crime Victims Bill of Rights was approved in 1983 and calls on police to treat victims as “privileged clients” by ensuring that victims are to be:

1. Free from intimidation;
2. Told of financial assistance and social services available and how to apply for them;
3. Provided a secure area during interviews and court proceedings, and to be notified if their presence in court is needed;
4. Provided a quick return of stolen or other personal property when no longer needed as evidence;
5. (Given) a speedy disposition of the case, and to be periodically informed of case status and final disposition; and, wherever personnel and resource capabilities allow, to be notified in felony cases whenever the perpetrator is released from custody;
6. Interviewed by a female official in the case of rape and other sexual offences, wherever personnel and resource capabilities allow.

For the police to meet this challenge, there is a need to include these elements in internal directives and ensure that officers have adequate training.

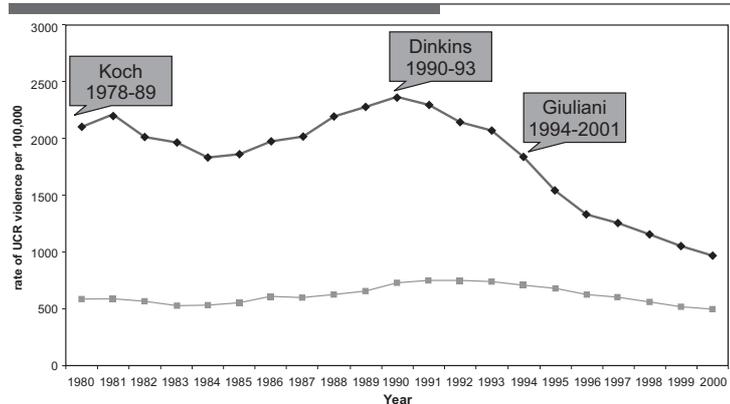
- Police First in Aid to Victims
- Office for victim assistance reporting to Commissioner
  - Directives on respect for victims
  - Leaflets, videos and materials
  - Card with central number and services for victims
- Female police officers and stations for victims of assaults on women
- Children as victims and witnesses

Partnership and problem solving are avenues for success for police. I will discuss this more in my second paper but we must note here the use of police data systems which map crime as a basis for more effective reductions in crime. In New York City, the introduction of Compstat is often heralded as the reason for large reductions in crime and violence. The use of mapping and accountability is undoubtedly an important avenue for the future - very much consistent with the Bonnemaison principles and the UN Guidelines. However a cursory examination of the trends in New York City shows that many other social trends were also at work. Indeed scientific analyses of the reasons for the drop in crime and violence in New York City point to the contribution of several other factors.

- Compstat in New York City
  - Deploying police officers strategically with accountability
  - Target specific problems

- Beware unproven claims from New York City
- Share Geographic and Strategic Data
  - Geographic Information Systems
  - Establish permanent joint executive planning groups
  - Collaborate with agencies able to tackle situational and social causes
  - Tackling persistent offending committed by men at risk
  - Focussing on dropping out of school and dysfunctional families in a multi-sector partnership (e.g. with schools and housing) that identifies and solves problems
- Local government community safety strategies
  - UK Crime and Disorder Act

**Violent Crime Rates per 100,000 Reduced by 59% in New York City from 1990 to 2000 with US National Rates Reduced by 30%**



**Strongest Explanations for Crime Reduction in New York City**

- Demographic trend over 2 decades
  - Proportion of males 15-25 in population declined
- Increased proportion of persistent offenders incarcerated over 2 decades
- Reduction in unemployment over 1 decade
- Maturing of crack cocaine market disputes in early 1990's
- Targetting of young males with handguns and illicit drugs in 1990's

This effort to organise and plan in partnership between police services, schools, housing and social services but led by the mayor is believed to have been the major reason for large reductions in crime in cities in North America and elsewhere. I will explain the example of Bogotá as it provides an interesting model from Latin America. Not only are these approaches consistent with the UN Guidelines for crime prevention but also with the Bonnemaïson principles. It is in this direction that modern policing and justice must go to succeed.

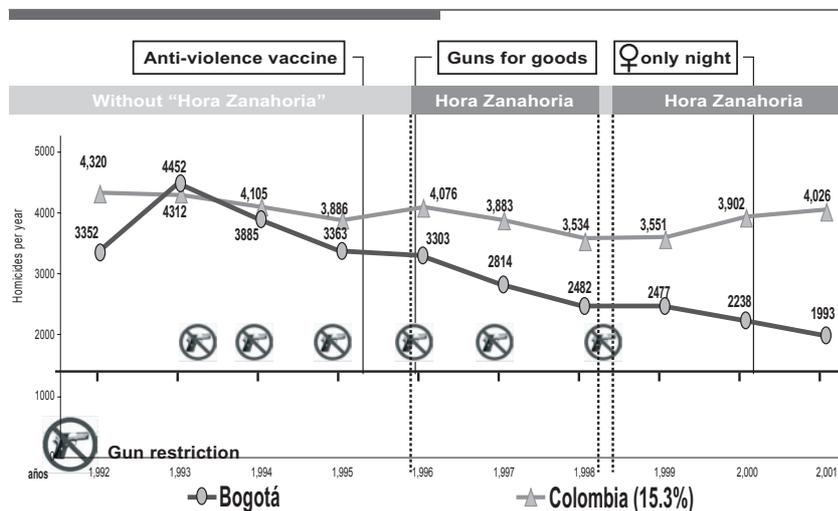
“Safer City”

- combine problem-solving policing with social programmes for at-risk youth
- reduce access to drugs and firearms through strategic and targeted police action
- mobilize social programmes to help youth in difficulty complete school and gain meaningful employment
- various US cities: reduces violent crime by 44% to 67% over five years

Cities with large reductions

- Bogotá, Colombia
- Boston, USA
- Edmonton, Canada
- Fort Worth, USA
- Newcastle, UK
- New York, USA
- Portland, USA

**Homicides Reduced by 55% by Mayors of Bogotá, Columbia, through Anti-violence Vaccine, Removal of Guns and Curfew for Men**



Success requires skill development. These are all knowledge-driven strategies with appropriate human capacity and data systems. An important part of knowledge-driven crime prevention is having access to adequate professional skills and organizational resources to promote, support, and evaluate community-based efforts in crime prevention.

Crime Concern provides crime reduction advice, support and training to local governments, police, and youth services to implement this legislation, particularly helping them to:

- work as effective local partners and teams in tackling crime
- conduct local audits to identify priority crime problems
- develop crime reduction strategies with set targets for reducing crime
- adopt measures known to work in reducing crime
- monitor and evaluate results

Crime Concern also manages nationally-driven programmes to prevent crime, such as:

setting up volunteer mentoring schemes to support and improve the life chances of young offenders or those excluded from school.

Every local government in England and Wales has a centre responsible for developing and implementing its community safety plan. With the help of Crime Concern, they produce three-year plans for crime reduction in partnership with other agencies, and implement many proven projects known to have reduced crime in other jurisdictions. [www.crimeconcern.org].

Also in the United Kingdom, NACRO runs projects and services nationwide for individuals and communities alike, and also provides consulting, research and training services for people and organizations involved in crime reduction. [[www.nacro.org.uk](http://www.nacro.org.uk)]

Furthermore, under government leadership, practitioners and policy makers from government, police, local organizations, voluntary groups and others in the United Kingdom have formed partnerships and developed various Toolkits. These serve as consolidated and comprehensive guidance tools, and are meant to foster multi-sector partnerships and assist communities in responding to various crime problems, such as street crime and robbery, domestic burglary, and rural crime. [[www.crimereduction.gov.uk/toolkits](http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/toolkits)]

The Eisenhower Foundation in the United States focuses on building the capacities of non-profit inner city organizations, in order to enhance the skills, knowledge, and actions of neighbourhood-based social development strategies. By providing technical assistance in organizational management, personnel management, staff development, fundraising, financial management and more, the Foundation aims to promote grassroots organizations as models for future replication of what works in improving the social conditions of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. [[www.eisenhowerfoundation.org](http://www.eisenhowerfoundation.org)]

Crime Concern and NACRO, UK  
Bristol University, UK  
European Forum on Urban Safety, France  
Tool kits, UK  
National Crime Prevention Council, USA  
Eisenhower Foundation, USA

Success requires data and evaluation. Establishing data systems to help manage crime prevention and to allow communities to assess their needs and measure their progress also plays an important role in knowledge-based prevention. Mapping of crimes known to police is now available in many developed and developing countries. Santiago in Chile has a particularly sophisticated version. Victimization surveys seem expensive but are not only cheaper but more effective than training police officers to keep satisfactory records as Argentina has discovered. It is vital to evaluate the effectiveness of programmes, particularly in countries where the resources are limited. Longitudinal surveys that follow the development of a sample of children from birth to adolescence provide critical information for policy making. The list includes:

Crime mapping, available in developed and developing countries  
Victimization surveys, Argentina  
10% of funds for evaluating crime reduction programme, The Netherlands  
10% of funds for evaluating crime reduction programme, UK  
National longitudinal survey on children and youth, Canada

#### IV. CONCLUSION

A great deal of knowledge about effective crime prevention has emerged from systematic analysis, planning and evaluation of strategies in countries such as the United Kingdom. Further knowledge has been gained from various scientific examinations of the multiple factors associated with crime, and interventions most effective in addressing these factors. Such initiatives have shown what reduces crime, what doesn't, what appears promising, and what is most cost-effective.

The UN Guidelines emphasize the need to generate, share, and harness this international knowledge base, while also striving to acquire nation-specific knowledge as a means of ensuring responsible and effective crime prevention tailored to the needs of individual communities. We have seen that for success that countries must improve.

1. Police must give priority to crime reduction rather than enforcement, particularly by using indicators that measure crime trends such as victimization surveys.
2. Police agencies must use planning and strategy at the command level, set targets in terms of crime reduction, and use tactics focused on repeat offender, victim and location considerations.
3. Planning must select targets that are amenable to enforcement and collaborate with other agencies able to tackle the underlying causes.
4. City wide planning that mobilizes the key agencies - schools, social services, families, police and so on - around a diagnosis, plan, implementation and evaluation process is critical to sustained success.
5. Successful prevention requires specific training, coaching and data.

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