

POLICY IMPLICATIONS: RELATED TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SURVEYS

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Introduction

An essential objective of criminal policy is to increase the safety and security of persons and property. National and comparative victimisation surveys provide a major indicator of the extent to which policies are achieving this objective. Moreover, they provide a largely untapped source of information on the explanations of crime, that must become a key strategic tool in reversing the global trend from deteriorating safety and security.

In the first section, crime rates are compared for selected countries together with a discussion of the extent to which criminal justice is adequate to control them.

In the second section, the results of victimisation surveys are put in the context of other studies of how opportunities contribute to crime. This identifies programmes that are likely to reduce crime, particularly against property, by increasing the effort and the risk, while reducing the reward, but using more of the knowledge from victimisation surveys.

In the third section, the variations in victimisation rates are contrasted with social factors identified primarily from longitudinal studies as being the factors that engender crime. This identifies the need to focus efforts to reduce crime on these social factors, particularly to reduce violence on the street, in schools and in homes.

The fourth section discusses ways to make use of these data and victimisation surveys nationally and internationally, if we are to see significant gains in safety and security for persons and property.

In the introduction, the paradigm shift within the United Nations towards prevention is mentioned along with the growing realisations that linear approaches to solving crime problems must be replaced with more holistic strategies.

United Nations priorities stress prevention and use of data

For most industrialised countries, police statistics show crime to have risen by at least 200% from the 1960s to the 1990s. For developing countries the statistics are less systematically available but the figures suggest even more dramatic rises in crime. The United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice - UNCCPPJ² - points to increases in crime from police data "at a global average of 5 per cent per annum, well beyond the rise in population growth".

The UNCCPPJ stresses that the high level of crime and criminal justice costs inhibits social and economic development. The proportion of total governmental

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² United Nations Economic and Social Council (1992) Report of the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice on its first session, supplement #10, E/1992/30, 8 June.

budgets devoted to police, criminal justice and correctional systems are 2-3% in industrialised countries and 9-14% for developing countries. This takes resources away from vital social and economic expenditures.

It is not just the aggravation of the crime and criminal justice problem that must challenge national and international policy makers, but also this failure relative to the dramatic improvements in the quality of life relating to such issues as life expectancy, education, and access to consumer products at least in the industrialised world.

ECOSOC has adopted the recommendations of the UNCCPPJ to deal with crime and criminal justice in part through international efforts that should be more strategic. For the period 1992-96, the UNCCPPJ will have three priority themes to guide its work - transnational crime, crime prevention and criminal justice. The precise wording is as follows:

- a) *Transnational crime*: national and transnational crime, organised crime, economic crime, including money laundering, and the role of criminal law in the protection of the environment;
- b) *Crime prevention*: crime prevention in urban areas, juvenile and violent criminality;
- c) *Criminal justice*: efficiency, fairness and improvement in the management and administration of criminal justice and related systems, with due emphasis on the strengthening of national agencies in developing countries for the regular collection, collation, analysis and utilisation of data in the development and implementation of appropriate policies.

This paper examines the policy implications related to international and national surveys in the context of strategic approaches. It focusses particularly on the use of data from the criminal justice priority that will achieve the crime prevention priority.

Paradigm shift from linear responses to community towards community responses to isolation

There is a "paradigm shift" occurring in local, national and international policies relating to crime.

The United Nations emphasis on crime prevention is part of a broader movement in the health and environment areas to focus on prevention. In part, crime policies took new directions in the 18th century with the creation of public police agencies and the establishment of the ministries of justice. These were linear solutions to problems that were occurring in holistic communities where there was some integration of relationships and extended families.

Today the failure of linear and vertical approaches to health and the environment have lead to many significant successes in improving health and protecting the environment. For instance, doctors treating patients one by one have not made as significant inroads into health promotion as the success of municipal water improvements and mass immunisation programmes. So there is a World Health Organization movement to create holistic "healthy communities" responses and break down the vertical ministry approach; this is mostly because communities have broken down to become more individualistic and linear.

In the crime area, the same is happening. Recently, central governments have been promoting some relatively modest investments in crime prevention and agencies such as the police have been promoting greater involvement of citizens in crime prevention. In the 1960s and 1970s, the USA encouraged some pilot crime prevention projects as part of its efforts to transfer resources from the Federal to other levels of government as "Assistance" to "Law Enforcement". As a result, projects such as the Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program demonstrated a 50% reduction in residential burglaries due to their intervention³. However these have not been adopted universally.

An experiment in intensive preschool care for children at risk in the USA in the 1960s - which does not provide universal child care for children in need - showed fifteen years later that for every US\$ 1.00 invested in care for children in need, US\$ 5.00 will be saved in welfare and policing costs⁴.

Sweden, the Netherlands and the British government have now established identifiable crime prevention initiatives. Belgium has its own crime prevention council with substantial police involvement. France has stimulated over 700 municipal crime prevention councils. New Zealand, South Australia and Victoria have established major crime prevention initiatives influenced by the French approach. Canada has a new urban safety and crime prevention programme run by its Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Quebec has established a Round Table on Crime Prevention with 50 agencies from all major sectors of society to work on concrete proposals for crime prevention.

In most countries, these budgets for crime prevention are a tiny fraction of expenditures and mostly too little too late, though the expenditures on private security are large. In contrast, crime rates have continued to increase. So this paper will sketch some of the areas where knowledge related to national and international victimisation surveys can be used within this growing inter-agency approach to achieve greater safety and security for persons and property.

Trends in crime and criminal justice

Crime rate differences suggest policies in some countries work better

Wide variations in the levels of crime between different countries suggest that policies in some countries work better than in others.

The data from the 1988 survey can be used to show how rates of violent crime per 1,000 for the USA are 50% higher than those for Canada whose rates are 50% higher than the European rate. Europe has rates that vary from country to country, but the average is 50% higher than those for Japan. Figure 1 illustrates the

³ Waller, I. (1982) "What reduces residential burglary: action and research in Seattle and Toronto" in Schneider, H.J. (ed.) Victim in international perspective, HV6250.2.I57 1979 \$LMO, De Gruyter, New York; Waller, I. (1989) Crime prevention in a community policing context: working with citizens and community agencies, Solicitor General, Ottawa.

⁴ Eisenhower Foundation (1990) Investment in effective crime policy, Washington D.C.

"prevalence victimisation rate by country for the offenses of robbery, sexual incident, assault and robbery" using the data from the world victimisation survey⁵.

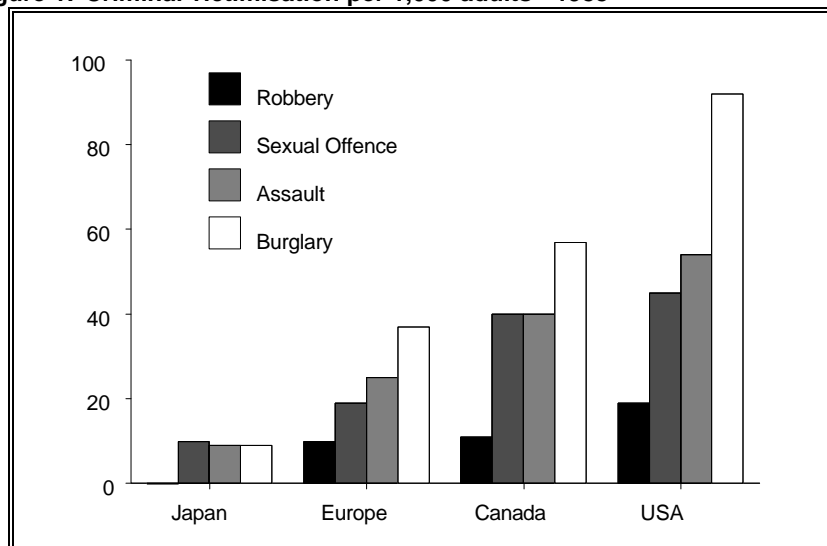
One in ten adults in the USA were victims of an assault or had their house burglarised in 1988. One in fifty adults living in Europe were victims of the same offences. One in five adults in the USA and Canada were victims of thefts, such as theft of or from cars, motorcycles, bicycles, or vandalism. One in seven in Europe were victims of the same offences. Within Europe, there is a tendency for the rate of assaults to be higher in Spain with less violence occurring in England and Wales⁶.

For developing countries the rates of property crime are substantially less than for the developed world. However, levels of violence may be higher.

⁵ Waller, I. (1992) revised from van Dijk, J.J.M., P. Mayhew and M. Killias (1990) Experiences of crime across the world: key findings of the 1989 International Crime Survey, p. 174, Kluwer, Boston.

⁶ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op.cit., p.174.

Figure 1: Criminal victimisation per 1,000 adults - 1988



Police recorded crime suggests need for action

In the last three decades, the police agencies of most industrialised countries have reported substantial increases in common crimes, such as robberies, burglaries, thefts and assaults. Although the rates of property offences have steadied in the 1980s in North America, the rates remain dramatically higher than in the 1960s. In contrast Japan maintained levels of common crime similar to the 1950s⁷. For an average example, England and Wales had one offence recorded by the police for every 100 persons in the 1950s, which had risen to 5 per 100 in the 1970s and 7.4 per 100 in 1989⁸.

The trends in the national crime indices in the 1980s have varied between countries (though the directions of the trends can be compared, the absolute levels cannot be compared accurately between countries). In the USA for instance their index rose from 13.8 million in 1980, dropping to a low of 11.8 million in 1984, then rising steadily to 14.5 million in 1990 thus going above the 1981 peak. France peaked in 1984 at 3.7 million, dropping back to 3.1 million in 1988, rising to 3.5 million in 1990, which did not exceed the previous peak. England and Wales saw its rate grow steadily through the 1980s from 2.5 million in 1980 to 3.7 million in 1989.

Figure 2 illustrates these trends artistically by using the national police indicators that reflect in majority the trends in property crimes such as theft. To make the comparison, the chart sets the 1990 Police Crime Index equal to the victimisation

⁷ Canada (1982) The criminal law in Canadian society, Supply and Services, Justice, Ottawa.

⁸ Home Office (1991) A digest of information on the criminal justice system, p. 7, Research and Statistics Department, London.

prevalence rate for combined burglaries and attempted burglaries from the world victimisation survey; then the rates for earlier periods are calculated proportionately from the rates of police recorded occurrences of crime.

Figure 2: Trends in national occurrence rates of crime - police statistics adjusted to burglary victimisation



Over time, violent crimes in the USA grew faster than the general index from 1.3 million in 1980 to 1.8 million in 1990 - a rise in the rate per capita of 23%. The rate of murders is small compared to other offences. However, the individual loss is major. There are important differences in these rates between countries. The rank order of the rates is similar to those shown in the comparative victimisation survey. The US rate of 1 murder for every 10,000 population is approximately four times that of Canada, which is twice that of England, France, Germany or Japan. In the United States of America, the number of murders peaked in 1980, but was exceeded again in 1990 as part of an upsurge of illicit drug use and violence in cities.

In Europe there has been a major rise in theft of and from cars. Over the 30 year period, there has been a major increase in offences relating to motor vehicles, including drunk driving and negligence. Generally the rate of residential burglary recorded by the police has doubled or trebled since the early 1960s, though in recent years it has fallen slightly.

The effect of mega shifts in prison use does not produce mega changes in safety and security

One of the most significant debates on policy is occurring around the relationship between the "mega" shift in prison use in the USA and their crime trends. Most of the debate centres around national crime survey data⁹, which show a decline in victimisation rates during the time period from 1976 including from 1981 to 1988. Police recorded data show a flattening out of murders but increases in violent crime per 100,000 during that time period. In contrast, the victimisation surveys in England & Wales confirm that from 1981 to 1988, there was a 30% rise in overall crime - mainly property offences - and an 8% rise in wounding, robbery and assault¹⁰. Police data showed much more dramatic rises.

The decreases in the US national crime survey rates of crime may be due to three technical factors that could be clarified using the victimisation survey data.

Firstly, changes in the data collection technique of the National Crime Survey could account for this. According to senior officials in the US Bureau of Statistics, there was a change from in person to telephone interviews in the National Crime Survey in the 1980s (no reports on this change have been located). However, Kury reports that 41% of persons interviewed in person reported being victims of crime, compared to 28% in the comparable telephone survey¹¹. So the unknown change in methodology may more than account for the change in crime trends.

Secondly, the calculation of crime rates per household could result in an apparent decrease in crime, because the number of households has been increasing faster than the population, as people can afford to live alone and delay marriage.

Thirdly, there may be a decrease in petty crime rather than serious crime. The major reason for not reporting crime recorded in the National Crime Survey is that it was not serious enough (35%)¹². So much of the decline in crime could be due to less serious crime. This could be resolved by using the data on the impact of crime on the victim to distinguish the more serious offences from the less serious.

However, the mega shift in prison use in the USA has not made a significant difference to the relative amount of crime in the USA compared to other industrialised countries. The level of crime in the USA remains substantially higher as confirmed in the international victimisation survey.

At best the mega shift has had some marginal effect on crime levels. Based on murder statistics or on general police data, the trends in crime levels in the USA and Canada have followed similar trajectories, though the USA remains at a much higher rate.

More likely the crime levels and prison use are the result of other trends in US society. One of these is the rate of relative child poverty that has increased some 10% in the USA in the 1980s. The figure shows a striking pattern between countries in relative child poverty, crime rates as measured in the earlier section from the international crime survey, and in prison use.

⁹ US Department of Justice (1988) Report to the nation on crime and justice, p. 13, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington D.C.

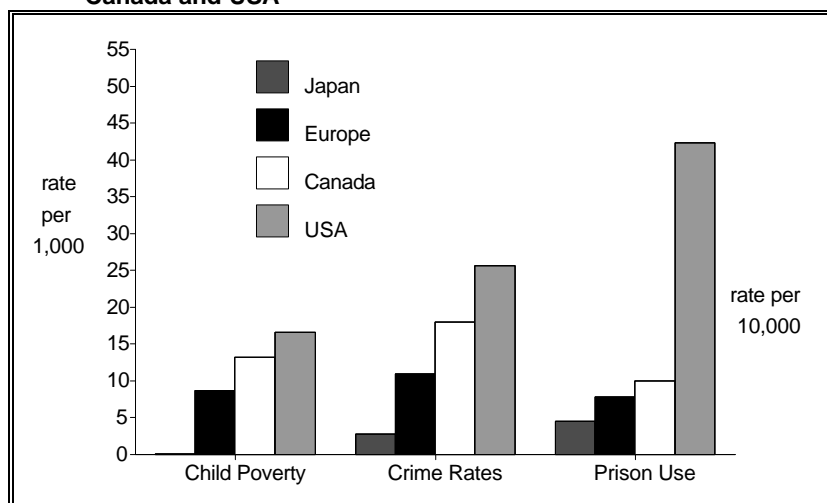
¹⁰ Mayhew, P., D. Elliott and L. Dodds (1989) The 1988 British Crime Survey, Home Office Research Studies 111, HMSO, London.

¹¹ See the chapter by Helmut Kury and Michael Wurger in Part II.

¹² US Department of Justice, Report..., op. cit., p. 35.

Over time, rates of persons held in prisons for adults per capita were relatively stable from 1960 to 1980 in the industrialised world. Marginal increases occurred in the 1980s with two exceptions. The Netherlands increased its rate in the 1980s, though they are still 50% below the average range of one prisoner for every 1,000 inhabitants. However, the USA doubled its rate - building on a 50% increase from the 1970s - reaching an all time high for any country of over 4 per 1,000. This rate far exceeds any incarceration for any other country for which statistics are available in the last 100 years.

Figure 3: Child poverty, crime and prison use - rates for Japan, Europe, Canada and USA



In the USA, nearly half of all these prisoners are black reflecting men who come from situations of relative poverty with a lower level of education, and who are probably unemployed. These inmates have often been incarcerated several times previously. The rate of black per black incarcerated in the USA is 32 per 1,000, which compares to a white per white rate in many countries of 1 per 1,000, a rate of 10 per 1,000 for aboriginal peoples in Canada and 7 per 1,000 for blacks in South Africa.

Crime against women and children

Much of the crime reported to the police or measured in government surveys is committed against young men. However, crime has a major impact on women, whose quality of life is threatened because they do not feel safe going out in many of their own cities. More importantly, there is extensive assault and sexual assault against women and children within their own homes.

Many of the limits of the effectiveness of criminal justice come from its inability to consistently increase the risks of criminal acts to a level where the deterrent effect works. So for the average offence, less than 5% of offenders will be convicted¹³. This attrition has been shown by victimisation surveys to be in the order of 50% between victimisation and police being informed.

Figure 4: Violence against women



For offences that occur within the privacy of the home, this attrition is likely to be much greater at every stage.

Several national surveys have now been undertaken in the USA of the number of women and children who are victims of these assaults¹⁴. In Canada, some partial surveys have been undertaken. Unfortunately, European countries have not undertaken such major surveys.

Using the Canadian and US data, the rates of violence against wives within the home exceed the level of violence against women out of the home. Violence experienced by victims on a continuing basis in a situation in which they have to live regularly is much more traumatic than in situations that can be avoided in the future.

¹³ Home Office, A Digest..., op. cit., p. 31.

¹⁴ Straus, M. and R.J. Gelles (1990) Physical violence in American families: risk factors and adaptations to violence in 8,145 families, Transaction, New Brunswick.

There is a need for future surveys to include questions such as those from the Conflict Tactics Scale to focus more on violence against women¹⁵.

The extent of the problem and the limits on criminal justice's ability to deal with it raise the need for policy makers to look at more effective ways of tackling the problem. Among these will be the continuation of public policy statements on the criminal nature of these acts, but we will need to look more closely at the factors that engender the behaviour in order to tackle them.

¹⁵ Straus and Gelles, *Physical...*, op. cit.

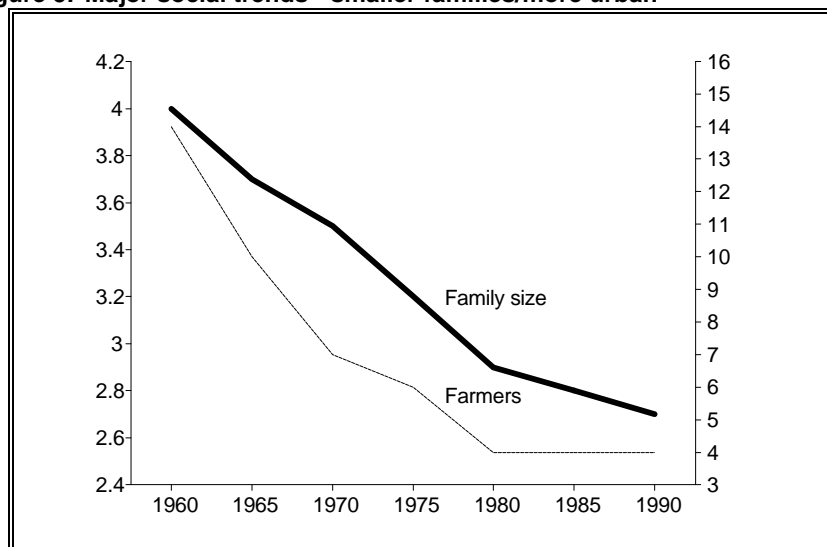
Victimisation surveys confirm that policy must address the opportunities that generate crime

There are life style trends over the last few decades for more desirable goods to be available and accessible in cars and residences where people are more often absent. So increased opportunities for crime have lead to increased rates of property crime. More murders occur where there are more guns, particularly handguns¹⁶.

Surveillance and impression of human presence to be encouraged

The trends for households to become smaller has an effect on the opportunities for crime. So residences are more often empty because the households are smaller and the residents are more likely to be at work.

Figure 5: Major social trends - smaller families/more urban



For instance, in 1961, 9% of households in Canada and 15% in the USA consisted of one person compared to 23% and 25% respectively in 1981.

We also use more private space, take more holidays and eat out more which leaves residences unattended and so more likely to be broken into.

In public arenas such as streets and parking lots, cars and bicycles are more likely to be left where there is no one supervising them.

¹⁶ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.

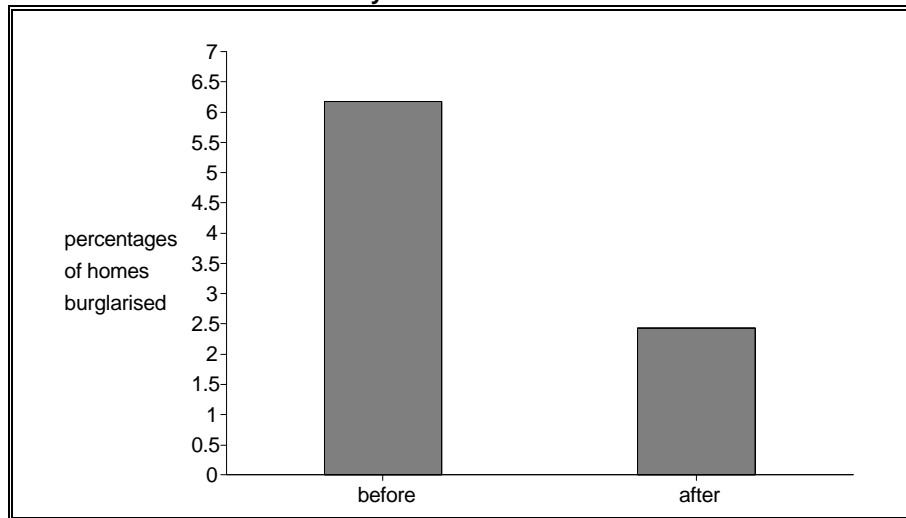
For apartment buildings, the concierge system is disappearing and so it is easier for an occasional offender to approach the building without being asked any questions.

Clarke¹⁷ develops a theory of situational prevention that groups ways of reducing opportunities of crime into the categories of "increasing the effort, increasing the risks and reducing the rewards". Most of the analysis is based on proposed prevention strategies that were developed without recourse to major empirical research, though the evaluations are based on such methods.

For occasional offenders, the opportunity may create the crime. If one can remove the opportunity, then occasional offenders will not be tempted into offending (but persistent offenders will look for another target).

For instance, occasional offenders will not break into a residence where they are unable to find many objects to steal and if they are likely to confront somebody or be seen. Indeed the research confirms that the rates of break-ins are lower where the household income is lower, the house is rarely left unattended, and where the entrances are easy to see¹⁸.

Figure 6: Seattle community crime prevention programme - reductions shown in victimisation surveys



The evaluations of the Seattle Community Crime Prevention Program from the early 1970s confirm that making houses looked lived in and increasing neighbour surveillance can lead to substantial reductions in burglaries.

¹⁷ Clarke, R.V. (1992) *Situational crime prevention: successful case studies*, Harrow & Heston, New York.

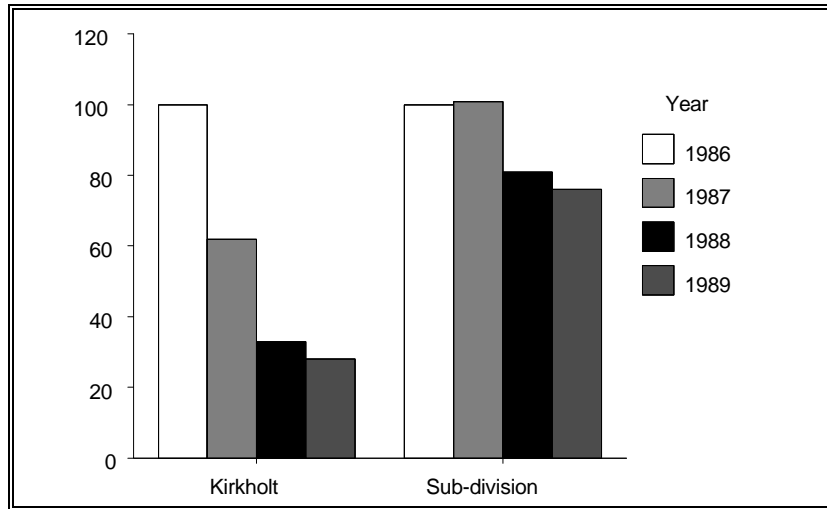
¹⁸ Waller, What..., *op. cit.*; Waller, I. and N. Okihiro (1978) *Burglary: the victim and the public*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

More recently the evaluations of the Kirkholt project¹⁹ have confirmed that the same methods of micro-groups focussing on making residences seem lived in with informal surveillance can lead to substantial reductions in burglaries.

Together, these experiments show that crime can be reduced through the use of these types of method rather than only being displaced.

¹⁹ Clarke, Situational..., op. cit.

Figure 7: Burglary prevention in Kirkholt - comparison of % reduction with area

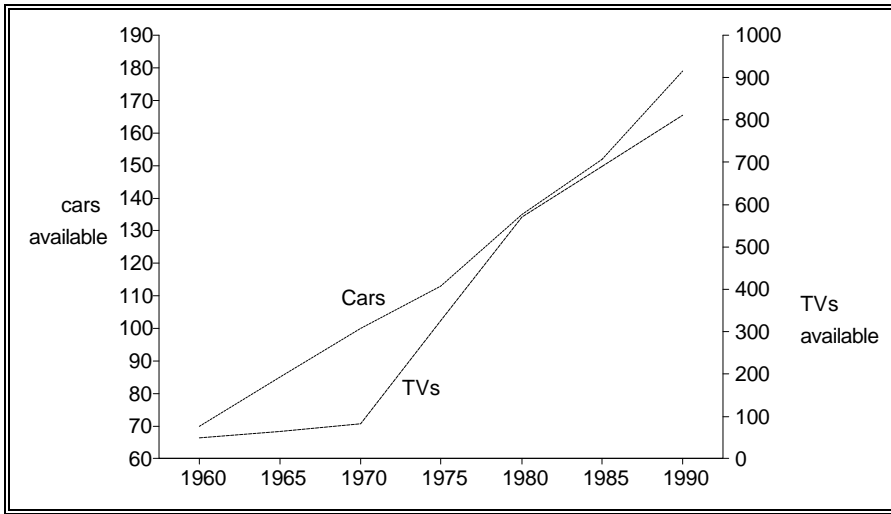


Make consumer goods less attractive, more fortified (or more available)

Probably, the most important societal changes for opportunities for theft have been the increase in the number of persons who own one or more cars²⁰ and the ease of transportability of recent electronic gadgets in the home.

Figure 8: Major economic trends - cars and TVs available in the USA

²⁰ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.



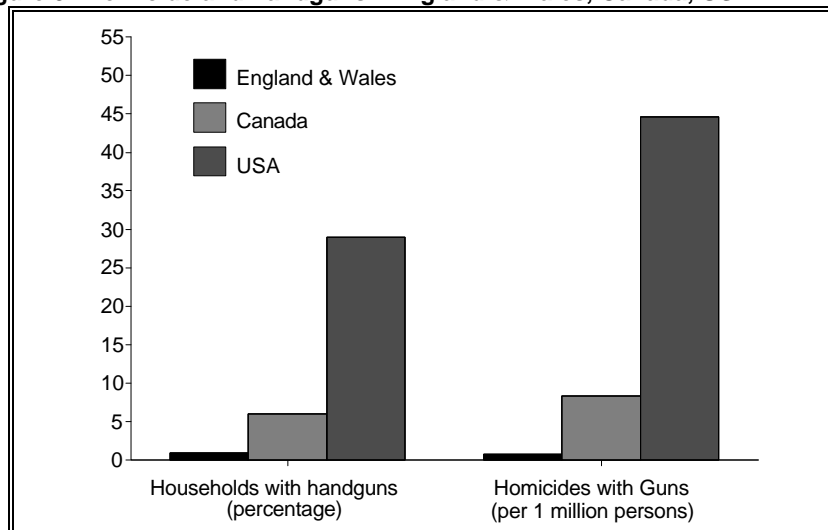
The rates of offences were higher in countries with more persons living in cities with populations over 100,000, except Japan. Offences relating to cars tend to be higher where there are more cars per capita. Alarms were more common in countries with higher burglary rates; indeed, twice as many burglary victims had alarms as those who did not²¹.

For occasional offenders, the opportunities for crime increase the amount of crime. So as societies had more televisions, tape recorders, personal computers, cameras and cars, so the amount of crime increased.

The media play an important role in increasing the desire of some offenders to acquire goods to gain some happiness. Some advertisements even use phrases making a parallel to theft as a way of encouraging consumers to buy.

The policy implications of these conclusions are less clear. On the one hand, one can make the product appear less attractive but it is questionable whether this can be done while maintaining sufficient economic activity for the general quality of life of the community. Certainly one can fortify goods, for instance, by designing theft proof cars and making electronic goods inoperable without some special password. But this fortification might simply displace the crime to other more violent forms of crime or interfere too much with the quality of life of the users. One final option is to make the goods more widely available, but it is not realistic in the short term.

Figure 9: Homicide and handguns - England & Wales, Canada, USA



Handguns to be less available

²¹ van Dijk et al., Experiences..., op. cit.

The most striking explanation of variations in murder rates is associated with the differential availability of handguns. In the USA thirty per cent of households own a handgun, compared to an estimated six per cent in Canada and two per cent in England and Wales. Figure 9 shows the associated variations in murder rates adapted from Killias²².

Private security guards and technology displaces more than reduces

Concern with safety from crime has lead private companies, governments and the rich to hire a growing number of private security guards. Some countries now have twice as many persons employed by private security agencies as by the public police.

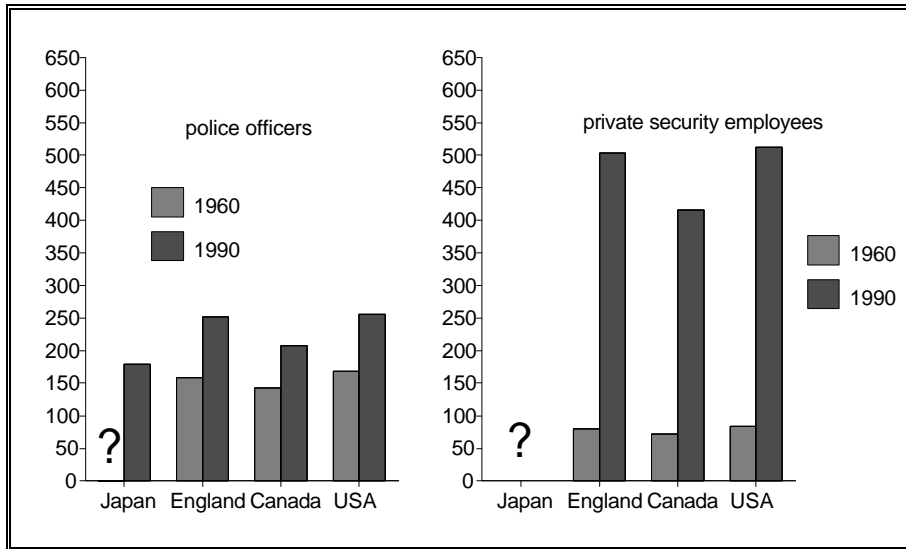
Business entrepreneurs are marketing new devices for protecting individual citizens. There is also a growing use of alarm systems and insurance. England and Wales spent \$3 million in 1988. France spent \$400 million in 1987 on systems of alarm.

Linking longitudinal studies and victimisation suggests social development remedies

There are many reasons to suppose that social development factors are important contributors to crime. So opportunity factors that can be directly measured in victimisation surveys only provide a partial explanation of the variations found in the international crime survey.

Figure 10: Trends in police and private security - rates of officers per 100,000 for 1960 and 1990

²² Killias, M. (1990) "Gun ownership and violent crime: the Swiss experience in international perspective", *Security Journal* 1.3:169-174.



The longitudinal studies that follow samples of young persons from their early childhood experiences to the peak of their involvement with inter-personal crime show that there is a group of young persons who are disproportionately involved in crime - 7% of a sample account for 70% of the offending. This group comes disproportionately from families below the poverty line with inconsistent and uncaring parenting and with problems in school²³.

There are social trends in industrialised countries for young people to be more isolated, for more children to be brought up in relative poverty, for schools to leave some pupils rejected, and for visible minorities such as blacks to have limited opportunities. These would leave more young men likely to drift into a period of persistent offending than 30 years ago. These trends are stronger in the USA and so may explain the higher levels of violence.

Many of the commentators looking at crime talk about the underclass or the "société à deux vitesses". The United Nations and the Council of Europe, as well as individual commentators, ascribe both the rise in crime and the variations between countries to social problems and changes in society.

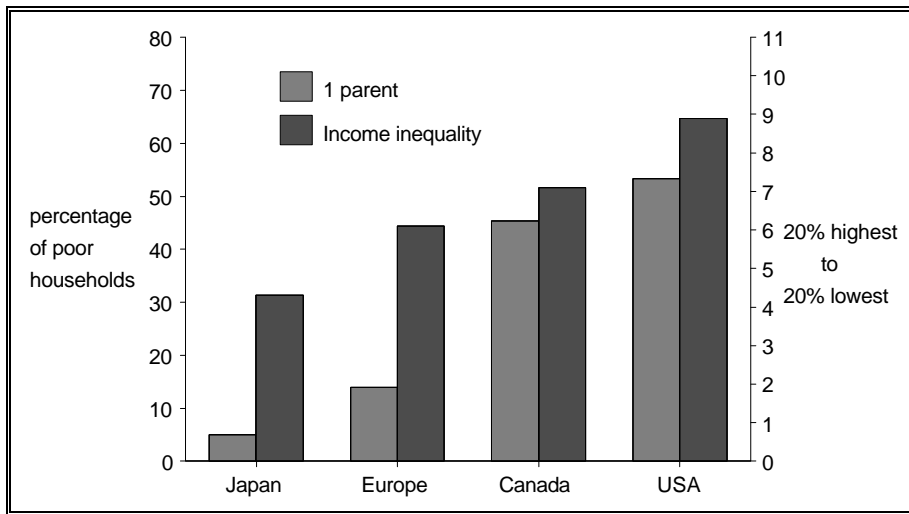
There have been major changes in these key factors over the last thirty years. Indeed there are many differences between countries on these factors, which are consistent with the different trends in police recorded crime levels.

Reducing effects of relative child poverty will reduce violence

The results of longitudinal studies suggest that countries that have more child poverty and do not provide universal child care or other programmes to reduce inequalities before the child enters the school system will have more crime. This is indeed the case.

Figure 11: Children in relative poverty

²³ Rutter, M. and H. Giller (1983) *Juvenile delinquency: trends and perspectives*, Penguin, Markham.



The incidence of child poverty varies widely between different countries. The rates of child poverty in the USA were double those of countries such as England and Wales, France or Germany in the mid-1980s. The rate for Canada is mid-way between the USA and the European countries. These rates remained constant in the 1980s for most countries, but doubled in the United Kingdom and increased by 10% in the USA.

In part, child poverty is the result of changes in family structure. For lone parents - usually women - who are unable to earn an adequate income, family break-down puts the children into relative poverty.

Child care is an important palliative to these situations, because it provides a consistent caring situation for the child before he or she goes into the universal education system. It also enables the mother to earn money, and the fact that she is paid appropriately will lift the family out of poverty.

Social policies vary widely between different countries. For instance, France has widespread access to child care from an early age and pays a family allowance to the mother, thus providing a minimal amount of financial support; whereas the USA and Canada have limited access to child care and pay only token allowances to disadvantaged mothers. Comparatively few North American children are lifted out of poverty by income transfers and too few are assisted by child care paid for by the community.

Moreover, the rapid increase in child poverty in England in the 1980s may explain part of the reason for the continuing rise in crime when other countries were experiencing a slowdown in crime. The increases are likely to result in further acceleration in their crime rate in the 1990s.

Rediscovering interpersonal links may reduce violence

The trend to move from rural communities and extended family networks to life in anonymous urban areas without any family network is usually thought to have increased crime. This is not synonymous with urbanisation, as Japan has often managed to maintain the family ties even though it has become very urbanised.

However, in Europe and even more extensively in North America prosperity has bought more privacy. As a result more persons live alone, which may contribute to violence. This creates a situation in which people have to deal with stress on their own thus leading to pent up anger. It is also linked with a general trend for vulnerable members of the population such as children, women and the elderly to be left alone with a stronger male and therefore less able to defend themselves.

This sense of isolation is exacerbated by the arrival of television in our communities that often substitutes for time that used to be spent sharing problems.

There has been a movement to promote better mental health, where all are encouraged to avoid high stress, particularly by changing diets away from caffeine, red meats, and sugar and encouraging those in high stress situations to change their life style and exercise. Some programmes have been instituted to help persons who batter their wives, though little is known on their overall success.

Involving the 15-18 year olds who face blocked life opportunities will reduce crime

The peak age for the persistent offender to be offending is between 15 and 18 years. As the proportion of the population in this age range increases, relative to the overall population increase, so the rate of crime per total population will increase.

This was assumed to be an important factor in the increase in crime rates during the 1970s and may be a partial factor in the slowdown in the overall rates of crime in the early 1980s. From 1960 to 1978 for instance, the proportion of the Japanese population aged 15-24 dropped from 9.4 to 7.1, whereas the other industrialised countries had increases from about 7 to 9.

These changes have occurred as a result of two important phenomena. Firstly, the rate of child birth among the residents of the countries has diminished substantially. Secondly, the immigrants to these countries bring with them small children. In countries such as Canada and Australia this immigration brings children who will be able to survive successfully in the new country, whereas in other countries many of the migrants are socially disadvantaged.

As disadvantaged families have more children more quickly than their advantaged counterparts, some of the increase in crime in the 1980s may be due to more disadvantaged families having more children in the 1970s. This would be consistent with the growth of crime in England, Canada, and the USA in the late 1980s. Some commentators see this as a major determinant of rising crime rates that are expected in the 1990s.

Though national unemployment rates do not show any link with crime rates, youth unemployment rates and those for young visible minorities probably would. Persons who are prone to delinquency are more likely to commit offences if they are unemployed.

A number of studies in England and Wales have shown a link between delinquency and the extent to which pupils feel at ease in the school. In addition, those who commit truant and drop out from school are much more likely to be involved in delinquency.

Often for visible minority youth and for disadvantaged youth, unemployment is the culmination of a series of rejections that started when they first entered the school system and was reinforced over time. So they often play truant and then drop out of school.

Consistent with this, a disproportionate number of blacks and hispanics in the USA, aboriginal peoples in Australia and Canada, North African migrants into France, Afro-caribbean and Indian migrants in England and Wales end up poor, become involved in crime and are arrested.

Research does show a direct effect of the economic cycle on crime. When the amount that the average person in a country spends is growing, then the rate of property crime slows down. However, when a recession forces people to spend less, property crime increases.

Many of the same factors that precipitate persistent involvement in persistent fights, excessive alcohol use, or theft from cars, also precipitate illicit drug use. Like most of the crime discussed in this report, the most effective way to reduce the persistent use of drugs is through tackling the social situations that generate the persistent users - relative child poverty, failure in school, lack of job possibilities, etc. However, illicit drug use pushes persistent offenders both to additional violent crime involved in fights over trafficking and to crime to pay for the drugs.

The glorification of violence by the media is known to exacerbate the tendency for a person to become a persistent offender. It may also contribute to a tolerance of violence by occasional offenders. However, the media can be a powerful communicator of positive parenting images and of values that a society wishes to support.

Making use of data about crime to prevent it

Structure crime prevention to tackle situations engendering crime

Crime prevention involves a series of measures that prevent crime from occurring. They are often divided into those that reduce the opportunities for occasional offenders to commit crime - opportunity reduction - and those that reduce the social and economic situations that generate persistent offenders - social development. Some include programmes designed to educate people on what is acceptable or not.

In turn, the social development and opportunity reduction measures are often divided into primary, secondary or tertiary levels. Primary measures are those that national governments can achieve through the general policies of ministries such as housing, employment, social services, education and health. Secondary measures can also be implemented by national ministries, but increasingly countries are promoting responsibility for these measures at the level of cities, particularly through partnerships. Tertiary measures tend to be those that could be achieved or at least promoted by police, courts or the correctional institutions. Again, countries are promoting greater responsibility for these measures in cities.

Primary prevention is achieved through general social, economic or public policies, where the reduction in crime is a side benefit. Therefore, if a government chooses to reduce relative child poverty because it wants to do more for children, this would be a primary prevention policy, as we know that it would have a significant impact on crime prevention. If a telephone company chooses to substitute credit cards for cash in public telephone booths because it will increase long distance phone calls, this would also be primary prevention because we know that theft of cash from telephone booths would decrease.

Secondary prevention is achieved through policies that target those persons or situations that are more at risk to crime. If a city chose to establish intensive child care programmes for families whose children are more likely to become persistent offenders, this would be secondary prevention. If a city determined those areas in which residential burglary was higher and then promoted community crime prevention measures to reduce burglary in those areas, this would also be secondary prevention.

Tertiary prevention is achieved by policies that intervene after the crime has occurred in an effort to prevent it from occurring again. If a judge sentences a man who has battered his wife to an intensive programme to cure violent men, this would be tertiary prevention. If a police officer assists a victim of residential burglary by involving him/her in a programme that provides a person to supervise the victim's residence, then that is tertiary prevention.

The United Nations resolution on the Prevention of Urban Crime stated that:

"municipalities are strategically based to bring together those who can change the conditions that generate crime, but other levels of government must provide financial and technical support; comprehensive crime prevention must give priority to partnerships that find better solutions to problems of child poverty, youth, schooling, housing, policing and justice; and crime prevention must involve long term action that is responsive to short term needs²⁴."

The Paris Conference²⁵ demonstrated clearly that effective models for action are available from governments which have national crime prevention structures, from cities which have established municipal crime prevention structures, and from individual projects, which have reduced various types of criminal activity.

It called for seven steps, of which the first five are:

- 1) governments must invest now to meet socio-economic and urban needs, particularly the needs of alienated groups such as young persons at risk;
- 2) governments must establish national crime prevention structures to recommend improved national policies, undertake research and development, and foster the implementation of effective crime prevention programs, particularly by cities;
- 3) municipalities must establish crime prevention structures to mobilise the local officials who control policies relating to housing, schooling, youth, families, social services, policing and justice;
- 4) the public must be encouraged by local, regional, and national governments, international agencies and non-governmental groups to participate in comprehensive crime prevention and to understand the importance to urban development of implementing effective ways of making communities safer from crime;
- 5) developed countries should support the creation of an International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, consistent with the objectives of the United Nations and which might become affiliated with it.

Use data to guide and later evaluate crime prevention activities

In order to tackle the situations that engender crime crime prevention must use the results of research to identify those social and opportunity related situations. In both the cases of Seattle and Kirkholt discussed above, deliberate efforts were made to identify the causes before coming up with the remedies.

Figure 12 shows the four steps that must be used if crime prevention is to be successful.

Protect 5% of expenditures from criminal justice for safety and security prevention

²⁴ United Nations Assembly (1990) "Prevention of urban crime" Resolution of the 8th United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, A/CONF.144/28.5 October.

²⁵ European Forum for Local Authorities on Urban Safety (1992) Safe cities: prevention of crime and drugs, Paris.

Governments are unlikely to reduce national levels of crime until they spend substantially more on prevention.

The combined expenditures on police, courts and correctional institutions in the USA exceeds 70 billion US dollars; in England and Wales, it exceeds 7 billion pounds; in Canada, it exceeds 7 billion Canadian dollars; in France, it exceeds 35 billion French francs. These represent approximately 3 per cent of total government expenditures.

Figure 12: Crime prevention planning model

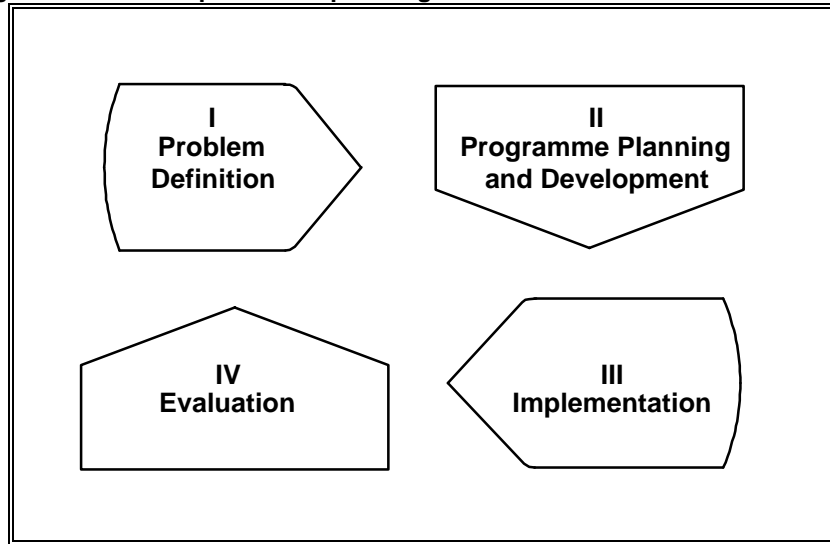
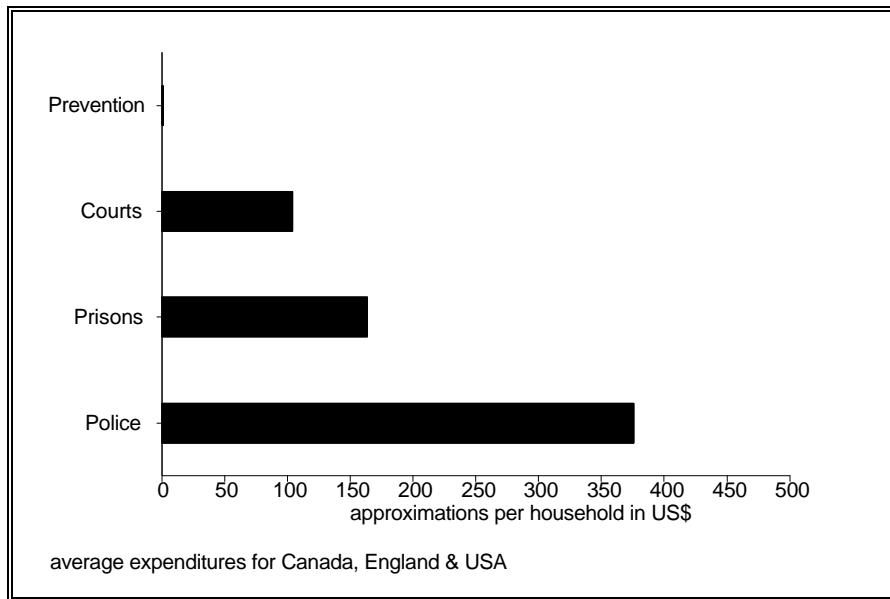


Figure 13: Expenditures on police, courts and prisons



Approximately three fifths of this expenditure goes to policing, one fifth to the courts and one fifth to prisons. Less than one percent goes to prevention.

It now costs between \$50,000 and \$100,000 to add one police officer and between \$100,000 and \$200,000 to add one prison cell. In these countries, the average household will spend close to \$500 on policing, \$200 on criminal courts and justice, and \$250 on prisons. In addition, there are substantial expenditures on private security and insurance, which are difficult to compare between countries.

Thus, policy makers could take a small portion of these funds and protect it for use in crime prevention.

Conclusions

The world crime survey points to wide variations in levels of crime between countries. The traditional police data show dramatic rises in crime in affluent countries. The continuing high levels of crime in the USA relative to other industrialised countries raise questions about continued expansion of criminal justice as a way to achieve safety and security from crime.

The victimisation surveys at the national and international level confirm that opportunities play an important role in determining national crime rates. When combined with the results of evaluated programmes such as those of Seattle and Kirkholt, the victimisation surveys suggest that structured surveillance within a community and use of simple ways to give an impression of human presence can cut property crime rates by major amounts for relatively low costs.

The increased availability of goods also leads to crime, but for consumer goods the solutions to reducing theft are more difficult. However, reducing the availability of handguns can be expected to have a significant impact on violence.

Investment in situational crime prevention will sometimes produce real reductions in crime levels as in the case of Seattle and Kirkholt, but the mega expansion in security guards and devices will have led to displacement more than overall reduction.

Linking the knowledge from longitudinal studies to the result of victimisation surveys suggests that significant improvements in safety and security could be achieved through reductions in relative child poverty and targeting ways to help young persons feel more included. Programmes that encourage community links between people can be expected to reduce crime.

For these policy implications to be realised, crime prevention structures must be created at the national and municipal level. However, these structures will need to have access to victimisation data as well as have an ability to develop programmes from the data.

These require an allocation of funds to the safety and security of personal objectives.