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INTERNACIONAL
PARA LA
PREVENCIÓN
DE LA CRIMINALIDAD



INTERNATIONAL REPORT
**CRIME PREVENTION AND
COMMUNITY SAFETY:**
TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES



2008

INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON CRIME PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY SAFETY:
TRENDS AND PERSPECTIVES

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This publication was mainly funded by Public Safety Canada and the *Délégation interministérielle à la Ville* of the government of France with support from the Ministry of Justice, France. All ICPC members made contributions to the project.

The report is available in English, French and Spanish on ICPC's website (www.crime-prevention-intl.org/).

Graphic design:
Danalco Impressions Inc.

Published by
International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)
465, rue Saint-Jean, Suite 803
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
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ISBN: 2-921916-34-7
Legal Deposit: June 2008

MESSAGE FROM THE ICPC PRESIDENT

There is no quality in the world that is not what it is merely by contrast. Nothing exists in itself.
Herman Melville, Moby Dick

This first *International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety* is unique and innovative. It emanated from discussion between ICPC staff and members, and is aligned with the diffusion of global crime prevention strategies. It is based on the following conviction: a crime prevention policy is effective if it is based on solid and shared knowledge and is sustainable. ICPC continues to play an important role through its network in facilitating the exchange of crime prevention and practice.


The report provides an international perspective on crime prevention and community safety, noting both its successes and challenges. Similar to the development of safety audit methodology, the report makes links between research, analysis, policy, and information sharing, with practical examples in the accompanying ICPC International Compendium of Practices (2008). Reflection and sustainable action must act mutually within this framework, and work from the local to the global and vice versa. Every context is unique, as the crime challenges in South Africa present themselves in a different manner than those in Canada, and the means to implement an economic, social and cultural framework are different and varied. Despite these differences, there is increasing consensus for a common ground for crime prevention.

It is my hope that this report will provide useful and timely information to decision makers, which will nourish reflection, inspire ideas, and contribute to the quality of their decisions. They will be able to draw on experience, noting successes, but also failures of previous policies and programmes. Their reactions to this report will influence and inspire future perspectives and ideas, and action implemented by our members which is varied and complex in nature. International organisations and NGOs will find new ways to further reinforce cooperation and collaboration.

With ICPC's Fifteenth Anniversary soon approaching, this report and accompanying compendium express support for all levels of action and administration to ensure effective and sustainable crime prevention in communities across the world.

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to our members and partners, and most importantly to the Government of Canada, without which this report would not have been made possible. I thank and recognise the hard work and dedication of the ICPC team in Montreal, under the direction of Valérie Sagant, and appreciate the varied contributions of all the collaborators of the report and compendium. The idea that we share in the importance of a global and integrated approach to crime prevention and community safety inspires the work of ICPC, most notably in the production of this report.

I hope that this first contribution - and those which follow - becomes a reference tool for all those engaged in crime prevention.



Raymonde Dury
President, ICPC

FOREWORD

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC), created in 1994, is the only international organisation dedicated exclusively to crime prevention and community safety. It was established to facilitate the emerging consensus on the role of governments, and particularly cities, in ensuring the safety of citizens. Over the years, ICPC has striven to identify best practices and promote the active participation of national and local governments in coordinated strategies to prevent crime. A wide variety of public and private stakeholders have taken part in these initiatives – criminal justice, social and community sectors, as well as civil society* organisations – working in partnership* to carefully analyse problems and develop and implement action plans.

As part of its work in collating, analysing and disseminating information on effective and innovative crime prevention policies and practice, ICPC published two landmark studies in 1997 and 1999 in French and English. These were *Crime Prevention Digest I: successes, benefits and directions from seven countries*, and *Crime Prevention Digest II, Comparative analysis of successful community safety*. Similarly, two editions of 100 Crime Prevention Programs to inspire action across the world were published in 1997 and 1999. Since then, ICPC's work has expanded with comparative studies on issues such as the role of local authorities, the police and the private sector in crime prevention, school safety, youth at risk, women's safety, community safety partnerships with Indigenous peoples, and residential burglary. Recently, ICPC published in English, French and Spanish, the proceedings of the workshop it organised for the 11th United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice on *Strategies and Best Practices in Crime Prevention in particular in relation to Urban Areas and Youth at Risk*.

ICPC was created and developed in close partnership with the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), and particularly its *Safer Cities Programme* and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), both of which are members of the Centre.

Coinciding with one of the key objectives of ICPC's strategic development plan, this *International Report on Crime Prevention and Community Safety* hopes to contribute to a better understanding of prevention on a global scale and to the development and the implementation of effective prevention policies, in support of the work of the United Nations. It is also intended as a guide to action for all actors who seek to develop a prevention approach that is balanced, sustainable, and respects human rights in relation to crime.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank in particular the Members of ICPC who provided us with assistance in identifying promising practices and policies.

An Editorial Advisory Committee composed of eleven international experts and four members of the Executive Committee of ICPC was established to provide advice on the content of the report.¹ The Committee represents a diverse range of geographic, institutional and disciplinary backgrounds. They undertook their role with great rigor and attentiveness in reading the draft versions, and ten of Committee members took part in an expert meeting in Montreal, in which they provided further suggestions. We would like to thank very sincerely Alioune Badiane, Gustavo Beliz, Jean-Paul Brodeur, Adam Crawford, Raymonde Dury, Katalin Gönczöl, Barbara Holtmann, Borbála Ivány, Michel Marcus, Erich Marks, Slawomir Redo, Dennis Rosenbaum, Michael Tonry, Jennifer Wood and Anne Wyvekens for the time they devoted to this exercise. Their comments have considerably enriched the report, and their encouragement and support was a great source of motivation and inspiration.

We would like to express our thanks to Professor Benoît Dupont, of the School of Criminology and the International Centre for Comparative Criminology at the University of Montreal, who provided us with a valuable theoretical framework.

We would also like to thank the fifteen authors of external expert contributions in this first report, who have shed a multidisciplinary light on certain discussion topics.²

Many practitioners, researchers and decision-makers also provided valuable input to this report through their advice, ideas, research, and suggestions for improvement. We cannot name all of them individually, but we wish to extend to them our heart felt thanks for their availability, time and support.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIC	Australian Institute of Criminology	HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council (Pretoria, Cape Town, Durban, South Africa)
CAVAC	Crime Victims Assistance Center (<i>Centre d'aide aux victimes d'actes criminels</i>) (Quebec, Canada)	IAHCCJ	International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice
CCPCJ	United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice	IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
CDPC	European Committee on Crime Problems (Council of Europe)	ICCLR & CJP	International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy
CECI	Center for International Studies and Cooperation (<i>Centre d'étude et de coopération internationale</i>) (Canada)	ICVS	International Crime Victim Survey
CICC	International Centre for Comparative Criminology (<i>Centre international de criminologie comparée</i>) (Quebec, Canada)	ICPC	International Centre for the Prevention of Crime
CNRS	<i>Centre national de la recherche scientifique</i> (National Center for Scientific Research) (France)	IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
DIV	<i>Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville</i> (France)	ILANUD	United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean	ILSED	<i>Instituto Latinoamericano de Seguridad y Democracia</i> (Latin-American Institute for Security and Democracy) (Buenos Aires, Argentina)
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council	INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States	IPC	Institute for the Prevention of Crime (Ottawa, Canada)
EFUS	European Forum for Urban Safety	ISISC	International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences (Syracuse, Italy)
EMCDDA	European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction	ISPAC	International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice programme
EU	European Union	ISRD	International Self-Reported Delinquency Study
EUCPN	European Crime Prevention Network	ISS	Institute for Security Studies (South Africa)
EU ICS	European Crime and Safety Survey	IVAWS	International Violence Against Women Survey
FIFA	<i>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</i> (International Federation of Association Football)	KICJP	Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy (Seoul, Republic of Korea)
FLACSO	<i>Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales</i> (Latin American School of Social Sciences)	NAASS	Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences (Riyadh, Saudi Arabia)
GA	General Assembly (United Nations)	NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Cape Town, South Africa)
GERN	<i>Groupe européen de recherche sur les normativités</i>	NIJ	National Institute of Justice (Washington, United States)
GSHS	Global School-based Student Health Survey (WHO)		
HBSC	Health Behaviour in School-aged Children (Study)		
HEUNI	European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control		

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

NGO	Non-governmental Organisation	VAW	Violence against women
OAS	Organisation of American States	WB	World Bank
OCAVI	<i>Observatorio Centroamericano sobre Violencia</i> (Central American Observatory on Violence)	WHO	World Health Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development	WICI	Women in Cities International
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States		
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights		
OIF	<i>Organisation internationale de la francophonie</i> (International Organisation of the Francophonie)		
OND	<i>Observatoire national de la délinquance</i> (National Observatory of Delinquency) (France)		
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe		
PNI	United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme Network		
SAPS	South African Police Service		
SPVM	<i>Service de police de la Ville de Montréal</i> (City of Montreal Police Service, Quebec, Canada)		
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations		
UNAFEI	United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders		
UNAFRI	United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders		
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation		
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund		
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund		
UNICRI	United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute		
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women		
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime		
UNPD	United Nations Development Programme		
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme		

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This International Report presents, for the first time, an overview of the main problems linked to crime, safety, and victimisation in the world, and the types of prevention responses they elicit. It is intended to be published every two years, to provide a basis for tracking evolving issues, and emerging trends in prevention and community safety. The 2010 Report will be presented at the Twelfth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, in Salvador, Brazil, from April 12 to 19, 2010.

Who should read the report?

The report is first intended for decision-makers in different jurisdictions, cities, regions, provinces and states, countries, as well as professionals, specialised practitioners, non governmental organisations, and members of civil society engaged in crime prevention. It provides an overall analysis of crime prevention and community safety around the world and looks at innovations, promising practices, and emerging issues in these fields. It hopes to instigate reflection on prevention strategies and evaluation. The report will also be of relevance to international organisations, United Nations agencies, development banks, and other regional organisations. It offers a unique set of information exclusively dedicated to prevention, to assist with examination of normative standards, cooperation, and technical assistance needs. Finally, it provides a considerable amount of international material likely to be useful for specialised researchers.

Methodology, structure and content

This first 2008 International Report was developed by the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime between May 2007 and June 2008. It is based on an analysis of international reports and information produced by intergovernmental organisations and specialised networks, and publicly available data from different levels of government, and non governmental organisations dealing with crime prevention and community safety. It also draws on relevant scientific literature. ICPC has privileged material in English, French and Spanish published after the adoption of the United Nations *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime* in 2002. This first edition focuses on the work of countries in North America, Cen-

tral America, South America, the Caribbean, Europe, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Oceania. The next edition will cover all regions of the world and additional themes.

Based on the broad and multidisciplinary definition of crime prevention adopted in the 2002 UN Guidelines, the 2008 report has two main sections: a thematic analysis of the main crime and community safety problems, chosen on the basis of their relevance and importance in current debates on crime prevention and community safety; and comparative analysis of evolving trends in policies and in the implementation of prevention practices. A general overview introduces each section. Section one begins with a review of the evolution of crime trends internationally.

Each chapter includes boxes which provide accounts of a concept, public service, tool, evaluation, or reference in the field of crime prevention. They deal, for example, with the impacts of video surveillance, the emergence of gated communities, or a campaign to prevent violence against immigrant women.

The report benefits from a series of contributions by international experts, who shed light on specific themes such as exploratory walks, interventions with youth gangs, public-private partnerships, or the role of municipal police in urban safety.

Finally, many of the topics presented in this report are illustrated by practice examples in the accompanying International Compendium which presents good and promising practices initiated by national or local governments or public authorities, or non governmental organisations.

Issues in community safety: A thematic analysis

Crime: context and international trends

Comparing international crime trends is particularly difficult for a number of reasons, including the lack of reliable and comparable data in some world regions, the absence of standardised data collection practices, and differences in definitions of criminal behaviours, which can be considerable.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Notwithstanding these limitations, review of information drawn from official statistics, comparative international analyses, and national or international victimisation surveys, suggests a **global trend toward the stabilisation of crime**. Despite marked regional disparities, this trend is evident worldwide with regard to property and drug offences. There are, however, some striking disparities with regard to violent offences (homicide, robbery). Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean still experience very high levels of these types of crimes.

Numerous complex factors explain such disparities: **no single factor alone determines crime**. Crime is more prevalent in urban and disadvantaged areas. Urbanisation and poverty, and especially wide income disparities are at issue, not in and of themselves, but because they limit access to education, training, employment, and overall services that facilitate personal, economic and social development. Other factors, such as access to firearms, or the use of drugs or alcohol, can also “facilitate” criminal behaviour.

Finally, this brief panorama emphasises issues related to the fear of crime, which while not directly linked to actual crime levels, must be taken into account when developing strategies for promoting community safety.

Women’s safety

As with other forms of crime, the extent of violence against women is difficult to measure worldwide. An international victimisation survey, nevertheless, suggests that, in the countries included, **between one-third and two-thirds of women state having been victims of violence**.

In the face of this persistent problem, women’s safety has been the subject of **large-scale international mobilisation**. Nearly all international organisations, whether thematic or geographic, have turned their attention to women’s safety, variously developing awareness campaigns, adopting normative standards, or funding technical assistance programmes which aim to change attitudes and behaviour. At the national level, numerous governments on all continents have established national action plans, and some municipal governments have begun to use an integrated approach that takes account of all aspects of women’s safety.

Beyond certain individual factors, women’s safety is linked to recognition of their status, their autonomy, their education, and to the equality of the sexes. Empowering them to become more involved in social, political and economic life is central to promoting their safety in numerous regions around the world. In many cases, the role of women in conflict management, and in reinforcing community capacity, for example, has allowed them to move from a status of ‘victim’, or “vulnerable population,” to becoming fully participating actors in the community.

Youth safety

The notion of “youth” varies considerably from one region of the world to another, but young men of 15 to 24 are the age group with the **highest rate of offending and victimisation** worldwide. Youth offending and victimisation is a very prominent issue in the crime debate. The debate has traditionally been informed by two complementary and often contradictory positions that view youth, on one hand, as young people who are developing and need protection, and on the other, as responsible persons who must answer for their actions.

These differences are clearly evident in the approaches recommended by international organisations and many of the observed national responses. International organisations emphasise the importance of education, employment and social conditions when analysing youth offending and victimisation. In contrast, for the past fifteen years, public policies at the national level, especially in developed countries, have tended to place greater stress on individual and parental responsibilities.

Nevertheless, **participative approaches** are increasingly being recognised, and in numerous regions of the world, such approaches have been found to be effective in developing young people’s capacities for autonomy, decision-making, and social integration.

School safety

Coming between concerns about “youth” and issues of safety in public spaces, school safety continues to be **an important issue, especially in developed countries**.

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This is partly because of the heightened attention given to aggressive student behaviour, especially “bullying”, and public and media interest in serious, albeit isolated, school shootings. **In other countries, the provision of education is also a major issue.** Countless children and youth still have only limited access to school, and are, therefore, at risk of becoming involved in violence and crime on streets, but may also experience high risk of violence or sexual assault at school.

The first response to school safety is often a punitive one, targeting “trouble-makers,” but other factors are progressively being considered. The overall **climate**, of a school, for example, particularly in terms of the quality of supervision, available resources, and the style of administration, is now more widely acknowledged as an important factor in school safety.

In all countries, regardless of wealth, the most innovative prevention and intervention strategies are those which are comprehensive in including not just the school community, but wider **community partnerships that favour initiatives also involving local actors.** These approaches place school at the centre of the community, and assess the needs of all actors, highlighting everyone’s role in the functioning of a safe school.

Safety in public spaces and at large-scale sporting events

Disorder and “anti-social behaviour” in public spaces cover a wide variety of behaviours, and can increase levels of insecurity beyond the likely incidence of crime, but are of common concern in many regions of the world. In all cases, the issue is one of **tensions created by conflicts in, or by the use of, public space**, and the coexistence of a variety of users. There can be misunderstandings, as well as criminal activities or public nuisances. In an increasing number of countries, conflict or insecurity can arise from “informal trading”, the activities of sex trade workers, drug traffickers and users, or street children, among others.

Opposing intervention approaches can be clearly distinguished in terms of the use of **inclusive or exclusive approaches and procedures.** The latter aim is to eliminate a problem, or at least make it less visible, by the

displacement of populations perceived as, or actually, “disruptive.” The former approach seeks to mediate relations and conflicts between different community actors without, a priori, excluding any of them. These approaches use a broad range of social and support actions as well as urban planning. They also generally rely on strong partnerships, since responsibility for public spaces often lies with a range of practitioners and individuals.

In the past few decades, safety in public spaces, stadiums, and other sporting event venues has also become a major issue. This includes Europe with the development of football hooliganism, but also Latin America and Africa, and more sporadically in other regions, during major sporting events.

The scale of violence and damage committed during soccer matches, for example, has resulted in the implementation of policies aimed at **containing** outbursts, and impeding the mobility and capacity of the main instigators to make trouble. For the past few years, there have been attempts to use more positive approaches, such as reclaiming the **celebratory nature of these events**, by increasing the variety and type of social and civil interaction. Once again, those strategies which use a comprehensive and integrated approach, based on local community resources, appear to be the most successful in terms of promoting safety.

Crime prevention: Emerging trends

A marked trend toward knowledge-based prevention

For a number of years there has been an increasing use of prevention approaches which have a strong scientific basis. While progress is uneven, the **evaluation of prevention programmes** in some areas has made it possible to identify “what works”, what is less effective, and why this is so. Dissemination of such information, and especially its use by national and local decision-makers, does not always appear to have progressed equally. Greater use of evaluation depends on the willingness of numerous actors to base public policies on rigorous analyses and methodologies; some public policies are still determined by budgetary and political orientations. At the international level, evolution is evident, none-

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theless, in the sense that **prevention policies are now likely to be based on more reliable data, including that collected and analysed by independent authorities.** Concern about the measurement of crime, resource allocation, or the needs of practitioners involved in prevention and safety, have led to the development of a number of data collection and analysis tools, such as safety audits and observatories on crime and social problems.

Unequal involvement of public authorities

While there is still some resistance, efforts to persuade public authorities in the criminal justice field to integrate prevention more clearly into their working methods, are showing signs of success. **Although the role of police is not clearly defined, they continue to be perceived the dominant actors in prevention.** In the past few decades, many reforms of policing services have had prevention impacts, even if this has not been their primary purpose. It appears that police visibility and presence needs to be enhanced, as well as their problem-solving activities, but their precise role in prevention remains somewhat vague. In addition, working with multiple prevention practitioners and partnerships can be difficult to harmonise with the operational goals of police services.

The criminal justice system is less obviously concerned with prevention, even though its formal role is recognised. In many regions, there is a demand for local justice, to make it geographically and financially accessible, as well as intelligible in terms of its procedures and mechanisms. Local justice seems to favour community safety. Likewise, legal interventions tend to privilege **conflict management and dialogue between actors and victims of crime.** Several forms of “*maison de justice*” have been developed in various parts of the world, and the restoration and use of traditional mediation and restorative justice processes is increasingly favoured.

‘New’ community support services

Public authorities, particularly at the local level, encounter many challenges in dealing with prevention and community safety. A number of innovative approaches have been developed which help to increase

safety and a sense of security either through supporting institutions traditionally assigned to this task (such as the police) or by providing additional social control and mediation services. A number of **innovative approaches** have been developed, such as Community Support Officers, Aboriginal Community Liaison Officers, “*correspondants de nuit*,” fan stewards, Neighbourhood wardens, “*Gestores locales de seguridad*,” and specialised social mediators.

All these initiatives aim to **improve services to the population** by being more available locally, increasing human presence in the evenings and at night, and promoting understanding and dialogue with authorities.

Local actors want to reinforce their role

The role of local authorities and community actors including the private sector is now more frequently recognised by international and national organisations than in the past. Yet, **actual progress in this area does not appear to live up to the stated goals.**

While local authorities are best placed to be able to identify the needs and potential of the local population, their legal status and financial resources are still largely limited. The participation and involvement of residents and community groups is still often restricted to more or less informal consultation, and is hindered by instability, and a lack of sustainable resources. Finally, public sector commitments are often in conflict with the need to integrate non-economic partnerships.

Nevertheless, an **abundance of initiatives** can be seen at the local level, and their role is progressively being consolidated in both international and national work.

Conclusions

a) *There is marked progress in international crime measurement and prevention standards and norms*

International crime data is improving. Significant efforts have been undertaken in recent years to track the evolution of crime in terms of standardising, matching, and comparing data. Despite the absence of shared definitions for offences, the development of “international

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standards” helps to overcome some of the cultural and legal differences in measuring certain types of crime. However, the lack of reliable data is striking in some regions around the world, and does not enable a precise picture of the international situation to be drawn. At the international level, and in each country, further development of new data collection and analysis tools is necessary.

Prevention benefits from a set of international standards and norms and recent normative and practical tools have helped their dissemination (eg. through guides, manuals, compendiums). An examination of prevention policies worldwide clearly suggests that these standards are being applied and are inspiring national prevention strategies. Political, economic, cultural, and social evolution, and the transition of countries toward democracy, particularly in Latin America and Eastern Europe, has led several governments to develop integrated prevention policies based on these principles, at least with regard to their goals.

An increasing number of **international exchange networks** now highlight innovative prevention policies and programmes from around the world. These various networks are dedicated to observing and analysing crime trends and prevention approaches, or developing evaluation methodologies. They are important platforms for the dissemination and adaptation of good strategies in terms of their **transferability between different contexts**.

b) The criminalisation of behaviours contrasts with international principles

The criminalisation of behaviours is observed in several areas and responds to a strictly criminal justice approach to community safety. There are increasing penalties for violence against women, and creation of specific offences, intended to draw attention to the problem although there are some attempts to integrate gender more clearly into crime prevention strategies. In relation to children and youth, there has been an increasing tendency to label behaviour as “disruptive” or “antisocial” and little consideration tends to be given to the fact that only a small minority are involved in serious offending. Disciplinary problems at school can too

easily be criminalised, while groups of youth are easily labelled as criminal gangs, and subject to severe sanctions. Finally, in public space, “incivilities” are more frequently considered regulatory and criminal, and subject to police action; yet increased regulations multiply the possibilities for breaking the law. Finally, marginalisation is increasingly treated as a “nuisance” that needs to be managed.

This evolution contradicts international standards and norms that privilege a more social and educational approach to deviant behaviour and crime based on their causes, and which advocate more nuanced and diversified responses.

c) The development of integrated or “comprehensive” prevention approaches is based on concrete experience, but remains fragile

The development of integrated approaches to prevention appears limited, in part because such approaches entail a **method rather than a model**. Integrated prevention privileges audits, partnerships, and a multidisciplinary analysis of crime. It cannot impose or prescribe a list of adoptable measures valid in all parts of the world. On the other hand, **prevention remains a fragile conceptual notion**: research findings are often contradictory and fragmented, national strategies are often a collection of ill-assorted measures, rather than a well articulated plan, and partnerships can be difficult to develop and sustain, bringing together very different actors with different agendas and whose respective roles are not always well defined.

Yet, this approach has delivered **results in terms of improving community safety and reinforcing the capacities of local actors. It has mobilised communities and favoured collective development**. Supported by police services, urban development agencies, and numerous local actors and components of civil society, the cities of Chicago, Bogotá or Durban have all obtained very significant and successful results from integrated prevention strategies.

For the future, integrated prevention can be implemented with **well developed and tested tools**. Partnerships can now draw on three decades of local prevention and safety

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council experience (such as local coalitions, local round tables). Safety audit tools are enhanced by victimisation surveys, observatories, and innovative participatory tools such as exploratory walks, and by technology such as geocoding. Evaluation approaches have diversified, and include more pragmatic action-research methods, and process evaluations.

d) Prevention is increasingly a condition for sustainable development

Crime prevention is essential to sustainable development, as is the prevention of problems linked to poverty, health, education, and urban development. In fact, **vibrant communities** are not possible without safety and social cohesion. This link has been acknowledged more recently by a number of international and donor organisations, and crime prevention is now seen as an integral part of human security.

It is now recognized that crime prevention involves not only the search for a permanent balance between approaches and actions privileged at different government levels, but also takes account of the specific characteristics of each particular context.

This first overview presents contrasting portrait of crime prevention in the world. We now have more knowledge and tools to develop integrated strategies for prevention. Some countries will use them, while others will continue to rely on tough criminal justice responses. However, a solid foundation has been established at the international level on which new policies can be built. Crime prevention has been the object of numerous innovations in terms of professional practices, and citizen mobilisation at the community level. Going far beyond a single response to crime, these approaches also contribute to strengthening the rule of law and democratic processes, and promoting human rights, and in so doing place prevention at the heart of issues of governance and development.

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) was created in the context of a broad international movement to raise prevention to the level of a public policy equal in importance to conventional criminal justice policies and to recognise the primary role to be played by governments in crime prevention, especially at the local level. ICPC engages in a wide range of activities that support the crime prevention Guidelines adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, under Resolution 2002/13 of July 24, 2002.

This report uses a multidisciplinary definition of crime prevention*. Crime prevention “comprises strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential and harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime, by intervening to influence their multiple causes”.³ Within this framework and as described in this report, prevention includes **social prevention** (or “prevention through social development”)* emphasising the promotion of well-being and social cohesion through intervention in the fields of health, education, economic, urban and social development, **crime prevention at the local level or “community-based crime prevention”*** mobilising all members of the community, **situational and environmental prevention*** and finally the **prevention of recidivism***.

Some countries and international organisations make a distinction between primary prevention, targeting the general population, secondary prevention, targeting specific at-risk populations, and tertiary prevention, which works to prevent re-offending.⁴ We do not use this typology⁵ because it does not allow us to capture the full range of interventions that may be required in the area of community safety*. It should also be pointed out that the term “crime prevention”, as it is used in many countries, tends to be understood as primarily relating to police action, whereas the notion of “community safety” covers a wider range of players.⁶ The goal of this report is to focus on the “broader” notion that we have just described, and similar to the notion of a **sustainable development approach**, as defined in the 1997 Brundtland Report.⁷ The reinforcement of the rule of law,

the fight against crime and violence and prevention are seen as inherent conditions for sustainable social development.⁸ Likewise, the focus on prevention helps to ensure that safety is sustainable, by attacking the root causes of crime, and by mobilising a wide range of actors in society. Similarly, the notion of **human safety** gives greater perspective to issues of global safety focused on individuals. This notion gained global acceptance with the publication of the 1994 Human Development Report, and is closely linked to the safety of both individuals and communities*.⁹

It is also worth noting that many public policies and private initiatives contribute to crime prevention and community safety, whether or not it is their stated objective. However, to the extent that they have a significant and identifiable impact, such initiatives are taken into account in this report. Given the scope of the fields under examination, we have focused mainly on policies and practices where the main objectives are prevention and safety.

Finally, the terminology used in the field of crime prevention and community safety confronts several linguistic difficulties, not just between languages, but also within them. Certain terminology is not always universally accepted even within the same country. We have, therefore, included a Glossary of terms in three languages (English, French and Spanish) which defines some of the technical terms used in the report. These terms are indicated by an asterisk (*).

2. OBJECTIVES AND AUDIENCE

There are many international reports on subjects related to crime prevention, such as health, youth protection, urban safety and development. National governments have also produced relevant reports although they tend to focus mainly on the criminal justice system. Numerous research projects and studies have been produced by local authorities, academic centres and non-governmental organisations. What has not yet been produced is an **international comparison of the major approaches to the prevention** of crime, victimisation, and insecurity. The main goal of the report is to provide information that can be shared, particularly with

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respect to prevention experiences, and which validates an approach based on **diversity, human rights, and sustainable safety**.

The primary audience of this report will be the **decision-makers** from different jurisdictions, as well as non-governmental organisations actively involved in prevention and reduction of crime. The goal of the report is to provide them with an analytic document summarising the situation of prevention and community safety around the world. It will increase the awareness and recognition of innovation, promising practices, and emerging issues across all fields and encourage reflection and thought on prevention strategies, and how they can be evaluated. The report is also intended for **international organisations**, who will find some useful information about prevention enabling them to increase their ability to assess needs in terms of norms and standards, technical cooperation and capacity building. Although this document is not intended to be a scientific study, it may however be used as a point of departure for specialised researchers who will find the compendium of information useful in future research.

ICPC plans to produce a regular review of emerging trends in crime every **two years**, as well as an inventory of responses and practices. Such a document published on a regular basis, may be used as a **tool to alert** governments about emerging problems and innovative practices, as well as a tool to analyse strategies adopted, providing a **marker to measure progress** in the areas of crime prevention and community safety. In a very broad sense, this report has also been designed as a **tool to promote** initiatives and strategies that correspond to the methodology and values adopted by the United Nations in these fields.

As a tool for international analysis, the report has been confronted by two major difficulties. The first is the highly **unequal distribution of relevant information**. European countries, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand among others, have been well endowed for many years with statistical analysis capacities, research centres and other similar mechanisms, whereas other countries have only recently acquired such tools, if they have them at all. The second difficulty concerns **the**

relevance of analytic tools for comparative purposes and in this area, the disparity is even more evident.

Both the levels of crime and the financial and human resources available to respond to them vary considerably from country to country, and from jurisdiction and to jurisdiction. However, with more than 14 years of experience in this field, ICPC is convinced of the value of comparative analysis. This analytical work has made it possible to identify the important areas of convergence with respect to the methodology used for crime prevention, such as cooperative action based on careful diagnosis at the local level, with support from national or regional government. It is equally important to gain a good understanding of the factors that contribute to insecurity as well as those that increase the capacity of individuals and communities to prevent crime. For all these reasons, we are convinced of the relevance of an international basis for the comparison of major trends, although we do not pretend to provide an exhaustive account of all the factors at play. We wish to avoid simplistic or reductionist approaches.

3. REPORT STRUCTURE AND OUTLINE

The 2008 report is divided into two main sections: **a thematic analysis of the major problems related to community safety and a transverse analysis of the prevention response mechanisms that have been developed** above and beyond the types of crimes discussed. Each section begins with a general overview. The first section focuses on international crime trends, and the second on progress in prevention, six years after the adoption of the United Nations Guidelines on crime prevention.

Section I emphasises specific themes, selected because of their relevance to current debates in crime prevention and community safety, their quantitative importance, or their seriousness. This first edition of the report devotes considerable attention to women's safety, youth safety and school safety, and safety in public spaces, including major sports events.

Section II identifies some major trends marking progress in prevention and community safety strategies

and practices. This section also includes an analysis of the diversity of national strategies, the development of knowledge-based policies, the role of institutional and local community* actors, as well as the creation of new services and professions in the field of prevention.

Both sections are illustrated with **contributions** from international experts in their fields, to shed light on specific themes.

This inaugural edition focuses mainly on work undertaken in North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Central America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Europe and Oceania. Other countries and regions of the world, as well as specific topics such as corruption, economic and financial crime, or environmental crime, are not discussed in any detail in this report.

4. METHODOLOGY

The report is based primarily on a review of the literature in crime prevention and consultations with international experts, Members States and ICPC partners. Information was gathered from work published in, or translated from, English, Spanish and French, most of which has been produced since 2002, the date of the adoption of the UN Guidelines.

In addition to work conducted by ICPC since its foundation, four other main sources of information were used: publications of international intergovernmental organisations; information provided by specialised regional or global networks working in the area of prevention and safety; and data on prevention and safety practices and policies that have been implemented in cities, provinces or states, and countries. The analysis of the policies and practices of ICPC member governments¹⁰ and of countries that have developed extensive prevention practices, has been undertaken mainly on the basis of available official documents. Personal contact with government departments responsible for such strategies was another valuable source of information. We also made use of specific studies commissioned from our partners, with the view to gaining a greater understanding of the issues involved on the ground.¹¹ These

sources have been identified in the bibliography.

We devoted special attention to the work of multi-disciplinary research networks, institutes, or centres that focus on comparative analysis in crime and crime prevention. This includes the *Groupement européen de recherche sur les normativités* (GERN), which coordinates the European CRIMPREV programme, the Latin American Department of Social Sciences based in Chile (FLACSO CHILE), the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), and the International Centre for Comparative Criminology (CICC) at the University of Montreal (Canada).

Finally, all internet material was accessed prior to 31st March 2008.

PART 1
SELECTED TOPICS

CHAPTER

CRIME AND INSECURITY: CONTEXT AND TRENDS

CRIME AND INSECURITY: CONTEXT AND TRENDS

Reviewing crime trends around the world raises many methodological problems concerning the comparability of information. Definitions of criminal acts vary from country to country as do procedures for recording and interpreting criminal information. They are also closely related to the resources available in any given jurisdiction. In some countries, it may even be difficult to gain access to the main institutional sources of data such as civil registries, police records court decisions etc.¹²

A further difficulty, typically encountered, relates to methods of calculating crime rates. Reported crime rates do not reflect the real levels of crime taking place¹³, and are now being increasingly supplemented by victimisation surveys.¹⁴ Nevertheless, data is not always collected and recorded in a standardised way; nor is all data made public. This is further complicated in regions of the world where the police do not have adequate resources, or where corruption is rampant. In such cases, levels of reporting are far below those in wealthier countries with adequate resources and good reputations for justice, and where victims have more confidence in reporting infractions against them.¹⁵

The analysis presented in this report is drawn primarily from the following sources:

- The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, conducted 9 times since its creation in 1970 for which the number of participating countries fluctuates between 66 and 103¹⁶;
- The *European Source Book of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics*, an initiative which began in 1993 and now analyses data from more than 40 European states¹⁷;
- The *International Crime Victims Survey* (ICVS), coordinated since 1991 by UNICRI¹⁸, and the European Union Survey of Crime and Safety (EU ICS) which compares levels of victimisation in 18 members states of the European Union, based on data collected in accordance with ICVS methodology.¹⁹
- Opinion polls which have been developed across continental regions under the *Global Barometer Network*²⁰, namely the *Asianbarometer*, *Arabarometer*, *Afrobarometer* and the *Latinobarometer* and the *Eurobarometer*.²¹

International efforts to ensure standardisation, harmonisation and comparison

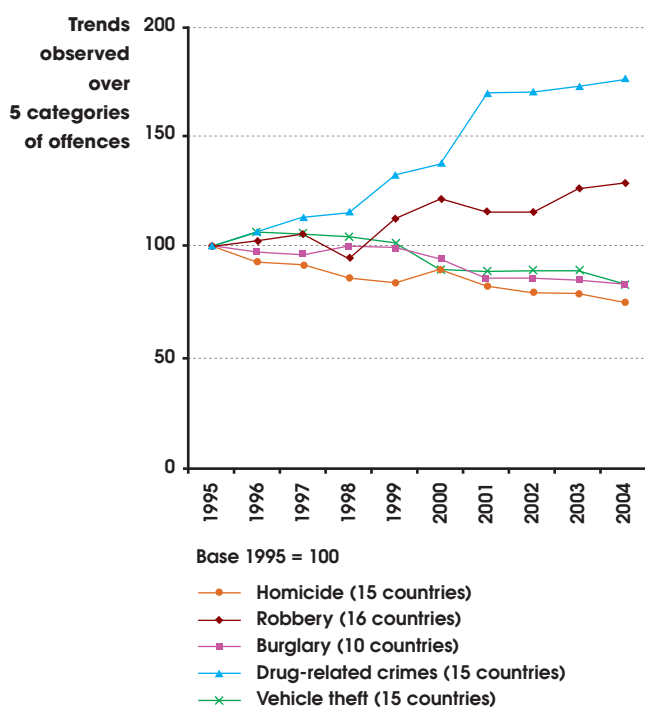
In recent years there has been an increased willingness of countries around the world to adopt common instruments for the measurement of crime. The origin of this movement lies in the notion that only reliable quantitative data on trends, on statistical rates and on the specific characteristics of crime, will make it possible to develop a knowledge-base on which promising prevention policies and practices can be built. In order to reach this goal, various initiatives have been undertaken at the international level, including:

- The *International Self-Report Delinquency Study*, IRSD, initiated in 1990;
- The *International Crime Victims Survey*, ICVS, which is conducted internationally since 1991, as well as a corresponding survey on the safety of women which began in 1997 (*International Violence against Women Survey*, IVWS);
- The *European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics* which has been conducted since 1993;
- The uniform framework for the interpretation of crime and criminal justice statistics among member countries of the European Union, under the direction of Eurostat, which was developed in 2006;
- Development of measurement indicators for certain types of crime, for example youth crime and violence against women, and specific data collection tools especially for victims.

1. MAJOR TRENDS IDENTIFIED

1.1 Globally, crime trends are stabilising, but significant regional disparities remain

The United Nations crime trends survey suggests that **so called "conventional" crimes**²² - including homicide, robbery, burglary and motor vehicle theft - **have remained at a relatively stable level in all regions of the world over the past few years**, and even decreased slightly in some regions. Only robbery increased between 1995 and 2002, but levelled off between 2002 and 2004. Drug-related crimes also seem to have stabilised since 2002, although they remain at a relatively high level.²³



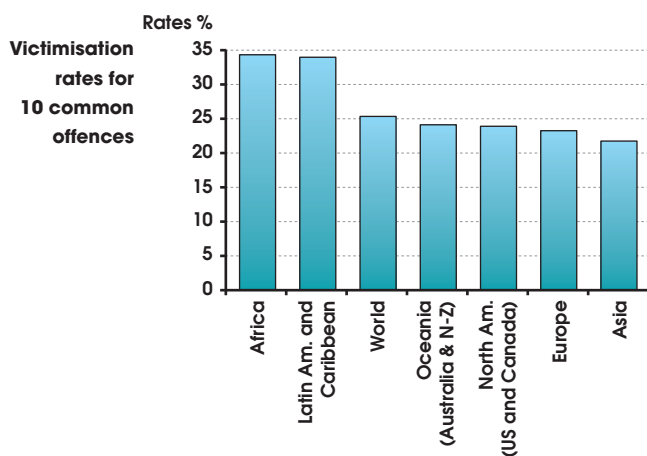
Source : Estimate based on data collected by the United Nations Survey (1995-2004)¹³.

Analysis of the findings of the ICVS over time suggests similar conclusions in terms of trends. In the majority of the 78 countries that have responded to the ICVS since 1989, the rates of victimisation for offences covered in the survey have on the whole decreased since the end of the 1990s. The ICVS also shows that between 1996 and 2005, approximately 25% of the population was victim to at least one offence in the categories of crime reported, in the year immediately preceding data collection.

Countries that took part in the ICVS at least once, 1989-2005

AFRICA	EUROPE
Botswana	Albania
Egypt	Austria
Lesotho	Belarus
Mozambique	Belgium
Namibia	Bulgaria
Nigeria	Croatia
South Africa	Czech Republic
Swaziland	Denmark
Tanzania	Estonia
Tunisia	Finland
	France
NORTH AMERICA	Georgia
Canada	Germany
United-States	Hungary
	Iceland
LATIN AMERICA	Ireland
Argentina	Italy
Bolivia	Latvia
Brazil	Lithuania
Colombia	Luxembourg
Costa Rica	Macedonia
Mexico	Malta
Panama	Netherlands
Paraguay	North Ireland
Peru	Norway
	Poland
ASIA	Portugal
Azerbaijan	Romania
Cambodia	Russia
China	Scotland
Hong Kong	Slovakia
India	Slovenia
Indonesia	Spain
Japan	Turkey
Kirghizstan	Ukraine
Mongolia	United Kingdom
Papouasie New Guiney	Sweden
Philippines	Switzerland
South Korea	Yugoslavia
	OCEANIA
	Australia
	New-Zeeland

At the international level, victimisation rates for these offences are comparable in Europe, North America (the United States and Canada) and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand), and slightly below the world average of 25%. **The highest levels are recorded in Africa and Latin America (including the Caribbean)**, with rates of reported victimisation of 34% and 33% respectively.²⁶ Latin America has recorded the highest level of victimisation for thefts and violence, and Africa has the highest rates for burglary. In comparison, Asia has the lowest level of victimisation rates (21%), for all categories of offences.



Source: Estimate based on data collected by ICVS (1996-2005), on a basis of 1,000 respondents.

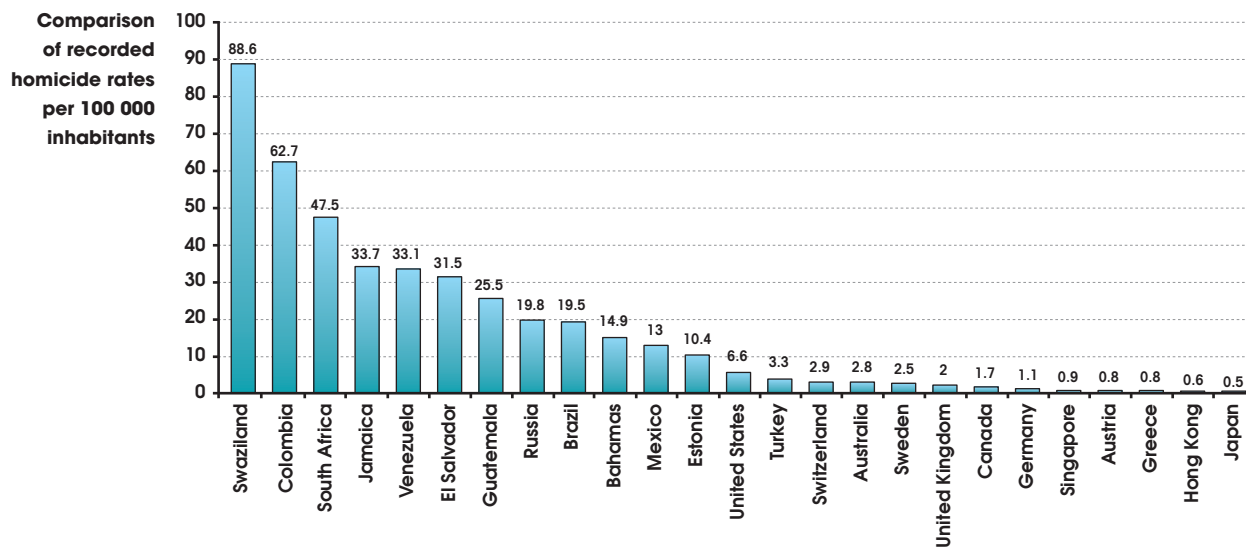
1.2 Number of violent acts remains high

The concept of “violence” has been variously defined by different regions, eras, systems, and theoretical approaches.²⁷ It is, nonetheless, possible to distinguish levels of violent crime by world region, using statistics for homicide and robbery.

The **rate of homicide per 100 000 inhabitants** includes all types of homicide, including those committed during civil wars or by organised criminal groups. As a category, homicide is relatively simple to define, which makes it easier to make regional comparisons.²⁸ Based on data gathered from UN Member States, it would appear that the rate remained stable across all regions between 2002 and 2004 and has even slightly decreased in Europe.²⁹

Nevertheless, it should be noted that **the rate is very unequally distributed across the world**. Generally speaking, the rate is higher in developing countries. The continents of Africa and Latin America in general have the highest rates.³⁰ The wealthiest countries (e.g. Japan, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, European Union countries, Switzerland and Norway) as well as most countries in Asia have lower rates, with a few exceptions.

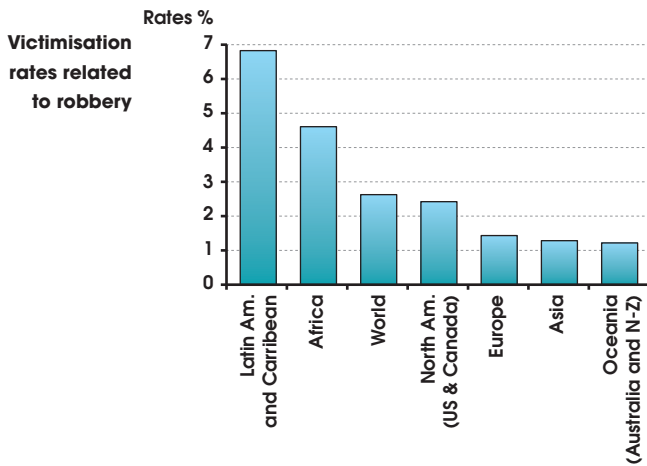
Robbery can also be used as a global indicator, even though there is **no common definition** across countries.³¹ Defined as a contact crime, robbery can also be classified either as an offence against property or as an assault against the person.³² For the purposes of this report, concern with these types of offences is their “violent” nature.



Source: Estimate based on data collected by ICVS (1998-1999; 2000/2001; 2002/2003; 2004/2005).

An increase in the number of reports of robberies has been recorded by the police in several countries, but on the whole these types of crime seem to have levelled off.³³ The rates have declined in Oceania and have remained relatively stable in Africa, Europe, and Asia, but increased in Latin America.³⁴

ICVS results show that the average rates of victimisation have reached fairly high levels in Latin America (6.7%) and Africa (4.5%), in comparison to Europe (1.3%), Asia (1.2%) and Oceania (1.1%). North America with a rate of (2.3%) is very close to the **world average of 2.5%**.



Source: Estimate based on data collected by ICVS (1996-2005), on a basis of 1,000 respondents.

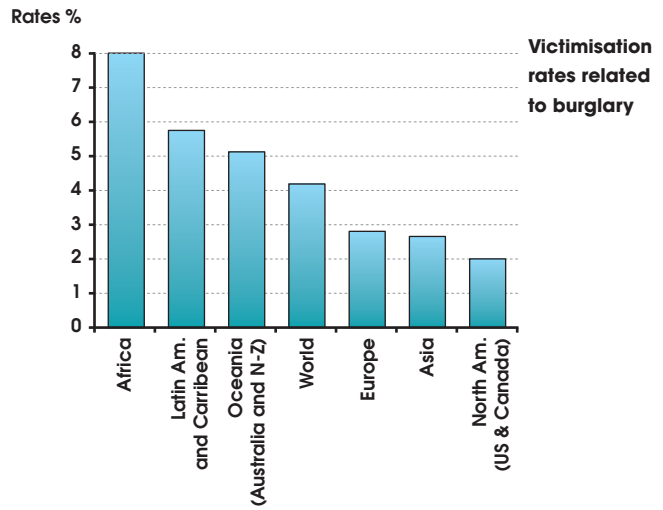
1.3 Other forms of property crime have slightly decreased

While robbery seems to be on the increase, other types of property crime analysed at the international level - namely burglary and motor vehicle theft - seem to be decreasing at variable rates, according to data.³⁶

Burglary (also referred to as breaking and entering) is the most common type of property crime at the local level, but it also raises difficulties in terms of definition.³⁷ Some countries have adopted a broad definition of burglary, by extending it to thefts from vehicles and commercial buildings, while other countries limit the definition to residential burglary.³⁸

In spite of these definitional problems, data drawn either from police statistics or victimisation surveys shows that this type of crime underwent a **general decline** across all continents between 1995 and 2001, although with slight variations in different countries. **The average rate of victi-**

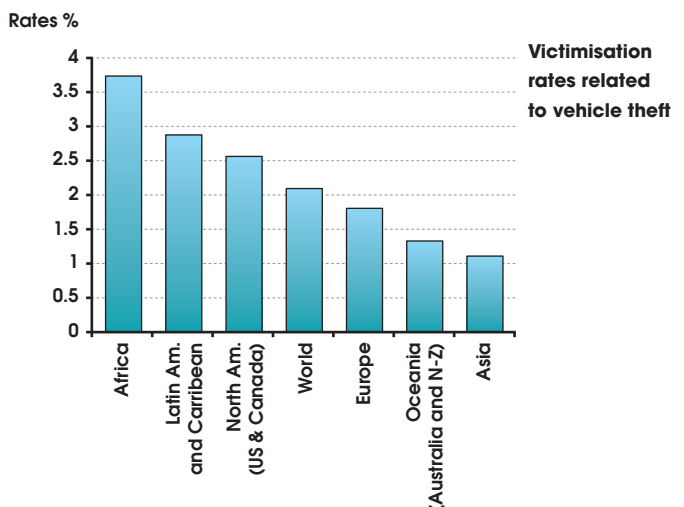
misation is 4%, ranging from 8% in Africa, 5.5% in Latin America, 5% in Oceania, to as low as 2.7% in Europe, 2.5% in Asia, and 1.9% in North America.³⁹



Source: Estimate based on data collected by ICVS (1996-2005), on a basis of 1000 respondents.

Concerning motor **vehicle thefts**, police statistics indicate a **general stabilisation** between 2002 and 2004. In some countries, there have been dramatic increases or decreases, generally following changes in the criminal law, or administrative procedures or policies, such as those affecting registration of offences.⁴⁰

In terms of victimisation, motor vehicle theft is much more important in countries that have more vehicles; the highest rates are found in Australia and North America, and the lowest in Africa and in some Asian countries, where there are far fewer vehicles, and hence less opportunity for theft.⁴¹ For



Source: Estimate based on data collected by ICVS (1996-2005), on a basis of 1000 respondents.

The case of “car jacking”

Car jacking is a motor vehicle theft committed with the use of threats or violence. It is, therefore, both a crime against the person and against property. Contrary to general opinion, the phenomenon has not increased in regions of the world with the use of increasingly sophisticated anti-theft devices.¹ There is now a decline in car jacking in South Africa, followed a big increase in the 1990's.

In the United States, the rate of car jacking victimisation decreased between 1992 and 2003 from 2.1 to 1.3 incidents per 10,000 persons. On average, arms were used in 74% of the cases and a firearm in 45% of the cases. The rate was higher in urban centers: 93% of the thefts of this type were committed in cities or suburbs.

In Australia, of the 74,000 vehicle thefts registered by the National Motor Vehicle Theft Reduction Council in 2006, 300 were estimated to have been committed by car jacking, which represents a total of only 0.15 incidents per 10,000 persons. However, according to a recent study of the Australian Institute of Criminology, it is impossible to calculate a reliable trend based on these figures. At the very best, we may conclude that firearms are rarely used, which is equally true in England and Wales. There are no expectations that these types of crime will increase in future years.

In Africa on the other hand, more than 1%, on average, of persons polled under the ICVS reported that they has been victims of such an incident in 2000. The rate is more than 2% in South Africa and in Swaziland, where some kind of weapon was used in 70% of the cases. Statistics from the South African Police Service show that crimes committed using a firearm increased by 55% between 1995 and 1998. The statistics also show a 21% decrease of incidents between 2001 and 2005, amounting to a total of 2.7 incidents per 10,000 persons in 2005.

more accurate comparisons, victimisation rates need to be based on **vehicle ownership** rather than the population at large. According to ICVS statistics, this gives an average rate of victimisation of about 3.7% in Africa, 2.8% in Latin America, 2.5% in North America, 1.8% in Europe, 1.3% in Oceania, and 1.1% in Asia, with a global average of 2.0%.⁴²

1.4 Drug-related offences are stable but still remain high

Drug-related crimes include a variety of offences such as the purchase, sale, manufacture, and import or export of drugs. They range from small local crimes to large-scale international trafficking and organised crime, committed by structured criminal groups. It is important to note also that the criminal penalties for drug use vary considerably from country to country. This chapter, therefore, is limited to a discussion of overall trends.

The main studies of drug-related offending show **general stability** since 2002. The most recent global report on drug-related offences indicated that a plateau was reached in 2003 across the four main types of offence (production, possession, consumption, and trafficking). Nevertheless the plateau is high for all types of drugs.⁴⁴ The United Nations Survey shows that the average level of drug-related offences reported by the police in all regions of the world began to stabilise between 2002 and 2004, after reaching an all-time high between 1998 and 2001. According to estimates

available, **the highest levels of drug-related offending are found in the two American continents**.⁴⁵

The most recent report of the European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA) also indicates a general trend towards the stabilisation of drug use across all regions of the world, which has led some commentators to refer to “signs which call for prudent optimism”.⁴⁶

Any analysis of trends involving drugs must take into consideration **changes in legislation or policies** aimed at preventing or controlling drug trafficking and addiction.⁴⁷ Attitudes to drug-related offending have undergone considerable evolution at the international level due to **the opposition of policies aimed at controlling demand, with policies aimed at controlling supply**. At national levels, this opposition can be most clearly understood by comparing the development of public health policies that focus on harm reduction (mainly developed since the appearance of the HIV virus in the 1980s), and criminal policies which target users. At the regional level, the EMCDDA has focused on “the value of cooperation and coordinated action in response to the common threat to the health, well-being and security of our citizens caused by drugs”.⁴⁸ At the international level, the mandate of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has evolved from the general objective of controlling world drug markets, **towards greater consideration of the situation of users**, focusing on population health and increased care for drug addicts rather than just

“Exposure” to drug-related problems: increase on the European continent

In Europe, the EU ICS reports that more than one quarter of the European population polled was regularly *exposed to visible* drug-related problems within the 12 months preceding the survey (2004-2005). When compared with data collected by the *Eurobarometer*, it appears that this type of exposure has been increasing, since the results increased from 13% in 1996 to 17% in 2000 and 2002, and to 21% in 2005. The highest rates are found in the Mediterranean countries - Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy - as well as Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The rates are much lower in Scandinavian countries and in Hungary, however.

The *Eurobarometer* has also reported on exposure to drug-related problems such as trafficking, consumption, or abandoned needles on streets; this type of exposure tends to reduce the perception of safety. The results are also confirmed by EU ICS data, which also found that men and young people are more likely to report this experience. Such observations occur most frequently in urban centers.

on the systematic destruction of illegal drug crops, or the dismantling of criminal networks.⁴⁹ Thus, it is always necessary to take into consideration the evolution of national policy priorities in this field, whenever they have a direct impact on the levels of reported crime.

1.5 Trafficking in persons: a growing concern, but poorly documented

Knowledge of the extent of trafficking in persons is very limited. To try to gain a better understanding of the extent of the problem and increase knowledge of how to reduce it, **UNODC has launched a Global Programme Against Trafficking in Human Beings** and a number of reports and initiatives.⁵⁰ This includes in 2007 the *“Global Initiative to Combat Trafficking known as UN.GIFT”*; a 2006 toolkit to facilitate the identification of the “trade”, increase protection for victims, and create greater awareness at national levels of the local impacts of such trafficking.⁵¹ A number of regional agreements have also been reached to recognise trafficking as a human rights violation, and motivate action. This includes agreements by the **Council of Europe**⁵², the **Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe**⁵³, and the **Economic Community of West African States**.⁵⁴

Most Frequently Cited Countries (2002)

	Main countries of origin	Main transit countries	Main Destination countries
1	Russian Federation	Albania	Belgium
2	Ukraine	Bulgaria	Germany
3	Thailand	Hungary	Greece
4	Nigeria	Poland	Italy
5	Republic of Moldova	Italy	The Netherlands
6	Roumania	Thailand	Israel
7	Albania		Turkey
8	China		Japan
9	Belarus		Thailand
10	Bulgaria		United States
11	Lituania		

Source: Van Dijk Jan (2008), p. 171.

While it is extremely difficult to measure the extent of human trafficking, it is estimated that approximately 800,000 people annually are victims of trafficking across national boundaries, with many more are being subject to trafficking within their own borders.⁵⁵ The table above indicates the countries which are most frequently cited in relation to origin, transit and destination of trafficked persons.

The wide variations in crimes and crime trends across the regions of the world, reflect as may be clear, wide discrepancies in the historical, social, economic and political contexts of different regions and countries. They also affect levels of insecurity, or fear of crime, not necessarily related to actual crime levels.

2. THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT FOR CRIME AND INSECURITY

Patterns of crime, types of crime and their levels are always closely related to country and regional contexts. Nevertheless, there are certain common causal factors which increase the risks of crime, victimisation, and of insecurity across all geographical regions.

2.1 Urbanisation

Both official police statistics and victimisation surveys indicate that levels of crime are higher in urban environments than rural ones in every region of the world. The ICVS reports that in terms of levels of victimisation, **two thirds of the inhabitants of cities have been victims of some kind of crime at least once in a five year period**. Countries with the highest rates of victimisation are mainly located in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa.⁵⁶

While there has been a general stabilisation of crime rates throughout the world, **levels of crime in urban environments are increasing** according to the UN-HABITAT Global Report on Human Settlements. It suggests that between 1990 and 2000, the number of violent acts committed in urban settings increased from 6 to 8.8 incidents per 100,000 inhabitants.⁵⁷

In some regions of the world, the highest levels of crime are concentrated in urban agglomerations that are rapidly expanding. Examples include Latin American cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, Lima and Caracas, which report more than half of all recorded violence in their respective countries.⁵⁸ In most of the countries surveyed, **victimisation rates for so called "conventional" crimes are significantly higher in cities compared to the national average.** The most recent sweep of the ICVS (2004-2005), included 32 cities which reported an average rate of victimisation of 21.7%, compared to the national average of 16%. On the whole, **cities in developing countries have higher rates of victimisation (28.4%) than cities in developed countries (19.9%).**

The emergence of sprawling mega cities, with more than 10 million inhabitants, or "metacities" with more than 20 million inhabitants⁶⁰ - is often accompanied by the growth of over-populated and crowded slums in city centres or on the peripheries.⁶¹ Populations living in the slums have little or no access to vital necessities or public services, and include high proportions of children and young people.⁶² They have little access to education, job training and employment and few prospects for a better quality of life. The combination of such factors have favoured the emergence of parallel economies, as well as specific forms of urban violence.⁶³

2.2 Conflicts, poverty and inequality

Unstable political environments in some countries can also influence levels of violence and crime. Countries which have experienced extended periods of civil and military unrest, and those emerging from long-term conflict often experience high levels of social, economic and institutional problems. They are also likely to have easy access to firearms, facilitating the perpetuation of violence.⁶⁴

CONTRIBUTION

CONFLICT AND PEACE

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Introduction

The nature of conflict and peace today is one dominated by recurring intra-state conflicts, fragile states, asset wars, transnational organised crime and illicit trade, increasing militancy among some political and religious groups and gang violence. Most affected by this state of affairs are the poor, the vulnerable and minorities. Of the world's estimated 33 million people of concern (refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced, stateless, returnees and others affected by conflict)¹ the overwhelming majority are women and children. In 2006, it was estimated that over 20 million children were uprooted from their homes, either as refugees or internally displaced; and that more over 300,000 children were being used in hostilities as soldiers.² This situation although not new has become the norm as lines between soldiers and civilians are blurred and entire communities become the battlefield.³ Indeed, weapons and strategies of insurgency warfare appear to be aimed at civilians. Abductions, systematic rape, genocide, amputations and plunder seem at first glance, not to form part of any familiar military or political strategy, but rather to prey on the social fabric itself and ensure the radical discontinuity of entire peoples.

Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognises that children and youth are entitled to special care and assistance and that all children have the right to social protection. Yet, children and youth are almost always among the first affected by armed conflict. Even if they survive being killed or injured, they are orphaned, abducted, separated from their families, alienated from their communities and peers and left with psychological and psychosocial stress from exposure to violence, dislocation, poverty or the loss of family structures. The incidence of gender-based violence also increases in times of armed conflict. Those who survive often find themselves in a battle for survival of a different kind – against disease, inadequate shelter, a lack of basic services and poor nutrition. Problems that begin during conflict continue during flight from conflict zones, where all are exposed to multiple dangers, such as attacks, shelling, snipers, abduction by armed groups, unexploded ordinance, exhaustion, thirst and starvation.

The post-conflict era does not alleviate the problems that befall the most vulnerable, for the deterioration of normal social and protective structures, combined with the upheaval, economic collapse and displacement caused by war, leaves them disproportionately vulnerable to experiencing extreme poverty including hunger, lack of safe living space and devoid of any livelihood options and for women and girls the devastating effects of gender based violence, particularly sexual violence, sexual exploitation and abuse. For those forced to flee their pre-conflict homes and communities, they continue to be further exposed to danger and a seemingly never-ending state of insecurity. Such forced displacement has a profound negative physical, emotional and developmental impact on all. Though peace may offer renewed hope and opportunity, countries in transition are likely to be fragile and insecure as the conflict, in addition to the human destruction, will have destroyed local social networks, infrastructure, medical services, educational services and viable subsistence or other economic opportunities. It is therefore rare that areas or regions return to an environment that can be described as normal.

Post relocation, host communities are incapable of absorbing the displaced into their own sometimes rudimentary economy and fragile social structures, rarely willingly offer them refuge. Marginalised, those fleeing conflict areas either create their own societies on the fringes of the mainstream or eke out an existence on the streets, engaging in a livelihood activities that range from providing 'ad hoc' manual labour, involved in petty crime or are exploited by the sex trade. Easily manipulation by existing crime syndicates and vulnerable to the allure of an easier life and also to a 'place' within an existing structure, some youth migrating into urban areas turn to crime from the very outset, a phenomenon found in many countries that have taken in refugees. The criminal justice system overwhelmingly views and treats them as a problem often deliberately neglecting them and depriving them of their rights.

For those remaining in post-conflict areas the boundaries between crime, corruption, and conflict that became blurred during the course of the conflict continue in the post-conflict period, resulting in post-war societies plagued by high levels of criminality. In post-war situations, government structures are often dismantled and this is a major stumbling block when rebuilding the trust and peace in a country. Furthermore, destabilisation often retards or even reverses the process of recovery and decreases safety of all constituents alike. The core challenge is to create a normalised environment for all the conflict-affected vulnerable and minority populations; one of the most effective ways of protecting the rights of post-conflict vulnerable people is to prevent further conflict and promote peace and reconciliation.

At the hub of this lies the notion that the safety and well-being of all vulnerable and minority peoples, is paramount to collective security; therefore, the international community has to ensure that all issues relating to vulnerable groups issues are included in peace negotiations and agreements. Furthermore, post-conflict reconstruction must be viewed holistically and always include humanitarian, development and global economic mainstreaming work. That it is not a transitional strategy ending after peace is secured, but a long-term process that only ends when the post-conflict region has been re-inserted into both global society and economy. In order for this to happen, it is critical that peace building be as much a priority as ending the conflicts and that it be adequately resourced in order to mainstream post-conflict countries into the rest of the world.

Peace Building

The former UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali first introduced the term "peace building" in his 1992 *Agenda for Peace* to describe post-war institution building. Since then, a number of new peace building frameworks and instruments have evolved to strengthen the UN's capacity and mobilise resources to this policy area – and have resulted in a new peace building architecture. This includes the creation of inter-governmental advisory body the Peace Building Commission (PBC) in 2005. Agencies such as the UNDP and the World Bank established units devoted to post-conflict recovery, transition and prevention. In 2006, UNICEF set up its transition unit that takes a long-term, multi-sector, holistic and integrated approach to normalising post-conflict countries and follows them through the subsequent peace building era.⁴

Unfortunately, there still remains a disconnect between, on the one hand, post-conflict recovery and development in terms of programming for vulnerable and minority groups and, on the other hand, a greater promotion and investment in resources for the protection all vulnerable and minority groups, such as children, women, elderly, migrants, poor, etc., in the areas of education, health and livelihoods, security and justice sector reform. Once the immediate post-conflict era is over, it remains overwhelmingly the case that foreign assistance dries up and donors lose interest in funding peace processes. As a result, the risks in the every day lives of vulnerable and minority groups remain high. These risks are further exacerbated by poverty as former Secretary-General Kofi Annan reflected in 2005 in his "In Larger Freedom" report, "We will not enjoy

development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights.”⁵ Protecting the vulnerable, particularly children, against the grave denial of their human rights that poverty and a lack of basic services represent, is a vital part of prevention.⁶

The following are the most common and endemic risks:

- Poverty is the greatest risk with chronic socio-economic insecurity; health and developmental risks, no or limited access to education and employment ranking supreme.
- Exploited labour - for purposes of survival, but often also to obtain a sense of pride and empowerment, people of the streets (including street children) engage in casual labour, prostitution, and criminal gangs, and are vulnerable for recruitment into organised crime and armed groups.
- Poor educational and/or vocational opportunities simply condemn the vulnerable and minorities to a lifetime of limited opportunities.
- Sexual abuse, STD's and HIV/AIDS – above all the poor (especially children, youth and women) are more exposed to sexual abuse and therefore to STD's, HIV/AIDS and the consequences.
- Human trafficking – the vulnerable are easy targets for human traffickers because they are accessible and exposed to being manipulated by promises of some better future given the lack of opportunities in their own lives.
- Security risks – internally displaced, refugees and ex-combatants who are politically, socially and economically marginalised excluded are feared for the crimes they have committed. Their experiences, frustrations, trauma, displacement and neglect are viewed as making them more vulnerable to utilising violence as a resource and as a coping strategy.
- Stigmatisation and social exclusion - displaced are frequently spoken of as problems rather than opportunities and are excluded from urban life in terms of governance, decision-making, basic services, economic opportunities and social development. The resultant exclusion and stigmatisation have reached such levels that perceptions are internalised with a majority group displaying characteristics commonly found among minority groups, such as feelings of powerlessness, a negative self image and lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. This may result in behaviour that reinforces public perceptions as self-fulfilling prophecies. As a consequence, not only are a lot of human resources and capacities left unutilised, but opportunities for peace building and post-conflict development are left unexplored.⁷

On the basis of the situation and risk analysis regarding the war affected vulnerable and minority groups, in addition to investment in the health, education, welfare and infrastructure sectors, investment in reforming governance, security and justice is vital. Finally, if peace building is to be sustained, it is crucial that civil society be afforded the opportunity to take its place alongside other sectors in post-conflict countries.

Government Reform

Political leaders and decision makers have to be involved in all attempts to protect the rights of all vulnerable and minority groups and must from the outset make an explicit commitment to upholding the human rights. This component of post-conflict reconstruction and peace building should not be an item of negotiation (many post-conflict governments have tried to traverse around and the international community often accepted as a negotiating aspect) but has to be a core principle underpinning any international investment into such areas. There is an argument that this runs the risk of prolonging war and that first peace should be achieved and then human rights negotiated. This notion should be rejected outright, for without a human rights agenda, there is no peace, but simply one dominant group imposing their control over others. At the national level, therefore, transitional governments need to develop a policy of good governance in relation to all vulnerable and minority groups, which addresses legislation to protect the human rights and a national policy and action plan addressing the needs of all groups. It is essential, therefore, that post-conflict national governments provide clear guidance by outlining national policies for children, youth, women, the elderly, the poor, the displaced and others by setting out strategic objectives, policies and creating frameworks to support and encourage action at the local level.

However, if such policies are to be effective, both in terms of implementation and outcome, there needs to be a devolution of certain powers, including some fiscal autonomy, either to specific statutory and non-statutory bodies specifically created to deal with the issue or to municipal governments. This is another area where post-conflict governments have been loathe to concede, arguing for the need of a centralised hegemony of power as being the only means that can sustain peace. Again this is a fallacy which the international community tends to buy into, especially those whose own national states are highly centralised. In addition, national governments must enable the facilitation of partnerships at the local level between key statutory stakeholders (such as law enforcement, criminal justice, schools, churches and mosques, and municipal

governments) and between these and civil society, including faith based organisations. Such frameworks must reflect the specific social, economic and cultural realities of their regions and countries.

National leaders and decision makers should be required to assign resources and capacities to the progressive realisation of human rights through, for instance, decentralisation, government capacity building, and the facilitation of international assistance. Finally, national partners should ratify international treaties and declarations on children's and women's rights and actively seek adherence to the contents through enacting and implementing laws.⁸

Empowerment of Local Government

In most post conflict societies, local authorities do not, and perhaps never did, have sufficient capacity, resources or decision making authority. Part of any peace-building development assistance programme must include the strengthening of local governance through decentralization and the training of local government personnel. The devolution of powers from national to local governments is a prerequisite for effectively tackling the issue of sustainability in a peace building era.

National governments are often too distant to respond to the daily needs and realities of vulnerable and minority communities at risk whilst local authorities are closer to them; they need to be able to assume a leadership role in the management of socio-economic and integration friendly policies and should take the lead in the coordination of the implementation of assistance programmes. Devolution should enable the national government to provide the necessary institutional framework giving them the power and capacity to make certain decisions at the local level which the local or municipal government together with civil society can implement. For there to be any success however, it is essential that national governments provide the necessary financial resources to support well-planned and strategic local prevention policies. Where financial resources are insufficient or unavailable, national governments will need to create the necessary mechanisms for local governments to either raise or negotiate the required fiscal resources to enable the implementation of policies.

Developing an effective and sustainable local strategy will require a crosscutting approach in terms of policy frameworks within urban municipalities, establishing a permanent service delivery and support mechanism that are implemented through collaborative partnerships between urban and rural municipalities, other statutory bodies and civil society, as well as the inclusion of the vulnerable themselves.

Civil Society

Civil society if allowed to function is usually the sector of post-conflict society that is first to emerge and engage in both reconstruction and peace building. In the immediate post-conflict reconstruction and development period, civil society is viewed as one of the most important partners, although it is rarely properly resourced; when peace building starts to take off, it is often discarded. Apart from providing both legitimacy to foreign donors and transitional governments alike and by coordinating and facilitating the early post-conflict development and delivery of assistance programmes while government capacities are being rebuilt, once stability takes root they are predictably viewed as an irritant as they continue to remind all of the necessity of entrenching human rights.

Nevertheless, civil society has the relevant local knowledge and experience, the local recognition and confidence, and the necessary skills to assist in the identification of target groups as well as in securing the confidence of these target groups to work with programme partners to meet desired objectives. In addition to community mobilization and awareness building, their familiarity with local political, social and cultural circumstances, places them well to both advise on programme implementation modalities and deliver these and services to the vulnerable and minorities. They are ordinarily also staffed and represented by the same vulnerable and minority groups that they both assist and support to give voice.

Security and Justice

In situations of armed conflict, anarchy replaces the rule of law; police and justice systems break down. Following the re-establishment of the rule of law and public order the security and justice sector reform is vital and this is now recognised as a core peace building activity.⁹ In the short-term, restoring law and order can help build legitimacy in a peace process as communities begin to feel safe. However, in the long-term, a healthy and functioning law and order system in the interests of and accessible to all is a pre-requisite for achieving sustainable peace and development. For the vulnerable and minority groups, a secure environment is vital for their development, access to basic services and their ability to participate in building peace in their communities.¹⁰

Actions required reforming the security sector in post-war societies, include professionalizing through training and awareness building of police and justice officials that should include human and children's rights and needs, as well as gender and gender based violence issues. Once trained and established, police and justice officials should then become key partners in pursuing fair and efficient law and justice for all. Security and justice systems are not only custodians of law and order, but also instrumental in identifying and referring at vulnerable people to necessary processes and institutions. Furthermore, in the case of children and youth the development of a juvenile justice system is crucial, including restorative justice processes, diversion and reintegration programmes.¹¹ At the national level, however, reforming the security sector to incorporate child protection themes is much more irregular and difficult to implement.¹²

Police reform projects should emphasize police and community relations, for community perceptions of safety and security in fragile post war environments will restore faith – and police and military will need to be “professionalized” with a focus on human rights and the responsibility as duty-bearers in the protection of individuals, with specific strategies for the vulnerable and minorities. Standards and comprehensive strategies for law enforcement that include trainings and even special units to deal with vulnerable and minority protection issues need to be developed.¹³ The security sector's performance should be monitored to make sure these are implemented and are vulnerable and minority-friendly, and civil society and other non-state actors could play a role in such oversight.¹⁴

Challenges

Along with development reconstruction and peace building, there needs to be conflict prevention programming and early warning systems designed, at the very minimum, not to exacerbate conflict or social tensions. Emergency preparedness for service sectors is important, so that despite repeated shocks, they can continue to meet the needs of the most vulnerable and minority groups. Finally peace education, that promotes concepts of tolerance, pluralism and non-violence resolution of conflicts, is a crucial ingredient necessary to prevent future conflict and sustain peace building.

Post-conflict reconstruction and peace building requires holistic, integrated, participatory and coordinated policy, planning and programming. Other requirements include the reform of the statutory sector, in particular the security and justice sectors, as well as the notion that civil society is a partner to this process and needs to be funded and given the opportunity to contribute. The recent creation of a Peace Building Commission to act as an oversight body and monitor change and progress is an important development.

However, none of this is possible without an information collection system. Information is lacking during the post-conflict and peace building periods, and its absence creates a multitude of problems. There is often no information on the magnitude of a problem, resulting in a limited idea on both quantitative and qualitative aspects that would characterise the vulnerabilities of certain groups and their needs. Limited information limits the ability to respond, as it limits the types and extent of interpretations and forces delivery agencies to rely on experiences from other regions or anecdotal evidence while formulating strategies.¹⁵ Only when the necessary information regarding specificities of the problems and challenges of peace building become available can these be articulated into focused interventions and mainstream programmes that target vulnerable and minority groups.

In conclusion, if safety and security, along with the respect for human rights are to manifest themselves in post-conflict societies, the following challenges are going to have to be met:

- Develop information collection and analysis in post-conflict situations as part of a systematic situation analysis at all levels to inform post-conflict capacity-building and intervention and peace building.
- Develop, support and co-ordinate regional level government policy and practice.
- Enhance policy and practice in prevention of criminal involvement and in the justice system by supporting security and justice sector reform.
- Strengthen networks and capacity of civil society to support and address the needs of war-affected young people, as well as to advocate with or on their behalf.
- Advocate for the social inclusion and mainstreaming of the marginalised vulnerable people in all aspects of society – social, economic, civic, cultural and political.
- Create and ensure that child protection issues are priorities.
- Set up early warning systems.
- Establish oversight bodies to monitor peace building activities, (establish a Peace Building Commission).

As the 2005 11th UN Congress Bangkok Declaration⁶⁵, underlines, following the Vienna Declaration five years earlier⁶⁶, **poverty, inequality, and the lack of sustainable livelihood are factors which increase susceptibility to crime**, especially when they are combined with political instability.⁶⁷

Poverty in itself does not lead to high levels of crime. On the contrary, in Asia, where income levels are often very low, levels of crime are also substantially below other regions of the world. More significant are wide disparities in income within countries or cities. In addition, when this is combined with an unstable political situation, it creates fertile ground for crime, victimisation and insecurity. In some regions of the world, levels of crime and victimisation are closely linked to levels of development, and to capacities of countries to deal with internal conflicts.

Many of the poorest regions of the world have **the highest levels of violent crime**. In its 2002 report on violence, the World Health Organisation showed that in the year 2000, low and middle income countries had the highest levels of violent deaths (whether from war, suicide or homicide). The rate for these countries was 32.1 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants, compared with 14.4 per 100,000 inhabitants for high income countries. In Africa and in the Americas, the homicide rate is approximately three times higher than the suicide rate. Conversely, in Europe, the suicide rate was twice as high as the homicide rate.⁶⁸

Income inequality is one of the strongest correlates of official crime rates, especially if they are associated with a difficult social, economic and political context. In Africa for example, the richest 10% earn 31 times more on average than the poorest 10%.⁶⁹ This unequal distribution of wealth is equally striking in many countries in Latin America.⁷⁰ These regions also report high levels of crime, combined with political instability and social and economic problems among a large proportion of the population. Even in developed countries, neighbourhoods that have the highest levels of crime have also been found to have the most severe social and economic difficulties.⁷¹

Inequality of income and opportunity, therefore, appear to be factors influencing crime levels in all latitudes of the world. In other words, **the geography of inequality usually coincides with the geography of crime, even though no positive correlation between the two has been clearly established**.

Criminal overrepresentation of certain populations

Some population groups appear more frequently in criminal statistics than others: e.g. youth, cultural minorities, immigrants, indigenous populations. **This overrepresentation can be seen in both recorded crimes and self-report victimisation.**

Attempts to explain this phenomenon suggest that most of these groups are subject to very unfavourable living conditions (unemployment, poor housing, low income) which may contribute to criminality. However, many researchers have also argued that part of the blame must rest with the public policies developed to deal with so called "marginalised" populations. Many of these policies focus on repressive measures which result in **over criminalisation**. "Racial profiling" or police practices which exercise increased and systematic surveillance of certain population groups has been regularly reported.

2.3 Facilitating factors

The factors which have been found across all regions to place people at risk of crime or victimisation include a range of personal, familial, social, economic and environmental conditions, as well as life-style and situational factors. In addition, there are two important facilitating factors which have particular significance for the development of public crime prevention policies.

Many studies have established a **correlation between addiction and crime**. Alcohol and drugs are, to varying degrees, **facilitating factors** leading to the commission of criminal acts.

However, in spite of the abundance of literature, no direct causal link between addiction and crime has been demonstrated. At the most, there is a general correlation. For example, when addiction begins at an earlier age, there is a higher risk of criminal behaviour. There is also an increasing risk directly related to the frequency, intensity and duration of substance abuse. Finally, addiction seems to decrease the likelihood of desistance from crime.⁷²

The **correlation between firearms and crime** is very strong, especially in terms of lethal violence⁷³. **Firearms are used in almost 40% of homicides worldwide.**⁷⁴ The rate is as high as 60% in Latin America and North America, 30% in Africa and Europe, and lowest in Asia-Pacific (16%). There are, however, significant discrepancies between

countries on the same continent. In 2006, the rate of homicides involving the use of a firearm in Canada was about six times lower than the American rate.⁷⁵

According to the *Small Arms Survey*, there are approximately 875 million firearms in the world, 650 million of which belong to civilians (excluding security forces), or 75% of the total. The population of the United States own some 270 million firearms alone, giving a rate of 90 firearms per 100 persons. The table below shows the number of firearms per 100 civilians in a range of countries. The figures for some countries, however, must be interpreted in the light of specific factors. In Switzerland, for example, all members of the reserve force are entitled to own a firearm, which influences the rate.⁷⁶

The analysis of factors commonly linked with crime must be completed by taking into account levels of insecurity. This fuels the drive for crime prevention and security policies. Not only do these policies aim to answer to the roots of crime, they also aim at the perceptions of crime and victimisation.

2.4 Insecurity and fear of crime

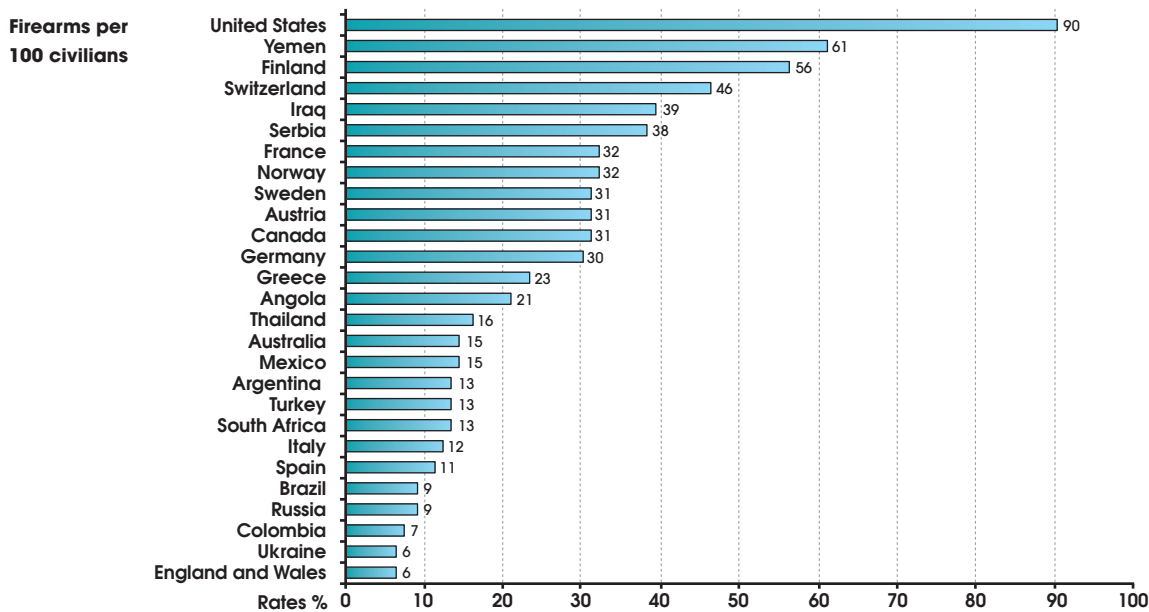
Insecurity and fear of crime, has gradually become a significant factor in its own right, which needs to be treated separately from crime rates. While a sense of insecurity is a perception, and may be highly subjective, it is usually associated with the fear of becoming a victim of an offence.⁷⁷

Fear of crime is usually measured through surveys of various kinds.⁷⁸ At the international level, the

ICVS begin its' first cycle of surveys in 1992, in which respondents were asked specific questions designed to measure it. Typical questions included: "How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?" In all regions where the survey has been conducted, the ICVS has shown that high levels of insecurity are primarily expressed by **people aged 55 years or more** and by **women**. A number of recurring factors appear to be associated with insecurity and fear of crime. People with low incomes, who are divorced, separated or widowed, or who have previous experience as a victim, generally feel more insecure than others.

Insecurity varies, depending on the **immediate environment** in which it arises and the exposure to the risk of victimisation. It may be generated in Johannesburg, South Africa or in Joliette, Canada, but on the basis of very different experiences, perceptions and actual risks. In the former, the risks are very serious and repeated, in the latter insecurity may be associated with a range of factors which are perceived to have a deleterious effect on the quality of life and which have been variously described as "anti social" behaviour, "incivilities" or "nuisance".⁷⁹

The sense of insecurity also seems to be closely linked to public images of the police. Those who are not satisfied with police performance in this respect, tend to have higher levels of insecurity than those who are satisfied.⁸⁰ Hence, in many regions there is a link between the sense of insecurity and **the level of public confidence in institutions designed to protect the public**. In Africa, for example, due to the lack of available resources, the police, the judiciary, and the correctional



Source: *Small Arms Survey (2007), Guns and the City, Abstract of Ch. 2 "Completing the Count: Civilian Firearms"*, p. 1.

services often have a very poor public image among the population, and these same authorities are often associated with brutality and corruption.⁸¹ The image of the police in Latin America similarly remains relatively poor. Between 60% and 70% of the population have limited trust in the police.⁸²

The sense of insecurity and absence of trust reinforce each other. The loss of public trust in policing and criminal justice systems can widen social divisions. In such a context, it has become common for people with the necessary resources to seek protection from private security companies, while those without resources must live without such protection. One example is the emergence of “gated communities”, artificially cut off from their surrounding neighbours, and living under conditions of hyper-security. There is an increasing use of private security guards and vigilante groups (see contribution p. 33 and box p. 115).⁸³

While insecurity is predominantly interpreted as synonymous with fear of crime, it is also associated with **a range of social and economic factors**, such as health, access to employment and unequal distribution of incomes. More significantly, it is influenced by widely reported violent incidents.⁸⁴ The role of the media and especially the “mass media” is often seen as a contributing factor which influences attitudes to crime. While most studies suggest that the media has a moderate impact on insecurity, they agree that it has a major impact on the degree of widespread concern in the population on safety problems in general.⁸⁵

On the basis of this overview, it is evident that significant efforts are being undertaken to track the evolution of crime. Specifically, recent victimisation studies attest to the fact that crime levels have generally stabilised at the international level. However, crime is still not equally distributed across regions or countries. Developing countries and urban environments remain the most affected. As for the main explanatory factors identified, no single factor allows us to draw conclusions about the observed disparities and trends. The global picture of crime remains full of contrasts, and it is impossible to point to one factor which systematically determines levels of crime and violence. Certain factors, such as income inequalities and poor living conditions, are very important; nevertheless, they are not universally implicated. Similarly, fear of crime, and the discomfort it generates in peoples’ daily lives, varies considerably between countries, regardless of the actual levels of crime recorded.

Corruption: A major cause of loss of public trust

In addition to being a crime, corruption also undermines public trust in public institutions. A number of international agencies have collected data over a number of years to measure the scope and the gravity of this problem, which has become endemic in some countries.¹

Using an approach closely related to opinion polls, *Transparency International*, a non-government organisation, has developed a corruption perception index. The index has shown that the perception of corruption has remained unchanged for a number of years in some countries, particularly those with serious economic, social and political problems. In 40% of the countries that received a score of three or less on the index, corruption is described as “rampant.” All of these countries are experiencing or have experienced serious political problems and problems of poverty. Countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia, the Middle-East, and the former Soviet bloc, all show high levels of corruption on the index. Inversely, countries that enjoy political stability and a high GDP have a low corruption perception index. There is, however, a dark side to the situation, as underlined by the President of the organisation. Although these countries may have a low corruption perception index, they are often complicit in maintaining the high index in poor countries, by blocking efforts concerning the restitution of funds gained through corruption which are sheltered in foreign bank accounts.²

This is why **all crime surveys need to take into account the social, economic, cultural and political contexts, especially at the local level.** A thematic analysis of selected types of crime allows us to draw a more precise picture of the international situation.

- 1 See list of members of the Editorial Committee in Annex I.
- 2 See list of contributors, p. 9.
- 3 ECOSOC (2002a), § 3.
- 4 Tilley Nick, Smith Jonathan, Finer Stephen, Erol Rosie, Charles Corrine, Dobby John (2004). The public-health inspired typology primary, secondary and tertiary prevention, reflecting the stages of (possible) entry into the criminal justice system, is still commonly used, but is less reflective of the range of issues involved in community safety.
- 5 For detailed discussion of the huge field of crime prevention see, for example, Tilley Nick (Ed.) (2005); Lab Steven P. (2007); Crawford Adam, Crime Prevention and Community Safety, in Maguire Mike, Morgan Rod, Reiner Robert (Eds.) (2007), pp. 866-909; Hastings Ross, Léonard Lucie, Roberts Julian, Sansfaçon Daniel (Eds.) (2005)..
- 6 Tilley Nick (Ed.) (2005).
- 7 UN World Commission on Environment and Development (1987).
- 8 ECOSOC (2008a).
- 9 That report makes reference to "people's safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life". See UNDP (1994); Securitehumaine-villes.org (2007).
- 10 The ICPC member governments are South Africa, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chili, France, Hungary, Norway, Québec, and Querétaro. England and New Zealand are observers.
- 11 These included commissioned studies on policing in South Africa, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Ivory Cost, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, Senegal and Tanzania ; work on on Women's Safety, Violence in Schools and youth offending in Argentina, Chile and Portugal, as well as reports on policies on safety and prevention in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Portugal and Uruguay.
- 12 Quéro Yann-Cédric (2007); UNODC (2005).
- 13 Robert Philippe (1977); Bruneau Serge, Besozzi Claude, Savignac Julie (2007).
- 14 Zauberman Renée (2008); Robert Philippe, Zauberman Renée, Recasens i Brunet Amadeu, Basanta Rodriguez Anabel (2007); Bruneau Serges (sous la dir. de) (2006).
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- 16 The results of the first 9 cycles of the survey and the list of participating countries is available at: http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/crime_cicp_surveys.html.
- 17 European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (1999); (2003); (2006).
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- 19 Also called: European Survey of Crime and Safety.
- 20 A comparative table of surveys similar to barometers is available at http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/eurobarometer/handbook/index.htm.
- 21 For example, the *Eurobarometer* (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm) of the European Commission has undertaken an opinion poll of EU citizens on the topics such as drugs in public spaces and violence against women. As for the *Latinobarómetro* (<http://www.latinobarometro.org/>), the *Afrobarometer* (<http://www.afrobarometer.org/>), the *Arab barometer* (<http://arabbarometer.org/>) and the *Asian Barometer* (<http://www.asianbarometer.org/>), they are more specifically preoccupied by public perceptions of corruption and democratic ideals ; they also take part in the Global Barometer (<http://www.globalbarometer.net/>).
- 22 Or « *traditional crime* ».
- 23 ECOSOC (2007a).
- 24 ECOSOC (2007a), p. 8.
- 25 Van Dijk Jan, Manchin Robert, Van Kesteren John, Hideg Gergely (2007a); Besserer Sandra (2002).
- 26 Van Dijk Jan (2008).
- 27 Tombs Steve (2007); Mucchielli Laurent, Spierenburg Pieter (2007); Wieviorka Michel (1998).
- 28 UNODC (2005).
- 29 See eg., Tavares, Cynthia, Thomas Geoffrey (2007), for the 1995-2005 period or for 5-year periods.
- 30 ECOSOC (2007a).
- 31 European Sourcebook of crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (2006).
- 32 Lagrange Hugues (2007).
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- 34 ECOSOC (2007a).
- 35 Van Dijk Jan (2008).
- 36 ECOSOC (2007a); Van Dijk Jan (2008).
- 37 Barchecheat Olivier (2006).
- 38 European Sourcebook of crime and Criminal Justice Statistics (2006), op. cit., p. 34.
- 39 Van Dijk Jan (2008).
- 40 At the turn of the 21st century, for example, the Japanese national police agency advocated much more severe policy orientations regarding, in particular, property offences. These stances have profoundly modified the leverage of relevant authorities dealing with offences and the way they report incidents, especially this type of offences. See: Johnson David T., Crime and punishment in contemporary Japan, in Tony Michael (Ed.) (2007), pp. 371-423; Hamaia Koichi, Ellis Thomas (2006).
- 41 Van Dijk Jan, Manchin Robert, Van Kesteren John, Hideg Gergely (2007a).
- 42 Van Dijk Jan (2008).
- 43 Sansfaçon Daniel avec la collaboration de Barchecheat Olivier, Lopez Dominique, Valade Chantal (2005).
- 44 UNODC (2007b).
- 45 ECOSOC (2007a).
- 46 European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2007), p. 5.
- 47 European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2007).
- 48 European Monitoring Center for Drugs and Drug Addiction (2006), p. 5.
- 49 See UNODC (2008); UNODC (2007c); UNODC (2007a).
- 50 UNODC (2006b).
- 51 UNODC (2006a).

NOTES

- 52 See eg. the Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings of May 16, 2005 (CETS no. 197), entered into force on February 1st, 2008. All of the Council of Europe's work on this topic, as well as proceedings of regional seminars on prevention, protection and prosecution in the fight against trafficking in human beings are available at: www.coe.int/t/dg2/trafficking/campaign/.
- 53 Eg. OSCE Ministerial Council Decision N° 2/03: Combating Trafficking in Human Beings; OSCE Permanent Council Decision N° 557: OSCE Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings.
- 54 See for example the Declaration on the Fight against Trafficking in Persons, ECOWAS Twenty-Fifth Ordinary Session of Authority of Heads of State and Government, Dakar, 20-21 December 2001.
- 55 Department of State (USA) (2007).
- 56 Van Dijk Jan (2008); Naudé C.M.B, Prinsloo J.H., Ladikos A. (2006).
- 57 UN-HABITAT (2007a).
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- 59 Van Dijk Jan, Manchin Robert, Van Kesteren John, Hideg Gergely (2007a).
- 60 UN-HABITAT (2007c).
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- 62 UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2007).
- 63 Renner Michael, Environmental and Social Stress Factors, Governance, and Small Arms Availability. The potential for Conflict in Urban Areas, in Rosan Christina, Ruble Blair A., Tulchin Joseph S. (Ed.) (undated), pp. 51-72.
- 64 See also the work of the Small Arms Survey, eg. Small Arms Survey (2003); (2005); (2006).
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- 66 Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century, UN General Assembly Resolution 55/59, 4 December 2000.
- 67 See eg. ECOSOC (2007e); UNODC, Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank (2007); ECOSOC (2006b); UNODC (2005).
- 68 WHO (2002).
- 69 UNODC (2005).
- 70 Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (2007).
- 71 For example, local research conducted in the Canadian cities of Montreal, Winnipeg, Ottawa and Saskatoon has shown that the neighbourhoods with the highest levels of crime are the ones which have the poorest social economic conditions. See Savoie Josée, Bédard Frédéric, Collins Krista (2006); Fitzgerald R., Wisener M., Savoie J. (2004); Kitchen Peter (2006).
- 72 Eg. Brochu Serge (2006); Brochu Serge (sous la dir. de) (2007); Schroeder Ryan D., Girdano Peggy C., Cernkovich Stephen A. (2007); Sansfaçon Daniel with the collaboration of Barchechat Olivier, Lopez Dominique, Valade Chantal (2005); WHO (2002) et the work of the Australian Institute of Criminology's Drug Use Monitoring in Australia : <http://www.aic.gov.au/> and www.aic.gov.au/research/duma/.
- 73 Eg. UNODC (2006c).
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- 77 Bonelli Laurent (2008); Lagrange Hugues (1995).
- 78 These surveys are very diverse, both in terms of methodology and targets (government bodies, journalists, researchers). On this question, see Zauberman Renée (2008).
- 79 Oliveri Federico, Introduction, in Council of Europe (2004), p. 17.
- 80 Eg. European Opinion Research Group (2003); Johnson Holly (2005).
- 81 The Afrobarometer has recently published a large number of opinion polls on the problem of corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa, its impact on the confidence of citizens in their institutions and the citizens' experience regarding it. See eg. Wonbin Cho, Kirwin Matthew F. (2007); Uslaner Eric (2007). Flacso Chile (2007); survey of the Latinobarómetro.
- 82 Quero Yann-Cédric (2007); UNODC (2005).
- 84 See eg. Van Campenhoudt L., Cartuyvels Y., Digneffe F., Kaminski D., Mary P., Rea A. (sous la dir. de) (2000); Mucchielli Laurent, Robert Philippe (sous la dir. de) (2002); Lévy René, Mucchielli Laurent, Zauberman Renée (sous la dir. de) (2006); Fondation Roi Baudouin (2006).
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CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S SAFETY

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WOMEN'S SAFETY

Violence against women was long viewed as a private and relatively minor social problem. The challenge of assessing violence in the **private sphere** has been one of the main reasons why governments have been slow to address the issue. However, since the 1970s increasing attention has been paid to violent acts directed towards women. Greater publicisation of domestic violence has shed light on the gravity of the issue, while the opening up of the intimate sphere has brought with it awareness not only of violence against women, but also violence against children, against men by women, and same-sex violence. This chapter articulates the key difficulties of measuring and responding only to violence against women (VAW) while acknowledging that there are many related topics that cannot be properly addressed here.

Violence against women has also received greater attention with the advancement of women's rights. It is now perceived by many governments and international agencies as a **human rights violation** as well as an issue impeding the achievement of gender **equality** and a **threat to public health**. Violence against women includes acts taking place in **both the public and private sphere** and is generally defined by two distinct but integrally linked terms: violence against women and women's safety.

The concept of women's safety emerged in the 1980s in a number of countries. It is generally used to describe a range of strategies and policies which work to create safer environments for women, focusing on women's insecurity and risk of violence.⁸⁶ Separate from, but linked to women's safety, many organisations, including the United Nations and the WHO, have sought to apply gender mainstreaming - the systematic analysis of the impacts and needs of both women and men - to all stages of the development of a gendered perspective, or to both internal and external policies and programmes.⁸⁷

The **economic costs** of VAW have also been underlined.⁸⁸ The 2006 *UN Secretary General's in-depth study on all forms of violence against women* sought to highlight the heavy financial cost of violence against women by compiling an annex of selected studies on the matter.⁸⁹ For developed and developing countries alike, the presence and persistence of violence against women can create a barrier to socioeconomic development. According to the IDB, some studies estimate that sexual and physical abuse of women lowers their

income by 3% to 20% due to the impact that abuse has on academic achievement and health, which in turn affects their working lives.⁹⁰

Violence against women also leads to a loss of social capital. UN-HABITAT has argued that "violence and the fear of violence prevent women from full and equal participation in the social life of their community* and threaten our understanding of what should be the democratic functioning of our society." Violence and insecurity in public and private spaces prevent women from leading full lives whereby they may contribute to society and family life. Further, "insecure and even hostile urban environments can be perpetuated by local authorities' inattention to planning for women's security both domestically and in public places."⁹¹

One of the major tasks for the international community, national governments and local municipalities has been the measurement of gender-based violence.

1. BETTER BUT INSUFFICIENT REPORTING OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, OTHER TYPES OF VIOLENCE GO UNREPORTED

Data on violence against women is central to understanding and assessing the prevalence of the problem, as well as measuring the progress of programmes implemented to eliminate violence. UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women, Yakin Ertürk, presented a paper to the UN Human Rights Council in March 2008 on the need to establish VAW indicators*, citing the

human rights obligation of states to ensure that interventions to combat VAW are based on accurate empirical data. Further, “indicators must make data accessible for non-specialist decision makers and allow for public scrutiny of interventions.”⁹² Measuring violence, however, has proven to be an enormous challenge. This is due to problems both of a lack of consensus on what is included in the definition of violence and underreporting of violence.

1.1 Unreliable figures and underreporting of domestic violence

Domestic violence is the primary type of violence identified and measured. While it was once the case that domestic violence was a private affair, today it is perhaps the most widely addressed and discussed form of violence against women. There is a common belief that domestic violence is the most prevalent form of violence against women. However, this may be due to the fact that other types are less commonly measured. According to the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, the majority of population-based surveys on prevalence of VAW are limited to intimate partner violence, “justified on the ground that data are more available and intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women.”⁹³ This leaves other forms of gender-based violence under-researched when they may in fact be more prevalent.

Nevertheless, **in many countries, not all forms of violence against women have been criminalised** and despite the adoption of protective measures by many States, “there are disturbing inconsistencies in implementation and failure to exercise due diligence.”⁹⁴ Moreover, if a woman does not believe she will receive help and may in fact endanger herself further by reporting violence, it is unlikely she will do so. For this reason, a

UNODC report on crime and development in Central America notes that “the police statistics on rapes and assaults are of very little worth as indicators of the real crime situation,”⁹⁵ a sentiment echoed by the IDB.⁹⁶ Furthermore, **variations between cultural contexts make ability and willingness of women to report violence extremely different.** The 2005 WHO study discussed below confirmed that women frequently do not report violence, feeling ashamed or fearing repercussions from their partners, families or communities. Further, it was found that women’s notions of violence vary significantly between different countries and cultures and between urban and rural settings.⁹⁷

Perhaps the most reliable statistic available related to violence against women is thus that of **homicide** by an intimate partner or ex-intimate partner, although even these statistics are not always kept. Moreover, it can be difficult to prove homicide with an “intimate” motive, as when the homicide takes place months or years after the separation of the couple, for example.

Victimisation surveys, as well as specific safety audits undertaken by women, provide information on levels of insecurity and violence experienced by women and girls in public and semi-private spaces. They have been important in the development of prevention strategies in cities. Women’s safety audits have become a popular starting point for many cities to assess violence against women (see contribution p. 63). At the international level, the WHO survey (see box below) and the International VAW survey (see contribution p. 53) have shown high levels of victimisation.⁹⁸

Many statistics gathered and victimisation surveys undertaken in different countries show a trend of increased reporting of violence. Despite the challenges of measurement, many advances have been made by national governments. The map on the following page shows the countries in each

WHO’s 2005 landmark Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women

The survey highlighted a number of the issues of measuring violence against women, while seeking to reduce these through a unique methodology. The main focus of the report was to examine violence committed by male intimate partners. Data was collected through 24,000 interviews with women conducted by highly trained interviewers in 10 countries (Bangladesh, Brazil, Ethiopia, Japan, Peru, Namibia, Samoa, Serbia and Montenegro, Thailand and the United Republic of Tanzania). Countries were chosen on the basis of a lack of pre-existing data, willingness to participate, and the existence of organisations that would be able to use the data to promote women’s issues. The WHO multi-country study found that the proportion of women who had experienced physical or sexual violence, or both, in their lifetime ranged from 15%-71%, with most sites falling between 29% and 62%. However, as previously mentioned, the variation in the way women perceive violence was also highlighted by the same study.

Countries with data at the national level gathered in the last 15 years on assaults against women made by a male partner – 41 countries

Africa	Asia and Pacific	Europe	Latin America and the Caribbean	North America
Egypt	Australia	Albania	Colombia	Canada
Malawi	Cambodge	Azerbeïdjan	Dominican Republic	United States
South Africa	China	Finland	Equador	
Zambie	India	France	Salvador	
	Philippines	Georgia	Guatemala	
	Samoa	Germany	Honduras	
	South Korea	Italy	Haïti	
		Lituanie	Mexico	
		Norway	Nicaragua	
		Moldavie	Paraguay	
		Roumanie	Peru	
		Sweden	Puerto Rico	
		Switzerland	Uruguay	
		Ukraine		
		United Kingdom		

Source: UN GA (2006), Report of the Secretary-General: In-Depth study on all forms of violence against women, A/61/122/Add.1.

region of the world that have carried out a **national survey** on violence against women in the past 15 years. According to the 2005 UN statistical report “The World’s Women 2005”, at least **68 countries** in the world have carried out a survey on violence against women since 1995, and at least 38 of those countries had a survey that covered the entire country.⁹⁹

Further, observatories have been established to monitor available information. The work of the Gender, Ethnicity and Health Unit (GE) of the

Pan American Health Organisation partially fills a gap in data for Latin American countries. Its report “Gender, Health and the Americas: Basic Indicators,” identifies information concerning violence against women that are useful in gaining a general understanding of the magnitude of the problem in a number of countries in the Latin American region.¹⁰⁰ The **Observatorio Centroamericano sobre Violencia** (OCAVI) has also played a role in compiling available statistics on violence against women in Central America.¹⁰¹

CONTRIBUTION

THE INTERNATIONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN SURVEY

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Violence against women has been described by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as the most shameful human rights violation and perhaps the most pervasive (UNIFEM 2003:8). As awareness of the harms associated with male violence against women continues to rise, so too does the demand for reliable statistical data describing the prevalence and nature of these acts. Governments and non-governmental organisations around the world recognize that sound policy decisions depend on a better understanding of the dimensions of this problem, the impacts, and victims’ needs for social, health and justice services.

Population-based surveys are the preferred method for assessing the extent and nature of violence against women because they do not rely on victims’ willingness to report to the police or other services (United Nations, 2006). To date, approximately 70 countries have carried out population-based surveys confirming that violence affects vast numbers of women around the world (United Nations, 2005). Numerous international conventions and reports recognize the need for a methodology that allows comparisons to be made

cross-nationally. While population surveys have made important impacts in many countries, comparisons cannot be made reliably between countries because of the differences in methodologies, study populations (married women or all women), question wording, definitions of violence, and reference periods (one-year or lifetime). Internationally-comparative studies are important for a number of reasons, such as testing for universal traits or factors associated with violence, information that can provide the impetus for prevention and social change at a global level.

“Gender-based violence is perhaps the most wide-spread and socially tolerated of human rights violations. . . . It both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. “(United Nations Population Fund 2005:65)”

1. Methodology of the International Violence Against Women Survey

The International Violence Against Women Survey (IVAWS) was developed in response to the need for improved data collection instruments that would provide reliable statistical data on the prevalence of various forms of male violence against women and their interaction with the criminal justice system. It has so far involved eleven countries and comparative analysis has been conducted with nine of those countries. Participating countries and their respective sample sizes are:

- Australia (6,677)
- Costa Rica (908)
- Czech Republic (1,980)
- Denmark (3,589)
- Greece (interviewing continuing)
- Hong Kong (1,297)
- Italy (25,000)
- Mozambique (2,015)
- Philippines (2,602)
- Poland (2,009)
- Switzerland (1,973)

Greece and Italy were not included in the international comparative analysis because these surveys were underway at the time of writing.

National coordinators from each country were trained in all aspects of undertaking the survey and each was provided with a comprehensive survey methodology package. This package contained the IVAWS questionnaire, a pre-programmed data capture program, and an extensive research manual with detailed guidelines on how to implement the survey (including budgeting, skills required in the research team, recruitment and training of interviewers, guidelines for sampling procedures and data capture, etc). In Australia, Denmark, Hong Kong, Italy and Switzerland, interviews were conducted over the telephone; the remaining countries interviewed respondents face-to-face. Decisions about interviewing methods were based on practical considerations such as cost, telephone coverage and logistics, and were left to the discretion of coordinators in each country.

2. Limitations and challenges of cross-national survey research

Cross-national research poses many challenges for researchers. In addition to challenges associated with interviewing on sensitive topics that affect all surveys on this topic, cross-national research is influenced by differences in local culture that can affect societal attitudes toward women and violence, norms protecting family privacy, and ideals and practices of masculinity. Culture can also be affected by the political context, including the presence of war and conflict, displacement of populations, the availability of weapons, and a culture of violence for solving social problems. Translation of survey materials into a variety of languages may affect the results if certain concepts don't translate well or are misinterpreted due to inaccuracies with translation or differences in dialect.

Although every effort was made to adhere to rigorous scientific principles in designing, testing and conducting the IVAWS, it is difficult to control for all aspects of the survey-taking process in each country. Because of the importance of the survey results for formulating policy and for public awareness of the breadth of the problem, researchers must continue to strive to improve cross-cultural research methodologies.

While important progress has been made in developing methodologies to interview women about physical and sexual violence in surveys like the IVAWS, new forms of violence and exploitation are emerging. For

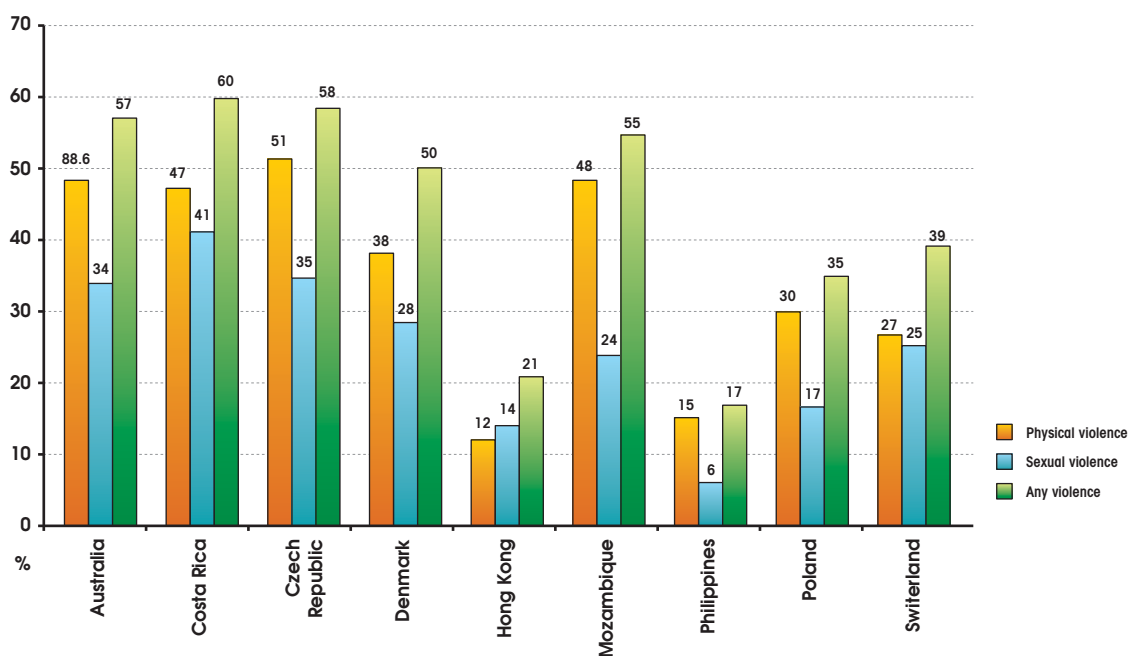
example, the US Trafficking in Persons report estimates that between 600,000 and 800,000 persons are trafficked each year, the majority for commercial sexual exploitation, and that approximately 80% are women and girls (US State Department, 2005). Foeticide, honour killings, acid attacks, female genital mutilation, rape in conflict settings are other forms of violence and exploitation that are not easily measured using traditional survey research tools. Researchers must continually explore and refine approaches to studying the vast range of ways in which women are victimised.

3. Prevalence of violence

Violence is a universal experience which occurs in every country and among all ages and economic groups, although it varies in the number of women affected in each country:

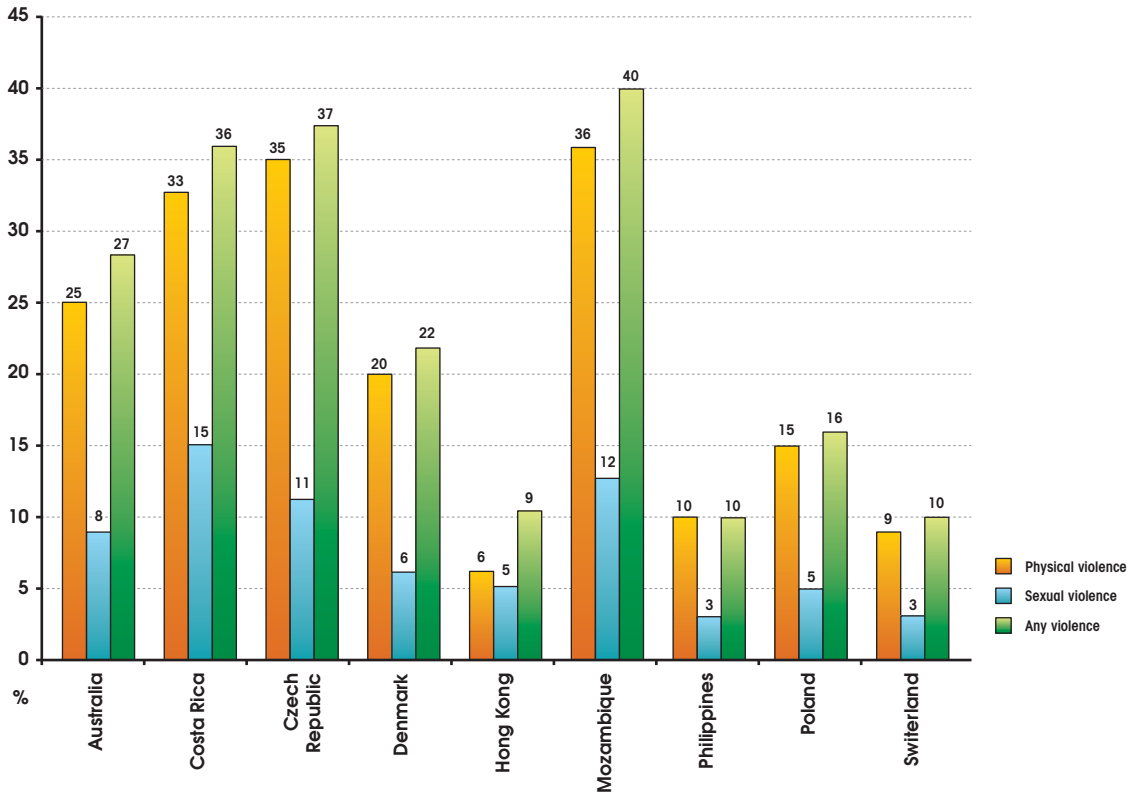
- In the majority of countries studied, between 35% and 60% of women experienced physical or sexual violence by any man since age 16 (figure 1)
- In most countries, between 22% and 40% of women have been physically or sexually assaulted by an intimate partner (figure 2)
- Between 10% and 31% of women have been sexually assaulted by a man other than an intimate partner (figure 3)
- While physical violence tends to predominate in relationships with intimate partners, when other men are the perpetrators, sexual violence tends to occur with the same or greater frequency as physical violence

Figure 1: Percentage of women who experienced violence since age 16



Source: International Violence Against Women Survey

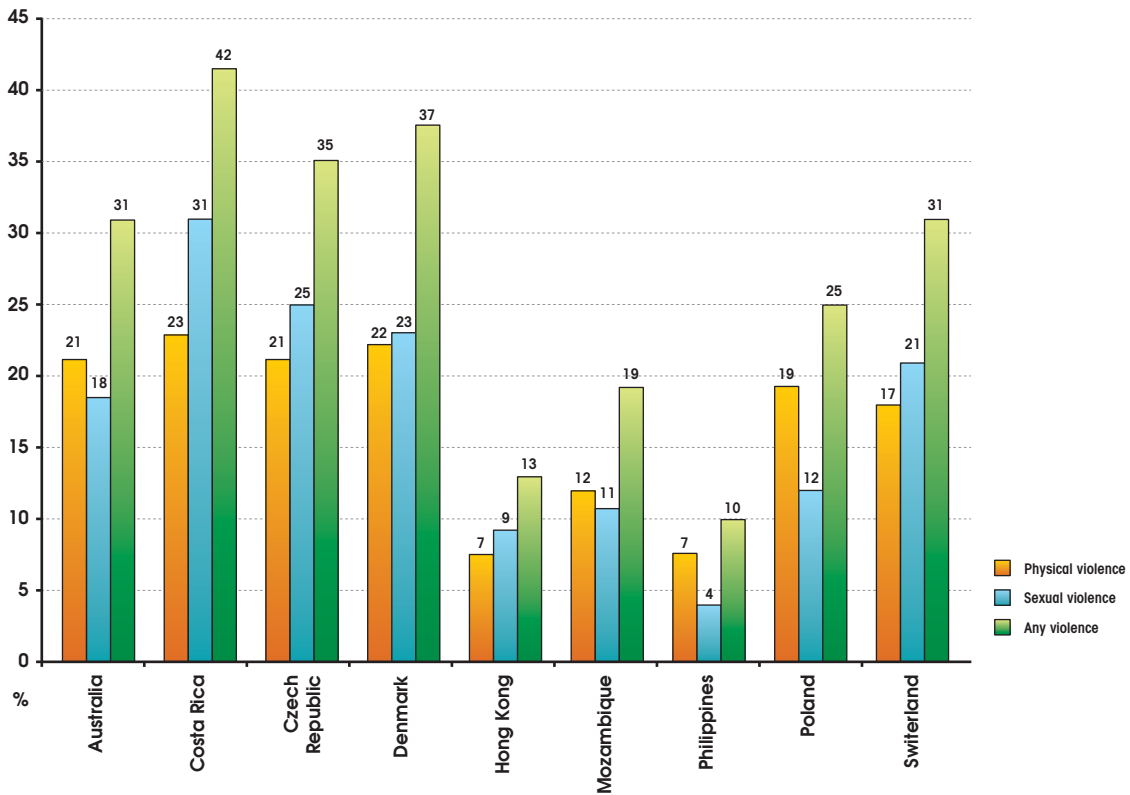
Figure 2: Percentage of women who experienced violence by an intimate partner



Includes violence by current or former marital partners, cohabiting partners, dates and boyfriends. Percentages are based on the number of women who have ever had an intimate relationship with a man.

Source: International Violence Against Women Survey

Figure 3: Percentage of women who experienced violence by men other than partners



Source: International Violence Against Women Survey

4. Correlates of violent victimisation

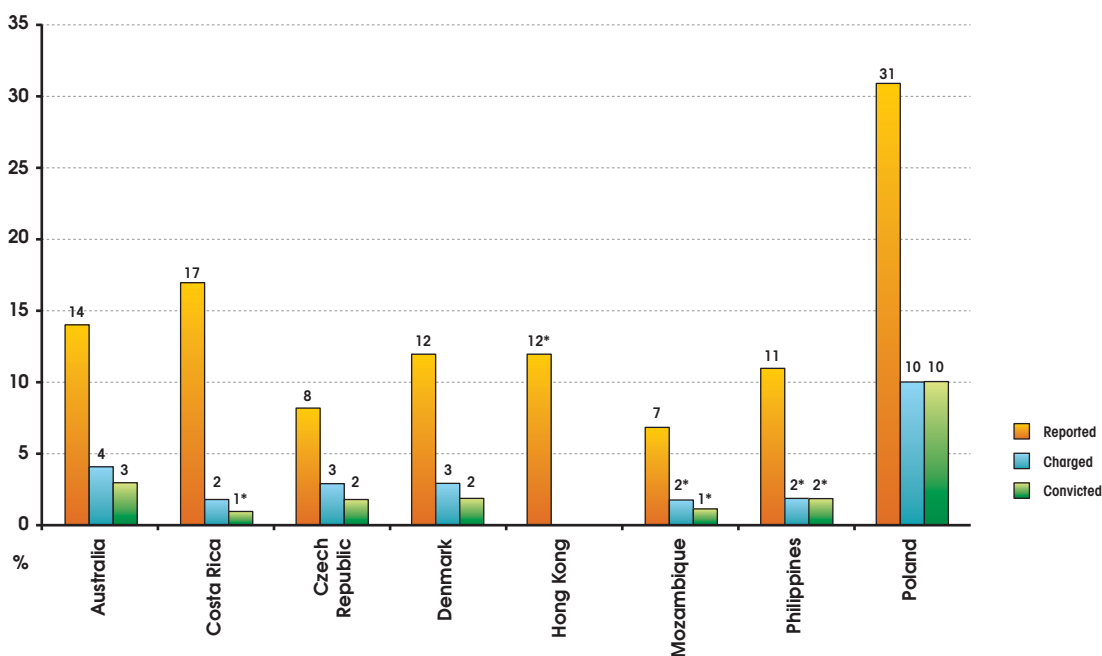
Violence against women is a complex social problem that cannot be linked to a single causal factor. The IVAWS identified certain factors that are correlated with women's victimisation. One, women who were abused or witnessed violence in childhood are at heightened risk for further victimisation in adulthood. Two, men who have a higher risk of acting violently toward their female partners are those who: are emotionally abusive or controlling against their female partners; drink heavily; are violent toward others outside the home; witnessed parental violence in childhood; and were victims of physical abuse by fathers in childhood.

Knowledge of correlates and risk factors form an essential starting point for prevention strategies and interventions aimed at reducing violent victimisation. These findings suggest that actions to reduce violence against women must address a range of issues, including societal norms governing concepts of masculinity that affect alcohol abuse and male violence inside and outside the home. Interventions at an early age to prevent child abuse may have the effect of reducing violence against women over the life course. Reducing intimate partner violence should have inter-generational benefits by reducing the number of children who are witnesses to violence and who learn that violence is an acceptable way to solve problems in intimate relationships. Reducing public violence by men may have spill over benefits by also reducing violence against their female partners, and vice versa.

5. Reporting violence to the police

Few women report intimate partner violence or sexual violence to the police and fewer cases result in an offender being charged with a crime or convicted in court. This process of attrition, whereby cases are screened out at various stages of the process, occurs in every country studied. Only in Poland did more than 20% of women report a violent partner to the police and in all countries but Poland less than 5% of violent men were charged and fewer were convicted. Even in cases of very serious assaults involving injury or threats to the woman's life, a majority of victims did not report to the police.

Figure 4: Percentage of victims of intimate partner violence who reported to the police and whose partners were charged and convicted



* Relative standard error is between 25 and 50. Use with caution. RSEs were greater than 50 for percentage charged and convicted in Hong Kong; these estimates were therefore suppressed. It was not possible to include Switzerland in this comparison due to a different approach used in this section of the questionnaire.

Source: International Violence Against Women Survey

In the case of sexual assault, even fewer women reported to the police. In Mozambique, 13% of women who were sexually assaulted by a man other than an intimate partner reported the violence and in all other countries the percentage was less than 10%.

Principle reasons for not reporting intimate partner violence to the police were:

- a belief that the police wouldn't be able to do anything about it
- feelings of shame, not wanting others to know about it
- she dealt with it herself
- fear of the offender
- a belief that the incident wasn't serious enough to involve the police

These reasons for not reporting varied in importance for women in these countries. For example, wanting to deal with it herself was the most common reason in Costa Rica, the Czech Republic, Mozambique, the Philippines and Poland. Feeling that the incident was not serious enough to involve the police was most common in Australia, Denmark and Hong Kong. Czech, Filipino and Polish women list shame more often than women in other countries as a reason for not reporting. Czech and Polish women are also more likely to cite a fear of what the offender might do in retaliation, as well as the belief that the police would not do anything to help.

6. Conclusion

Male violence affects large numbers of women in countries around the world. But because rates of violence vary significantly, it stands to reason that violence is affected by social and cultural factors and therefore can be reduced by social policies. A strong criminal justice system plays an important role in a broad societal-level strategy to reduce violence, provide protection to victims and hold offenders accountable. The IVAWS provides important information about the need to strengthen criminal justice and other societal responses in order to better respond to female victims of male violence.

For further information, see Johnson, H., Ollus, N. & Nevala, S. (2008) Violence Against Women: An International Perspective. New York: Springer.

Some efforts have been undertaken to improve measurement. The **UN Economic and Social Council taskforce** to address measurement of violence against women published in 2006 a report which brought to light many of the challenges of measurement, particularly when attempts are made to compare data between countries.¹⁰² Comparing national-level surveys in 17 countries around the world¹⁰³, the objectives of the analysis were to take stock of the work done to define and implement survey methodology to measure violence against women and to understand the differences and commonalities between regions to identify recommendations for improved definitions and methodology.¹⁰⁴

The 2007 UNODC "**Expert Group Meeting on indicators to measure violence against women**" resulted in a paper which proposed four indicators* for measuring violence against women: two qualitative (attitudes and perceptions of violence and preventative measures) and two quantitative (rates of violence experienced by type and perpetrator).¹⁰⁵ That the UNODC is still at the stage of proposing indicators is a further sign of the challenges of measuring VAW.

1.2 Other types of violence against women

Violence in public spaces is poorly documented at the national level. Some data does exist. For example, the IVAWS collects data on the location where violence occurs. The Australian IVAWS report found that, for example, the amount of time spent in public places after dark increases likelihood of victimisation, as does one's ability to defend against attack.¹⁰⁶ As outlined by the UN Secretary-General's in-depth study, records on violence against women **in the workplace**, if kept at all, are generally kept by a country's ministry of labour or office processing complaints against employers.¹⁰⁷

Some types of violence are more systematic, or related to specific cultural contexts. It has been increasingly recognised that sexual violence is used as a **weapon of war**. It is estimated that between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped in Bosnia, while 250,000-500,000 women were raped during the 1994 Rwandan genocide.¹⁰⁸ Systematic rape has been documented in many other conflict areas, including Peru, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Cyprus, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, Uganda, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.¹⁰⁹

Female trafficking and forced prostitution also involve major manifestations of violence against women almost everywhere in the world.¹¹⁰ In many Asian countries, much attention has been given to this topic, particularly in light of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.¹¹¹ Initiatives have also been undertaken in Asia, Africa and Europe. Most recently, the Council of Europe's Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, entered into full force on 1 February 2008. It is the first European treaty in this field and many states are still in the process of ratification.¹¹²

Other types of criminal behaviour are increasingly receiving the attention of the international community in terms of their links with the vulnerability of women, for example "femicides".

Femicide: the gender-based murder of a woman

Femicide is seen as an expression of gender discrimination and a manifestation of the unequal power between men and women that "operates in both the private and public spheres." According to the UN Secretary-General's in-depth report femicide occurs everywhere. The scale of femicide in two particular areas has received significant attention: Ciudad Juárez, Mexico and Guatemala. Poor data collection has led to heightened monitoring in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica organised by *Red Feminista*. Persecution of women due to their gender is very prevalent and not limited to any region or country. Femicide has been identified as a manifestation of **institutional violence** in a number of cases in Latin America. Impunity in these crimes is seen as a key factor in their occurrence. Failure of governments to investigate murders and protect women is viewed as a form of institutional discrimination that has allowed the persistence of the murders.

At the international level, as it launched the 2007 campaign *16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence*, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) announced its intention to highlight five **underreported situations** affecting women: domestic violence in Russia, sex slavery, self-immolation; gender-based violence and HIV; and 'compensation' marriages.¹¹³ The fact that all of these issues are regional - for instance, gender-based violence and HIV occurring where HIV infection rates are highest and compensation marriages being prevalent in Pakistan's North-West frontier Province, Afghanistan, parts of the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa - highlights the fact that although violence against women occurs everywhere, its manifestations may vary greatly.

Risk factors* linked to violence against women

The 2006 Secretary-General's in-depth study on all forms of violence against women identifies frequently cited risk factors at the individual, family, community, society and State levels. At the level of the **individual**, risk factors for both victims and perpetrators included: youth; a history of abuse as a child; witnessing marital violence in the home; the frequent use of alcohol and drugs; low educational or economic status; and membership in marginalised and excluded communities. At the level of the **couple and family**: male control of wealth and decision-making authority within the family; a history of marital conflict; and significant interpersonal disparities in economic, educational or employment status. At the level of the **community**: women's isolation and lack of social support; community attitudes that tolerate and legitimise male violence; and high levels of social and economic disempowerment, including poverty. At the level of **society**: gender roles that entrench male dominance and female subordination; and tolerance of violence as a means of conflict resolution. At the level of the **State**: inadequate laws and policies for the prevention and punishment of violence; and limited awareness and sensitivity on the part of law enforcement officials, courts and social service providers.

A preliminary Global Assessment on Women's Safety, commissioned by **UN-HABITAT** found through its surveys of organisations working on women's safety that commonly mentioned risk factors were as follows: Illiteracy; Economic Inequalities (unemployment of women, women's poverty, women's financial dependence on their partners); Cultural norms and socio-customary practices; Women's lack of access to safe and affordable homes and property disinheritance; Lack/ineffectiveness of services and resources to women; Lack/ineffectiveness of gender-based policies; Poor urban infrastructures; and Drugs and alcohol abuse (including trafficking of drugs).

Thus, the factors which place women at risk of violence are extremely numerous and include structural, cultural, and individual factors and facilitators. It is for this reason that the policies responding to violence against women need to be broad and multi-disciplinary.

2. RESPONSES TO VAW MOBILISE ALL INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

Along with the development and reinforcement of women's rights at the international level, national and local initiatives have led to a variety of policies aiming to strengthen legislation, raise awareness and provide support to victims. **It is significant that some organisations or countries emphasise gender equality not for the sake of gender equality itself, but for the broader benefits it could have on the well-being of children, the family or society as a whole.** Some organisations view the question in the same way. A 2005 report by the UNODC on crime and development in Africa, for instance, identifies women and children as a vulnerable population.¹¹⁴ Similarly, UNICEF's State of the World's Children 2007 report, which focuses largely on developing countries, identified women's well-being as central to raising healthy children.¹¹⁵ That women play a central role in the child rearing is undoubtedly true. However, this is in contrast to an approach that sees gender equality as valuable in and of itself.

2.1 Strong mobilisation at the international and regional levels

Since the end of the 1970s, international organisations have increasingly mobilised around VAW by promoting women's rights and gender equality, as well as encouraging States to act against violence – sometimes through the creation of binding measures.

Within the UN framework, emphasis is placed on promotion of rights, gender equality and female empowerment.¹¹⁶ The UN approaches the question primarily from a human rights perspective. Most significant is the **Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)**. Adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and serviced by a committee housed under the OHCHR¹¹⁷, it has often been described as an **international bill of rights for women**. Since the drafting of the Convention, the General Assembly has taken numerous actions to decrease violence against women, with one of its most significant moves being the 1993 **Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women**, which recognised the need for “universal application to women of the rights and principles with regard to equality, security, liberty, integrity and dignity of all human beings.”¹¹⁸ The UN body also includes the Division for the Advancement of Women of the Department

of Economic and Social Affairs, which has its foundation in the UN Charter, and the Commission on the Status of Women, a functional commission of the Economic and Social Council. Both of them have taken significant steps to promote the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

Other affiliated UN agencies have developed approaches to VAW in line with their specific mandates. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provides financial and technical assistance to foster empowerment of women and gender equality. UNICEF has promoted gender equality for the benefit of children, recently invoking the need to involve women's organisations in policy development and to enact legislation to respond to domestic violence as well as gender-based violence in conflict.¹¹⁹ UNODC has approached violence against women from a women's safety and crime prevention perspective.¹²⁰ UNFPA has had a focus on violence against women, particularly in Latin America. It has also attempted to highlight less frequently addressed issues.¹²¹ The INSTRAW focuses on research, training and knowledge management to enhance women's empowerment.¹²² UN-HABITAT has promoted the role of women in creating safer cities and worked in partnership* with a number of organisations on the issue of women's safety, such as *Women in Cities International* and the *Huairou Commission*.¹²³

Within the European framework, emphasis is placed on binding instruments and reinforcement of cooperation and exchange The **Council of Europe** has taken into account the problem of VAW since its 1985 *Recommendation on violence in the family*. More recently, 2007 Recommendations 1582 and 1817 set out a list of seven points of action for governments: making domestic violence against women, including marital rape, a criminal offence; regarding violence perpetrated between (former) partners as an aggravating circumstance; making provisions to remove violent spouses or partners and take out protection orders against perpetrators; guaranteeing effective access to the courts and to protective measures for victims including shelters; allocating sufficient budgetary resources for the implementation of the law; and monitoring the application of laws on combating VAW passed by parliament.¹²⁴

The **European Parliament**, the directly elected parliamentary body of the European Union, has also taken up action to combat violence against women through public campaigns, as well as funding initiatives. For example, the Daphne Initiative launched in 1997 is a programme designed to foster preventive measures to combat

violence against girls, young persons and women through the provision of funds. It provides grants to identify good practices, create sustainable multidisciplinary networks, and implement treatment programmes for victims and perpetrators.

In other regions of the world, regional organisations have played a significant part in enhancing national and local initiatives. In 1994, the 24th regular session of the General Assembly of the Organisation of American States approved the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, also known as **Convention of Belém do Pará**. It is the only international treaty in the world directed solely at preventing violence against women. This Convention has led a significant number of countries in the region to enact legislation that makes domestic violence a crime.¹²⁵ The **IDB** has emphasised the importance of prevention and control, and has worked towards the creation of comprehensive care and assistance. Schools and the media are seen as two important tools for primary prevention. In terms of control, technical training for all actors involved (health-care providers, court officials, law enforcement agents, social workers, community leaders) is outlined. Also, strengthening of domestic violence services (justice, police, health care, social services) are seen as important prevention strategies.¹²⁶

In Asia and the Pacific, the Emerging Social Issues Division of the **United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)**¹²⁷ organised in April 2007 an expert group meeting on “Regional Strategies for Implementing the Recommendations from the Secretary-General’s Study on Violence against Women with Particular Emphasis on Harmful Traditional and Cultural Practices and the Role of National Mechanisms”. This platform resulted in a great number of ideas being exchanged.¹²⁸

2.2 Comprehensive action plans implemented at the national and local levels

At the national and local levels a great number of **strategies, plans and policies** specifically dedicated to prevention of VAW have developed.¹²⁹ These initiatives pursue different goals using a range of approaches, from repressive to integrated measures.

Many countries have adopted specific action plans, such as France (2008-2010 *National plan of action to combat violence against women*, launched in November 2007)¹³⁰; Denmark

(*National action plan to stop violence against women*, launched in 2002)¹³¹; the United Kingdom (*National Plan for Domestic Violence 2005 and the Cross-government action plan on sexual violence and abuse 2007*)¹³²; Norway (*National action plan on domestic violence for 2004-2007*)¹³³; El Salvador (*Policía Nacional de la Mujer 2005-2009 and Plan de Acción 2005-2009*)¹³⁴; Costa Rica (*Plan Nacional para la Atención y la Prevención de la Violencia Intrafamiliar*)¹³⁵; Australia (*Women’s Safety Agenda*)¹³⁶; and Quebec (*Plan d’action gouvernemental 2004-2009 en matière de violence conjugale*, a cross-governmental action plan which also refers to indigenous* women).¹³⁷ In other cases, national programmes are established, such as Mexico’s *Programa Nacional Por una Vida Sin Violencia*, which organises cooperation between different government ministries or departments.¹³⁸ In Hungary, the National Crime Prevention Strategy includes specific measures concerning violence within the family, which is viewed as the “constant ill treatment of many children and women.”¹³⁹

All plans propose a range of measures, which may include improvement in coordination of actors at all levels; better education and training for support services; protecting victims of violence in the judicial system; providing a safe place for women such as emergency refuge; offering tools to women threatened; publishing information sharing guides for practitioners; improving work with health services; anticipating the impact that domestic violence can have on children; the establishment of 24 hr help lines for victims and perpetrators, safety planning and advice; translation facilities in case the victim does not speak the language of the country or familiar with legal terminology; good practice guides on how to encourage and enable women to reveal domestic violence in health settings; strengthening of treatment programmes for perpetrators; and enhancing the statistical mapping of the problem.

Many states have made changes in legislation. These changes often **criminalise violence against women and improve support and protection to victims**. In Latin America, a great number of states have enacted legislation following the Convention of Belém do Pará. Chile (2005), El Salvador (1996), Colombia (2004), and Nicaragua (1996) have all established a legislative framework establishing domestic violence specifically. Venezuela also has recently passed legislation acknowledging the right of women to have a life free of violence (2006), as did Mexico (2007). Costa Rica passed a somewhat controversial law criminalising VAW in 2007, the *Ley de Penalización de la Violencia contra las Mujeres*, No. 8589. Argentina also has a law criminalising

violence against women (2002), while a proposal in 2007 moved to modify the criminal code punishing sexual harassment in the workplace.¹⁴⁰ Europe also has made a number of changes designed to address VAW, sometimes in a more punitive way. Penalties have been increased in Belgium, for example.¹⁴¹ In the United Kingdom, the *Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act of 2004* aims to introduce new powers for the police and courts to deal with offenders, while improving support and protection that victims receive. France has a number of laws increasing the rights of victims, including the eviction of a violent partner from the joint home in the case of divorce, while the law of 4 April 2006 increases prevention and repression of domestic violence.¹⁴² The United States passed the *Violence Against Women Act* in 1994. The federal law has been renewed many times and functions more like an action plan than a law, with programmes and policies to encourage prosecution of abusers, provide victim's services, and prevent violence. In a number of cases, **special courts** and **judicial services** have appeared to meet various needs, for example in Costa Rica¹⁴³, the Dominican Republic¹⁴⁴ and Canada¹⁴⁵.

Action plans are regularly followed by national public awareness campaigns. These campaigns seek to sensitise the public to VAW and provide a point of contact for people who may be victims or witnesses of violence. For instance, in Quebec,

emphasis is given to reporting violence and equality ("*La violence conjugale est un crime. Appelez votre service de police*", meaning domestic violence is a crime, call the police, "*Pour que l'égalité de droit devienne une égalité de fait*", meaning that equal rights granted by the law needs to mean equal rights in reality). In Australia, one of the objectives of the Women's Safety Agenda is to monitor the 2004 campaign, *Violence Against Women: Australia Says No*. In South Africa, a campaign of edutainment attempts to both entertain and educate people through television on a number of topics, including proper treatment of women. Panama sought to sensitise men towards violence through its 2005 campaign *Si eres hombre, depende de ti* (If you're a man, it depends on you).¹⁴⁶ Costa Rica held a seven phase national campaign to educate and sensitise the public to domestic violence through media.¹⁴⁷ In El Salvador, the body which oversees the national action plan, ISDEMU, implemented a municipal strategy of prevention by holding *Ferías Preventivas de la Violencia Intrafamiliar*, or Domestic Violence Prevention Workshops, working with local authorities and institutions to familiarise the local population with the problem of domestic violence and the institutions that work in the field, as well as train people on how to identify and denounce violence. Initiated in 2002, 276 workshops had taken place in 2005, with 252,795 people directly benefiting and 1,263,977 receiving indirect benefits.¹⁴⁸

Programmes and Campaigns assisting female migrant* workers

Another issue that has come to light is the **increasing feminisation of migrant workers**. This increase in numbers has **increased the risk of violence committed towards these women**. The United Nations has recognised this issue, preparing special reports on women and migration and attempting to heighten awareness among member states. The General Assembly in 1990 adopted resolution 45/158, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. This entered into force in 2003 and as of 2007, 49 parties had either ratified or were in the process of ratifying the convention. National governments have in some cases begun public awareness initiatives.

In Mexico, a campaign on women migrant workers was started to raise awareness about human rights of migrant workers and to reflect upon the living conditions of Mexican women migrant workers living in the United States. The Mexican National Institute of Migration, with the support of the Mexican Red Cross, established a **programme of humanitarian support to vulnerable people**, which included the installation of **mobile clinics** in the areas of San Luis Rio Colorado, Sonoyta, Sásabe and Naco in the State of Sonora where there has been a largest number of migrant deaths along the border with the USA.

In El Salvador, Belize, Azerbaijan, Indonesia and Jamaica, programmes have been carried out to promote **capacity-building**, with **trainings** for government officials, law-enforcement agents, police officers, social workers, community leaders and other professionals on the issue of violence against women migrant workers. In El Salvador, a national workshop was organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of El Salvador in coordination with the institute of Human Rights of the University of Central America José Simeon Cañas to **sensitise representatives of various institutions** about the International Convention on the Protection of Human rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families and ways to **harmonise the national legislation** with the Convention. Belize has developed a protocol for the management of family violence cases at hospitals and health centers.

Local action networks have also been one approach to preventing violence against women. In countries such as Costa Rica¹⁴⁹ and Chile¹⁵⁰, local and community networks exist to help implement policies addressing women. A major achievement of the networks in Costa Rica has been the development of a critical mass of people sensitised to domestic violence and able to respond to it. These people are integrated into governmental institutions and civil society* organisations, and can thus transfer their knowledge through “*un proceso de interaprendizaje*” (inter-learning process) In France, ProVictima (“Inprovic” from 2008), established in 2005 and financed in part by the Ministry of Justice (approximately 30%) and the European Union (50%), aims to create a network of legal experts, victims and social integration and job placement associations (*associations d’aide aux victimes et services de l’accès à l’emploi*).¹⁵¹

Some education initiatives work with children, such as a project funded by Canada’s National Crime Prevention Center on Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, which sought to educate kids on gender relations. **Education initiatives may also focus on men** in order to change attitudes in regards to gender relations. In Nicaragua, for instance,

a programme for 15-25 year old men has been successfully evaluated. 69% of the participants identified and maintained a critical attitude about the discrimination of women, and 90% of participants maintained that they rejected domination mechanisms towards the women of the course.¹⁵² The United Nations has also promoted the need to work with men and the work of the INSTRAW has highlighted a number of local examples.¹⁵³

Women’s safety audits which run at the local level have been an extremely useful tool for many cities to enhance safety for women and reduce fear of crime.¹⁵⁴ Audits are designed to help identify specific problems for women in local environments through the use of exploratory walks.¹⁵⁵ (see contribution below). Other initiatives sometimes include **designing out crime**. Examples of local level initiatives that are common include women-only cars on subway lines. These are available in cities in Japan, Egypt, India, Taiwan, Russia, and Mexico, among others. Other initiatives include involving women in designing public spaces. Women’s safety can also be addressed in a community-based manner. In Montreal, for instance, one programme run by local bars, “Here you are in good hands”, offers women the possibility to stop in specifically identified businesses if they feel they are in danger.¹⁵⁶

CONTRIBUTION

WOMEN’S SAFETY AUDITS: A SUSTAINABLE GOOD PRACTICE THROUGH TIME AND CONTINENTS

Anne Michaud, Expert-Consultant, Montreal, Canada

Twenty years after the publication in Toronto of the first *Women’s Safety Audit Guide* by METRAC¹, it is surprising to see how relevant and current this tool remains. A recent study² conducted at the request of the UN-HABITAT *Safer Cities Programme* has confirmed the fact that women’s safety audits and other related safety management tools are internationally, the most popular strategies being used by organisations active in women’s safety.

A fortunate historical convergence

It was in the context of an urban development based on segregation of urban functions which generated increased social exclusion, that women’s groups, in the 1970s, took to American streets and demanded the right to walk around without fear of becoming victims of assault and harassment. Women from several countries supported this claim by chanting “Women Take Back the Night!”³, and exposed patterns of violence towards women, especially sexual assaults.

Gender-based violence and sexual assaults that specifically target women do have a major impact on women’s sense of safety and freedom of movement. This reality was brought to the forefront in the 1980s. Despite the development, in many countries, of resources and public services to provide assistance to survivors, the scope of prevention needed to be expanded. The phenomenon of sexual assault, and the resulting fear felt by many women, remain a major social problem, especially in countries struggling with armed conflicts, internal disorders and displaced persons and refugees. Women, their families and their communities are all affected by this type of crime which severely harms social cohesion. For this reason, any action that is oriented towards prevention of this type of crime will benefit the whole community, women,

men and children. The reduction of assaults opportunities through environmental design and urban planning represents one of the components of a concerted global action strategy which includes: public education and awareness, legislation, police and judiciary intervention, victim support, women and girls empowerment, community development and action research.

The creation of women's safety audits is in some ways the result of a fortunate historical convergence. A convergence of concerns between urban planners and criminologists who promote crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) and women's groups and local communities aware of the impact of the design of public services and organisational choices on the sense of safety and freedom of movement for citizens of all ages and conditions.

How to make cities safer: Taking into account gender differences

The differences between women and men regarding the use of public space and services have been well documented in recent years, particularly in terms of the significant discrepancies in the ways men and women experience safety. Urban safety is incidentally one of the main fields of application of a gender-based approach at the local level. The differences in experience with regards to insecurity and the impact on personal mobility have not only given rise to the development of women's safety audits, but also to the adaptation of public services such as public transit (Between two stops services).

One of the fundamental conditions for the success of these types of initiatives is the creation of a space for dialogue between municipalities and women. For example, it was following public consultations conducted in 1989 on its urban plan, that the City of Montreal introduced, at the request of a women's group called the *Femmes et Ville Collective*⁴, several measures aiming at increasing both the safety and sense of safety among women living in Montreal. The *Femmes et Ville* programme used the METRAC tools, which were then adapted and translated into French. Hundreds of safety audits were performed during the 1990s in numerous public exterior and interior spaces: metro stations, parks, pools and arenas, streets and alleys, bus stations, etc.

The originality of the Montreal approach was to develop six « Safety principles from Women's perspective » to illustrate the elements of the safety audit questionnaire.⁵

- 1- **Know where you are and where you are going** : signage and orientation
- 2- **See and be seen** : lighting, visibility, visual obstacles, hiding places, and movement predictors
- 3- **Hear and be heard** : level of use of public space and pedestrian presence
- 4- **Get away and get help** : formal and informal surveillance
- 5- **Live in a clean and hospitable environment** : maintenance, design and planning
- 6- **Act collectively** : local and community partnerships

Brief description of a typical safety audit

- The group mobilizes local partners (including the municipality) and media and invites women citizens, to identify an area (streets, park, recreation equipment, etc.) where they don't feel safe.
- Once the area has been chosen, a group of 6 to 8 people, mainly women, are invited to perform an audit. Men are invited as observers (police officers, municipal elected officials, etc).
- Tasks are assigned: facilitation, note taking, photos, video records.
- With the help of the women's safety audit guide, participants identify environmental components that may facilitate assaults and/or contribute to a feeling of insecurity among women who use this public place. Participants recommend corrective actions to be made.
- After the audit, the group summarizes recommendations, identifies priorities and the persons responsible for the implementation of recommended solutions. Participants are called upon to ensure follow-up by municipalities, merchants, service providers and other potential actors.
- All positive response to requested corrective actions is highlighted and publicised in the local media and persons responsible are congratulated for their fruitful contributions.
- Results and findings are shared within national and international networks to improve existing tools, strategies and processes.

Using women's expertise for the benefit of the whole community

Because of their heightened awareness of environmental factors that have an impact on personal safety, women have contributed to improvements in the design of public places. This is an important contribution that benefits the entire population as well as decision makers. Women's participation in a process designed

to elicit the response of municipal authorities is also a good opportunity for women to exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens. This process strengthens local democracy by encouraging elected officials to become more transparent in the decisions they make and in their budget priorities. Women's Safety audits also allow participants to increase their knowledge of urban design and management, which facilitates dialogue with city officials and managers. Safety audits may also be considered as a corrective strategy for the improvement of the urban environment. Consequently, the same analysis and safety criteria can be used to improve new construction and renovation projects, as well as urban renewal plans. Municipalities have a stake in applying the old saying "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" by consulting women users of public places, as well as other groups. In fact, several safety urban design guides and manuals⁶ stress the importance of women's participation in the public consultation process.

A tool that can be adapted and transferred: North to South and West to East...

It is through the development of international networks and exchanges that women's safety audit tools have been adapted, translated and disseminated worldwide. Exchanges of expertise via the European Forum for Urban Safety (EFUS) resulted in the adaptation and translation of the Montreal safety audit guide into several languages. In 1999, the UN-HABITAT Safer Cities Programme asked the City of Montréal's Femmes et villes programme to train their coordinators in the organisation of women's safety audits. Safety audit guides done in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa were then used for the transfer of expertise and the development of tools adapted to the reality of African cities. The universal applicability of women's safety audits was illustrated in cities such as Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania where the approach has been used as a community development strategy. In May 2002, Montreal hosted the first International Seminar on Women's Safety, *Making the Links*. The Montreal Declaration on Women's Safety⁷ calls on cities and municipalities to "Provide greater opportunities for women's involvement, for example safety audits, including formal mechanisms to ensure adequate resources to respond to recommendations and sustain initiatives." In the follow-up to the seminar, many participants decided to join the movement, including a group from Durban in South Africa where a pilot project led to the organisation of safety audits in several districts. Initiatives have been multiplying.

The following examples depict the variety of environments in which women's safety audits have been organised world-wide. In England, audits were performed in London, Bristol and Manchester under the Making Safer Places Programme (2002-2005). In India, the women's JAGORI group has organised audits in New Delhi, in residential zones, markets, universities, train and metro stations, parks, and parking lots. In Queensland, Australia, police departments work with women under the framework of the Women's Safety project. In Poland, the City of Warsaw UN-HABITAT office organised the first safety audits in 2007. Specially designed guides were prepared for use on university campuses, such as at Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada). The process was extended in 2007 and the University has made the audit process part of its official prevention campaign, including education, awareness and training of staff. A project to adapt the safety audit guide to meet the needs and realities of different groups of women (disabled, elderly, immigrants, Aboriginal) will be held in four Canadian cities (Montreal, Gatineau, Peel, Regina) under the leadership of Women in Cities International (2007-2010).

An issue of good municipal governance

In France and particularly in Belgium, safety audits were held at the beginning of the 2000's through the initiatives of women's groups and environmental party candidates, who made women's safety an electoral issue during municipal elections. The cities of Brussels, Liège, Louvain-la-Neuve, Charleroi and Tournai conducted several audits. In 2005, the City of Liège⁸ formalised its commitments to gender equality and established a "Femmes et ville" Commission. The Commission has been in charge of conducting the follow-up on approximately twenty safety audits in eight districts.

Action at the municipal level: essential factor for the success of the audit process

Many specific requests for corrective action and improvements to public lighting, signage, tunnel and overpass surveillance and safety, zoning and the maintenance of public utilities must be addressed to municipal governments. Formal commitments by elected officials and city managers to respond to those demands and provide follow-up is an essential prerequisite for the success of the safety audit process. If the requested corrective actions are implemented, it helps build the trust of women participants in public institutions and encourages them to continue being actively involved as citizens. Inversely, unanswered requests will have a demobilisation effect on people and communities who participated in the exercise. Formal follow-up procedures must be established and municipal personnel must be adequately informed. Training on safety design principles to be integrated to new municipal projects is also a desirable complementary measure. Unfortunately, administrative practices do not always survive changes in political

leadership or even the complexity of municipal structures. This is why civil society must assume a role of vigilance towards elected officials and public servants to make sure that acquired knowledge and expertise is maintained from one electoral period to the next. The establishment of local partnership committees also helps to ensure that other stakeholders involved in the improvement process (merchants, schools, landlords, etc.) will be committed and able to implement solutions that are relevant to their area of responsibility. Higher levels of government authorities can also contribute to this collective effort by financially supporting these local initiatives. Local authorities contributions to the improvement of urban safety is the focus of the strategy recommendations of the UN-HABITAT 2007 *Global Report on Human Settlements*.⁹ The agency invites cities to demonstrate leadership and assume responsibilities in terms of urban safety, to support community development, and to strengthen social capital. These recommendations call for support from municipalities for the organisation and follow-up of safety audits. At the last international conference on the state of safety in cities across the world, held in Monterrey in October 2007, the issue of women's involvement in urban design and safety audits was extensively discussed. Publications, training, evaluation and pilot projects mobilised many international partners, in view of the next Global Urban Forum. Twenty years after the publication of the first METRAC women's safety audit guide, we have to acknowledge the sustainability of this still relevant strategy for the Making of safer cities for all.

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To conclude, the issue of violence against women is widely and universally linked to their legal, social and economic status. The cultural and religious context is also likely to influence the nature of offences against the safety of women. Even if mobilisation of the international community on this issue is still insufficient, both in terms of effective responses and geographical coverage, it nevertheless has remained strong and relatively constant over the past thirty years. This mobilisation has resulted in some progress in three main areas: the adoption of legal measures recognising the specificity of violence against women, and reinforcing their legal protection; the development of systems of protection and assistance for women; and the proliferation of public awareness campaigns designed to alter behaviour and attitudes, including cultural acceptance of violence (e.g. dare to report offence, don't be ashamed, reject violence etc.).

The promotion of women's safety has led to the development of actions aimed at developing women's capacities and commitment to social, political and economic life, as well as governance. From victims to "vulnerable population", women have now become stakeholders in daily safety by promoting conflict resolution and by strengthening and reinforcing communities as a whole.

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- 117 Since January 2008; it was previously under the auspices of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- 118 See: Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 20th 1993, A/RES/48/104.
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- 120 For example, the agency developed a resource manual "Model Strategies and Practical Measures on the Elimination of Violence against Women in the Field of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice," adopted by ECOSOC 1997 resolution 52/86 which will be reviewed in late 2008. Soon to be published is a guide entitled "Effective response to violence against women: A guide for law enforcement and training". See also: ECOSOC (2008b); ECOSOC (2008c); UNICRI (2008).
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CHAPTER 3
YOUTH SAFETY

YOUTH SAFETY

Approaches to youth safety and crime are very paradoxical. On the one hand, crime by young people is widely denounced. Many countries, whether developed or in development, attribute a major part of their crime, and especially acts of violence, to young men. On the other hand, there is now much wider recognition of the extent of youth victimisation. Many international organisations and governments are very concerned about child abuse, physical violence, sexual abuse, or lack of care, and neglect. International and regional conventions have been adopted against child sexual abuse and child labour to try to prevent this phenomenon. States have been encouraged to develop legislation and appropriate tools.¹⁵⁷ Yet victimisation also affects older youth who are no longer children, but whose emotional development, autonomy and skills, are not yet sufficiently established even if they have reached the legal age of responsibility.

Throughout the world, young people are more likely to commit offences and in turn be victimised than other population groups. It is not surprising

that under such conditions measures have been adopted both to punish young offenders and to develop protective responses to counter the risk factors* for crime.

Brief portrait of the world's youth population (under 24 years old)

Since the UN International Youth Year in 1985, the United Nations has defined the term 'youth' as those persons between the ages of **15 and 24** years of age. Correspondingly, children are defined as people under the age of 15, with the exception of Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which defines 'children' as persons up to the age of 18, in order to cover the largest age group possible since there is no equivalent convention on the rights of youth.

For the purposes of this report, youth or young people refer to people aged 10 to 24. 27% of the world's population is 10 to 24 years old. This proportion is lower in developed countries (19%) than in developing countries (29%). In some regions of the world, this percentage is much higher. In Africa, close to 43% of the population is less than 15 years of age. The average age in most countries of the continent ranges from 16 to 19 years old, while it falls to 28.1 in the overall world population. This population is especially vulnerable to such factors as unemployment and lack of training, poverty and precarious living conditions, exclusion based on ethnic and cultural origins, and exposure to HIV.

1. YOUTH OFFENDING AND VICTIMISATION

Based on the findings from an increasing range of studies around the world, links between youth offending and victimisation are now much more recognised than in the past.¹⁵⁸ There is a growing consensus that **youth are often both the main victims and perpetrators of violent acts**. Young people experience higher levels of victimisation than other age groups, young offenders have often been victimised themselves and the primary victims of youth offending are other young people. One explanation for this overlap is that "delinquency-prone youth put themselves at considerable risk for victimisation because of their risky activities".¹⁵⁹ The issues of offending and victimisation are strongly intertwined.

1.1 Youth as offenders and victims: an overrepresentation

Despite a worldwide concern for youth safety, heightened by the growth of the world's youth population, consistent data from different countries is difficult to access in some cases, and in most cases, they are difficult to compare due to the differences in nature and scope of the research. Even when information is available, the results do not necessarily provide an accurate assessment of the

situation. This is partly due to the fact that there are few common definitions of youth and youth crime and lack of available and consistent data on youth crime and victimisation in several countries.

The interpretation of trends in youth behaviour has nevertheless been subject to debate especially in developed countries. In these countries, there seems to be a trend of increasing types of behaviours, often called “anti-social” or “deviant” behaviours, which are criminalised in legislation.¹⁶⁰ Youth offending has been influenced by the level of policing, conviction and imprisonment rates. Several recent studies have argued that measured against their share of the population, young people have been overrepresented in police crime statistics ever since such records have been kept.¹⁶¹

In order to facilitate comparison and understanding, UNODC together with UNICEF recently launched a “Manual for the Measurement of Juvenile Justice”, which has established a set of global indicators*.

There is a general perception that young people are prone to disruptive and dangerous behaviour, including offending.¹⁶² In terms of the type of offences committed both in Western **Europe** and Eastern and Central Europe, a majority of studies suggest an increase in violent offences committed by young people.¹⁶³ In most Western European countries, the most significant increase in the rate of youth offending occurred in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. In Eastern and Central European countries as well, there seems to have been a substantial increase in youth offending since the late 1980s. This growth seems to be related to the rapid social and economic changes that these societies underwent during the last decade or so. Societies exposed to major social and eco-

nomical changes tend to experience an increase in youth offending as well as other youth-related challenges. Similarly, in the **United States of America**, an increase was recorded during the late 1980s and through the mid-1990s.¹⁶⁴ In **Canada**, the youth crime rate has been dropping overall since it reached a peak in 1991. In 2002 it was 33% lower than the rate registered in 1992.¹⁶⁵

The panorama is quite difficult to sketch in **Latin America**. For example in Argentina, there are no specific statistics on youth crime based on violations of the criminal code at the national and provincial levels. Judicial sources from the Institute for Comparative Studies in Criminal and Social Sciences (*Instituto de Estudios Comparados en Ciencias Penales y Sociales*) for 2007 suggest that the total youth delinquency rate decreased by 3.7% between 2000 and 2004 period, whereas homicides decreased by 14.7% and assaults and street fights increased by 18.7%.¹⁶⁶ In Chile, youth delinquency rates have increased during the last decade, although this trend has stabilised during the last three years.¹⁶⁷

In the **Caribbean**, youth are disproportionately represented in statistics as both victims and perpetrators of crime and violence and a 2007 UNODC report suggests that youth violence, defined as homicide and non-fatal attacks perpetrated by or against a person aged 10-29 years of age, is increasing.¹⁶⁸

In **Africa**, levels of youth crime are always difficult to determine. Africa’s youth population however means that a greater part of the society falls into the pool of both potential victims and offenders. Young people form high proportions of those living in urban slums, are frequently not enrolled in educational programmes, and lack job oppor-

UNODC and UNICEF - Manual for the Measurement of Juvenile Justice Indicators

Children are in conflict with the law all over the world, but until recently there was no global mechanism for collecting and comparing data related to juvenile justice, defined by UNODC and UNICEF as “the laws, policies, guidelines, customary norms, systems, professionals, institutions and treatment specifically applicable to children in conflict with the law”. In order to fill this gap, these two UN bodies designed a manual to assist with the monitoring and implementation of international norms and standards related to juvenile justice and child protection.

Following a global consultation on child protection issues, 15 indicators were chosen as the most useful measurements that most governments would be able to employ. They include both quantitative indicators, such as the number of children arrested during a 12-month period per 100 000 child population, as well as policy indicators, such as the existence of a national plan for the prevention of child involvement in crime.

This handbook was published in 2007 to help governments to implement the use of these indicators. This information will provide an unprecedented dataset that will allow UN and government agencies, as well as local actors, to compare juvenile justice systems around the world.

tunities, rendering them more susceptible to be recruited into violent gangs or armed forces and thus, susceptible to specific offending and victimisation experiences including as child soldiers.¹⁶⁹

In **Australia**, national crime statistics suggest individuals aged 15 to 19 years were more likely (4 times) to be processed by the police for committing a crime than any other age group. **New Zealand** experienced an increase of 40% of the number of apprehensions by police of young people under the age of 17 between 1990 and 2000.

When interpreting such statistics, it must be taken into account that in most countries a small group of youth repeatedly come to the attention of the police and is convicted for a significant amount of recorded youth criminal offences.¹⁷⁰

1.2 Causal factors

Numerous studies claim that young people who are at risk of becoming offenders often live in difficult circumstances.¹⁷¹ This statement is a recurring theme in discussion of youth offending and victimisation. Many longitudinal and transversal studies have outlined the main risk factors* linked to youth offending.¹⁷² The main factors identified include those associated with **family characteristics, school achievements**, and those associated with the **community environment and opportunities** offered in the neighbourhood. Individual factors are sometimes confusing, as they can be identified as direct causes of criminality - for instance "intellectual deficiencies" - or as consequences of poor family or economic conditions. Some individual factors are more related to "crime opportunities", such as peer initiation, and can be seen as "facilitating factors" rather than "causal" ones.

In 2003, the UN World Youth Report, based on an earlier United Nations' report on the situation of youth around the globe¹⁷³, outlined the following **regional aspects of youth offending and victimisation**.¹⁷⁴ In Africa, factors such as hunger, poverty, malnutrition and unemployment, are linked to the marginalisation of young people in the already severely disadvantaged segments of society. In South Africa for instance, the historic marginalisation of the youth, combined with the slow growth in the job market, has contributed to the creation of a large pool of young people "at risk"¹⁷⁵ aged 14-35 years.¹⁷⁶ In Latin America, young people have been the hardest hit by the economic problems linked to the debt crisis in the region, evidenced by the extremely high unemployment rates prevailing within this group. Offending and

victimisation are particularly acute and often associated with the problem of homelessness among children and adolescents. As for developed countries, lack of parental supervision has also been highlighted as a strong predictor of delinquency. However, exclusion, poverty and discrimination are also factors to be taken into account, even though they are experienced at a different level compared to developing countries.¹⁷⁷

1.3 Youth Gangs

The issue of youth gangs is of major concern for national governments and international bodies.¹⁷⁸ Gangs are considered to be a particularly serious manifestation of youth delinquency. The term youth gang is widely used, but no common spread although no definition has been agreed.¹⁷⁹

Regardless of the variety of definitions and terms employed, around the world, it is recognised that **gang membership significantly increases the probability of a young person committing an offence**. In other words, youth who belong to gangs commit offences more frequently than youth who do not belong to such groups.¹⁸⁰

Moreover, youth gangs can have an **important impact on urban spaces**, by shaping and dividing cities territories. For UN-HABITAT, "this is one thread in the splintering of urban landscapes, which has left some cities with a net loss of public space, balanced between the private enclaves of the wealthy and the no-go zones of the poor. Urban youth gangs protect and defend their territories giving renewed emphasis to the notion of defensible space as predicted by some crime prevention theorists",¹⁸¹ such as Oscar Newman.¹⁸² In Nicaragua for instance, pandillas are associated with particular urban neighbourhoods through the nation's cities, and especially in Managua. In Kenya, the members of the Mungiki movement are reputed to be engaged in forcefully managing Nairobi's public transport system and offer protection to the informal settlements that make up 60% of the city. This situation has implications for citizens' confidence in the necessary provision of public services throughout the city districts.¹⁷³

Despite the variety of situations encountered in different countries, it seems that there has been a **convergence in factors** that are prone to reinforce this phenomenon. Lack of education and training, unemployment, unequal opportunities, social exclusion, poverty and urbanisation are often linked to it. In fact, gang members often experience victimisation, such as severe corporal punishment from their parents or unsatisfactory educational conditions.¹⁸⁴

Different realities described by the same word

In one of the countries that has long term experience of gangs, the United States of America, a gang is defined as “a group of youths or young adults in [a specific] jurisdiction that the responsible persons in [the] agency or community are willing to identify or classify as a “gang”.

The Council for Youth of Montreal defines youth gangs as “more or less structured groups of adolescents and young teens who use group force, intimidation, and violence to perform criminal acts in order to gain power and recognition, or to control different spheres of profitable activities”.

In Latin America, the term “pandilla” refers to a “multiplicity of forms of the phenomenon in the region, ranging from student organisations in high school, youth delinquent “marimbas” or the “barras bravas”, youth gangs associated to sport activities, to “maras”, usually exercising territorial power and control of neighbourhoods and slums (colonias)”.

In Australia, the Australian Institute of Criminology defines a youth gang as a “group organised around illegal activity or a more benign group of youths”.

In Europe, there is a tendency to reject the comparison of European gangs with the American highly structured, cohesive, and violent gang. This inconsistency has become known as the “Eurogang paradox” which in turn has led to the development of the Eurogang project. Eurogang defines gangs as “a street gang (or a problematic youth group corresponding to a street gang elsewhere) is any stable, street-oriented youth group whose own identity includes involvement in antisocial activity”.

CONTRIBUTION

STREET GANGS - WHEN GIRLS ARE INVOLVED, GET MIXED UP OR MIX IN?

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The focus on criminal gangs is often essentially North-American. This phenomenon seems to occur, in fact, in very different ways from one continent to another (Hamel, Cousineau and Fredette, 2004). In Europe, informal youth gangs emerge in suburbs and in South America, *Maras* have structures linked to illegal paramilitary groups. Gang problems in the United States and Canada refer more directly to the notion of gangsterism, more or less stable entities involved in organized crime aimed at profiteering. This being said, although numerous definitions have been recommended since the beginning of the 19th century, no consensus has been reached as to the terms gangs, *gang members* or *gang activities*. In fact, the task of accurately assessing the scope of the criminal gang phenomenon and other related problems (delinquency, violence, sexual exploitation) is extremely difficult. In the absence of validated measurement tools, the majority of published estimates are based on the analysis of police information. Although such information is necessary for operations aimed at gang crime control, from an empirical perspective, it presents major methodological limits and must, therefore, be interpreted with prudence and reservation.

On the other hand, criminal gang members have many faces and maintain different relations with groups they join. Becoming or not becoming a member refers to a contrasting vision of gang problems that is, however, much more complex. This complexity invariably compels the use of a multidimensional conceptual framework to understand involvement in crime and gangs better. Hence, individuals, teens, young adults and adults associated with criminal gangs are primarily males who are from diverse racial origins. Even though the participation of young adolescent and young adult women in gang social and criminal activities has been recognized, it is difficult to assess the full scope and nature of their participation. The scarcity of studies specifically targeting the proportion of women who are affected by this means that we have poor statistical evidence compared to men, which may explain the many misconceptions that abound (Fournier, 2001). However data collected to date reflects the different ways of understanding the membership of women in gangs. Their membership essentially boils down to the two sides of the same coin: on one side, they are auxiliaries, and on the other, partners (Chesney-Lind et Hagedorn, 1999; Miller, 1998; Klein, 1995).

Girls have different roles and different status ... Are their needs and risks different?

Gender relations within criminal gangs are excessively stereotyped. Machismo, misogyny, aggressiveness, domination and sexual exploitation are key values (Totten, 2000). In criminal gangs, only men, man's honour and man's expression of masculinity, at the least what they perceive to be the masculine ideal, genuinely count (Dorais, 2006). Teens, young adults and adults linked to criminal gangs generally think of women in two extremes, i.e. on the one hand the Madonna or matronly figure – the wife who is worth loving, and on the other hand – the prostitute who is available to satisfy immediate pleasure. This dichotomy influences relations developed with female associates who join in the social and criminal activities of the gang. Since the Madonna is above reproach, and committed to the well-being of her husband and children and invariably, she is seen as distant from all immoral activities. Therefore, the female adolescents and young women adults who join gangs are naturally identified as the whores who can be "used" immediately. Disregard and emotional unresponsiveness are often openly manifested towards them, which justifies their treatment as sexual objects or commodities by the men in the gangs (Dorais, 2006; Totten, 2000).

This being said, the image of women as victims, whereby only secondary functions are entrusted to them in terms of the gang's social and criminal activities, is increasingly being challenged. Young female adolescents and young women were considered for such a long time to be dependent on men that the possibility of them assuming roles similar to the ones assumed by men in criminal gang activities has been disregarded. But this image is being cast off. Some women may occupy positions that are comparable to those of men within gangs and are even encouraged to develop their own criminal activity niche (Chesney-Lind and Hagedorn, 1999; Covey, Menard and Franzese, 1997; Klein, 1995).

A distinction must be made between women, female adolescents, young adults and adults who are called upon for economic and sexual purposes by gangs, and those recognized by their male counterparts as partners to criminal activities of groups to which they have become members.

Auxiliaries and accessories...

Young adolescent and young adult women who are targeted by criminal gangs for commercial and sexual purposes only hold support roles. In fact, they are not considered partners, but rather as a means, among others, to make profits. They are compelled to submit to the men that they consort with and are victims of psychological, economic, physical and sexual exploitation; they essentially only participate to the social life of the gang and have no status nor recognition that are given to others (Dorais, 2006; Fleury and Fredette, 2002).

In general, these women engage in prostitution during adolescence, between the ages of 14 and 16. Running away from a difficult situation, surviving, making money, muddling through, asserting one's self, challenging authority, having a good time, gaining more power and getting affection are among the multiple underlying reasons for getting involved in gangs and commercial sexual activities (Dorais, 2006; Fleury and Fredette, 2002). Many become involved to find a better life. Some women are desperate to the point that they believe just about anything or anyone, as long as they think their personal and social situations can change (Conseil du statut de la femme, 2002). Similarly, women, female adolescents, young adults and adults targeted by gangs for commercial sexual purposes, further satisfies their emotional needs. If benefits are intense at the beginning, in the medium and long term, physical, emotional, behavioural and social misconduct is unfortunately too numerous (stress, alcohol abuse and other drugs, sexually transmitted diseases (STD), HIV, early or unwanted pregnancies, desensitization to sexuality and affectivity, sexual dysfunctions and loss of self-esteem).

In general terms, criminal recruiting for sexual exploitation purposes is carried out through seduction. While some young adolescent and young adult women find themselves in the sex trade without their knowledge, others approach the pimps from whom they expect to receive love. Their personal attributes (low self-esteem, insecurity, risk-seeking behaviour,...) and life experiences (abuse, isolation,...) make them vulnerable to men involved with criminal gangs who offer them, in exchange for favours and commercial sexual activities, accommodation, attention and protection. Women targeted for sexual purposes by criminal gangs are quickly trapped by the impression of an immense debt they owe to the men, who are only too happy to reinforce this feeling of indebtedness.

In all countries, women are involved in the sex trade (Status of Women, 2002). At present, no study accurately assesses the number and even less the proportion of females who are under-aged, as well as those who engage in commercial sexual activities within gangs. Unlawfulness, social denunciation, criminal environmental organisation by gangs (criminal networks, pimps, brothels,...) and limited access to their

world for researchers and stakeholders partially explain the absence of accurate statistics on the scale and range of activities associated with the sex industry (Status of Women Council, 2002; International Bureau for Children's Rights, 2000).

Sexual services come in several forms (street prostitution, escort services, nude dancing, cybersex, erotic massages, pornography, erotic on-line services). While the great majority of services offered on the streets escapes pimps, commercial sexual activities exploited by criminal gangs are, by definition, organised through networks and are characterized by the presence of pimps. Usually carried out through escort services or nude dancing establishments, prostitution activities by criminal gangs are exercised, most of the time, in private places. These places, directly linked to the world of organised crime, contribute to disguising commercial sexual activities and to ensuring, for example, client confidentiality (Conseil du statut de la femme, 2002). Also, besides traditional prostitution practices, modern forms appear with new communications technology (Dorais, 2006, Conseil du statut de la femme, 2002). In a globalised context, commercial exchanges and the opening up of borders to the free flow of goods, the development of a sexual market for commercial purposes on the Internet is no accident!

Partners and acolytes...

While some women are targeted and recruited by gangs for economic and sexual purposes, increasing numbers assume responsibilities comparable or superior to their male counterparts (Covey, Menard and Franzese, 1997). This being said, there are very few criminal gangs made up only of women. Although they still benefit from some independence at the criminal level, women-only gangs remain subordinated to predominantly male gangs (Klein, 1995). This means that the majority of women join mixed criminal gangs, i.e. men and women.

Although their criminal conduct is less serious and less frequent than that of their male counterparts, women acting as partners within gangs use violence more often than male offenders who are not linked to criminal gangs (Covey, Menard and Franzese, 1997; Klein, 1995). Also, women involved in gang criminal activities learn quickly how to resort to violence to secure a better status within groups in which they are members, to the point that some women are qualified as *hyper violent and immoral*.

Partnership or debasement... Distinct needs and risks?

In sum, although the majority of women in the world linked to criminal gangs are exploited psychologically, economically, physically and sexually, it is wrong to assume that they are all subordinates and operators. The current state of expertise does not allow for accurate assessment in terms of what differentiates young adolescent and young adult women targeted by gangs for commercial sexual purposes from those who adopt similar career paths to their male counterparts in the gang. The former's quest for affection often unsatisfied, insatiable and always disappointing, and the latter's ambiguity with respect to their feminine side, as well as their need for respect and power are important elements that must be considered.

2. THE DISPARITY BETWEEN STANDARDS AND ACTIONS: PUNITIVE AND EDUCATIONAL TRENDS

The responses that have been developed to deal with youth crime and victimisation are a good example of the disparities that have emerged between international standards and norms and national action. International authorities stress the importance of intervening in young people's environment in order to help youth develop and thrive through an active, participative, educational and healthy process. On the other hand, many national authorities have developed punitive approaches that criminalise youth and often their parents too.

2.1 A global approach is promoted at the international level

It is frequently argued at the international level that youth safety requires a **global approach, good governance and comprehensive policies** that have both short and long term benefits.¹⁸⁵ Some international organisations also encourage policymakers to consider that young people today are facing unprecedented challenges, including the impacts of rapid globalisation, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the explosive growth of information and communication technologies.¹⁸⁶

The World Development Report 2007

The theme of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank's World Development Report 2007 is youth - young people between the ages of 12 to 24. As this population group seeks identity and independence, they make decisions that affect not only their own well-being, but that of others, and they do this in a rapidly changing demographic and socio-economic environment. Supporting young people's transition to adulthood poses important opportunities and risky challenges for development policy. Are education systems preparing young people to cope with the demands of changing economies? What kind of support do they get as they enter the labour market? Can they move freely to where the jobs are? What can be done to help them avoid serious consequences of risky behaviour, such as death from HIV/AIDS and drug abuse? Can their creative energy be directed productively to support development thinking? The report focus on crucial capabilities and transitions in a young person's life: learning for life and work, staying healthy, working, forming families, and exercising citizenship. For each, there are opportunities and risks; for all, policies and institutions matter.

2.2 A punitive trend is developing at the national level

In some countries, responses to youth offending and victimisation appear to have adopted a more punitive approach. In recent years, the **focus is shifting from the interest of the child towards the interest of society, public safety and incarceration.** In Europe particularly, legislation has have been modified to toughen measures on young offenders. In Belgium for instance, a more offence-based criteria has been introduced in the juvenile law and the juvenile judge has the option to refer those over 16 years to be tried in the adult court.¹⁸⁹ Since 2002 in France, judges may impose the same penalties as adults to minors aged 16 to 18.¹⁹⁰ In the Netherlands, harsher measures have been embodied in the recent plans by the Ministry of Justice for addressing juvenile crime and resumed in a substantial increase in the number of young people in correctional facilities.¹⁹¹

The **UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency** for instance promotes a global approach to prevention, a child-centred orientation, as well as guiding principles for policies and measures.¹⁸⁷ The guidelines also recommend community-based services and programmes. Other UN resolutions, policies and programmes involving youth support young people's access to educational, employment and leisure programmes. They highlight as well the need for youth to have **access to information** and **capacity-building**, to have the opportunity to acquire communication skills, decision-making and conflict resolution skills, as well as to develop vocational and technical aptitudes and to evolve in a safe family, school and community* environment.¹⁸⁸

The International Juvenile Justice Observatory (IJJO)

Children and youth all over the world are in need of protection and special care when they come into conflict with the law. One of the recent international challenges to facilitate efforts to improve juvenile justice systems on a global scale is the **International Juvenile Justice Observatory (IJJO)**. The IJJO was created in 2003 by Mr. Francisco Legaz, who is also its Chairman. The Observatory is a foundation based in Belgium which obtained its statute of Public Utility in 2006. It receives support and sponsorship from a variety of universities, institutions, organisations and government departments as well as European funds.

The IJJO is an ambitious endeavour that promotes an **international and interdisciplinary approach to issues related to juvenile justice**, based on UN standards and norms¹ and implemented through its mission and activities. The observatory provides a permanent forum for analysis, information and reflection on topics related to juvenile delinquency and justice. It is also a network of juvenile justice experts and observers. The observatory has a benchmarking function; it establishes good practice criteria and disseminates information about efficient strategies related to policies and interventions. It also helps to generate research and offers technical assistance to those working in the field. Finally, the IJJO disseminates information through its online resources including, news, events, publications and databases and engages in awareness-raising with the general public to build support for the protection of the rights of young offenders.

The IJJO takes a **broad view** of the issues related to juvenile justice. Its interests are not limited only to young people who come into conflict with the law, but extend to include minors and young people in difficulties or experiencing behavioural challenges. The overarching goal is to encourage the positive development of young people so that they may “acquire the skills they need to become free citizens outside the circuits of exclusion and reclusion”. The IJJO’s work prioritises the treatment of minors in conflict with the criminal law, who are at serious risk of social exclusion, and unaccompanied foreign minors. It also supports a debate on juvenile delinquency and juvenile justice models based on confirmed data and careful comparison. A similar caution is exercised in terms of the study of youth gangs. The challenge of unaccompanied foreign minors is of particular importance and the IJJO stresses the need to protect these individuals.

The IJJO also supports alternatives to detention for minor offenders, such as community sanctions, offenders’ responsabilization and restorative justice models, which have been demonstrated to be more effective. The most effective way, however, to deal with minors in conflict with the law is to prevent offending from happening in the first place, by improving the resources available to young people, such as educational and employment opportunities and drug abuse prevention.

The IJJO is also developing a **European Juvenile Justice Observatory** to encourage a convergence of regulations and good practices in European countries. Youth delinquency and youth justice systems are a concern for many European institutions, including the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the European Commission, the European Economic and Social Committee, as well as the European Fundamental Rights Agency, and the establishment of this observatory meets the recommendations of some of these bodies to facilitate the study and dissemination of resources on juvenile justice for European decision-makers.

¹These standards and norms include: The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the UN guidelines for the prevention of juvenile delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines), the UN standard minimum rules for the administration of juvenile justice (The Beijing Rules) and the UN standard minimum rules for non-custodial measures (The Tokyo Rules)

2.3 Parents: supported or mandated responsibility?

Given that one of the factors influencing a young person's propensity towards offending is his or her relationship with family members and parenting practices, **early intervention and family-based initiatives are common prevention strategies.** These include parent-focused interventions to support parents in the upbringing of very young children. These primary prevention strategies provide support for the personal challenges parents are facing, as well as assistance with coping with children's problematic or difficult behaviour.

There has also been a **parallel increase** in the notion of making **parents more aware of and responsible** for their children's behaviour. This trend began in the late 1980s and has manifested itself in various forms, but is associated with more punitive forms of juvenile justice and a growing emphasis on public protection. The trend is particularly evident in common law nations, where the definition of parental responsibility has been extended to include the idea that parents are liable for their child's delinquent acts.¹⁹² In the United States, certain state legislatures have created parental liability laws, which may instruct parents to attend counselling sessions or perform community service. There are also American municipalities that impose fines or parenting classes on parents whose children exhibit delinquent behaviour. In Britain, Parenting Orders were created in 1998 and oblige parents to attend counselling or training sessions and imposes a fine if parents do not participate. Australian law compels parents to pay restitution for loss or injury caused by their children.

This trend has developed in other countries, such as the Netherlands, whereby a new Social Security Act requires welfare-dependent families with offending children to undergo intensive training; otherwise the family's welfare support will be reduced. Danish police may send "letters of concern" to parents with 10-13 year old children who have come to the attention of the police. Parents are expected to reply within eight days of receiving the letter; if they do not respond, their file is sent to the SSP, the combined service of the schools, social services, and the police.

This process of parental responsabilisation is **fraught with concerns.** It has been suggested that this type of legislation negatively affects families mainly from disadvantaged socio-economic groups; these parents may have "few economic resources and consequently, less opportunity to provide their children with care and supervision"

and are at risk of being unfairly punished.¹⁹³ The effectiveness of parent training courses has also not been fully evaluated, but what does seem to be clear is that participation in a parenting course or family counselling is most successful when it is available on a voluntary basis.¹⁹⁴

A final important consideration is that **there is no clear basis for parental responsabilisation at the supranational level,** where norms and standards are rooted in the protection of the family and children, and ensuring their rights. In particular, there is a framework of United Nations conventions and recommendations that recommend parents ensure the well-being and positive development of their children in a broad sense. The emphasis however is put not only on the role of the parents, but also on the importance of the state in the protection and the socialisation of children and young people. For example, in terms of support, The Convention on the Rights of the Child states in Article 18.2 that in order to guarantee the rights outlined in the convention, "States Parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities and services for the care of children".¹⁹⁵

The question as to whether national or local attempts to 'responsibilise' parents are considered "appropriate assistance" as recommended in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and whether they respect United Nations norms and standards remains open. Interestingly, the countries that have chosen to legally implicate parents in the consequences of their children's delinquent or criminal behaviour also offer long-term crime prevention strategies that employ a social development approach. Thus, there is an opportunity and a need for more rigorous monitoring and evaluation* in order to assess the impact of the different approaches to the prevention of youth offending.

2.4 Early intervention well established

Early prevention or intervention in several countries is clearly prioritized. Such programmes usually target families and children at risk of future involvement in offending, because of family circumstances or socio-economic background. These programmes may involve children, parents, teachers, those whose lives are linked with children, or even an entire community*.

Perhaps the best-known example is the Perry Preschool Project in the United States, which provided preschool and home visits for African American children of low socioeconomic status with "low IQ scores" but no "organic deficiencies."

Another example is *Nurse-Family Partnerships*, now found in many countries including the US and The Netherlands and involve home visits by a nurse to young, often single mothers of low socio-economic status.¹⁹⁶ Most programmes are found in developed countries, and include the *Pathways to Prevention project* in Australia¹⁹⁷ and *SureStart* in the UK.¹⁹⁸ *Boundless Adventures* in Canada is a programme targeting indigenous* families in the northern areas.¹⁹⁹ Interest in early intervention has also been seen in Switzerland and Germany. Many of the projects taken up in Europe have been modelled after programmes developed and evaluated in the United States.

Many early intervention programmes have been found to have positive results. However, as evidenced by a recent debate in France, not everyone believes that early intervention is without its faults.²⁰⁰ This debate, focusing on ethical issues related to early intervention, highlights the importance of careful planning and research prior to establishing a programme. Without forethought, an early intervention programme may be perceived as patronising or degrading, stigmatising children and jeopardising the very success of the programme. Furthermore, while costly, there is a significant need for more longitudinal studies of early interventions, to assess impact on quality of life overtime.

2.5 Participative approaches gaining recognition

Many prevention initiatives targeting young people are encouraging greater involvement by youth themselves, to help develop their independence and decision-making capacities, and help them take an active, responsible part in social life. This approach has been strongly supported by UN-HABITAT, including through the recent National Youth Violence Prevention Week, launched in Kenya in February 2008. Its purpose is to mobilise young people and institutions to develop new participatory programmes and initiatives to prevent youth violence.²⁰¹

Some of these initiatives have been developed in response to youth gang affiliation. In Latin America, the Adolescent and Development Health Unit of the Pan American Health Organisation, together with German Technical Cooperation, currently work on the programme *Fomento del desarrollo juvenil y prevención de la violencia* (Promotion of youth development and prevention of violence). This project has been implemented in Argentina, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia, Peru and Honduras, and tries to promote the **participation** of young people in programmes that foster

the development of youth and the prevention of violence, through promotion, public policy-making, management of information, and dissemination and promotion of innovative and participatory experiences. In many countries and cities, programmes to counter urban gang activity rely on crime prevention and youth mobilisation.²⁰²

In the United Kingdom, the government recently introduced the "Every Child Matters" (ECM) policy, which aims to ensure support for every child and help them acquire the means to "stay safe", "enjoy and achieve", "make a positive contribution", and "achieve economic well-being".²⁰³ The government has also emphasised youth participation under the platform of Youth Matters (also part of ECM). This aims to improve the quality and coordination of services and narrow the gap between disadvantaged youth and others. It has led to the creation of an "Integrated Youth Support Services" which aim to empower young people, encourage them to make a contribution to their communities and support informed choices by youth. The programme is too recent to have been evaluated.²⁰⁴

In conclusion, the important focus on youth in all discussions about crime has traditionally been characterised by two complementary and often contradictory approaches. On the one hand, youth are seen as young persons in development who are accountable for their acts and worthy of protection. International organisations emphasise the importance of lifestyle education and devote considerable efforts to the analysis of crime victimisation. However, at the national level, both in developed and developing countries, the policies of the last fifteen years place more responsibility on the individual youth and even their families. The dualism of this approach is also seen in relation to school safety.

- 157** See for instance the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 20 September 1989 (A/RES/44/25); UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, 15 November 2000 (A/RES/55/25); Council of Europe Convention on the Protection of Children against Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Abuse, adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 12 July 2007 (CETS n°201).
- 158** WHO (2002); UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2004); European Economic and Social Committee (2006); UNFPA (2007); UN-HABITAT (2007c).
- 159** Cuevas Carlos A., Finkelhor David, Turner Heather A., Ormrod Richard K. (2007), pp. 1581s.
- 160** Junger-Tas Josine, Decker Scott H. (2006).
- 161** Silke Pies, Schrapper Christian (2003).
- 162** ECOSOC (2007b).
- 163** UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2005).
- 164** Snyder Howard N., Sickmund Melissa (2006).
- 165** Statistics Canada (2007), Crime Statistics 2006 *The Daily* Wednesday July 18 2007. [<http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/070718/d070718b.htm>].
- 166** Appiolaza Martín (2008).
- 167** Detailed statistics on type of crime by age and sex are available from: www.seguridadciudadana.gob.cl.
- 168** UNODC, Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank (2007).
- 169** UNODC (2005).
- 170** Silke Pies, Schrapper Christian (2003).
- 171** UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2004).
- 172** For a summary, see: Farrington David (1996).
- 173** UN Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs (1993).
- 174** UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2004).
- 175** (South Africa) South Africa Government (1996), *National Crime Prevention Strategy*.
- 176** Palmary Ingrid (2003).
- 177** UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2004).
- 178** ECOSOC (2007b).
- 179** See: International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (2008).
- 180** Sharp Clare, Aldridge Judith, Medina Juanjo (Eds.) (2006).
- 181** UN-HABITAT (2007a), p. 78.
- 182** Newman Oscar (1973).
- 183** UN-HABITAT (2007a).
- 184** WHO (2002).
- 185** UN-HABITAT (2007a).
- 186** UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2005).
- 187** Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines), adopted by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1990 (RES 45/112).
- 188** See for example the World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond, resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly on 14 December 1995 (A/RES/50/81); and the resolutions on Policies and Programmes involving Youth adopted by the UN General Assembly on 20 January 2000 (A/RES/54/120), 18 January 2002 (A/RES/56/117), 22 December 2003 (A/RES/58/133), 20 December 2004 (A/RES/59/148) and 6 October 2005 (A/RES/60/2).
- 189** Van Dijk Catherine, Nuytiens An, Eliaerts Christian (2005).
- 190** (France) Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la justice du 9 septembre 2002.
- 191** Wittebrood Karin (2003).
- 192** Burney Elizabeth (2007).
- 193** European Economic and Social Committee (2006), pt. 4.6.2.
- 194** Fitzgerald Marian, Stevens Alex, Hale Chris (2004).
- 195** UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, 20 September 1989 (A/RES/44/25).
- 196** See: Nurse Family Partnerships: <http://www.nursefamilypartnership.org>.
- 197** See: Homel Ross, Freiberg Kate, Lamb Cherie, Leech Marie, Batchelor Sam, Carr Angela, Hay Ian, Teague Rosie, Elias Gordon (2006).
- 198** See: SureStart: <http://www.surestart.gov.uk/>.
- 199** See: Boundless Adventures Projet: <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/cp/bldngevd/2007-es-02-eng.aspx>.
- 200** Comité Consultatif National d'Éthique pour les Sciences de la Vie et de la Santé (2007).
- 201** See: National Youth Violence Prevention Week: <http://www.safercitieskenya.co.ke/nyvvpw/index.html>.
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CHAPTER 4
SCHOOL SAFETY

SCHOOL SAFETY

Anything that jeopardises school safety stirs up very strong public feelings, because school is considered to be a “sanctuary”. Schools are meant not only to promote learning and socialisation, but also to foster the individual development and growth of young students. Internationally, education is recognised as an essential factor for social and economic development and for the promotion of equality.²⁰⁵ Hence any acts of violence committed in a teaching institution are considered to be not only a serious infringement of the rights of the victim, but also an attack on the foundations of one of society’s most important institutions.

Globally, safety in schools continues to be a concern for the public and governments.²⁰⁶ At the international, regional, national and local levels, there has been a sustained effort to devote greater attention to everyday school violence, and a variety of initiatives to enhance the safety of the school community, especially since the early 1990s.²⁰⁷ Concerns about safety in schools have broadened in scope internationally. In this respect, many countries have launched national plans, strategies or campaigns, and continue to promote specific programmes to understand and, therefore, to prevent school violence and “incivilities”. Initiatives are sometimes developed following dramatic school shootings and serious events at schools.

1. A WIDE SPECTRUM OF BEHAVIOURS

The increasing interest in school safety is evidenced by the abundance of data available about incidents at school. Some authors underline that the apparent increase in reported incidents is related to the fact that these occurrences are taken more seriously than before, and as a result are increasingly reported.²⁰⁸ Reporting systems on school violence have indeed been improved.²⁰⁹ Yet, at the international level, there is no common definition that would facilitate a global analysis.²¹⁰

1.1. Student behaviour

Understanding issues of “violence” that occur in school boundaries raises difficulties specifically related to the age of perpetrators. Games, boisterous play, or teasing between children or young teens are, to an extent, a normal part of the socialisation process and have nothing to do with crime. Certain behaviours that occur within

school boundaries, although they are not entirely acceptable, cannot be described as criminal. Such behaviours are often referred to as “incivilities”* or “anti-social behaviours”*.²¹¹

In response to this issue, some school authorities and other institutions have attempted to define an exhaustive list of behaviours that are not acceptable within school boundaries. Different countries focus on different aspects. In Germany it is an issue of “physical violence and verbal pressure”, in the United Kingdom, “assaults motivated by money, intelligence, or athletic ability” and in Finland, “mental and physical violence, verbal harassment, mocking, insults, gossip or bad-mouthing”.²¹² In the United States unacceptable behaviours are “expressions of hate, physical violence and aggression” and in Quebec, Canada, “physical, verbal, and psychological violence, cyber-aggression or cyber-bullying”.²¹³

Beyond the multiple definitions of school violence, violent incidents or misbehaviour often include reference to an **asymmetrical power relationship** between the parties involved. This may be defined as an “imbalance of power” (for instance in Canada) or between two students who share an unequal physical or psychological relationship (such as in Germany). In France, it is expressed in more general terms, such as a behaviour that neglects basic society rules or shows a profound disrespect for others.

This asymmetrical relationship is particularly strong when dealing with bullying. For example, the definition of bullying used by the Promoting Relationships and Eliminating Violence Network (PREVNet), a coalition of 39 expert researchers from 21 Canadian universities and 42 national

organisations, refers to repeated aggression in which there is an imbalance of power between the child who bullies and the child who is victimised. In essence, bullying is understood as a disrespectful relationship problem and that relational aspect may be extended to include violence by staff or corporal punishment.²¹⁴

The asymmetrical, repetitive and non-playful character of this behaviour is underlined by two recent global studies and by the UN World Report on Violence against Children.²¹⁵

The relational or power dynamics in violent or disorderly incidents may also involve the added dimensions of **gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion, disability, sexual orientation or socio-economic status**. Information about levels of sexual violence for example is not as well known as other types of violence occurring at school, but there are a few exceptions. WHO reports that **sexual coercion and harassment** of girls and young women often happens at school. This is the case for example in certain countries in Africa, such

as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Nigeria, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe. However the report underlines that “while much of the research in this field comes from Africa, it is not clear whether this reflects a particularly high prevalence of the problem or simply the fact that the problem has had a greater visibility there than in other parts of the world”.²¹⁶

School violence also includes behaviours such as “**hazing**” or “**dangerous games**”. Because they are closely associated with acts of “violence” within school or university boundaries, these types of action have also raised public debate in the last few years. “Hazing” is regularly debated in France and in Switzerland. It covers a range of physical and psychological behaviour inflicted on new students at the beginning of the school year. Hazing is often considered to be a rite of initiation and is the establishment of a relationship of inferiority to older students.²¹⁷ “Dangerous games” played by students and other types of violent amusements occur in schools, including self-phyxiation and group swarming or harassment.²¹⁸

The International Observatory on Violence in School

The International Observatory on Violence in School evolved out of the European Observatory on School Violence, attached to the Educational Sciences Department of the Victor Segalen University of Bordeaux in France. It began in 1998 as an international federation of researchers working on violence in schools. Following a series of world conferences in Paris, France in 2001, Quebec, Canada in 2003 and Bordeaux, France in 2006, along with the creation of national observatories in Canada and the United Kingdom, the network evolved and was thus named an international observatory.

The observatory is a non-governmental organisation working on both theory and practice. It emphasises the promotion of balanced, evidence-based and interdisciplinary research, particularly in light of the sometimes sensationalist treatment of violence in schools by the media and public figures. The observatory conducts scientific evaluation of both studies and public programmes and policies on violence in schools; it also collects and disseminates interdisciplinary work on violence in schools. In addition, it conducts ongoing assessments of the situation of violence in schools around the world. Based on the findings of scientific studies, the observatory also develops and distributes strategies for action. Finally, it assists with the training of teachers and professionals, as well as the training of new researchers in the field.

The observatory’s activities include the publishing of an online journal, the *International Journal on Violence and Schools* (IJVS) founded in 2005. So far a wide range of violence issues have been covered including bullying, sport, juvenile delinquency and covering countries such as Portugal, Columbia, Australia and Japan. There is also a strong emphasis on research related to violence prevention.

Other activities of the observatory include the organisation of an international conference on violence in schools. The forth World Conference on Violence in Schools and Public Policy in June 2008 in Lisbon will focus on the effects of the context of the school on violence. A *Thesis Prize* for the best work on violence in schools is awarded. A “Report on Violence in Schools around the World” is also under development.

Concern about violence at school has mainly focused on bullying. The most widely applied instrument gathering international data on school violence is the **Global School-based Student Health Survey** (GSHS).²¹⁹ Drawing from the survey, bullying is a topic of concern in many countries in North America and in most of Europe. It is also beginning to emerge as an issue in the Philippines, Thailand and other countries in East Asia and Pacific region.²²⁰

Cyberbullying is a growing phenomenon; studies and reports demonstrate that the phenomenon has been observed in several countries where there is widespread access to cellular phones or the internet; examples include Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.²²¹ "Cyberbullying" is a generic term often used to qualify an act of bullying which involves the use of new technologies to harm or intimidate others. In a recent study on the subject, the authors maintain that like more traditional forms of bullying or intimidation, cyberbullying involves "an intentional, repeated and hostile behaviour developed by an individual or group to damage others".²²²

A Typology of Cyberbullying

- Flaming: aggressive discussions online with electronic messages using vulgar and offensive language.
- Harassment: repeated sending of offensive, disagreeable and / or insulting messages.
- Denigration: to insult or to defame someone online sending rumours, gossips or lies, normally of offensive and cruel type, to damage the image or reputation of someone or his/her relations with other people.
- Impersonation: getting personal information or pictures about a person (passwords, etc.), with the purpose of posing as him or her and, to commit inappropriate acts, damage his/her reputation or to generate conflicts with his/her friends.
- Outing and Tricking: to spread someone's secrets, embarrassing information or images online. In some cases people are tricked into doing so.
- Exclusion: to exclude someone intentionally from an online group (chats, lists of friends, forums, etc.).
- Cyberstalking: repeated sending of messages that include threats or are very intimidating.

1.2 Teachers and staff: also victims and offenders

Due to an increased focus on violence and incivility* in the school environment and a wider emphasis on the impact of the school experience on young people's development, these issues continue to raise concerns. This includes extreme cases of violence, but also student behaviour towards teachers and school staff, and by staff against pupils.

Victimisation of teachers has been measured and analysed in many countries, including South Africa, the United States, Scotland, England and Wales and Quebec.²²³ Results are difficult to compare, but show levels of victimisation ranging from 39 incidents per 1000 teachers (in the US) to 38% of teachers said they had been assaulted by a pupil. Another concern is the amount of aggression or "incivilities"* directed towards teachers by **parents**. There is little available information, but in Scotland for instance in 2002-2003, 3% of all reported incidents involved a parent as the alleged perpetrator of an incident against a teacher.²²⁴

The most significant publication on **violence perpetrated by teachers and school staff** is the 2006 United Nations Secretary General's World Report on Violence against Children developed under the leadership of Professor Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro, an independent expert appointed by the Secretary-General and with the support of the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR), UNICEF and WHO. The report states that in terms of existing research, there are substantial data for assessing levels of discipline and corporal punishment in schools around the world, but as of 2006, there was less research and analysis available on the other acts of violence taking place in schools, which include both physical and psychological elements. The study was in part based on a series of studies and regional reports on corporal punishment that demonstrate a **reduction in and the elimination of corporal punishment in schools in all regions, particularly in Europe**. Yet it is still a phenomenon that continues to be reported. There is also the added dimension of existing evidence that suggests that "corporal punishment in schools is sometimes administered with greater severity or frequency to children from groups that are subject to stigma and discrimination in the whole of society".²²⁵ International studies collected by the International Observatory on Violence in School seem to demonstrate that **there is a direct link between the level of corporal punishment and violence in schools, both against teachers and between pupils themselves**.

Another serious form of school-based violence is **sexual or gender-based violence**. In Africa for example, the WHO World report on violence has also highlighted the role of teachers in facilitating or perpetrating sexual coercion. A report by *Africa Rights* found cases of schoolteachers attempting to gain sex, in return for grades or favours.²²⁶ While sexual violence in schools is increasingly recognised, the report notes that it still remains under-studied, particularly in the context of the prevalence of HIV infection in sub-Saharan Africa.²²⁷ Similarly, information about levels of sexual violence is not as well known as other types of violence occurring at school in Latin America. A recent study, however, shows that girls and adolescents are frequently victims of sexual abuse in schools.²²⁸

1.3 Weapons at school

Taking weapons to school is an important risk behaviour examined in the 2002 WHO report on Violence and Health. Unlike the relatively similar prevalence of physical fighting and bullying in schools around the world, there are **variations in the prevalence of weapon carrying at school** reported by adolescents in different countries, particularly in terms of gender. In the United States, for example, a national survey of students of both genders in grades 9 to 12 (aged 10-16 years) found that 6.9% had carried a weapon on the school premises.²²⁹ In Cape Town (South Africa), 9.8% of males and 1.3% of females reported carrying knives to school during the previous four weeks before the survey.²³⁰

2. INTEGRATED SCHOOL SAFETY APPROACH NEEDS TO BE DEVELOPED

The response to school violence is often based on a punitive “reflex”: reinforcement of discipline and the physical environment, exclusion of “perpetrators”, and recourse to criminal prosecution. In some cases, school authorities will call the police to intervene within school boundaries (Chapter 8). Other types of measures appear to be a more sustainable response to school violence.

2.1 Rights-based and child-friendly approaches

Many international organisations have taken specific interest both in school violence (for example the Council of Europe or the OECD) and in the general context of promoting the healthy development of the child in an environment that is drug free and violence free (WHO and UNICEF). A drug free and violence free healthy environment is deemed to be a sine qua non condition for health. These organisations are mainly seeking to promote integrated and comprehensive approaches.

Shootings at schools and universities: isolated cases but highly publicised by the media

The issue of shootings in teaching institutions has received a great deal of attention from the media around the world since the killings that took place at Columbine College in Littleton (Colorado), in 1999. Because no database or official registry of such incidents has been created, it is difficult to determine the exact number of incidents that occurred in the 60s, 70s and 80s. Based on various sources of information available on the Internet, we have attempted to calculate the number of shootings in schools and universities, with a particular attention to the United States, which has been more seriously affected with this phenomenon than other countries.

Period	United-States					Rest of the World				
	No	% fatal	No. of death	% of cases where killer commits suicide	Distribution by States	No	% fatal	No. of deaths	% of cases where killer commits suicide	Distribution by countries
1960-79	7	100%	33	0%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • California: 9 • Penn., Wash.: 6 • Michigan: 10 • Tenn., North Car. : 5 • Missouri : 4 • Texas, Arkansas, Georgia, Ohio, Virginia, South Car.: 3 • Others: 31 	2	100%	3	100%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canada: 7 • Germany : 4 • Finland, India, Netherlands, Aust. : 2 • Others : 9
1980-89	9	100%	16	44%		2	100%	16	50%	
1990-99	30	80%	60	16%		7	86%	33	28%	
2000-08	48	65%	80	27%		16	95%	47	37%	
Total	94	76%	189	23%		28	93%	99	35%	

As the above table shows, the number of shootings within school and university boundaries has increased since the 1980s; the number appears to be three times higher in the United States than in the rest of the world and there seem to be no occurrences in emerging and developing countries. In the majority of cases, the perpetrators of shootings act alone and in a significant number of cases they kill themselves before being arrested.

There appears to be a strong link with the accessibility to firearms

The link between the accessibility to firearms and school shootings has been emphasised in several studies examining homicides by firearms.¹ However, in some countries like Switzerland and Finland where firearms are more accessible and widespread than in other industrialized countries², the number of incidents of school shootings is in no way comparable to statistics from the United States. This can be explained in large part by cultural factors: in the United States, the gun culture is not limited to recreational and sport activities such as hunting, but has very deep roots in the national identity. This situation facilitates the use of firearms, even at schools and universities.³ The high percentage of non-lethal shootings at schools (24% for the period 1960-2008, but 35% for the present decade) in the United States may be an indication of the spontaneous use of firearms.

¹ This is not a causal relation but rather a positive correlation between the availability of firearms and the risk of becoming a victim of homicide with the use of a firearm. See the literature review by Hepburn and Hemenway (2004) which emphasise the methodological difficulties in these studies.

² The average rate of firearms per 100 inhabitants is 90 for the United States, 56 for Finland, 46 for Switzerland, 32 for France, 31 for Canada. See Small Arms Survey (2007). *Small Arms Survey 2007 Guns and the City*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, p.47.

³ The rate of homicides by firearms in the United-States is 3.8 for 100,000 inhabitants, compared to 0.7 for Canada, 0.6 for Finland, 0.5 for Switzerland and 0.3 for France.

International and regional organisations essentially consider indiscipline, aggression and violence in the school environment from an **education, human rights and child protection perspective**. The main trend evident in international recommendations and programmes is to prioritise the healthy development of the child and to de-emphasise or eliminate punitive or harsh measures that do not offer children the best opportunity to modify their behaviour in the long-term, or to reintegrate into the school community.

As previously mentioned, the *World Report on Violence against Children* is the first comprehensive attempt to describe the scale of all forms of violence against children and its impact. It examines violence in school in a broad rights-based framework provided by the **Convention on the Rights of the Child**.²³¹ The report promotes equal access to (primary) education for all children in a non-violent environment and while it emphasises the prevalence and negative impact of corporal punishment, the legislation and recommendations related to school safety promote overall prevention, including life-skills education, early intervention and safe and supervised activities and facilities for young people. These strategies fall under what the report calls a “rights-based” or “child-friendly” approach.²³² One of the global priorities of UNICEF is the promotion of “**child-friendly schools**”.²³³

Due to its strong focus on education, UNESCO also offers resources on preventing violence in schools. It promotes a framework for the design and implementation of effective **school health programmes** under the acronym “*FRESH*” - *Focusing Resources on Effective School Health*, which is part of an inter-agency initiative launched in 2000. Two of the four components of *FRESH* are “School Health Policies”, including a section on violence prevention, and a “Safe and Sanitary School Environment”. It recommends that school establish clear policies and practices that apply to all individuals in the school community and “promote interaction that is respectful, non-discriminatory and non-abusive” and at the very least prohibit such acts as bullying, fighting, discrimination, destruction of property, drug and alcohol use and sexual harassment”. The second core component on a healthy school environment includes situational prevention strategies such as lighting policies to reduce crime in darkened or unsupervised areas, and developmental strategies such as school-to-community activities that identify the causes of violence and develop violence prevention activities with parents and members of the community*.²³⁴

In 2004, the Council of Europe adopted a **European Charter for Democratic Schools without Violence**, guaranteeing the right to a safe and peaceful school. This protection is extended to every member of the school community and is coupled with the shared responsibility to “*contribute to creating a positive and inspiring environment for learning and personal development*”.²³⁵ This charter was created by children from 40 schools in 19 European countries and was adopted by more than 17,000 pupils in Europe. The same year, the Council issued a resolution reaffirming the **banishment of all forms of corporal punishment** and any other forms of degrading punishment or treatment of children”.²³⁶ In 2007, the Assembly called upon member states to consolidate their child welfare policy by several means, including “developing action plans at local and national level to eliminate violence, exploitation and abuse of children, in particular within the family unit, at school, in care institutions and in the community”.²³⁷

The basic principles of a rights-based and child-friendly school

They should be:

- 1. Proactively inclusive.** The school seeks out and enables the participation of all children of both sexes, and especially those who are different ethnically, culturally, linguistically, socio-economically and in their abilities or disabilities.
- 2. Academically effective and relevant.** It meets children’s needs for life and livelihood knowledge, attitudes and skills.
- 3. Gender-sensitive.** It creates environments that foster gender equality, and it meets the needs for knowledge, attitudes and skills that ensure gender equality.
- 4. Healthy and protective.** It promotes and protects children’s emotional, psychological and physical well-being by providing a healthy and protective educational climate.
- 5. Engaged with the family and the community.** It seeks out and enables the participation of children’s families and the community in the development and implementation of all aspects of school policies and programmes, including those designed to protect children from harm and to teach children to appreciate the rights of other children to the same protection.

Other initiatives seek to enhance the exchange of experiences and comparative analysis on the topic, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2004.²³⁸ The International Observatory on Violence in School also plays a major role in disseminating data and promising practices in school safety (see box p. 94).

2.2 A comprehensive approach

In parallel with this growing number of prevention recommendations, however, there has been a harsher trend. **An increasing number of governments have applied stricter legislation and law enforcement in schools.** Some examples include specific programmes for youth “at risk” and the implementation of “zero tolerance” policies, such as the practice of removing or excluding students from school for misbehaviour. In the United Kingdom for instance, the number of school exclusions have been increasing. In Norway, the Manifesto against Bullying for 2005 - 2007 pursues a zero bullying policy in schools.²³⁹ The effectiveness of zero tolerance policies has been questioned by researchers.²⁴⁰

There is an increasing use of new technologies and specialised security staff within and around schools.²⁴¹ For example, in Portugal, the programme “Escola Segura” (Safe School) includes surveillance of schools and their surroundings by CCTV.²⁴²

Nevertheless, some initiatives address safety at school in a more **comprehensive way** by working also at school climate and organisation, the local community* around the school, as well as the behaviours and attitudes of teachers, staff and parents.

Much of the focus on school violence tends to be placed on the behaviours of pupils or staff and even parents, but the characteristics of schools themselves are just as important. The contribution of the **climate of a school**, and the style and quality of organisation and management, are major factors affecting the risks for, or protection against, school violence and disorder.²⁴³ There is considerable evidence that well-organised schools, with good relations between staff and between staff and pupils, create climates where violence and bullying are less likely to occur, and better managed by the school itself. Like many other forms of violence, social and community factors are as important as the characteristics and backgrounds of individuals. There has been research in the United States and Europe demonstrating the characteristics of schools which promote positive relationships, good

communication, and motivation among staff and pupils, provide supports to staff and pupils, and are well run and organised.²⁴⁴ Such schools are often successful in reducing not only bullying behaviours, but also delinquency and truancy, without resorting to policies of exclusion of pupils who are seen as disruptive. **School management and training of teachers** are also highlighted by the research as important factors of safety. Teachers’ job security and history within the school, as well as special training on stress management, can be very effective in preventing violence.

School mediation* and alternative dispute resolution are also increasingly used to improve relationships and school climate. In Argentina for instance, a national programme of school mediation that employs alternative resolution mechanisms to school conflicts led to the establishment of a provincial law on school mediation.²⁴⁵ It was established in 2003 by 32 education secretaries and 42 municipalities. Another example is the Brazilian programme *Paz nas Escolas*, implemented in 2000, which aims to train and inform teachers on school conflict resolution, human rights, ethics, and citizenship building and to develop projects to prevent violence in schools.

One of the major predictors and risk factors* for crime and victimisation, **dropping out of school is a major concern** in many countries.²⁴⁶ In France for example, attention has been focused on students by the entire community* and efforts implemented to control dropping out of school through activities referred to as “Education Watch” (*veille éducative*)²⁴⁷ which mobilises intervention workers from beyond the immediate school environment.²⁴⁸ At a more global level, some authors have emphasised that the students’ feeling of injustice may lead to confrontation and violence in the school environment. Success or failure in the school is very often the reflection of social inequalities in general. In the face of perceived injustice and the lack of recourse, students tend to develop defence mechanisms that culminate in aggression and violence, the first target of which is the school.²⁴⁹

Schools do not exist in isolation from their communities, and research on **the contribution of local neighbourhoods** to school climates and characteristics, suggest that they can be important in preventing school violence and crime. This relates to local residents* as well as surrounding businesses and commercial sectors which can play an important role in supporting schools and their pupils. In Canada for instance, the project *Together We Light the Way* funded by the National Crime Prevention Centre relies on the commitment of community partners, and the establishment of

strong community-school links. The evaluation indicated an overall increase in the respectful behaviour of students.²⁵⁰ In Belgium, the *Pupil Guidance Centres Service* (CLB), funded by the government, aims to help and inform pupils, parents, teachers and school boards. The CLB monitors the welfare of pupils, acts as a liaison between different actors and one of its focuses is the prevention of high-risk behaviour.²⁵¹ In UK, the Observatory for the Promotion of Non-Violence based at the University of Surrey, promotes several distinct projects dealing with the prevention of school violence through a whole-school approach.²⁵² The Violence in Schools Training Action (VISTA), for example “focuses not simply on individual skills to address the problem of violence in schools but on the needs of a particular school as a system within a community* linked to wider society”.²⁵³ In Nicaragua, the programme *Educación para la Vida* has a main objective to improve youth well being through capacity building in schools, while in Colombia, the Programme *Competencias Ciudadanas*, a national policy that aims to involve schools in promoting civic behaviour and democratic cohabitation (*convivencia**) in order to reduce and prevent school violence.²⁵⁴

A comprehensive approach to school safety relies on local dynamic partnerships* that support teachers and schools staff, and provide pupils a safer environment. Because of its complexity, safety at school is seen as requiring multifaceted solutions impinging on individual, academic, cultural and social causal factors.²⁵⁵

In conclusion, school safety seems to be a major issue for developed countries, stemming from the greater attention now given to violent behaviours between children, and to an increased public opinion interest and media focus on violent but rare incidents, such as shootings. In developing countries, many children and young people have only limited access to schools, and are likely to be affected by violence and crime outside school, whether in the streets, their family, or at work. Here again, there is a clearly distinguishable tendency to resort to immediate punitive action, targeted at “troublemakers”. Nevertheless, in all countries, regardless of differences in terms of income, the most innovative prevention strategies are often based on comprehensive partnerships* which look at the whole school community, and include local community* actors.

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<http://www.ijvs.org/> and contact with its Director.

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CHAPTER 5



SAFETY IN PUBLIC SPACES

SAFETY IN PUBLIC SPACES

The conflicts and tensions that arise in public spaces are often used by the media or others as symbols of crime and public insecurity. The major priority for most stakeholders in prevention and urban safety is to allow public spaces to be used by people of different origins, occupations and with different customs, especially to **cohabit in peace and harmony**.

The issue of safety in public spaces is especially related to conflict overuse of space and the visibility of behaviour which is seen as disruptive or "disrespectful". This second concern is predominant in developed countries, while conflict overuse seems widespread in other regions as well. In countries of the South, the problems are often related to social and economic factors, such as begging, the presence of many "street children" or informal trading. In the case of public sporting events, the issue of violence or safety is not linked specifically to socio-economic factors, and varies widely, depending on local cultures and type of sports events.

For crime prevention, there is growing concern about "incivilities"* and disorder that affects everyday life. According to some researchers, there is "[a] new target: we no longer strictly focus on delinquency, but also on the daily preoccupations of residents".²⁵⁶

1. UNSAFE URBAN SPACES

Public spaces include all places that are publicly accessible, regardless of their legal status; they also include public access to private spaces. The notion of unsafe urban spaces has extended to privately owned spaces because of the development of "mass private properties"²⁵⁷, such as shopping centers. Public transportation systems (accessible to the general population) and the common spaces of residential estates are either privately or publicly owned.²⁵⁸ These spaces are generally open and accessible to everyone. Some access conditions may apply, for example, in terms of opening hours (sport grounds, squares, shopping centers...), being a "member" (living in the residence) or entrance fees (public transportation, except its common spaces, such as the concourse or subway entrance, which is accessible free of charge).²⁵⁹

In this chapter, the terms "users", "residents"* and "inhabitants"* are used interchangeably and refer not only to the people who live or work close to public spaces, but also to passers-by, workers, shoppers or people practicing sports in these areas.

1.1 Conflict around the use of space, vandalism and misconduct

The terms "incivilities"* or "anti-social behaviour"* are now regularly used to describe actions or behaviours that conflict with the proper intended use of public spaces. In countries such as England and Wales, specific legislation has been adopted against "anti-social behaviour" (*Anti-Social Behaviour Act, 2003*).²⁶⁰ This legislation includes a variety of lawful and intrusive behaviours, as well as infractions that may be committed in public spaces. Most disruptions and safety breaches are punishable by law. Several criminal code and municipal by-laws prohibit acts like throwing rubbish on the street, abusive language used in public places, or vandalism. Not all legal systems are responsive to these minor infractions. However, such behaviours can lead people to feel that public spaces are unsafe.²⁶¹

Conflict of use seems to focus especially on marginalised populations. **Loitering, homelessness and begging** raise the question of the appropriation of space, and underline the condition of the people occupying the space, whether they are alone or in a group. The marginalised tend to create both fear and be rejected, because they beg, or the effect of their number, or their simple appearance. Their presence can be seen as intrusive on the everyday life of passers-by, and can create a sense of insecurity.²⁶² Homeless people, beggars, gangs, or "street children" are the group most often targeted. Some visible mi-

nority groups, such as the Roma or Gypsies, are generally stigmatised and their presence often results in rejection or intolerance.²⁶³

Tensions brought about by “informal” trading are also widespread. In privileged countries with strict regulations, these difficulties are limited, but can have a considerable impact, like street hawkers in the subways. In underprivileged countries, given high unemployment levels, the phenomenon is much more widespread and significant. In Columbia, for example, street vendors are often cited as one of the causes of urban disorders.²⁶⁴ In the municipality of La Paz, Bolivia, there is an intense level of activity, with 200,000 people who commute to the city center each day, spawning an informal economy which operates in a disorganised manner “creating conflicts over the use of space, overcrowding and degradation of the city center and the expulsion of formal economic activities from the area”.²⁶⁵

Prostitution on public streets is also seen as problematic, because it often leads to soliciting mainly by car drivers, groups of prostitutes and clients on public streets, and drug trafficking.²⁶⁶

Problems related to “open drug scenes” in Europe

- Drug related deaths
- Presence of crime groups
- Violence and gang wars
- Drug-related minor crime on the margins of these zones
- Prostitution
- Visible drug intoxication
- Visible drug injection and consumption
- Discarded needles and other drug related objects
- Drug tourism
- Opening of houses where drugs are sold and/or consumed: the “crack house” phenomenon
- Drug market for various substances
- The open scenes also interfere with drug addicts’ efforts to stop consuming, because they are confronted with many opportunities to consume
- “Forbidden zones”, which local residents are afraid to enter
- Stigmatisation of the local community
- Multiplication of the numbers of homeless people
- Increase in noise
- Young people attracted by the open drug scene
- Interference with car traffic on the streets adjacent to the open drug scene

Also, **drug related problems** in public spaces primarily relate to trafficking, consumption and the presence of drug addicts. This also raises the question of the appropriation of space. The Pompidou Group, a multidisciplinary cooperative forum to fight drug abuse and trafficking, first integrated into the Council of Europe in 1980, studies the question of “open scenes” in public spaces. These include drug-related activities which create insecurity amongst the main users of public spaces, and the general population, often resulting in “incivilities”.

The Group argues that when such activities are concentrated in a single space, it is easier to intervene with drug users, and this allows public spaces to be accessible to the entire population, including drug addicts.²⁶⁷

1.2 Insecurity generated by the design of space

The physical aspect of a space, its cleanliness and maintenance, has an impact on feelings of safety. Dark spaces with very little surveillance, dilapidated streets, dirt, graffiti or noise give “negative” signals to the users about the safety of the space. The notion of “broken windows” has been used to demonstrate how the lack of maintenance in a public space can encourage minor misdemeanours, which lead to the progressive abandonment of a space by other citizens.²⁶⁸

The question of safety in public spaces is often also related to what is described as a “de-humanisation” of the urban landscape: the replacement of humans, especially in public services, by machines, the development of “architectural complexes” that are impersonal, the sprawl of mega-cities and the growth of suburbs.

Generally speaking, such factors can have a **negative impact on users’ feeling of safety** and create a distortion between subjective feelings of insecurity and the actual level of crime. These problems are closely related to two issues: perception and visibility.²⁶⁹ The **perception** of similar behaviours can change from one neighbourhood to the next, for example in the case of prostitution. The **visibility** of such behaviour influences residents’ reactions. “Fear of crime” has been extensively measured in many municipalities.²⁷⁰ Insecurity becomes a concern when people begin to feel they can no longer enjoy certain public spaces, and ultimately abandon them. It also has an impact on tourism in cities and regions and their economic attractiveness.

SAFETY AND SECURITY IN PUBLIC SPACE

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The importance of providing a sense of security among people in public spaces cannot be underestimated. Besides being a basic human need, failing to have a sense of security in one's everyday environment can have various negative consequences. The costs of coping with fear or other feelings of insecurity can include anti-social behaviour and attitudes and may even have stress-related outcomes.

There are several theories that bear on the relationship between the physical environment and the issues of insecurity (Jacobs, 1961; Newman, 1972). In parallel to studies that focused on the effect of the physical environment on crime and safety (e.g. Coleman, 1985), another set of studies that suggested social factors, such as community solidarity and homogeneity, as significant in explaining crime and fear of crime (e.g. Merry, 1981). This article attempts to clarify the mediating factors that influence feelings of safety and security in public space.

1. What is Safety and Security?

Safety... is a feeling !

It is an effect

For decades, in the urban design profession, the idea of "safe spaces" has prevailed. Influenced by Oscar Newman's "defensible space" proposition, the focus has been on identifying certain characteristics of the physical environment that, if implemented in the design, would automatically lead to creating a safe place for its users, irrespective of context.

Characteristics such as increase in building height are an example of such misconceptions, repeatedly associated with crime and feelings of un-safety, albeit without conclusive empirical evidence. This physical determinism ignores the role of other variables such as socio-cultural homogeneity, income, teenager-to-adult ratio, the location of crimes occurrence, and type of crime. The impact of these factors on crime and fear of crime has proved to be more significant (Schweitzer et al 1999). The cases where increase in building height was associated with crime or fear of crime, involved both social and physical conditions, which taken together, explain the negative effect on behaviour and feelings of safety. This included such as the increase in the numbers of households sharing the same horizontal and vertical access elements (landing, elevators and stairs) (Coleman, 1985).

What behaviours, and which kinds of use of the built environment are considered a threat to safety, are largely determined by cultural factors. Writing and paintings on exterior walls vary culturally in their interpretation so that what is considered undesirable graffiti in certain cultures is considered a medium for sharing joyful family events with the community in others. Even within the same culture, among different sub-cultural groups, what is seen by some as self-expression is regarded by others as visual incivility (see Fig. 1).

It was recently pointed out that fear of crime is heightened in many Western societies by the media, to the benefit of businesses that thrive upon this fear.¹ The resulting behaviours, or changes in public space may have negative effects on users' actual safety and perception of safety.



Figure (1) Graffiti in Bogotá Colombia (left); decorative murals in Nubian South of Egypt; celebration of pilgrimage to Mecca in a popular district in Cairo Egypt (far right).

One can conclude that “safety” is a result or effect of physical, psychological, and social conditions of daily life (Shehayeb et al, 2003). “Safe” is a qualifier of a person, describing the state of the person and not an attribute of physical space. This article addresses the “feeling of safety” as perceived by the person, and abandons the idea of a “safe space” per se. It follows that the objective of intervention in public spaces would be to promote users’ perception of safety. A place is safe only when people living in it and using it feel safe.

2. What is Public Space?

Widening our horizons...

In recent literature, public space has been defined as including: parks, plazas, streets and waterfronts as well as community centers, market places, libraries and religious buildings (SEDESOL, 2007). Research usually addresses certain types of public spaces (c.f. Francis, 1987 for a review) rather than more subtle types of public space such as arcades, streets, and spaces between buildings (Arendt, 1987; Brill, 1989; Gehl, 1987; Rapoport, 1986).



Figure (2) From left to right: undesignated waterfront on the Bosphorus, Istanbul Turkey; city center, Cairo Egypt; informal district “Mansheyyet Nasser” Cairo Egypt; Mediterranean Sea front, Alexandria, Egypt.

It is imperative that professionals widen the scope of their notion of public space. Not only waterfronts, but rivers themselves are public space (see Fig. 3); so are bridges, walkways, and public transportation. Many public spaces hardly acknowledged by professionals, have the greatest potential for inexpensive recreation!



Figure (3) The Nile in Aswan Egypt

There is also the growing threat to the “publicness” of public space. We have seen how some revitalisation projects in city centers have adopted a sanitising approach where access to the beautified public space is restricted, and indirectly privatised (Shields, 1990).



Figure (4) Sustaining publicness in the river development of Paseo Santa Lucia, Monterrey, Mexico (above) compared to the controlled access in Riverwalk San Antonio, Texas (below).

Accessibility and “usability” by everyone: young, old, rich, poor, native, foreign, or handicapped, should be a primary design objective. Public spaces should be inclusive and equally accommodate the needs of all user groups.

3. Use of Public Space

Diverse Uses ... Diverse Actors: attributes of “good” public space

Many public spaces are not designated to one particular activity or one user group; streets, for example, play a multitude of roles for diverse user groups (Moudon, 1991; Shehayeb, 1995). They accommodate social activities of leisure, festivity, praying and protest; public space serves as a community center, a work place and a learning environment (Shehayeb & Kellett, 2006).

It is unfortunate to still see city planners and urban designers still visualising public space in the narrowest perspective; assuming one or two functions and designing accordingly. The result has been underused, misused and barren spaces. Modernist urban design and planning has ignorantly encouraged anomie and social isolation (Beliz, 2007). Separation of buildings from streets, segregation of land uses, designing roads instead of streets, are ideas currently refuted by the same societies where they originated, yet they still continue to be implemented for the tempting neatness and order their two-dimensional representations project.

Research-based guidelines for “good” design of public space strongly promote users’ free access to, and control of public space (Carr, Francis, Rivlin & Stone, 1992). Furthermore, normative theory for “good” urban design promotes such attributes as diversity, variety, complexity, and mixed use (Lozano, 1990). These attributes characteristically increase people’s choices: choice in perception, interpretation, and use; “the built environment should provide its users with an essentially democratic setting, enriching their opportunities by maximising the degree of choice available to them” (Bentley et al., 1985: 9). We can therefore conclude that “good” public space is one which is used by diverse ACTORS for diverse USES.

4. Perceived Safety and Use

Fear of crime is more widespread than crime itself, and impacts people behaviour and decisions to use space or avoid it.



Contrary to Newman’s unwarranted assumption that once a place is physically defensible, increased surveillance and crime prevention interventions are essential consequences (Merry (1981)). Surveillance plays an important role in public space safety, yet observable spaces are not always observed; few people sit and watch out of their windows when there is nothing of sufficient interest to watch (Shehayeb and Eid, 2007). The important issue is, therefore, what physical and behavioural conditions would sustain the observing eye! Decades ago Jane Jacobs (1961) reminded us that public spaces would be safer if they were zoned for an intricate mingling of different USES.²



USE of public space is thus a mediating factor that helps resolve apparent conflicts in research findings and the endless debate between designers and social scientists, as to whether it is the physical conditions, or the social conditions, that influence perceptions of, and actual, safety. These social factors are dependent on the strength of social ties and sense of belonging to a place, also termed “place attachment”³, which in turn are nurtured by prolonged USE of shared spaces.



In later research, Newman included social and managerial predictor variables. He concluded that the impact of physical, social and managerial predictor variables on crime, fear and insecurity is through mediating variables which *are use of space, social interaction and control of space* (Newman, 1988). In other words, USE was seen as an initiator of feelings of safety; yet it is an indicator that people feel safe enough to use a place. So the relationship between USE and feelings of safety is best described as cyclic. As shown in figure (5) if safety is not achieved, a cycle of decline can take place gradually leading to neglected settings and social isolation (Shehayeb & Eid, 2007).

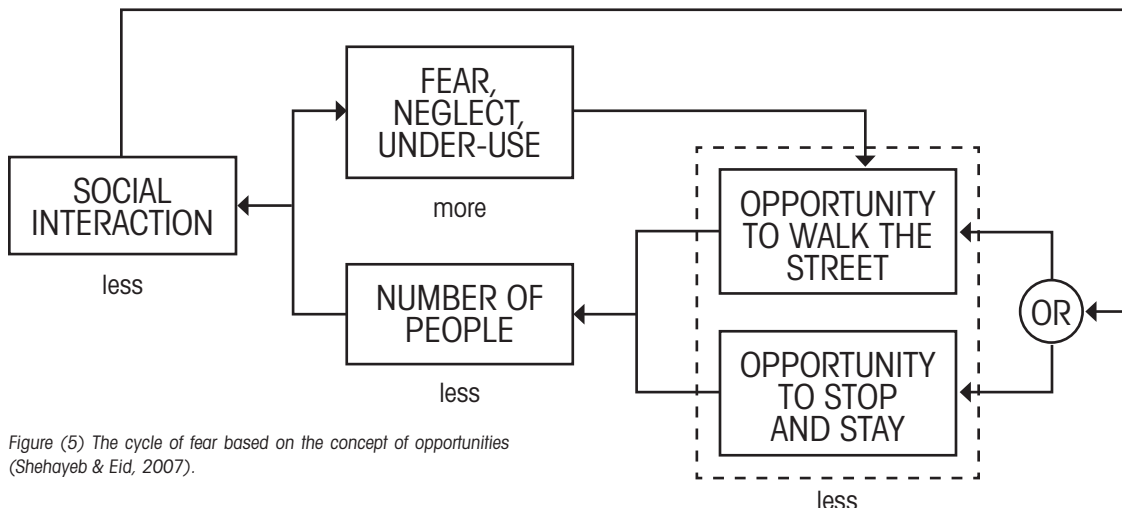


Figure (5) The cycle of fear based on the concept of opportunities (Shehayeb & Eid, 2007).

The opportunity to walk the street, to meet other people and to stop and spend time on the street increases the possibility of forming social ties within a community. These opportunities are either afforded or not afforded by the physical environment, and the distribution of uses and user densities within it. This language of opportunities is one effective way of prescribing the solutions when it comes to design intervention. In other words, design and planning objectives can be formulated or expressed in terms of opportunities, thus widening the scope of solutions. This avoids the restriction to one or two recipes, and at the same time accommodates the social components of the setting, and not just the physical ones.

5. Design: Creating the opportunity

For decades there has been much research and action aimed at “designing out crime” and decreasing fear of crime (Cozens, 2005). Organisations such as CPTED (Crime Prevention through Environmental Design) and others have presented guidelines and tools to that effect, catering to an increased interest in implementing such measures in Western societies. Cozens (2007) identifies four key factors that govern design to minimise crime, through maximising the potential for self-policing in a community: (1) territoriality; (2) natural surveillance; (3) activity support; (4) access control. While it is agreed that they can effectively reduce crime as well as fear of crime in certain communities, the application of this approach has often led to social exclusion, as witnessed in gated community design.

To lend itself more readily to the design of more public spaces, these factors could be modified so that territoriality and access control can be summarised in the “opportunity to control”; to control who, what, when, and how in the space. Natural surveillance and activity support are interdependent and work together to sustain the interest of the observer. However, for diverse activity to occur naturally in public space there should be land use planning, street pattern and urban design that affords a combination of the following opportunities:

- to ensure a minimum (critical) number of users - generator and attractant uses
- to walk
- to stop-and-stay, inexpensively, for brief periods of time

One significant advantage of using a concept of “opportunities” is that it acknowledges the interactive effect between different characteristics of public space, and the interdependence between social and physical characteristics of the place. It can guide the synthesis stage of design, while accommodating the different user needs and variability of context.

6. Levels of appropriation of public space

Creating the above opportunities through design leads to two critical opportunities:

- The opportunity to meet
- The opportunity to control

These two opportunities lead us to the delicate matter of appropriation. To what extent should public space be controlled, without running the risk of negative consequences, such as social exclusion, street gang domination...etc. Calthorpe and Fulton (2001) describe how territorial behaviour sometimes contributes to building social capital. In some cases this private claim to public space regulates the use, maintenance and social relations of otherwise neglected, unsafe spaces (Shehayeb, 2001; Shehayeb & Eid, 2007).

On the other hand, territorial behaviour exercised by a single group of users may lead to negative effects, such as gang control of neighbourhood streets and playgrounds. To reach a balance, appropriation of public space should be allowed to happen to different degrees at different city scales, provided that most or all stakeholders are equally empowered /enabled to participate in it. When more than one user group, such as children and elderly, residents and shop owners, exercise some sort of territoriality towards public space, it is safeguarded from negative appropriation by a single user group at the expense of others. In each cultural and urban context there are levels of territorial domains that help organize the protection, the maintenance, and the behaviour in public space. Each level is distinguished from other levels along certain variables (Shehayeb, 2000), for example the maximum number of people sharing each territorial domain, which is culture-specific and is set according to the manageable organisation of temporal use of space in that culture.

The idea is, therefore, to allow through design and management of public space, different levels of territoriality to be exercised at different scales and in different contexts. Territoriality is a human tendency which occurs informally, as a need to secure resources and regulate social interaction. On the other hand, if understood and regulated appropriately, it can be a social asset, that reduces the burden on public authorities in

policing / protecting, cleaning, maintaining, and regulating use in public space. It also serves to nurture a sense of belonging or “place attachment” which is a psychological need highly associated with feelings of safety.

Conclusion: Sustaining the sense of safety

My aim is to bring the attention back to existing places where people *still* feel safe. Unfortunately, there are still studies that suffer the shortcoming of examining the direct effect of isolated quantifiable physical conditions, ignoring the multi-dimensional nature of the surrounding environment in its socio-physical totality. This article illustrates that what ultimately affects users’ feeling of safety is the result of the interaction between the characteristics of the users (social, psychological, cultural) and the physical characteristics of the physical environment within the larger physical and societal context. Unfortunately as well, we are still jeopardising the sense of safety in the name of modernisation and development. The negative effects of modern planning principles are still being applied to new cities and urban renewal projects; there is a destruction of local character and blurring of heritage, to promote tourism and consequently increase national income; and we are turning our back on everyday humbly functioning areas in our existing cities, in a way which threatens to the feeling of safety and security enjoyed in some remaining parts of the urban world. The aim should be to understand HOW IT WORKS in large cities like Cairo and Mumbai. The objectives of design and planning should be to sustain and re-create the conditions that afford these opportunities to diverse users.



Figure (6) Left to right. Fabric shopping street in New Delhi, India; whole sale sweet shop owners Cairo, Egypt; appropriation of public space in Bulaq el Dakroul informal settlement Giza, Egypt.

2. INCLUSIVE RESPONSES AND EXCLUSIVE MEASURES

Safety in public spaces is perceived as an important element of both the quality of community* life, and the effective management of cities. The adoption of urban regulations and the development of policies to counter dangerous, “disruptive” and criminal use of public spaces seem to follow two trends, illustrating the difficulties of striking a balance between safety and individual freedoms.

Public spaces can be managed through a policy of exclusion and segregation which entails “cleaning up”, denying access (curfews and other prohibitive measures), installing equipment to dissuade certain populations from occupying the spaces

(such as public benches on which it is impossible to lie down), and even criminalising certain behaviours. As a result, some residential and commercial zones have become closed (*gated communities*, see box below). On the other hand, a more inclusive approach has been developed, which take account of the complexity of these issues and resources are invested to facilitate integrated and coherent responses. In most cases, the management of public spaces falls under **local jurisdiction** and is closely linked to the social and economic integration of a given population, hence requiring municipal initiatives.²⁷¹

Several interventions combine protecting public spaces through safety measures, and reinforcing the users’ sense of ownership or identity, thus ensuring the essential conditions for safety.

Gated Communities: a controversial phenomenon

Despite the reservations of many, gated communities (GCs) continue to be developed around the world. Variations of GCs are found in communities such as Argentina, Mexico, the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Malaysia, India, Lebanon, Egypt, Russia, China and Australia. Several types of GCs have evolved in each country. These communities may include single-family dwellings or collective housing, as well as educational, commercial or recreational facilities. What most of these housing developments share is an enclosure of some kind that separates the residents from the outside community.

Impact of gated communities

- GCs are **only marginally more resistant to crime**. Research in American gated communities found that robberies were committed by members of the community or by individuals hired to work inside the community. Also in the United States, gated communities continue to develop, while overall crime rates in the country have actually dropped.
- GCs may contribute to **displacement of crime**: Crime is sometimes merely moved outside the confines of the enclosed community. In other cases, crime might in fact increase, due to the increased targeting of the gated community because it offers a concentration of affluent residents.
- GCs **do not necessarily reduce fear of crime**: Research conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom determined that residents do not necessarily experience a lower fear of crime after they move into a gated community. Residents of gated communities may in fact become more fearful of society outside the enclosure, and have reservations about leaving its confines as a result. In Argentina, for example, children of affluent parents who used to live in the inner city of Buenos Aires now grow up fearful or reluctant to leave their enclosed neighbourhoods in the suburbs and “venture” into the city.
- Some GCs are themselves **illegal**. In Mexico for instance, some of the wealthier members of society have erected barricades and arranged their own security and even water access. *Vista Mar GC* has four gates and is considered illegal because it restricts access to public roads.

In its State of the World’s Cities 2006-7, UN Habitat argues that **private and low-density urban planning is counter to the principles of sustainable urban development** and that it raises several issues or exacerbates existing concerns related to “social segregation, urban fragmentation, vehicular mobility and the consumption of natural resources”.

2.1 Prevention through environmental design and urban development

Many municipalities have implemented situational crime prevention approaches, in particular, *Crime Prevention through Environmental Design* (CPTED) and video-surveillance cameras.

CPTED was developed in the 1970s to create “defensible spaces”, where design features contribute to security. It was popularised by Oscar Newman, who outlined three founding principles: natural surveillance, the control of natural access points to public spaces, and natural territorial reinforcement.²⁷² **Natural surveillance** is based on Jane Jacobs’ “Eyes on the Street” theory. According to this principle, enhanced visibility in public spaces encourages the legitimate users to interact and ensure their mutual safety. Inversely, potential criminals are deterred by the

enhanced visibility. Improved lighting systems and increasing the number of windows with a view of these spaces are often recommended. The **natural control** of access points ensures public spaces, again reducing opportunities for crime. Lastly, **natural territorial reinforcement** helps to clearly define and delimitate public and private spaces and increase the sense of belonging and ownership. Inviting potential users to use public spaces as often as possible encourages the population to defend their environment against undesired behaviours. Such activities can be enhanced by improved design of urban furniture such as benches, wastebaskets, etc.

For UN-HABITAT, Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) constitutes a useful approach since 10 to 15% of crimes have environmental design and management components. Effective urban planning, design and

governance thus seek to manipulate the built environment in ways that are intended to reduce or even eliminate the opportunity to commit crime.²⁷³

Many countries have developed **national policies which encourage a “situational” analysis of public spaces** with a view to developing and integrated urban management approach to prevention. In the United States, the National Center for the Prevention of Crime (NCPC) has endorsed CPTED regulations and guidelines as a crime prevention strategy, although it recognises that in many places such regulations are difficult to pass because of high costs. The NCPC offers training on CPTED. Seattle, Portland, Phoenix and Las Vegas are all examples of cities that have embraced the CPTED approach, at least in theory. In Australia, most States have developed Designing Out Crime guidelines, and some have devised policies.²⁷⁴ In France, under a recently adopted regulation, public safety studies are mandatory for every development project over 100,000m², in a community with more than 100,000 inhabitants, or, if the authorities deem it to be necessary, anywhere the country.²⁷⁵ In the United Kingdom, CPTED has formed a major component of government crime prevention policy for many years. Local authorities are expected to determine what urban features can help to deter crime, fear of crime and “anti-social behaviours”*.²⁷⁶

Through such initiatives, more **attention is paid to user needs in public** space especially with greater public consultation. In South Africa for example, consultation of public transportation users found high levels of insecurity were related to waiting for buses or walking to bus stops rather than security on buses themselves.²⁷⁷ As a result, lighting in public transportation sites was improved, the bus terminals were reorganized, cross-walks were identified to direct traffic, the distance between services was reduced and the installations were improved to alleviate the feeling of safety. Similar strategies have been used in many cities in the United States²⁷⁸ and Canada, eg. Montreal (see contribution p. 63).²⁷⁹

2.2 Reinforcement of community ownership

Mobilising the users and inhabitants of spaces helps to promote shared and peaceful occupation and common management. The level of safety increases because the sense of ownership fosters respect, surveillance, management and even development.

At the 10th United Nations Conference on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (2000), there was great emphasis on the role of community-based prevention and the **capacity of inhabitants** to create, through interaction, the conditions for formal and informal surveillance in public spaces, by way of reliance on regulations and on public management that allows for the appropriation of these spaces.²⁸⁰

In Latin America, the notion of **Convivencia ciudadana*** (participative cohabitation) underlies several urban safety strategies. The concept is based on reclaiming public spaces, creating spaces accessible to all citizens, and organising collective cultural events. The City of Bogotá, Colombia, provides a good example of this approach. With a population of 8 million and a high crime level in the 1990's, it has used a combination of urban design and development, combined with the creation of a participative culture that promotes the sense of ownership and significantly reduced its high crime levels. Another example is the revitalisation and urban development of La Paz in Bolivia, funded in 2004 by the IDB. The purpose of the project is to boost productivity and to promote social inclusion in the city center, where the downtown core was the site of conflicts over the use of space, overcrowding and degradation. One of the project aims is to promote the social and economic development of vulnerable groups, such as artisans, micro-entrepreneurs who operate in the informal economy of the downtown area, women, children and young homeless people.²⁸¹

Neighbourhood Parties: European initiative developed in other parts of the world

Neighbourhood parties are organised with the support of cities, bring together neighbours with food or entertainment to help build solidarity. The initiative was launched in France in 1999 and became *European Neighbours' Day*, with the support of the European Federation of Local Solidarity. It is now celebrated in Canada, Taiwan, Turkey and other countries.

An evaluation by the *Observatoire de la sécurité de la Ville de Lausanne* (Switzerland) in September 2007 show that such events clearly improve neighbourhood friendliness and the general quality of life. They also help to reduce, to a lesser extent, the population's sense of insecurity.

In Paris (France), the *Parc de la Villette* is an excellent example of an **integrated approach** to increasing a sense of community.²⁸² The park is always open and offers quality activities free of charge to the entire Parisian community*. It was developed to accommodate different types of users in a peaceful environment. It is a good example of the harmonious management of a public space and the use of social mediation*, with users encouraged to use **civility** in the urban environment.

All urban revitalisation policies have two objectives: securing without controlling, i.e. promoting inclusive approaches that ensure tranquillity without exclusion, and acknowledging population diversity and promoting participative approaches. Urban revitalisation is not viable without the community's support. Renewal is not an end in itself but rather the starting point towards the enrichment of the urban fabric.²⁸³

One specific issue for safety in public space relates to the question of the management of large public events and crowds. Crowds may gather for political, cultural or sporting events: international demonstrations (the G7 and G8 Summits), celebrations or other national events (the pilgrimage to Mecca, Holy Week in Latin America)²⁸⁴. However, sporting events, and especially soccer (football) games, draw much attention.

Violence associated with soccer games is a serious and recurring issue and a major concern in Europe, Africa and Latin America. It leads to repeated, punctual and severe problems. There appears to be an increased focus on the problem which may be associated with poverty and urban segregation, and affects overall levels of insecurity. The most efficient responses appear to be those that rely on several stakeholders and measures

3. SAFETY ISSUES RELATED TO LARGE SPORTS GATHERINGS

A varied series of very serious events associated with sports meetings has occurred over the past forty years, but with the increasing incidence and popularity of international sports events, there is increased concern with the issues of safety, and the prevention of violent incidents.²⁸⁵

In April 2006, the United Nations Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) adopted a draft resolution to create the *International Permanent Observatory on Security during Major Events*, with Australia, Austria (on behalf of the European Union), Bulgaria, Canada, Ecuador, United States, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Japan, Peru, Romania and Turkey.²⁸⁶ The major

goal of this observatory is to improve the safety of the Olympic Games, Soccer World Cup and international summits.

3.1 Soccer related incidents

On May 29th 1985, a confrontation between the Liverpool Soccer Club and the Turin Juventus at the Heysel Stadium (Belgium) led to spectators being crushed, resulting in 39 deaths and 600 injuries. In Europe, the event prompted the adoption of control measures to ensure safety at sporting events. It also reaffirmed the organisation and management challenges which cities, police and other stakeholders must face.

Most incidents reported in Europe are primarily vandalism, physical and verbal violence, often of a racist nature. In England for example, there were 3,788 arrests at soccer games during the 2006/2007 season. Since 2000, this type of incident has increased, although reporting procedures have also improved.²⁸⁷ In France, there were 400 incidents at soccer games during the 2006-2007 season, apart from racist incidents.

In Latin America, there are often violent confrontations between supporters in soccer stadiums. The main offenders are the **Barras Bravas**, a **fan club** that systematically challenges other clubs, inside and outside the stadiums.²⁸⁸ *Barras Bravas* are present throughout the continent, especially in Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Colombia and Chile. *Barras bravas* members are young children, teenagers and adults. However, the adults are usually the *leaders*. Most of them are men. In 2002, the Peruvian national police reported 4 violent deaths in three months and over 68 major injuries, as well as several property damages. When game is announced, between 8,000 and 10,000 youth, mostly from disadvantaged neighbourhoods, join the *barras bravas* in the capital Lima for confrontations.

Similarly in Africa, soccer violence seems to be a problem not only within but also outside the soccer stadium. Incidents may occur during the match, but also while supporters are leaving the stadium, disrupting others in city centers and on public transportation.

Several historical football (soccer) incidents

March 9th 1946: Bolton (England): Bolton – Stoke Match
Brawl between supporters. Result: 33 deaths and 500 injuries

May 24th 1964: Lima (Peru): Peru – Argentina game
Result: 350 deaths and 500 injuries

January 2nd 1971: Ibrox Park in Glasgow (Scotland): Derby Celtic Glasgow / Glasgow Rangers
Brawl between supporters. Result: 66 deaths and 108 injuries

May 29th 1985: Heysel Stadium in Brussels (Belgium)
Turin Juventus supporters were crushed against the fence when Liverpool supporters invaded their seats.
Result: 39 deaths and over 600 injuries

April 15th 1989: Hillsborough Stadium in Sheffield (England)
Supporters without a ticket tried to enter the stadium, which was sold out. Result: 96 deaths and 170 injuries

January 13th 1991: South Africa.
Brawl between supporters. Result: 40 deaths and 50 injuries

January 29th 1995: Luigi Ferraris Stadium in Genoa (Italy)
A supporter from Genoa is stabbed to death by a Milanese supporter at an A Series game.

November 23rd 2006: On the outskirts of the Parc des Princes in Paris (France).
A police officer killed a Paris Saint-Germain team supporter, who was chasing, with hundred other supporters, a Tel-Aviv supporter.

November 12th 2007: Highway service area in Tuscany (Italy)
A police officer killed a Lazio supporter, who was trying to break up a brawl between Juventus supporters in a Tuscany highway service area.

3.2 Incidents that go beyond sports events

Tighter control methods in stadiums help to contain some types of violence during games, but this type of response may displace the violence, which moves outside the sport facilities, to the downtown areas of the host cities or their outskirts.²⁸⁹ In England for example, 56 % of the supporters arrested for violent behaviour were outside the stadium.

Some researchers believe that violent behaviour by supporters is not necessarily related to the sporting event itself. The event may be an “excuse” or cathartic. Supporters may direct their violence against facilities or people in the anonymity of a crowd.²⁹⁰ Socially isolated, unemployed or intoxicated youth are often involved.²⁹¹ Some groups and clubs are systematically violent against a rival club and the affiliated members gain a sense of recognition and social identity.²⁹² “Hooligans” seem to be organised and structured groups (with leaders) and their violence is often planned, and may take place before the sporting event.²⁹³

3.3 Where surveillance is increasingly used

In the 1980s, legislative instruments recommended **safer facilities, the strengthening of police forces and the exchange of information** between autho-

rities, and **follow-up and identification tools** were developed to manage these situations. The first instrument adopted by the European Council in 1985²⁹⁴ was the *European Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehaviour at Sports Events and in particular at Football [soccer] Matches*. In 2002, the European Union created an information network on soccer to improve cooperation and information exchange between the police force and other competent authorities.²⁹⁵

Several legislative provisions were adopted, above all by European countries (see contribution p. 119) to prevent violence in stadiums.²⁹⁶

3.4 Towards an inclusive approach

Traditionally, safety at sporting events has been handled by the police, event promoters and private security services. There now has also been increased awareness among other local stakeholders, and more innovative and “inclusive” measures have been developed. At a EFUS Conference in 2006, the stakeholders concerned with violence at sporting events argued that supporter federations, clubs and associations, such as the UEFA and FIFA, should also be called upon to help implement measures for the prevention of violence and racism at soccer games.²⁹⁷

Several initiatives **promote the celebratory dimension of sports events**, as well as protecting participants. Stewards (see Chapter 9) are in

charge of *Fan Coaching* and spectator supervision in many clubs. *EUROFAN-ASBL Fan coaching* is an initiative developed by the *European Program for Study and Prevention of Violence in Sport* in collaboration with the City of Liege. It is an international cooperation network aiming to share and disseminate best practices to prevent violence in sport.²⁹⁸ The Eurofan network includes representatives from cities, universities, soccer federations and clubs, controlling forces and prevention stakeholders. It liaises between front-line prevention initiatives in Europe and other continents, to maximise the available resources and international exchanges that focus on expertise and knowledge transfer. The network holds seminars and colloquiums, but also develops education and training programmes to teach young people that stadiums are a place where cultural differences should be accepted.

A great number of initiatives have been developed to promote tolerance in sport and to **prevent and fight racial prejudice**. Several non-government organisations, such as "Let's kick racism out of soccer", "Foxes against Racism" (United Kingdom), "SOS Racism" (France) or "Les médias contre le racisme" have campaigned against violence and racism in sport. In 2000, European cities (Amsterdam, Brussels, Charleroi, and Rotterdam) agreed to develop a European project

with EFUS, "Euro 2000 Cities Against Racism". The project's objective is to determine how the fight against violence in sport can be integrated into the general prevention measures adopted by the cities hosting international tournaments.

Thus soccer is also itself used as a **promotion tool** for prevention in stadiums. For example, at the 2006 World Cup in Germany, FIFA, an association composed of 208 soccer associations, collaborated with UNICEF to launch a peace and tolerance campaign entitled "United for Children, Unite for Peace". This campaign promoted peace at all levels. Sport was presented as an important tool to gain self-esteem, confidence and self-assurance, and to create environments free of violence, coercion and exploitation. The European Council Convention also promote sport as a way to improve quality of life, social integration and cohesion, especially for youth, but also tolerance, since sport is an opportunity for people from different races and backgrounds to live together.

In conclusion, like all other types of interaction in public spaces, sporting events require environments that are civil and peaceful. Strategies based on a global and integrated perspective and supported by local community* resources, seem to be the ones that provide the best guarantees of safety.

CONTRIBUTION

Safety Policies for Hooliganism in Europe

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Policies to control hooliganism in Europe are structured around a primary axis, implemented by public and private security agencies in collaboration with (inter)national sporting bodies, and a second axis, implemented by bodies in collaboration with local authorities. The first axis is based on proactive action, short term prevention and repressive action, while the second axis is based on long term prevention objectives.

1. Hooliganism Managed by the Police

While they may to an extent be nation specific, hooliganism control policies in Europe have been developed and based on principles set out by the European Convention on Spectator Violence at Sporting Events and especially Football (soccer) Games and on mandatory safety regulations enacted regularly by the UEFA, in order to standardize the European Union's safety policies. They are also based on the predominant approaches to social crime control and the definitions of threats to safety.

There are two trends. The first predominated since the 1980s, and reflects the guiding principles of proactive risk management, and an all encompassing definition of threats against safety. It was the starting point of a fan control mechanism that was very prejudicial to civil liberties. This approach is used for the daily management of hooliganism and during international matches. The second trend, which emerged since 2000, is only implemented at international matches. It follows the same logic of action during the preparatory stages of a tournament but, on the field, the human factor of fan management is more important.

1.1. Safety Policies and Proactive Risk Management

In 1985, police management of hooliganism used a crime control model based on the proactive principles of actuarial risk management.¹ This enabled the establishment and institutionalisation of general deviance control.² Virtual risk management, related to group behaviour, is impersonal and anticipatory. The social control apparatus, on the other hand, is based on situational prevention measures, as well as a variety of control and surveillance mechanisms of suspicious individuals. Operational efficiency requires the active collaboration of key safety stakeholders and managers from the private and public sector.³

The European Convention, UEFA and community organisations recommend the continual reinforcement of international police cooperation and the inclusion of new actors in safety protection, as well as in the gathering, analysis, and exchange of information.

National focal points on hooliganism were established in 2002, information collection and analysis were later extended at the community-level based on opaque profiling criteria, left to the discretion of information officers. Because there is no legal definition of hooliganism and an at-risk fan is vague, the difference between legal and illegal behaviours is hard to determine, weakening an individual's position in the face of the social control apparatus.⁴ In some European countries⁵, this information is used to justify administrative bans from stadiums. These bans concur with legal bans from stadiums and are solely based on suspicion and intelligence gathered by information officers. They target people who have not committed an offence but are designated at-risk groups. Whether national or international, these stadium bans lead to important restrictions on the freedom of movement for the individuals concerned.⁶

Because of the confusion between executive and judicial power, restricted freedom of movement based on suspicion raises several questions about the legality of sentences, presumption of innocence and the proportionality of sentences.

1.2. Safety Policies and the Definition of Threat

Such safety policies would not be so popular or prevalent if they were not part of a plan defining threats against safety, which led to the progressive loss of their distinct characteristics when such policies were integrated into a conceptual and operational safety continuum.⁷ This continuum is based on potential threat factors rather than on legal definitions or the degree of severity of different behaviours; it covers several types of heterogeneous phenomena such as terrorism, illegal immigration and hooliganism. In this paradigm, these behaviours are removed from the original context, whether socio-economic, cultural or political. These behaviours can be managed "neutrally" as potential threats. The exclusion of any attempt to establish causality leads to the reliance on managerial logic to ensure the efficiency of social control. Hence, public safety agencies rely increasingly on the comfort and certainty of technology, control mechanisms, sophisticated surveillance and shared policing methods, as if a successful missions depend, in the end, on choosing the right set of tools.

Given the impersonal principles of proactive risk management, the dismissal - in the name of efficient management - of the specificities of behaviours that need to be controlled can only encourage the establishment of remote mechanisms for the control of individuals, which are very prejudicial to civil liberties. Thus, the definition of threat seems to serve the imperatives of standardised safety policies for European freedom, safety and justice. The consequences jeopardize freedom and justice, in the name of safety.

1.3. Safety Policies and the Human Factor

Because of such policing methods, implemented in Europe under the direction of British and German specialists, another type of hooliganism management has also been developed. Unlike the impersonal nature of proactive frontline risk management, it aims to integrate a human factor in face-to-face interactions between controlling forces and supporters. This type of management was first implemented at the Euro 2000, with a "friendly but firm"⁹ police approach. It is the result of empirical findings: scientific research⁸ shows that violent incidents at international tournaments are rarely premeditated. Most often they are sparked by emotional or practical factors¹⁰, which influence public behaviour, initially peaceful and law abiding but highly sensitive to any type of disrespect. Positive environments encourage the public to act in a non-violent way and this new structure is based on friendliness and low visibility of the controlling forces in public spaces.

There were no violent incidents at tournaments where this new policy¹¹ was implemented, thus confirming the idea that safety protection at football (soccer) games does not, in most cases, depend on the surveillance and control of supporters. This approach is based on sound judgment, it is non-confrontational, and the public is not perceived as being hostile or a threat. It demonstrates more openness to the public. It is

important to notice that this openness is apparently unrelated to proactive measures, but is only feasible if it is based on these same measures. A distinction is made between known and potential trouble makers, and ordinary spectators. The environment is welcoming and friendly, with a relatively high tolerance of minor offences¹², but the level of surveillance is higher, and is often ensured by civilian stadium bans. From this perspective, the model is rather a form of crowd management rather than hooliganism management.

The dual dimension of this approach is nonetheless very important. On the one hand, this type of policing was very efficient for the Euro 2004 international tournaments, which seems to indicate that it can be generalized and applied. On the other hand, it is symbolically important to police officers, in terms of citizen respect, and to the public, because of improved relations with the police.

2. Societal Management of Hooliganism

Some countries¹³ have tried to develop alternative approaches to hooliganism management as well as establishing mid- and long-term prevention policies.

This approach, which breaks away from actuarial risk management, was popularised in the mid 1980s. It is based on "correctional" crime management and has been promoted by the European Council since 2003¹⁴; its goal is to establish serious collaboration between, on the one hand, supporters and public/private safety officers, and on the other, between social workers, football (soccer) clubs and supporters. It is founded on the notion that hooliganism has social roots and focuses on one football (soccer) club at a time. The officers involved in these interventions try to discourage supporters from violence by intervening with them at football (soccer) games and during the rest of the week.¹⁵

The officers are supported by social workers, and regularly intervene with youth on a long-term basis: a) by placing social workers in the stadiums as authority representatives, thus facilitating the dialogue between supporters, public and sports authorities, and to alleviate tensions; b) by introducing structured educational and sports activities for youth, to keep them occupied during their spare time, offering them legal and exciting activities, and by teaching them a sense of responsibility and integrity; c) by giving them access to the stadium facilities; and d) by supporting them in their social and professional integration.

In all cases, the officers involved in this frontline prevention policy broaden the network of collaborators, by participating in local prevention approaches, and facilitate common dialogue and information exchange with public safety officers. It seems, however, that the success of their work with youth depends on the distance they maintain with police officers. All of the programmes that were established under police supervision¹⁶, or required an active collaboration between social workers and police officers¹⁷, were discontinued because young people did not trust them. On the other hand, programmes that bridged the gap between public safety agencies, social educators or university researchers¹⁸, were successful on the long term. This is considered as a success factor contributing to the decline of hooliganism in the countries concerned.

Even if the impact of these programmes on hooligans is by definition non quantifiable, it is generally recognised that in countries where they were coherently implemented, they had a long term impact on changing the attitude of supporters, by teaching them to respect the law¹⁹ and public authorities.²⁰ By discrediting the image of a violent hooligan and focusing the youth's need for excitement elsewhere, they managed to create a generational gap, and to limit the transmission of fan values and know-how in terms of organized physical violence. They have also had a positive effect on social work in general, by facilitating the social inclusion of youth at risk. It is therefore in the best interest of municipal authorities to participate in such projects.

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**Problems related to "open drug scenes" in Europe
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- 2 The diversity of uses helps maintain activity in an area during greater portions of the day and night; increase safety by ensuring the presence of people on streets; decrease monotony; increase public contact and cross-use. Public space should encompass in its periphery natural generators of social activities; of people.
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CONCLUSIONS TO PART ONE

- 1 – Despite the absence of common definitions of offending, the **development of “international standards”** helps to overcome some of the cultural and legal differences relating to the most common forms of crime and violence. The development of international standards has accelerated in response to the globalisation of crime problems. Because of the **lack of reliable and comparable data**, which is particularly evident in some regions of the world, it is very difficult to provide a precise overview of the international situation. The creation of new data-gathering tools and analysis in every country, and at the international level, has become a necessity.
- 2 – **Crime and community safety, present a number of common characteristics across countries, in spite of very contrasting levels of seriousness and prevalence.** For example, at the international level, between one and two thirds of women report having been victims of violence. The majority of criminal behaviour is committed by young people of 15 to 24 years of age, and in terms of violent acts, they are also the majority of the victims. Crime is a concern in schools, in sports stadiums, and more generally in public spaces such as stations, streets, parks, and commercial shopping centres. These problems, common to countries in all regions, have been identified by specialised international organisations and many countries as requiring a preventive response.
- 3 – Without trying to minimise the evident geographical disparities, it is possible to identify a common trend of **the criminalisation of behaviours in the areas of focus in this first section of the report.**

In relation to **women’s safety** there has been a tendency to focus primarily on the criminalisation of violent or threatening behaviour, through the creation of specific offences, and to increase awareness of the problem, but rather less attention has been given to promoting a gender-based approach which makes women’s safety part of a broader crime prevention strategy.

In relation to **youth**, there has been an increasing tendency to label their behaviour as dangerous, “disruptive” or “anti-social”. Little consideration tends to be given to the fact that only a small minority is involved in serious offending, and therefore to be held criminally responsible. There is a risk that school-based behaviour can very easily, and unnecessarily, be criminalised, while groups or gangs of youth tend to be quickly defined as criminal gangs, and can be subject to serious sanctions.

In relation to **public spaces**, “uncivil” behaviours are increasingly being defined as breaches of criminal laws and, therefore, subject to police intervention. As the number of regulations increases, so do the possibilities for breaking the law; marginalisation is increasingly considered as a “nuisance” that has to be managed. The increasing popularity of major sports events, and the high stakes involved, has led to greater normative restrictions and operational supervision.

- 4 – There are limitations to **an exclusively crime-based analysis of community safety**. The major of the most widespread forms of criminality and disruptive behaviour in the community, appears to be **reactive or spontaneous** in nature, rather than premeditated. They may result, for example, from reaction against a disciplinary measure perceived as unjust, from failure to listen, or from inadequacies in urban design and infrastructure. Without underestimating the serious impacts of structured and organised crime on communities, most disruptions to social life begin in behaviour which might be considered serious, but which cannot be resolved or prevented by criminal policy alone.

CONCLUSIONS TO PART ONE

5 – The responses to these preoccupations need to be framed with the objective of inclusion, and include a strong multidisciplinary approach. The most important task for community safety in the world is to respond to the aspirations for peace and tranquillity in our daily lives. This is why the analysis undertaken clearly underlines the necessity of identifying community needs; of mobilising a wide range of actors capable of adopting a broad vision of community safety; and of developing and adapting new forms of intervention based on effective policies and practices that have been identified through international exchange.

Section II of this report examines some of the broad trends which characterise current prevention and safety policies round the world.

PART 2
EMERGING TRENDS

CHAPTER 6

APPROACHES TO CRIME PREVENTION: AN INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW

CHAPTER 6:

APPROACHES TO CRIME PREVENTION: AN INTERNATIONAL OVERVIEW

As the 2002 United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime underline, crime prevention as it has developed over the past decade has been shown to offer ways of responding to crime, violence and insecurity which are preventive, restorative, more humane and cost-effective, than relying solely on the weight of the law, and justice and penal systems.²⁹⁹

Beginning in the mid-eighties, the notion of a collective and proactive response to crime prevention, initially inspired by developments in France and the work of Mr. Gilbert Bonnemaïson has become an approach which is now recognised globally.³⁰⁰ Essentially a *strategic process and methodology* for responding to crime and safety issues, it recognises that crime affects people in their daily lives. Thus, national governments which develop a national strategy on crime prevention can help to facilitate and support the development of strategic and planned responses, regionally, but especially locally. Local governments are in the best position to understand their own concerns and to work with local actors and citizens through partnerships* which bring stakeholders together. The role of civil society* in working with local institutions and services in promoting safe societies has been a significant feature of this approach.

Above all, this strategic crime prevention approach has been built on the recognition that there are major limits to the ability of governments, and especially the police and courts, to prevent crime and violence. It has also recognised the major limitations of tough and deterrent approaches in prevention, and the very high costs involved in such approaches, as well as the comparative cost savings of well-planned prevention.³⁰¹ There has been a transition, in effect, from policing as the focal point for crime prevention in the 1970s, to collective urban policies in the 1980s, and more recently to a greater understanding of the governance of collective security.³⁰² Greater attention was paid to citizen safety, based on cross-sector and citizen partnerships and inclusion.

The recent conference organised by the European Forum for Urban Safety in 2006 reaffirmed in its *Zaragoza Manifesto* the importance of seeing safety as a public good, of the need to preserve

equality of access to services, and of fostering tolerance and respect for civil liberties in responding to crime and fear. The Manifesto reiterates the central role of cities in creating safe urban spaces, and their need to be supported by government at a higher level.³⁰³

Despite significant disparities between countries, particularly in terms of resources available to improve safety in developed versus developing countries, some global trends can be identified. Since the beginning of the Millennium, there have been improvements in norms and standards for crime prevention, in the development of knowledge and exchange at the international level, and in the range of regions, countries and cities establishing strategic responses.

1. A GLOBAL APPROACH TO CRIME PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY SAFETY

1.1 Increasing international norms and standards

At the international level, over a period of twenty years, the United Nations has been increasingly concerned with the rapid growth in urban areas and populations, and the inability of governments to provide even basic services for those populations. Given the instability and insecurity this entails, the UN has also been preoccupied with the need to balance prevention and justice approaches to crime and violence. This is reflected in the development of norms and standards for prevention. The first normative UN *Guidelines for Cooperation and Technical Assistance in the Field of Urban Crime Prevention* were adopted in 1995 (ECOSOC 1995/9) and the more recent UN *Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime* adopted

in 2002 (ECOSOC 2002/12). Both reflect the growing interest in, and knowledge and expertise about, **strategic and comprehensive responses to crime problems**.

Since 2002, Member States at the UN Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice have continued to **push for greater implementation of the Guidelines**. Two Commission Resolutions were adopted by ECOSOC in 2005 and 2006 (2005/22; 2006/20) encouraging the UNODC to “pay due attention to crime prevention with a view to achieving a balanced approach between crime prevention and criminal justice responses”.³⁰⁴ In 2006, five years after their adoption, Member States were asked to report on their application of the Norms and Standards relating to crime prevention. A total of 42 Member States responded to the questionnaire circulated, and the findings were presented to the 16th Session of the Commission in April 2007.³⁰⁵

UNODC’s Strategy for 2008-2011 includes as one of its objectives and outcomes, the specific reinforcement of community-centred prevention, to respond to crime, violence, drugs, and victimisation.³⁰⁶

In Europe, the Council of Europe has supported the development of strategic crime prevention, including social and situational approaches, since 1987.³⁰⁷ In terms of standards, a range of resolutions, recommendations and reports have been issued in recent years, e.g. on the setting up of a European observatory on urban safety and security in 2001; on the use of a partnership* approach in prevention in 2003; on assistance to victims of crime in 2006; and on the need for a balanced approach to the use of video surveillance in 2008.³⁰⁸ The second Council of Europe Summit in 1997 agreed on the importance of increased attention to crime prevention & criminal policy, and aimed to promote coherent and rational criminal

Does crime prevention pay? Making the United Nations Guidelines for Crime Prevention Work

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“Punish the criminals!” is a reflexive cry many people have to sensational news. But, at the same time, in every country there is an adage similar to “An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure”. So, what is better: to punish or to prevent?

The United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime of 2002 set **six interacting principles** for successful crime prevention. **First**, crime prevention should enhance the rule of law, for which appropriate educational, legal and administrative measures should be developed and pursued. **Second**, it should serve socio-economic development and inclusion. Both principles provide an avenue for successful crime prevention depending not on the suppression of crime by force, but on the fact that a majority of society chooses to support laws voluntarily and live in a culture of lawfulness. As such a culture is contingent upon successfully achieving social, economic and political inclusion, relevant measures to increase participation in city life are very important for increasing legitimacy. For instance, crime and drug prevention through sport activities certainly add to the legitimacy of urban life. **Third**, evidence and not ideology must drive crime prevention. It should be based on a solid set of empirical information about crime levels, trends, and geographic distribution. For this to happen there should be institutional support and cost-effective data systems taken into consideration by decision-makers. **Fourth**, crime prevention should be community-centred. Crime should be tackled locally and with the insight of the local people. Their insight and support prevents community moral deterioration and its physical degeneration which is a visible symptom (“broken windows”) of an increase in crime. Although crime prevention can be a theoretical pursuit, the evidence for its success can mostly be found in the streets. Sometimes, it may be enough to look around the city to see whether it works or not. Where community integration exists, e.g. strong community identity along ethnic or religious lines, residents can use this as a starting point for organising crime prevention activities. **Fifth**, governments, civic and business communities should establish and foster partnerships among themselves. Everybody may profit from business in a safe environment. **Finally**, crime prevention should be developed and promoted on the basis of sustainability and accountability, through information sharing and community involvement. In short, prevention as a renewable resource must prove its usefulness by being monitored and evaluated.

policies in Member States, which respect human rights and the rule of law, through the development of strategic crime prevention, alternatives to custody, social reintegration of offenders, and assistance to victims and responses to trafficking. A number of guides and good practice models have also been disseminated.³⁰⁹

The European Union has promoted crime prevention since the Tampere Declaration (1999) and the Hague Programme (2004) which set the European Commission's Five-Year Action Plan for Freedom, Justice and Security (2005-2010).³¹⁰ In 2001, the Commission adopted the definition of crime prevention used in the Council Decision establishing of the European Union Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN) in 2001.³¹¹ **Crime prevention is embodied in the 2007 Lisbon Treaty, as a prerequisite for the establishment of "an area of freedom, security and justice".**³¹²

1.2. More focus on urban crime and urban resources to prevent crime

The **Safer Cities Programme (UN-HABITAT)**, was launched in 1996, initially at the request of Africa mayors, to assist them in developing strategic

responses to urban crime and violence. The main objective of the Safer Cities Programme is to build capacities at the city level in developing a prevention strategy, and contribute to a culture of prevention. The Programme has worked extensively over the past ten years to support the development of projects with sixteen local governments in five continents.³¹³ There has been a strong focus on issues of good urban governance, strengthening the capacities of mayors and local governments, tool development, and exchange of experiences between cities. Urban governance, part of the wider UN-HABITAT campaign launched in 1999, has pushed for greater decentralisation, transparency and accountability in urban governance, building partnerships with civil society* in particular. For the Safer Cities Programme, this has included the elimination of social exclusion, since marginalised populations, especially slum dwellers, are excluded from participation in the development of their cities.³¹⁴

The programme uses a systematic process to identify local partners and help the creation of a local safety coalition with the mayor or a public leader, supported by a local safer cities coordinator. The development of a local strategy is then

UN Congress Workshops on Crime Prevention 2000 & 2005

The UN Congress on Crime Prevention & Criminal Justice, which takes place every five years, provides a further marker for increasing global investment in crime prevention. At the 10th UN Congress in Vienna in 2000, the workshop on *Community Involvement in Crime Prevention*, organized by ICPC, presented an overview of a range of national crime prevention policies and programmes on issues such as the role of cities, poverty, exclusion, high-volume crimes, youth and schools. Apart from South Africa, all the presenters were from the North or developed countries.

Five years later, in 2005, at the 11th UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, the workshop demonstrated effective and promising practices and strategies from countries and cities in *all regions* of the world. Fifteen countries took part in the workshop, including developed and developing countries, and those in transition to development, or emerging from long periods of internal conflict.¹

Apart from demonstrating the importance of international guidelines in providing inspiration and normative templates for 'how' to implement effective crime prevention strategies, the workshop underlined some key trends related to urban issues:

- The *urgency of the need to focus on urban areas*, with the impact of rapid current and future urban growth, impacting all regions. While the immediate impacts of urban growth are felt by developing countries, globalisation means that it impacts all regions and countries in varying ways.
- The close *links between urban growth and youth at risk* – youth are among the socially excluded - and **youth violence is primarily an urban phenomenon.**
- **The contribution of urban renewal strategies to community safety and economic and social development.**

The 11th UN Congress also stressed in its **Bangkok Declaration** "the need to consider measures to prevent the expansion of urban crime, for example by improving international cooperation and capacity-building for law enforcement and the judiciary in that area and by promoting the involvement of local authorities and civil society".

based upon detailed analysis of local problems and possible solutions, and the identification of some short term and longer-term goals. Victimisation surveys are often undertaken as part of this work in assessing crime and violence issues in a city, and training and prevention tools such as women's safety audits have been developed. The main approaches used in planned interventions include urban and environmental design, developing local community-based policing* and alternative justice approaches, and social, educational, skills and employment activities especially with at risk children and youth.³¹⁵

Focal areas of work include youth at risk of offending and victimisation, and women's safety. These are both groups who are often excluded from government decision-making, and at high risk of offending and/or victimisation, and for whom participatory approaches offer a more viable entry into governance. Two regional strategies for youth have been developed, Youth at Risk in Africa, and Youth at Risk in Latin America and the Caribbean, following a series of international and regional meetings.³¹⁶ Similarly, the Safer Cities Programme supported the first two International Conferences on Women's Safety, in Montreal, Canada (2002) and Bogotá, Colombia (2004). More recently it commissioned a first global survey of organisations working on women's safety.³¹⁷

1.3 Safety and security as prerequisites for development

There has been, therefore, a significant shift in the past few years, from seeing prevention as something to be tackled once a country has established a viable economic path and effective criminal justice system, to the acknowledgment that safety and security are prerequisites for their development. Recent reports by many international organisations have stressed that development and the achievement of the Millennium Goals are inextricably linked with issues of human rights and good governance, and will not be possible unless safety and security in countries and cities is addressed.³¹⁸

The **Inter-American Development Bank** (IDB) has been one of the first international organisations devoted to development support which acknowledges the need for strengthening the rule of law and preventing crime and violence for sustainable growth. The IDB supports development and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in Latin America and the Caribbean and promotes a number of citizen security and crime prevention initiatives under its social development and poverty area of work.³¹⁹ In March 2007, it sponsored a Forum on Citizen Security & Violence Prevention in Lima Peru, and has approved a

number of country and project loans since 2004 on violence prevention in schools, alternatives to youth gangs, or citizen security. IDB also collaborated with UNODC on a 2007 report on Crime and Development in Central America.³²⁰

The **WB** views economic growth as requiring a focus on capacity building, creating infrastructures, strengthening legal and justice systems and combating corruption, among other factors. In terms of support to local cities and actors in prevention, the World Bank through the **International Bank for Reconstruction & Development** (IBRD) has also produced a number of reports and tools under a project on community-based crime and violence prevention in urban Latin America and the Caribbean. This has included guides for urban safety diagnosis, community policing*, youth crime prevention, women's safety, and good practice case studies from Brazil and the US.³²¹

UNDP has similarly supported a number of social development initiatives, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, to reduce violence and arms, and provide alternatives to gangs for young people, as well as in Africa, to promote capacity development in areas such as democratic governance, peace-building and community safety.³²²

In addition, the different contexts and needs of countries in development, transition, and post-conflict are now more explicitly recognised. There is much greater emphasis on the importance of the views and needs of recipient countries.³²³

Urban Safety as the Focus of Development: Ivory Coast UNDP Cooperation Programme 2003-2007

With a total amount of \$90 M(US) and based upon two key objectives: governance and poverty, this Development Assistance Programme was globally implemented despite the crisis in the Ivory Coast. With governance support, an **Urban Safety Support Project (Projet d'appui à la sécurité urbaine (PASU))** was established to improve safety and reduce insecurity in the population. After implementation, the project achieved the followings results:

- Capacity building of local authorities through training of 17 municipal safety coordinators.
- Development of twenty-one local preventative initiatives.
- Support to the Ivoirian Forum on Urban Safety

UN-HABITAT's Global Report on Human Settlements

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UN-HABITAT has embarked on the analysis of states and trends in the area of urban safety and security through the *Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* entitled *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security*. This is the first time the Global report is focusing on safety and security. Over the past decade, the world has witnessed growing threats to the safety and security of cities and towns. Some have come in the form of catastrophic events, while others have been manifestations of poverty and inequality or of rapid and chaotic urbanisation processes. The *Global Report on Human Settlements*, addresses some of the most challenging threats to the safety and security of urban dwellers today. As the report tells us, urban violence and crime are increasing in many big cities worldwide, giving rise to widespread fear and driving away investment in some of them. This is especially true in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, where urban gang violence is on the rise.

The report addresses three major threats to the safety and security of cities, which are: urban crime and violence; insecurity of tenure and forced evictions; and natural and human-made disasters. It analyses worldwide conditions and trends with respect to these threats and pays particular attention to their underlying causes and impacts, as well as to the good policies and best practices that have been adopted at the city, national and international levels. The report adopts a *human security* perspective, the concern of which is with the safety and security of people, rather than states, and highlights concerns that can be addressed through appropriate urban policy, planning, design and governance.

As this report points out, there is a very real nexus between natural events and human safety and security. The vulnerability of cities is increasing and at the same time, urban slums are expanding. The report highlights the key role urban planning and governance have to play in making our cities safe and secure for generations to come. Through its documentation of many successful experiences, it promotes learning and sharing of knowledge on urban safety and security.

CONTRIBUTION

THE ROLE OF LAWYERS AND THE PROMOTION OF THE RULE OF LAW IN POST-CONFLICT COUNTRIES

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A healthy democracy is based on three independent authorities that keep each other in check: the executive authority, the legislative authority and the judiciary.

In societies emerging from conflict, or engaged in transitions towards democracy, the judicial reconstruction process aims to strengthen respect for the fundamental rights of citizens and to provide access to justice for all. To succeed, this process depends on an independent legal profession that has all the necessary resources and tools to represent citizens without fear of reprisals and undue pressure. All the elements of this process are essential to the establishment of the rule of law.

The full protection of the defence rights has a direct positive impact on accused persons. Beyond this, fair trial procedure also has a more sweeping indirect impact on society as a whole by encouraging respect for human rights, in particular by a judicial system in which the prosecution and the defence are heard as parties that are truly on an equal footing. Full recognition and enforcement of these rights does not only benefit the accused person in a criminal trial. It also enables all citizens in a democratic society to benefit from a reasonable expectation of freedom and protection from the arbitrary exercise of power. Recognition of their rights reinforces human decency as a universal value.

In projects supported by ICDAA in Afghanistan and Haiti, the strengthening of legal aid systems appears to be bringing about a variety of unexpected benefits.

First, such a justice system builds the confidence of citizens in their institutions and especially in their justice system.

The focus on defence rights in criminal trials reinforces the rule of law in these countries. A society that ensures all citizens, even people accused of the most serious crimes, access to a rigorous and credible defence creates a culture of respect for individual freedoms. It demonstrates a commitment to the equality of rights that is blind to economic inequality. It is often said that the quality of a criminal proceeding, and its guarantee of rights of the accused, is a reliable barometer of the quality of democratic institutions of a society in general. Establishment of the rule of law is an essential condition for all economic and social development as well as for sustainable development. This leads the society to develop methods of combating both corruption and crime.

The defence of other fundamental rights, such as the right to identity, family rights, and property rights that are often repressed in post-conflict societies is also a condition for social and economic development.

The balance between collective and individual rights and the commitment to equal rights reinforces the trust of citizens in their institutions, allowing them to become citizens fully entitled to exercise their rights and engaged in society. Citizens who are aware of their rights become better social and economic agents in a more just and humane society. By strengthening citizen's capacity to play an active role at the economic level, crime prevention will also be enhanced. Active citizens who earn reasonable wages with dignity and who provide for their family will be much less likely to turn to crime and corruption.

Lastly, we have observed in Afghanistan that lawyers and defence counsel have become true anti-corruption filters in the judicial reconstruction, because bribes flowed too often through them towards other actors in the judicial system. If lawyers are well trained, well paid and proud of their social status, they will oppose corruption and take the necessary measures to prevent it. As such, lawyers can play an essential role in the fight against corruption and become active players in crime prevention.

The establishment of legal aid offices in local communities calling upon the services of local civil society representatives will also be beneficial for grassroots organisations by increasing citizen awareness and empowerment with respect to fundamental rights. Such a process will create educational and pedagogical benefits that support community and social development.

The International Criminal Defence Attorneys Association (ICDAA) is based in Montreal. It was established 11 years ago by Me Elise Groulx who since that time has acted as President. Besides carrying out international and national criminal proceeding activities, this non-profit organisation is involved in judicial capacity building projects in developing and post-conflict countries through the establishment of legal aid systems. The ICDAA has been active in Afghanistan since 2005 and hopes to soon begin work in Haiti.

Website: www.aiad-icdaa.org/

2. DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE ON CRIME PREVENTION

The creation of networks of international exchange in the field of crime prevention and community safety has been supported by various converging factors, including the search for solutions (finding "what works", providing empirical evidence) in light of rising rates of criminality in many Western countries in the 1970s and 1980s and the desire for benchmarking, a process of analysis and assessment allowing an organisation to identify and adapt proven, successful practices from other organisations. In terms of crime prevention, rates of crime, victimisation and disorder may be ascertained for the purposes of comparison and

benchmarking, as well as for evaluating the delivery of services and projects.³²⁴ Another important factor is the increasing requirement of evaluation* contained in public policies that has prompted many countries to compare their results and practices on an international scale. Finally, there is an emphasis on the need to not only deepen one's knowledge but also to disseminate it to others.

There is support for these types of networks at the international level. The United Nations recommends to its Member States that as part of their efforts to implement crime prevention strategies, they should **"strengthen or establish international, regional and national crime prevention networks** with a view to exchanging proven and promising

practices, identifying elements of their transferability and making such knowledge available to communities throughout the world".³²⁴ In the aforementioned questionnaire regarding States' implementation of the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime, most member states indicated that they did indeed participate in "international networks for the exchange of information and knowledge on crime prevention policies, strategies or programmes".³²⁵

Within intergovernmental organisations, one can also note an evolution from the imposition of prescriptive models towards inspiring practices. The vocabulary employed reflects this tendency; currently, one speaks less of "best practices", nor even of "good practices", but more of "promising practices" or "innovative practices".

2.1 Networks initiated by intergovernmental organisations

We understand the term "network" as a loosely organised structure motivated by an objective to exchange information. What distinguishes a network from a programme or an action plan is that the latter does more than just fulfill the goal of disseminating information. Few networks are exclusively dedicated to crime prevention; therefore, it is also relevant to mention networks whose focus is partially related to prevention, including penal justice, the reintegration of offenders, urban safety, and law and criminology.

Since the creation in 1962 of the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI) in Tokyo, Japan, a **United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme Network (PNI)** has been developed. The purpose of this network is to support the work of UNODC and strengthen international cooperation in the areas of crime prevention and criminal justice. Some of its activities include information exchange, research and training.³²⁷ It now includes the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Division as well as a number of specialised centres and interregional and regional institutes.

UN organisations have promoted specific types of networks, such as **South-South networks** that encourage cooperation and exchange between developing regions with similar concerns and social and economic backgrounds.³²⁸ One such network on crime prevention is UNODC's South-South Cooperation for Determining Best Practices for Crime Prevention in the Caribbean and Southern Africa.³²⁹ Another type is **networks "of and for" Youth**: two examples include UNODC's **Global**

The UN Programme Network Institutes (PNI): a worldwide network

The members of PNI are: the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI); the United Nations Interregional Crime & Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) in Turin, Italy; the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in Washington, DC, United States of America; the International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences (ISISC) in Siracusa, Italy; the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC) in Canberra; *El Instituto Latinoamericano de las Naciones Unidas para la Prevención del Delito y el Tratamiento del Delincuente (ILANUD)* in San Jose, Costa Rica; the Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences (NAASS) in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; the European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI) in Helsinki, Finland; the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law (RWI) in Sweden; the Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy (KICJP) in Seoul; the United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI) in Kampala, Uganda; the International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy (ICCLR & CJP) in Vancouver, Canada; the International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice programme (ISPAC) in Milan, Italy; the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) in Cape Town, South Africa; and finally, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) in Montreal, Canada.

Youth Network (see Chapter 3) and UN-HABITAT's **Youth for Habitat International Network** that connects youth to the activities of UN-HABITAT. Specifically, the latter network was created with the following aims: to raise awareness about Habitat Agenda and Agenda 21, to exchange information within the network on fields related to youth such as training, fundraising, communication and networking and to include a youth perspective in the implementation of these initiatives at every level.³³⁰

The **Council of Europe** has groups and networks working on issues related to corruption and criminal justice, but their most relevant network working on crime prevention and the exchange of good practices is the **Co-operation Group to Combat Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking in Drugs**

(called “Pompidou Group”). Created in 1971 and composed of 35 European Council member states, with the additional participation of non European countries, the Group contributes to the development of multidisciplinary, innovative, effective and evidence-based drug policies in its member states and focuses on the local implementation of drug programmes. In 2003, “platforms” have been created to promote the exchange and transfer of knowledge, and encourage the development of common standards for good practice. Within this framework, the Group organises a biennial European Drug Prevention Forum, awards a biennial European Prevention Prize and coordinates a Drug Prevention Support Network for Parents and Professionals. Finally, the Pompidou Group is also the home of a network called EXASS Net, which is designed to support the co-operation of actors in the law-enforcement, health and social sectors working on drug-related issues.

Another network focused directly on crime prevention and community safety is the **European Union Crime Prevention Network**. Designed in 2001 as the main vehicle to implement the European Crime Prevention Policy launched at the Tampere European Council in October 1999, the network guides research, collects data and informs national and European decision making on matters related to crime prevention.³³¹ One of the key tasks of the EUCPN is to create an inventory of good practices intended to be a relevant resource for Member States, and that provides a “quality standard benchmark”.³³² Since 1997, a European Crime Prevention Award (ECPA) has been established as an instrument for encouraging and transmitting good crime prevention practices in the EU.

There are also other international initiatives that do not focus directly on crime prevention, but that do treat themes that promote a preventive approach. One example is the **World Health Organisation’s Violence Prevention Alliance (VPA)** that was established in 2004 to collaborate and support data-driven (interpersonal) violence prevention initiatives based on the public health approach and ecological framework set out in the *2002 WHO World Report on Violence and Health*.³³³ **The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s Treatnet** is an international network of drug dependence treatment and rehabilitation resource centres, UNODC staff, international partners and training providers working together since 2005 to improve the quality and accessibility of drug dependence treatment and rehabilitation services.³³⁴

UNODC also suggests the creation of an **African Crime and Criminal Justice Information Network**,

under the auspices of the African Union Commission, as the core of Pan-African crime prevention and criminal justice activities and programmes.³³⁵

2.2 City-based networks

The European Forum for Urban Safety (EFUS) with offices in Paris and Brussels was created in 1987 and includes 300 local authorities in Europe.³³⁶ The network’s mandate is to strengthen links and to promote exchange between local authorities and other levels of government on crime prevention and urban safety topics and policies. The principles of the forum are contained in the **Zaragoza Manifesto** on “Security, Democracy and Cities”. The Forum’s resources include access to contact information, training, technical assistance and practices, in addition to participation at conferences, seminars and exchange programmes related to urban safety and crime reduction.

There are several international associations of cities that deal with a wide variety of local issues, including safety and prevention. Many of these joined together in 2004 to create United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) which seeks to be the voice of local governments before the United Nations and international organisations. The Barcelona-based organisation seeks to increase the role and influence of local government and representative organisations in global government.³³⁷ Governance issues include providing security to the population.

The World Association of the Major Metropolises, **Metropolis**, created in 1984 has become the metropolitan section of the United Cities and Local Government organisation.³³⁸ Membership is comprised of local and metropolitan governments – 77 cities of more than 1 million inhabitants are members. The organisation has six Standing Commissions for 2006-2008, including one entitled Urban Mobility Management and another entitled Comprehensive Neighbourhood Regeneration that includes safety as an important element.

2.3 Non-governmental organisations

Numerous non-governmental organisations concerned with public safety and prevention now exist in countries and regions. For example, the **Instituto Latinoamericano de Seguridad y Democracia (ILSED)** is a foundation in Buenos Aires, Argentina working to promote the transformation of the intelligence, military and public safety systems in Latin America and the Caribbean. This work manifests itself in different ways, including courses, seminars and publications dealing with prevention. The **Instituto para la**

Seguridad y la Democracia, AC-Insyde (“Insyde Mexico”) is an independent and multidisciplinary Mexican organisation that develops techniques and practices that may contribute to the reform of institutions responsible for public security, criminal justice and society. It provides a forum for dialogue between civil society, academia and government authorities. The **Forum Brasileiro de Seguranca Publica** (Brazilian Forum for Public Safety) is a non-governmental organisation established in March 2006, which aims to become a nationally recognised resource on policing and public safety. It promotes exchange and dialogue, joint projects and technical assistance, and has already established a journal, an annual yearbook to monitor public safety policies, an annual meeting, and a series of workshops with cities.³³⁹

Other NGOs work more directly on crime prevention. For instance, the **International CPTED Association (ICA)** promotes the implementation of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design in order to enhance community safety and residents’ quality of life and runs e-learning courses, conferences and a certification process.³⁴⁰ The **International Victimology Site (IVW)** also provides online resources on international, regional and national instruments as well as victimology resources.³⁴¹

Established in 1960 in Australia and adopting its current name in 1970, the Australian Crime Prevention Council is a non-governmental organisation that aims at promoting prevention and interventions to improve safety, primarily through community* involvement. In October 2007, the Council held an **Asia Pacific Forum Towards a Regional Network in Crime and Conflict Prevention** aimed at creating a network of players in crime and conflict prevention between different area states.³⁴²

In Africa, following the example of international organisations, many NGOs promote network development to address issues regarding governance and a fortiori safety. Attention, however, focuses primarily on structures. For example, the **Alliance pour refonder la gouvernance en Afrique** has been working since 2005 with both associations and the African Union in many countries, to propose new approaches to governance on the continent.⁴⁵ In this respect, several initiatives are promising, such as the **African Policing and Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF)**, a network of African policing practitioners drawn from state and NGO sectors, which promotes police reform through civilian oversight.

Some national organisations also subscribe to the international perspective, such as the **German**

Congress on Crime Prevention that aims, since 1995, to bring together different stakeholders in crime prevention to promote implementation, exchange of information and discussions on policies and strategies to be established at the national, European and international levels.³⁴⁴ The **Consorzio Nazionale per l’Innovazione Sociale (ONLUS NOVA)** is an Italian Foundation operating in Rome created in 1998 by several organisations, including social cooperatives, NGO’s and voluntary associations.³⁴⁵ In Cape Town, the **Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP)** works to develop, inform and promote evidence-based crime prevention practice in South Africa and other developing countries. It conducts and disseminates research as well as provides training in crime prevention.³⁴⁶

2.4 Research and study centers

Some organisations mainly focus on research. In Canada, the primary mission of the **International Centre for Comparative Criminology (ICCC, 1969)** at the University of Montreal in Canada is to conduct research on adult and youth offenders and the penal justice system, in an international and multidisciplinary perspective. Crime prevention is also among its research topics.³⁴⁷ It is a research centre with an international profile that facilitates the exchange of information on research and progress made in terms of penal reform. The **Institute for the Prevention of Crime (IPC)** was founded in 2006 as part of the faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ottawa to provide a graduate studies programme, networking activities on crime prevention and documentation.³⁴⁸

The European Commission has financed since 2006 a three-year project entitled **“Assessing Deviance, Crime and Prevention in Europe” (CRIMPREV)**, coordinated by the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS)* in France. CRIMPREV is an organising mechanism that links 31 participating institutions from 10 European countries in an interdisciplinary research consortium that includes three existing networks: the European Forum for Urban Safety (EFUS), the International Association for the History of Crime and Criminal Justice (IAHCCJ) and le **Groupement européen de recherche sur les normativités (GERN)**. The project seeks to provide the added-value of a comparative, European approach to crime data and prevention policies in order to provide researchers, governments and the European Commission with a pan-European perspective needed to strengthen European research and to promote a comparative approach.³⁴⁹

Others universities have sought to address needs for support and cooperation with national and local practitioners or policymakers involved in community safety and crime prevention. They primarily produce national and comparative research, organise exchanges, seminars and conferences, and propose training sessions for professionals and policymakers. Some specialised centres have developed in Latin America. In Chile, the **Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in Chile (FLACSO Chile)** hosts the *Programa Seguridad y Ciudadanía* (Security and Citizenship Programme). Similarly, a **Centro de estudios de seguridad ciudadana** was created within the University of Chile³⁵⁰ and has created the network « *Más Comunidad Más Prevención* ». ³⁵¹ The Urban Safety Programme (*Programa de Seguridad Urbana*) at the **Universidad Alberto Hurtado** aims to provide studies, theoretical tools and practices with regards to urban safety.³⁵² It has developed a master's programme in urban safety, as well as capacity building and specialisation courses made available to civil servants and the police. The

Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) in South Africa, undertakes directed and multidisciplinary research, as well as industrial and scientific development in many fields that deals with quality of life, including community safety.³⁵³

One challenge for these efforts to promote cooperation and mutual support, often cited by networks, is that of establishing **a common methodology for evaluating practices**. For instance, the EUCPN has discussed the possibility of an evaluation* methodology for practices, but the network has suggested that "a unified approach is probably unattainable". Instead, it has argued that the needs of the network "are more likely to be represented by a diversity of methodologies, held together by common structural principles".³⁵⁴ Another challenge is the **transferability of exchanges** between the global North and South, where there are notable differences in the crime situation, an obvious disparity in terms of available infrastructure and resources and a corresponding imbalance of power.

CONTRIBUTION

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINOLOGY AND EXTENSION OF KNOWLEDGE IN CRIME PREVENTION

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Progress towards increasingly efficient prevention programmes requires that we go beyond individual and local perspectives to reach a general and universal one. This requires going beyond initial types of propositions such as: "This particular prevention project was assessed and helped to reduce crime in specific circumstances" to a second type of proposition that would argue: "This category of preventive interventions generally reduces crime." One means to ensure translation from the first type of proposition to the second is to increase assessments on the same type of projects and to make systematic reports encompassing all such assessments. For example, researchers no longer simply seek to prove that a specific video-surveillance project in a certain parking lot helps reduce auto thefts; they make progress reports on all project assessments to determine if this technique is efficient against thefts and, if so, under which conditions.

To go beyond the specific, however, it is not sufficient to compile assessment upon assessment. It is necessary to develop a theory that will propose a framework of many diverse forms of preventive interventions, one that will include assumptions on the relationships that should be established between an intervention and the criminal event which it is supposed to affect. This theory should also specify reasons why this causal relation is expected.

Currently, international research on crime and prevention features two families of theories: the first deals with delinquency development during childhood and adolescence and the second rests on situational decisions that result in specific delinquency or criminal acts. Developmental prevention is based on a basic proposition that can be stated in the following terms: during childhood, the main delinquency risk factors are impulsiveness and aggressive behaviour that negligent, hopeless or tactless parents, lacking resources, are unable to curtail. Therefore, it is possible to reduce the probability of crime during adolescence through early and sustained intervention with regard to such risk factors. The intervention would aim to ensure a child's social and cognitive development, control his aggressiveness and improve parenting skills.

The following is the basis for situational prevention: the likelihood of individuals choosing to commit an offence is high when they have opportunities to make easy and interesting gains that are relatively free of risk. Consequently, an intervention that modifies situations in which offences can be perpetrated by making them more difficult to commit, by increasing the related risks or by reducing the payoffs will help lower the frequency of crimes.

Such theories are important for drawing general lessons. They help stakeholders understand the logic of the preventive action and provide some background as to what results may be expected with a given assessment.

Under the guidance of international criminal research, we are heading towards increasingly valid and precise theories. Research initiated in one country is often replicated in several others. In regards to crime and prevention, researchers quite often reach convergent results demonstrating that the scope of some theories widely exceeds the boundaries of a specific country. They develop general proposals on the nature, logic and effectiveness of crime prevention. To illustrate this, such progress is conducted in a seven step procedure:

1. In a country, a theory is stated and tested.
2. Criminologists in other countries test the theory themselves. They refine it, perfect it and reformulate it.
3. We deduce from theory a preventive intervention stated in general terms.
4. This intervention is made operational in specific programmes and contexts, and in different countries.
5. A certain number of assessments of this type of intervention take place.
6. A systematic report of all these assessments is drawn up.
7. Report conclusions are instrumental in confirming, rebutting or qualifying the initial theory. General guidelines and conditions for an intervention are precisely stated to ensure its effectiveness. This theory provides information to prevention practitioners.

However, prevention differs from science which aims at the discovery of general laws. Prevention is an art; it is made up of actions and operations with a practical and specific purpose. A preventive project never goes without fine tuning to problems and situations. Accurate knowledge acquired through research is not sufficient to guide practitioners. However, knowledge can bring light to what was found to be ineffective in the past, which are the promising measures and what conditions are related to an effective preventive action. Prevention initiatives designed and implemented by practitioners are necessary for researchers who wish to conduct evaluations. Therefore, mutually beneficial exchanges are taking place between practitioners and researchers.

3. NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES: AN EXPANDING AND VARIED FIELD

One of the most common assumptions about crime prevention is that it can't be clearly separated from other fields of activity, and is defined by its academic allegiances and its links to the police and justice system. As observers have often pointed out, **many interventions which help to prevent crime are often called something else**, whether early childhood intervention, educational and employment support, drug treatment, social services, or urban renewal. In other words and as suggested by Janet Foster "some of the most successful attempts to influence the quality of life and reduce crime have not come from crime prevention initiatives per se".³⁵⁵ For example, **urban renewal programmes** such as those developed in Britain by the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, the iTRUMP programme in Durban, South Africa, the "politique de la ville" in France, or the urban renewal policies of the City of Bogotá, Colombia,

often combine multi-sector partnerships* and community* participation, and involve much more than just the application of environmental design or situational prevention.³⁵⁶ In this section, we will focus only on crime prevention policies expressly designated as such.

In 1999, ICPC highlighted national crime prevention policies and strategies developed by nine of its member governments.³⁵⁷ Since then, the number of countries establishing strategies and policies on the topic has progressively increased. In 2006, 42 countries completed the United Nations questionnaire on the application of the UN guidelines for crime prevention³⁵⁸, of which 37 indicated that they had either introduced a national crime prevention strategy, or other minimum specific actions.³⁵⁹ Other countries not completing the questionnaire had nonetheless adopted action plans, such as Chile, Argentina and Norway.

The following profile is in no way exhaustive. It examines some of the **strategies and action plans that have been adopted, not the way they have**

been carried out. There is still a relatively large gap between established objectives and actual implementation. Some strategies may have been modified since the drafting of this report.

3.1 Ambitious national objectives...

A number of common political objectives are evident in the strategies and programmes developed.

Several countries expressly place their national strategy within the framework of **international standards**, specifically the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime. Adopted in 2003, the Hungarian national strategy reiterates the importance of these instruments to ensure legitimacy.³⁶⁰ Based on the May 28, 2001³⁶¹ decision of the Council of the European Union on the definition of crime prevention, it also recalls at some length the international community's work pertaining to the adoption of the UN Guidelines and recognises their legitimising role in crime prevention activities. Canada has been one of the main supporters of the development and follow-up of the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime.³⁶² In Quebec, the 2001 departmental crime prevention policy is based on the UN recognition that safety is a fundamental right of all human beings and an essential condition for sustainable development of all societies.³⁶³

National prevention strategies and plans are the responsibility more often than not of the government body responsible for public safety or internal affairs. They also generally seek to establish **broader links** with other bodies that are more or less directly involved in prevention. In Chile for example, the 2006-2020 National Public Safety Strategy falls under the Department of the Interior³⁶⁴, but the Departments of Justice, Education, Labour, Health, Urbanisation, Defence and Planning, as well as the National Women's Service (*Servicio Nacional de la Mujer*; SERNAM) and National Youth Service (*Servicio Nacional de Menores*; SENAME) are expressly invited to participate in the implementation of prevention strategies. In Mexico, the global strategy for crime prevention and delinquency, launched in 2007, is said to be inter-institutional.³⁶⁵ Other countries and provinces have also established policies on crime and safety that commit departments to work together, as in Argentina (National Crime Prevention Plan adopted in 2000 and revised in 2003)³⁶⁶, in Canada (National Strategy for Crime Prevention, approved in 1997)³⁶⁷, in France (Delinquency Prevention Act, March 5, 2007)³⁶⁸, in Quebec (Government Policy on Crime Prevention, 2001)³⁶⁹, in Querétaro (Provincial Development Plan, 2004-2009. Order, Safety and Justice)³⁷⁰

in South Africa (National Strategy for Crime, 1996)³⁷¹, in Australia (*National Community Crime Prevention Programme*, 2004)³⁷², in Belgium (National Security Plan 2008-2011, Safety and Prevention Strategic Plans, 2007-2010)³⁷³, in Hungary (see box below)³⁷⁴, in the Czech Republic (Crime Prevention Strategy, 2008-2011)³⁷⁵, and in Portugal (National Action Plans for Crime Prevention that are part of a more global government policy for "internal safety" and "criminal policy").³⁷⁶

An ambitious and comprehensive strategy: the Hungarian example

Having implemented its policy on prevention since 1995, Hungary adopted in 2003 a *National Strategy for the Social Prevention of Crime* that promotes an integrated approach and defines 5 prevention priorities: youth delinquency, crime in cities, domestic violence, victimisation and recidivism.

The strategy rests on a bottom-up approach based on municipalities and cooperation with the police, civil society and academic research. An Annual Action Plan is adopted by government and defines short and medium term objectives.

A National Crime Prevention Board re-groups each ministry's concerned departmental representatives, local governments, correctional system, the churches, non-governmental organisations, the scientific sphere, professional chambers, etc. The Council is responsible for coordinating action plans.

In 2003, the national strategy allocated an initial sum of 500 million HUF (approx. \$3 M(CAD)) to crime prevention purposes. However, the real sum varied in the Finance Act. From 2005 to 2008, 1 % of the annual personal income tax could be allocated by citizens to crime prevention activities. This was, and still is, the principal source of financial support for tenders related to local crime prevention projects. For 2008-2011 the EU European Social Fund will finance the "*Strengthening social cohesion by crime prevention and reintegration programmes*" Preferential Project, injecting 2.2 billion HUF (\$8,1 M(EUR), approx. \$12,5 M(CAD)). In 2008-2013, an additional 6.4 billion HUF (approx. \$23,5 M(EUR), \$36 M(CAD)) will be received from the EU for similar purposes.

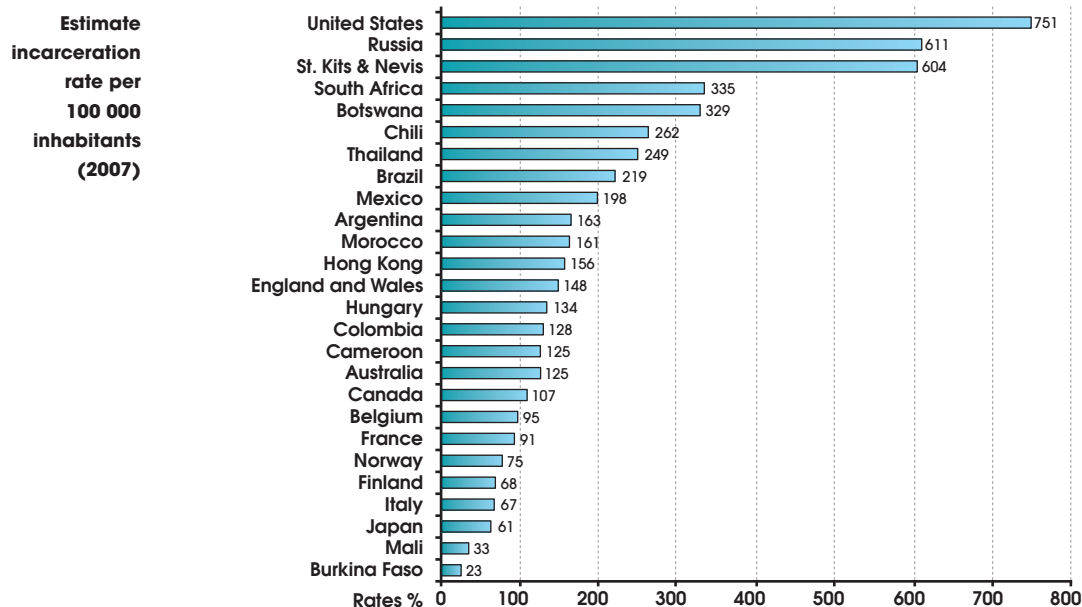
The **coordination** of work is often ensured by a lead department, such as in Chile (*Subsecretaría del Interior* and *División de Seguridad Ciudadana*) or Argentina (Departments of Justice, Security and Human Rights³⁷⁷ *Dirección Nacional de Política Criminal de la Nación*). In other cases, a **national coordinating body** is established, such as in Canada (National Crime Prevention Centre), in Norway (National Crime Prevention Council, KRÅD) in other Scandinavian countries (see box p. 148), in France (Interdepartmental Committee on Delinquency Prevention chaired by the Prime Minister) or in Chile (*Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Pública*). In Hungary, this body is the National Crime Prevention Board while the daily tasks, secretarial duties, etc. are managed by the Crime Prevention Unit of the Ministry of Justice. Basically, the Board functions as a deciding, advisory committee in strategic, long-term affairs. In Quebec, a consultative body established in 2000 (*Conseil consultatif québécois en prévention de la criminalité*) drafts notices on all prevention aspects.

3.2 ...Which are often based on an integrated concept of prevention

The idea that repression alone is not sufficient to respond to crime dominates the measures adopted by governments on prevention. Government policy on crime prevention in Quebec emphasises that “even if, more than ever, repressive methods must be used to keep pressure on crime, [...] there is a need to develop a prevention sector and give it a crucial role”.³⁷⁸ Repression is inadequate to resolve crime-related issues. Prevention is understood as part of an integrated

continuum and its role is considered to be as important as that of repression. For example, for the Hungarian strategy, “Good public security cannot be achieved solely by traditional law enforcement and criminal justice services (...) The social crime prevention strategy thus takes its place in social policy alongside the law enforcement and the criminal justice services.”³⁷⁹

The increasing recourse to incarceration since the 1970s stands in opposition to the quest for balance between social and repressive policies.³⁸⁰ For three decades, incarceration rates have increased in 73% of countries identified in the *World Prison Population List*³⁸¹ published by the *King's College London International Centre for Prison Studies*, according to the following breakdown: in 64% of African countries, in 66% of European countries, in 75% of countries in Oceania, in 81% of Asian countries and in 84% of countries in the Americas.³⁸² Today, more than 9 million people are incarcerated in the world, most of whom are awaiting trial or sentence. Only a few countries have not seen such a rise in numbers, Canada among them. The United States holds more than 2.2 million detainees and Russia more than 870,000, with the U.S. incarceration rate at more than 750 detainees per 100,000 residents, followed by Russia and St Kitts & Nevis in the West Indies. Over 60% of the countries for which data is available have a rate of less than 150 detainees per 100,000 residents but there are significant regional disparities. In Africa for example, the average incarceration rate amounts to more than 260 people per 100,000 residents for countries in the south of the continent and to 37 for countries in West Africa.



Source : World Prison Brief : www.prisonstudies.org/

This “mass incarceration” results in **considerable costs** that, according to advocates of prevention, could be reduced by earlier intervention. Also, knowing that crime levels and incarceration rates depend more on “complex interactions with a variety of social, economic, cultural and political factors”³⁸³ rather than on reported crime rates, it is argued that a preventive approach is better at identifying the intersection of these argued factors. Thus, **alignment with social, economic and cultural policies** is often cited.

While crime prevention has been long established in many European and North American countries as well as countries in Oceania, it is now noticeable in many developing countries. In Uruguay, the 2001 restructuring of the Crime Prevention Directorate to the National Social Crime Prevention Directorate (*Dirección Nacional de Prevención Social del Delito*), initiated a change in the way prevention measures are articulated under the Urban Safety Programme (*Programa de Seguridad Ciudadana*) and promoted an inter-institutional multidisciplinary approach to prevention. Social policies are considered inseparable from prevention actions and social development is seen as an integral partner in implementation.³⁸⁴ However, Uruguay’s efforts did not have the desired effect; some observers alleged that there had been a criminalisation of social policies rather than the elimination of repressive action. In Brazil, the National Public Safety and Citizenship Programme (*Programa Nacional de Segurança Pública com Cidadania; PRONASCI*) launched in 2007 by the Department of Justice, is based on the same approach. Its main objective is to take into account the range of social and cultural dimensions that influence criminal activity. It reflects recent discourse, but maintains the importance of coercive strategies combined with preventive actions, to fight crime and violence.³⁸⁵

Prevention through social development is the main approach adopted by several countries. It is generally part of more targeted social policies, such as those concerning drugs and alcohol prevention. These policies are often accompanied by situational and/or environmental approaches and also by reintegration prevention measures, as in the case of Chile, Canada, Hungary and Scandinavian countries.

In other countries, such as Great Britain and Australia³⁸⁶, **situational prevention has been strongly favoured** due to both quick results that met expectations, and the advent of new technologies. Although their national strategies promote a balance between social approaches and situational prevention, some countries such as Argentina allocate a considerable part of their funding to the implementation of technical systems.³⁸⁷

A number of strategies and action plans call for greater involvement from the private sector – understood in a broad sense to include civil society*, non-governmental organisations and private business – and make provisions for a framework of collaboration with public authorities. The involvement of “community players” is discussed in detail in Chapter 10. One of the current questions for public players in the area of prevention is the hiring of private companies and businesses. The Norwegian National Crime Prevention Council (*Kriminalitetsforebyggende råd; KRÅD*), for example, has a mandate to coordinate prevention actions undertaken by public authorities and the private sector. The Queretaro State Development Plan, in Mexico, also specifically recognises the importance of private security agencies in solving problems related to urban safety.³⁸⁷ The Quebec Departmental Crime Prevention Policy promotes partnership* building between the Ministry of Public Security and specific private businesses, as well as the creation of a permanent

The “Nordic Model” of crime prevention

If Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland present political, cultural and economic features that are specific to them, it may be because they are all social welfare states that promote the importance of the public sector. Since the beginning of the 1950s, these five countries have increasingly interacted and created platforms for exchange, such as the Nordic Council and the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology. These have enabled them to build partnerships and share information. These countries are known for crime prevention that promotes a global, integrated, multi-partnered and multidisciplinary approach based on community potential. Within this scope, the states do not hesitate to borrow heavily from one another, testing neighbouring positive proven measures. With the exception of Iceland, they all have a national crime prevention council. While their respective priorities and methods sometimes differ, their approach to prevention is relatively similar. This is why it is regularly referred to as the *Nordic Model of crime prevention*. This specific model provides an alternative to repression and is seen in research terms as the appropriate blend between social and situational crime prevention

mechanism for consultation with associations that may be related to crime prevention and the provision of support and training for their representatives. In return, the Ministry expects private sector players to cooperate and finance local prevention strategies, development and implementation where applicable.³⁸⁹

3.3 Limited tools and resources

Although government bodies increasingly display a commitment to crime prevention, it must be recognised that resources and tools are often lacking.

Bodies in charge of strategy implementation often have very little autonomy. As part of a larger department, they are often overwhelmed by other departmental objectives. The exception is the Scandinavian national prevention councils, which benefit from greater independence and the ability to influence government policies.

Financing for prevention policies is also a national issue. Some countries have created a dedicated fund for national prevention policy implementation. This is true in Australia (\$65,5 M (AUS), approximately \$60,6 M (CAD) was allocated in 2004 to the *National Community Crime Prevention Programme*), in France (creation of a Delinquency Prevention Interdepartmental Fund of \$75 M (EUR)³⁹⁰, close to \$120 M (CAD)) and in Canada³⁹¹ where the government increased its funding to the National Crime Prevention Centre to \$63 M (CAD) per year in March 2007.³⁹² These structures are generally subject to substantial checks. For example, the National Crime Prevention Centre in Canada underwent four audits since its establishment in 1998. In Chile, the National Public Safety Council (*Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Pública*) must annually report its activities.³⁹³ In Mexico, the Global Crime Prevention and Delinquency Strategy includes the progressive establishment of performance measurement indicators*.

In conclusion, major progress has been made globally in the past few years in understanding how to respond to problems of crime, violence and insecurity. The adoption of national prevention strategies has increased worldwide, in part thanks to the efforts of international organisations that have progressively worked to disseminate sound principles, recommendations, and innovative practices. Policymakers and practitioners can now draw from an impressive range of knowledge and experience based on well-researched projects and evaluation* of strategic interventions in many regions of the world. This body of knowledge provides an array of approaches and an assortment of interventions based on different theoretical assumptions about the genesis of crime, motivations of offenders, vulnerabilities of victims, and dangers present in certain places.

- 299 ECOSOC (2002a); Van Dijk Jan (2004).
- 300 Sansfaçon Daniel, Welsh Brandon (1999); Waller Irvin (2006).
- 301 Eg. World Bank (2006).
- 302 Sansfaçon Daniel (2004); Sansfaçon Daniel (2005).
- 303 European Forum for Urban Safety (2006).
- 304 Redo Slawomir (forthcoming), p. 5.
- 305 ECOSOC (2007c).
- 306 ECOSOC (2007d) and Annex.
- 307 Recommendation Rec(87)19 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the organisation of crime prevention, adopted 17th September 1987.
- 308 Recommendation Rec(2003)21 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States concerning partnership in crime prevention, adopted 24th September 2003; Recommendation Rec(2006)8 on assistance to crime victims, adopted on 14th June 2006; Resolution 1604 (2008) of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly on Video surveillance of public areas, adopted 25th January 2008.
- 309 Eg. Giffins Chris (2006); Wyvekens Anne, Ekblom Paul (2004); Wyvekens Anne, Ekblom Paul (2002).
- 310 *The Hague Programme - Ten priorities for the next five years* : [http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/information_dossiers/the_hague_priorities/index_en.htm].
- 311 European Council Decision of 28 May 2001 setting up a European crime prevention network, (2001/427/JAI); Communication from the Commission of the European Communities to the Council and the European Parliament: Crime prevention in the European Union, COM (2004) 165 final, Brussels, 12 March 2004. According to that definition, crime prevention "shall cover all measures that are intended to reduce or otherwise contribute to reducing crime and citizens' feeling of insecurity, both quantitatively and qualitatively, either through directly deterring criminal activities or through policies and interventions designed to reduce the potential for crime and the causes of crime. It includes work by government, competent authorities, criminal justice agencies, local authorities, specialist associations, the private and voluntary sectors, researchers and the public, supported by the media".
- 312 Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007, *Official Journal of the European Union* C 306/11 (art. 2).
- 313 They include cities in South Africa, Tanzania, Madagascar, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Kenya, Mali, Cameroon, Papua New Guinea, Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia and Serbia.
- 314 See eg. UN-HABITAT (2004a).
- 315 See Mtani Anna, Local innovations for crime prevention - Safer Cities Programme: The case of Dar es Salaam, in Shaw Margaret, Travers Kathryn (Eds.) (2007), pp. 76-87
- 316 UN-HABITAT (2007d); UN-HABITAT (2004b).
- 317 Women in Cities International, Latin American Women and Habitat Network-HIC (2007).
- 318 UNODC (2005); World Bank (2006); UNODC (2007c); UNODC, Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank (2007); UN-HABITAT (2007a); Stone Christopher, Miller Joel, Thornton Monica, Trone Jennifer (2005).
- 319 See eg. Buvini Mayra, Alda Eric, Lamas Jorge (2005).
- 320 UNODC (2007c).
- 321 Eg. Beato Cláudio C. (2005); Beato Cláudio C. (2004); Frühling Hugo, Candina Azun (2005).
- 322 See: www.undp.org.
- 323 Shaw Margaret, Dandurand Yvon (Eds.) (2006).
- 324 Home Office (UK) (2007a).
- 325 ECOSOC (2002a), § 30.
- 326 ECOSOC (2007c), § 54.
- 327 See: <http://www.unicri.it/>.
- 328 See: *South-South regional cooperation for promoting best practices for crime prevention in the developing world* [<http://www.un.org/esa/devaccount/projects/O4050.html>].
- 329 See: <http://www.southsouthcrime.org/Home/default.asp>.
- 330 See: <http://www.youthforhab.org.tr/network/about/about.htm>.
- 331 European Council Decision of 28 May 2001 setting up a European crime prevention network, (2001/427/JAI).
- 332 See: <http://www.eucpn.org>.
- 333 See: <http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/about/en/>.
- 334 See: http://www.unodc.org/treatment/en/about_us.html.
- 335 This was originally called for by the *African Common Position on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice*, released at the 11th UN International Crime Congress in Bangkok, Thailand, April 18-25 2005. See also UNODC (2005).
- 336 See: <http://www.fesu.org/>.
- 337 See: <http://www.cities-localgovernments.org>.
- 338 See: <http://www.metropolis.org>.
- 339 See: www.forumseguranca.org.br.
- 340 See: <http://www.cpted.net/home.html>.
- 341 See: <http://www.victimology.nl/>.
- 342 The Forum received delegates from Lao, Cambodia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Fiji, Samoa, New Zealand and Australia. See: <http://www.acpc.org.au>.
- 343 See: <http://www.afrique-gouvernance.net/site/fiche-1.html>.
- 344 See: <http://www.gcocp.org/>.
- 345 See: <http://www.consortionova.it/index.asp>.
- 346 See: <http://www.cjcp.org.za/>
- 347 See: <http://www.cicc.umontreal.ca/>.
- 348 See: <http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/ipc/>.
- 349 See: <http://www.gern-cnrs.com/gern/index.php?id=4>.
- 350 See: <http://www.cesc.uchile.cl/>.
- 351 See: <http://www.comunidadyprevention.org/>.
- 352 See: <http://www.uahurtado.cl/>.
- 353 See: <http://www.csir.co.za/>.
- 354 See: *EUCPN Work Programme: principles and themes* [<http://www.eucpn.org/keydocs/Work%20Programme-principles&themes.pdf>].
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- 359 The following States completed the questionnaire: South Africa, Algeria, Germany, Saudi Arabia, Belarus, Bolivia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Cyprus, Colombia, Egypt, United Arab Emirates, Spain, Estonia, United States of America, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Mauritius, Mexico, Moldavia, Pakistan, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Syria, Republic of Korea, Dominican Republic, Czech Republic, Romania, Senegal, Serbia, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Sweden and Swaziland. The International Police Association also forwarded a response.
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Does crime prevention pay? Making the United Nations Guidelines for Crime Prevention Work

Stawomir Redo, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, Vienna, Austria
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UN Congress Workshops on Crime Prevention 2000 & 2005 (p.135)

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Urban Safety as the Focus of Development: Ivory Coast UNDP Cooperation Programme 2003-2007 (p.136)

Source:

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Cecilia Andersson, Safer Cities Programme, UN-HABITAT, Nairobi, Kenya
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Sources:

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Details about the members are presented in Annex II.

An ambitious and comprehensive strategy: the Hungarian example (p.144)

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The "Nordic Model" of crime prevention (p.146)

Sources:

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CHAPTER

A SIGNIFICANT TREND TOWARDS KNOWLEDGE-BASED PREVENTION

7

A SIGNIFICANT TREND TOWARDS KNOWLEDGE-BASED PREVENTION

The development of *knowledge-based* policies is not limited to the field of crime prevention and community safety*. It forms part of a larger trend encouraging decision-makers to base their decisions on more scientific information, making better use of recent knowledge in their respective fields of action, and taking into consideration lessons learned from past initiatives. Given the evolution of criminal activities and difficulties in responding to them, prevention policies had to demonstrate some results, and use targeted interventions which are based on good knowledge of specific environments.

*Knowledge-based prevention** includes approaches that use good evidence as the basis for action, ranging from diagnosis to evaluation*. Such approaches are also used to reinforce, and where necessary, challenge public policies. It is by intention that we include in the notion of *knowledge-based prevention* the notion of *evidence-based policy* which is generally understood to be policies based on evaluation. Such approaches have also been used in developing and post-conflict countries, based on recommendations and requirements set out by international organisations.

1. KNOWLEDGE OF INTERVENTION ENVIRONMENTS REINFORCED THROUGH SYSTEMATIC DIAGNOSIS

1.1 Safety audits are widely recommended

At the international level, the UN has specifically promoted systematic diagnosis since the adoption of the Guidelines for Cooperation and Technical Assistance in the Field of Urban Crime³⁹⁴ which states: "Urban crime is characterised by a multiplicity of factors and forms. A multi-agency approach and a coordinated response at the local level, in accordance with an integrated crime prevention action plan, will often be helpful. This should involve a local diagnostic survey of crime phenomena, their characteristics, factors leading to them, the form they take and their extent." The 2002 UN Guidelines also recommend that any planned interventions should be based on "a systematic analysis of crime problems, their causes, risk factors* and consequences, in particular at the local level."³⁹⁵ In the

methodology developed by UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme, the completion of diagnosis is one of the first steps in the development of a local crime prevention strategy.³⁹⁶ At the national level, safety diagnoses or audits have been used by governments in several countries since the mid-1990s. They have been developed first in Europe, then in North America and Oceania. In France, for example, circulars calling for the establishment of local safety contracts between specific government services and local communities, and including diagnoses were issued in 1997.³⁹⁷ In the following year, Great Britain made safety audits obligatory through the *Crime & Disorder Act*.³⁹⁸ Systematic audits have been used in Belgium since 2001 and a few years later in Australia and New Zealand.³⁹⁹ In 2003, the Hungarian crime prevention strategy refers to *knowledge-based planning*, calling for programmes to be based on reliable statistics and data on crime, victimisation, and insecurity. The use of safety audits has begun to multiply, even where there is no law obligating their use.⁴⁰⁰

Their use has also been extended to other parts of the world, mainly through the impetus of international programmes. In Douala (Cameroon), under the UN-HABITAT Safer Cities Programme, a safety audit has been conducted through a local survey of 6 000 inhabitants.¹⁰³ The same process was used in Durban, South Africa.¹⁰⁴ In the Ivory Coast, the UNPD used safety audits in an *urban safety support project* in thirteen localities of the district of Abidjan.¹⁰⁵ In Chile, the Minister of the Interior created the *Programa Comuna Segura*, under which municipalities use safety audits before the implementation of action and evaluation plans. Local coordinators (*secretarios técnicos*) develop and conduct the audits. Since 2001, the programme has been implemented in more than 70 municipalities.

Diagnosis or audit?

Various names are used to designate the tool that supports the diagnostic process, depending on the region of the world. The term *audit* is used, whereas French speaking countries use the term *diagnosis*, similar to that used in Latin American countries (*Diagnóstico Local de Seguridad*). A comparative study of various diagnoses and audits does not appear to demonstrate any significant differences in terms of the design, the goals or the methods used.

The EFUS has opted for the term “safety audit” which includes “not only a review of crime and victimisation data, but also the analysis of the links between these phenomena and the various socio-economic factors, and in a more global perspective, the institutional and political contexts from which they arise”.

1.2 A common approach which can be conducted in many ways

The objectives of the diagnostic phase in different countries are essentially the same, and generally involve **gathering, analysing and comparing data** from different partners and sources, **taking into account the expectations of partners**, and **the sense of security** of the population. These are recurring factors, regardless of the place where the diagnostic is conducted.⁴⁰⁴

Many different **guides and methodologies** have been produced in countries in which the principle of an initial audit is clearly established.⁴⁰⁵ At the international level there have been efforts to standardise and disseminate guidelines for safety audits. A recent compendium of best practices was developed by the European Forum for Urban Safety with the support of the Canadian government (see box above). The European Union has supported a project entitled “Dwell on” (2006-2008), designed to produce European model audit especially for urban zones at risk.⁴⁰⁶ This project includes the organisation of local surveys and workshops in four European cities: Rotterdam (Netherlands), Rome (Italy), Budapest (Hungary) and Aulnay-sous-Bois (France, Paris suburbs).

Some principles seem to be commonly recognised and used in the audit process (see contribution p.159). Based on the concept of the “co-production of safety”, **partnership*** is one such principle;

it is generally recognised that audit data should be co-produced by partners or by a local coalition that shares the same vision of the neighbourhood for the definition of prevention action.⁴⁰⁷ The systematic use of audits, with the encouragement of national incentives, has led to the development in certain countries of a “**safety consultation market**”, which may be subject to criticism if the audit process is assigned to an outsider supply, with no input from local actors.⁴⁰⁸ The Guides produced in Belgium and England⁴⁰⁹, by contrast, strongly recommend against the exclusive use of private firms to perform safety audits.⁴¹⁰

The prescriptions for the preparation of **diagnostic contents** are often set out in legal texts⁴¹¹, although they are more often set out in diagnostic methodology guides. Various tools may be used, such as **data gathering**. International organisations favour victimisation surveys produced at the local level. Other modes of consultation have been used and are described in detail in Chapter 3: focus groups, safety audits, and regular diagnostics on usage.⁴¹²

Regardless of the country using audits, many similarities have been catalogued in terms of the **difficulties** encountered. These include difficulties in mobilizing local partners, the absence of technical information about the diagnostic process, and difficulties in identifying the priorities of action. An example from Chile reveals how many such obstacles were encountered in audits conducted in the region of Santiago, where there is a lack of empirical studies on safety, a lack of specific information on urban localities, problems with inter-sector coordination due to a lack of local leadership on local safety issues, low political interest in audits and inadequate funding for action plans to support such initiatives. **Updating audit data** is also a major challenge, particularly in countries or cities that lack the financial resources to support this.⁴¹³

SAFETY AUDITS

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Policy makers at local and national levels in the North and in the South are increasingly adopting strategic, multi-agency and information-led approaches to crime prevention. Part of that trend is growing recognition of the need for sound analysis to inform decisions about which issues should be prioritised and how best to respond to them. These approaches, and specifically the conduct of such analysis, translate into practice the Guidelines for Crime Prevention endorsed by the United Nations in 2002.

The safety audit, sometimes termed a safety diagnosis or crime audit, is a tool for such analysis, most effectively utilised at city level by agencies who are mandated and committed to developing a crime prevention strategy. It provides a framework of structure and process that ensures relevant issues are systematically examined, and which can be adapted for use in locations at different levels of development as well as in varied cultural contexts.

Critically, it is also tool for facilitating engagement of community representatives, who should play a central role alongside agencies in identifying issues of concern, building understanding of why they are occurring, appraising current responses and identifying gaps in provision. The findings can then be used to create consensus among crime prevention partners about what needs to be done and strengthen their commitment to achieve a common goal.

Safety audits are now widely used. In some countries, such as Mexico and England, local agencies have been mandated to carry out local diagnoses prior to formulation of local safety plans. In several west European states, safety audits are strongly encouraged or made a condition of funding for local projects by central government. Safety audits have also been embedded in international initiatives, such as UN-HABITAT's Safer Cities Programme. In Latin America the World Bank has promoted rigorous safety analysis through its guidance to municipalities wishing to tackle crime and violence.

Although careful examination of problems is at the core of any safety audit, the analysis needs to have a much wider scope if potential benefits are to be fully realised. A comprehensive city audit will normally include:

- contextual information, including an overview of the city's demographic, economic and other characteristics
- analysis of crime and violence patterns, as well as related problems such as disorder and incivilities, including the scale, trend, distribution and impact of incidents
- profiles of victims and offenders, including the gender, age, ethno-cultural and socio-economic patterns of these groups
- investigation of risk factors likely to contribute to the occurrence of crime and violence
- appraisal of the effectiveness of current services and projects - such as health, housing, welfare and education - in relation to prevention
- assessment of the political and institutional environment to identify opportunities for developing preventive action
- identification of opportunities, strengths and potential of the area, including social capital, on which a future strategy may be built.

To ensure that the audit process is fair, inclusive and formative, it should be underpinned by principles agreed between local partners that govern how information is collected and used. Such principles may vary with local circumstances, but they should commit partners, for example, to respect human rights, apply practices of good urban governance, engage civil society, recognise distinctive perspectives related to gender, minorities and youth and only use information gathered for preventative purposes.

A compendium of international practice on safety audits has recently been published by the European Forum for Urban Safety with support from the Government of Canada's Department of Public Safety.¹ This identifies four stages in audit implementation, beginning with a broad 'scoping' of issues before focusing on specific

problems, neighbourhoods or population groups that warrant more detailed study. The four stages are summarised below :

- Stage 1 'Wide and shallow analysis'. An initial appraisal of problems and contributory factors using readily accessible information.
- Stage 2 'Narrow and deep' investigation. Research into issues requiring further attention to gain a better understanding.
- Stage 3 Identification of priorities and opportunities. Establishing which issues the strategy should focus as well as strengths and assets on which to build.
- Stage 4 Consultation and communication. Validating emerging findings prior to report preparation and dissemination of findings.

Audit stages 1 and 2 will involve collation and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative information. Care is needed when selecting and using "official" data sources, especially police records. In every country victimisation of all types is under-recorded to varying degrees and, even worse, bias in reporting or recording can result in problems of the most victimised or disadvantaged not being recognised. It is therefore essential to appraise the quality of any official data and then make an informed decision as to whether and how it should be used.

There are certain problems that will never be adequately represented in official data. They include, for example, family violence, use of illicit drugs, street children and human trafficking. Their statistical 'invisibility' can lead to such issues not receiving the attention they deserve. The audit however provides an opportunity to counter this. Through consultations with 'key informants' as well as other empirical work, their nature, scale and impact can be investigated and, if appropriate highlighted. Similarly, it is important to recognise and investigate how experiences, perceptions and feelings of safety vary significantly with gender, ethnicity and age. Problems and potential responses therefore need to take account of these different perspectives.

The audit analysis should however not just concern itself with problems. Equally important will be consideration of the effectiveness of current responses, how these might be improved or developed and whether resources might be more successfully used in other ways.

All the information gathered then needs to be appraised and comparisons made prior to selection of a limited list of topics to be recommended as priorities in the audit report. This third stage of an audit is particularly challenging since there are likely to be many "competing" issues, for many of which there will be persuasive advocates and compelling arguments. But a choice is necessary to ensure effort is not dissipated and resources are not spread too thinly. In the final stage, once conclusions have been reached, findings need to be validated with local stakeholders, especially community representatives, and then a final report prepared and circulated.

Carrying out an audit is a significant task. It requires investment of time (possibly 6-9 months on the first occasion), a team with a range of research skills as well as subject knowledge, and possibly resources to undertake empirical study. The task will also need to be repeated periodically or the audit findings will need to be updated. However, the information provided should lead to better strategic decisions, more effective action and a greater focus on issues of concern to communities.

¹ European Forum for Urban Safety (2008), *Guidance on local safety audits: A compendium of international practice*, Paris: EFUS. www.urbansecurity.org

The collection and analysis of data in the audit has brought to light the need for sustainable structures that will enable the comparison of data over time. In response to this need, a number of crime and safety observatories have been created.

1.3 Safety observatories

The development of observatories corresponds to the need for "tools (...) that are technically

and politically reliable (...) capable of providing local actors with a global and rational overview of insecurity".⁴¹⁴ Their objective is to go beyond the mere collection of police statistics, the reliability of which is sometimes questioned.⁴¹⁵ This need has been expressed at the international level. In 2001, the Council of Europe recommended "to establish a European observatory that could draw comparisons between municipalities, offer training courses for various public officials and improve knowledge in the field of urban security".

Among the reasons invoked for the creation of an observatory, the recommendation emphasised that it “would be responsible for (...) gathering, analysing and making available to all parties concerned information on crime and the operation of systems of justice in the different countries [...]”.⁴¹⁶ In the same vein, the **Urban Global Observatory** was established by UN-HABITAT to respond to the “urgent need to improve urban knowledge at the international level by helping government, local authorities, and civil society* organisations develop and implement indicators, statistics, and other urban data tools to improve knowledge in the field of urban security.”⁴¹⁷

Observatories are being developed in many countries in different forms.⁴¹⁸ Some observatories have been created as regional and supranational organisations, such as the *Observatorio Centroamericano sobre Violencia (OCAVI)*.⁴¹⁹ National observatories are rarely set up, although the *Observatoire national de la délinquance* in France⁴²⁰ is an exception. Some institutions do not use the term “observatory”. The Australian Institute of Criminology, for example, tracks crime under the *Crime Monitoring Program* to maintain a database on crime and identify trends.⁴²¹

The majority of observatories have been created at the local level. Many have been created in Europe, such as in France (in Aulnay-sous-Bois, Toulouse and its suburbs: *Mission d’Observation de la Délinquance pour l’Agglomération Toulousaine*, MODAT and Paris); in Spain (*Observatorio de la seguridad de Madrid*) and in Switzerland (*Observatoire de la sécurité de Lausanne*). In Latin America, crime observatories have been established in capital cities such as Bogotá

(Colombia) and Quito (Equator). There are also municipal crime observatories in most Latin American countries. *Red 14* under the URBAL Programme (European Commission programme) coordinated by the municipality of Valparaíso (Chile) is a network consisting of dozens of municipal observatories in Latin America (Peru, Equator, El Salvador, Colombia, etc.) and Europe (Italy, Spain).⁴²² In Africa, the lack of financial resources and internal conflicts make it difficult to sustain projects such as that in Abidjan, which began as an urban safety support project, with the intention of creating an observatory.

The legal status and institutional affiliations of these structures are variable. While most are linked to some kind of territorial administrative entity (national government department or local city structure), some observatories have been created within university structures as research projects such as the Canadian Observatory for the prevention of school violence at the University of Sherbrooke⁴²³ or the *Centro de estudos de criminalidade e segurança pública (CRISP)* at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, in Brazil.⁴²⁴

The size and the operating structures of observatories also vary, ranging from modest local observatories with limited staff, to very large units with hundreds of staff.

Observatories have also benefited from the development of new technologies, such as *crime mapping* (see contribution below). Given the demand for the creation of observatories, the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) organised the first international meeting on crime observatories in December 2007 to identify recent developments and needs for cooperation in this field.⁴²⁵

CONTRIBUTION

GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEMS (GIS): A STRUCTURED SUPPORT FOR CRIME OBSERVATION

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A new way to analyse crime has developed over the past decade with the appearance and accessibility of geo coding new geo-reference information technologies. The review of specialist literature uses terminology such as Geographic Information Systems (GIS) used for crime observation or *crime mapping* which involves spacial analysis methodology for crime observation.

The basis of geographical information science lies in the establishment of a correlation between a geographical coordinate and some other quantitative or qualitative information related to the phenomenon being analysed in a given territory. Because the information can be connected to a specific address or sector (neighbourhood, municipality or region), analysis of crime data with GIS technologies provides a means to correlate it with an area. Statistical tables can be processed to provide information which

will then be mapped. Crime mapping helps to establish patterns or models of association between crime and a given territory.

The creation of new databases to capture crime patterns is now unthinkable without the use of spatial analysis techniques. In practical terms, GIS analysis tools can be used to quickly create maps that provide information to support field auditing. If the objective of an inquiry is to determine the risk factors that increase the probabilities of criminal acts or, on the other hand, the factors that reduce these risks, new information technologies are now very powerful means to analyze geo-referenced data. The results of the analysis can be shared over an internal institutional network, Intranet or over the Internet for greater distribution.

In order to create a dedicated GIS crime observation system including a crime mapping database that includes local and regional data, special attention must be paid to computer configuration and architecture. The information and operational infrastructure must be reliable and validated to meet user expectations, and adapted to the needs of crime prevention actors in the field. It must be remembered that the purpose of such a system is to ensure local and regional access to criminal offence data and to tailor prevention using geo-referenced analysis (when available). GIS can process indicators related to the frequency and the nature of offences through correlation with demographic and socio-economic variables.

The following are sample questions that can be answered by GIS¹:

- What is the breakdown of different types of crime between neighbourhoods and cities?
- What factors are associated with criminality in neighbourhoods and regions?
- Which neighbourhoods have the lowest levels of crime, even if they have other risk factors?
- How does neighbourhood crime vary between large cities?
- What are the characteristics of the trajectory of victims and offenders prior to an offence?

Crime mapping can be used to gain a better understanding of the territorial distribution of crime. The method can be extended by the addition of temporal analysis capacity, or the capacity to analyze other variables, to create models likely to draw the attention of prevention authorities to an area or territory at a specific time. Crime mapping also makes it possible to contextualize data in order to underline the dynamics of criminal behaviour in a given territory (qualitative analysis) and hence prepare an operational response. It can also help to foster new approaches with particular partners.

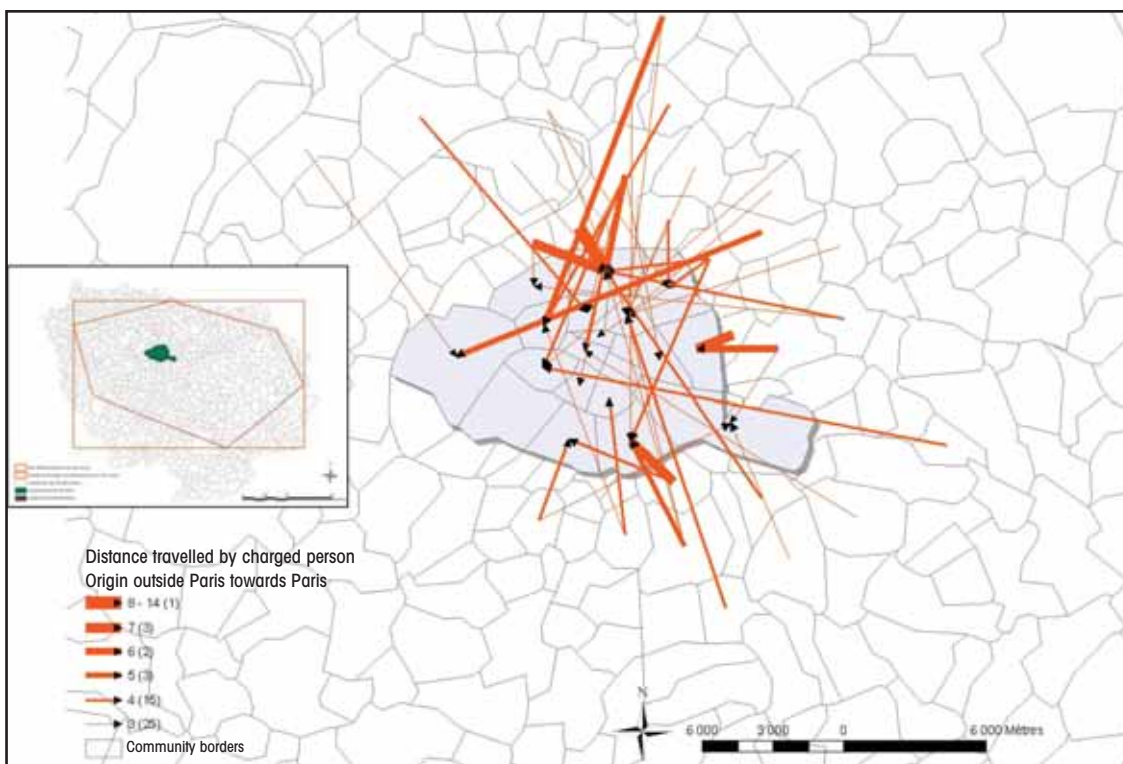
Over the last ten years, new interactive tools have been proposed to users of crime observatories to support sustained community audits. Initiatives such as the Vermont Communities Count (Hogan, 1999), CAN DO (Center on urban poverty and social change), *Early Child Development Mapping Project* (Mullens, 2004), *Comprendre la petite enfance* (Connor & Brink, 1999) and J Ratcliffe in Philadelphia (2004) make use of spatio-temporal or *aorist* analyses. These studies have already demonstrated the relevance of health indicators in prevention, especially regarding child mistreatment. Social and economic data is used in conjunction with crime statistics for more effective planning of local action aimed at basic problems, such as applied criminology, or related studies such as poverty reduction literature.

The tool, which is based on an interactive GIS system, provides regular, uniform and reliable data to users about the distribution of a number of variables in their territory. Geographical information systems are often designed for the academic or research user in order to influence public policy. From a perspective of knowledge-sharing and community mobilization, it is recommended that their use be extended to other professionals and specialists as well as local actors. In combination with Intranet services, they will help reinforce the audit capacity of users and the information obtained can be used in their strategies and choice of interventions.

Examples

Two “point-of-origin-destination” studies, dealing with the locus of criminal acts in relationship to perpetrator and victim coordinates, were conducted in Paris and Montreal. In both studies, the results were comparable in terms of the relationships established: on average crimes against persons are generally committed close to place of residence of the perpetrator, whereas property crimes occur further away.

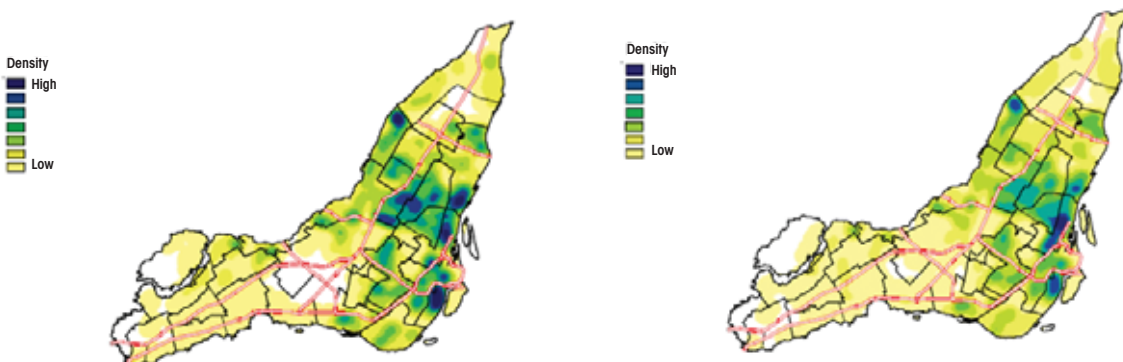
Main flow of suspects towards Paris



Source: Besson Jean-Luc (2007), « Les Origines et les Destinations des suspects et des victimes de vols avec violences. Les premiers résultats », 1st International Meeting on Crime Observatories, Paris, 11-12 Decembre 2007.

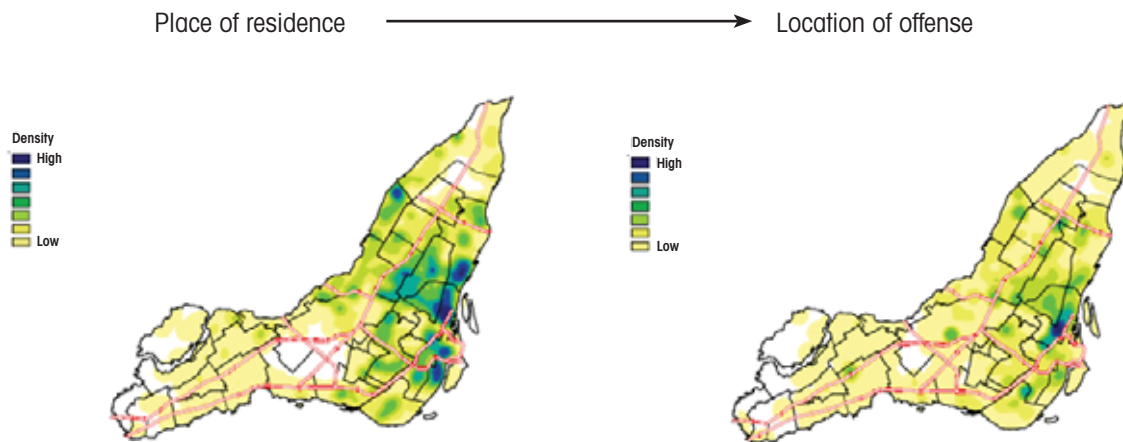
Those charged with violent offenses travel little: they travel an average distance of 1 kilometre (0,9 km), Montreal, 2001

Place of residence → Location of offense



Based on 10, 009 journey
Source: Savoie, J., F. Bédard et K. Collins. 2006. Neighborhood characteristics and the distribution of crime on the island of Montreal. Statistics Canada Catalogue n°85-561. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

Those charged with property offense travel an average distance of 4 kilometers, Montreal, 2001



Based on 7,744 journey

Source: Savoie, J., F. Bédard et K. Collins. 2006. *Neighborhood characteristics and the distribution of crime on the island of Montreal*. Statistics Canada Catalogue n°85-561. Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

2. EVALUATION OF PREVENTION POLICIES HAS BECOME A COMMON REQUIREMENT

Evidence-based crime prevention has a long history, but became increasingly popular in the 1990's with its promise of demonstrating 'what works' and 'what doesn't'. It has gained further attention since then, including through the comparative work of the *Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group*.⁴²⁶ By carefully selecting projects which meet their standards for scientific measurement, and using systematic meta-analysis to compare the results from similar studies obtained in different countries or contexts, the group has been able to demonstrate clear crime reduction outcomes from particular kinds of interventions. They have also been able to demonstrate some clear cost-benefits and cost-savings.⁴²⁷

2.1 Increased use of evaluation in crime prevention

Evaluation* of crime prevention practices helps to establish a **rational and scientific basis** for comparing the efficiency of practices against target objectives; the methods used (financial, human and other), and the unexpected consequences. In other words, the use of evaluation in crime prevention follows the same principles as in other fields such as education or health services.⁴²⁸

Like countries, international organisations have also a desire to see the development of an **evaluation culture** for projects. The UN Guidelines encourage efforts to ensure the transparency of "funding, execution and evaluation" of prevention projects as well as the verification of "the intended results".⁴²⁹ For instance, they recommend that bodies that participate in prevention "undertake short- and longer-term evaluation to test rigorously what works, where and why; (...) undertake cost-benefit analyses; (...) systematically assess the outcomes and unintended consequences, both positive and negative, of action (...)." ⁴³⁰

In the European Union, some common standards and protocols for the evaluation of programmes and strategies have been established, and national and European support and funding is given to local governments for evaluation. The **Beccaria programme**⁴³¹, for example, aims to "teach basic skills for prevention work, know-how for planning, implementing and monitoring projects; develop modules for a training programme; and plans a Master's degree course in crime prevention".⁴³²

Certain countries already have a long-term record in the field of evaluation*. For instance, Scandinavian countries use a knowledge-based approach and insist on the importance of thorough evaluation process: "(...) as far as possible, crime prevention is based on national and international research and other knowledge. Research can also contribute to assessing the effectiveness of

crime prevention measures. It is the task of research to systematise and compare the information available. It is also the task of research to develop new knowledge".⁴³³ In Australia, the national prevention programme recently underwent an exhaustive evaluation conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology. Canada noted a number of evaluation challenges in its response to the UN questionnaire on implementation of the Guidelines. It underlined the absence of indicators of success and the lack of evaluation experts. It also pointed out the difficulties of measuring the impacts of multidimensional prevention strategies, such as action that aims to prevent crime, as well as drug consumption and homelessness.

Evaluation* as a requirement has now been integrated into most national crime prevention strategies. In Argentina, the national plan defines evaluation as the corner stone of all prevention action. The plan calls for the creation of a national evaluation and diagnostic team (*Equipo de Diagnóstico y Evaluación Nacional*) in charge of evaluating prevention projects. Local safety and prevention contracts in Belgium were submitted to a first serious evaluation in 2000, and are to be renewed for the 2007-2010 strategic safety and prevention plans. In France, a specific evaluation mechanism (*dispositif particulier d'évaluation*) of projects financed by the Fonds interministériel pour la prévention de la délinquance was put in place to "avoid simple automatic renewal".⁴³⁴ In Quebec, the lack of evaluation of crime prevention action has been criticised by Cabinet policy as a significant absence.⁴³⁵

These examples demonstrate that evaluation is not only considered as a pledge of long-term commitment by the bodies and persons involved in such projects, but also as a prerequisite for obtaining new funding. **Budget concerns** by governments funding prevention programmes are part of a trend that affects every public policy, calling for greater "accountability".⁴³⁶ Accountability can be established by legislation, as in France where a law on finances was adopted in 2001, or by government policy aimed at optimising the use of government resources for the benefit of citizens. Benchmarking is used to systematically evaluate programmes using quantitative indicators* (cost, quality, productivity) making it possible to identify good practices. This is the case in the United Kingdom, where it's the Best Value programme, aims at making police services accountable for their own performance.⁴³⁷ Since their relevancy is regularly challenged, crime prevention programmes must constantly justify the resources allocated to them. Given these circumstances, evaluation helps to demonstrate the impact of prevention programmes.⁴³⁸

Funding of prevention action in Canada: a results-based strategy

Since its creation in 1998, Canada's National Crime Prevention Centre has supported prevention projects developed by local communities by sharing prevention tools and knowledge. Since 2007, NCPC has focused its support on interventions that have demonstrated success in reducing the risk factors of offending among the most vulnerable groups. NCPC has progressively moved towards a "results and evidence-based approach - **what works** - (...) [which should] be integrated with the activities of other programmes and services, build on the knowledge of known risk and protective factors*, (...) be focused on specific priorities, and be measurable." NCPC fosters independent and thorough evaluation of the effects of projects that it funds, especially when these projects are deployed across several different sites in Canada.

However, funding of evaluation itself often constitutes an obstacle to its systematic use. In 1997, the Sherman report recommended that 10% of the total budget of all prevention programmes should be dedicated to the programmes most likely to be evaluated, in addition to 10% of the programme budget set aside for evaluation as such.⁴³⁹ Many government researchers and organisations keep **10% of prevention programme costs for programme evaluation**.⁴⁴⁰ By integrating evaluation costs at the start of the programme, evaluation is systematised and directly integrated into practice. Often, the principle of evaluating an intervention *before* and *after* is not always respected, and the evaluation is only initiated after the programme has started. Costs can limit the scope and strength of results: the sample may be too small, the span of the study too short, or methods too weak. Yet a less methodologically rigorous evaluation is always useful and desirable.⁴⁴¹

The independence of evaluations, particularly of policies, has been questioned. Political interference in programme evaluation can distinguish between government and academic research.⁴⁴² Reluctance to evaluate may conceal different motives. "Sometimes officials are reluctant [to evaluate] for less elevated reasons than the preservation of public debate. They may, for instance, want to conserve room for manoeuvring (...). Or, they may simply want to avoid accountability, being convinced that officials know what is effective and good for

society, and that any checks on them are superfluous. (...) Lack of evaluation may also stem from the overly conflicting expectations of officials, which cramp the space left open to evaluators, who are caught between the strong presuppositions of the national political forces, [etc.], and are unable to retain the autonomy required by any serious work. The outcome is that nothing is evaluated and there is simply arbitration on the basis of the power relations between the various protagonists".⁴⁴³

2.2 Specific difficulties in evaluating crime prevention

Certain kinds of interventions, notably those following cohorts of children over time (longitudinal and developmental studies) and studies of single interventions and specific situational prevention techniques (eg. CCTV) are much more amenable to rigorous testing and evaluation than interventions which involve a range of initiatives, or target a wider area or community*. Situational techniques, in particular, can also demonstrate their effectiveness and cost-savings in a short time scale, which make them attractive to policy makers and politicians.⁴⁴⁴ While considerable recent progress has been made in developmental crime prevention, as well as situational and environmental prevention, this does not mean that other kinds of approaches are not worth undertaking, or that there are no other considerations in selecting programmes.

Among those who argue for strong scientific evidence-based prevention, there has been a tendency to claim that only projects subject to rigorous evaluation* and found to be effective and replicable should be utilised. Yet many forms of social and community-based crime prevention cannot expect to show short-term results, since they involve a range of actions, and target multiple causal factors. In such cases it is not always easy to say 'what worked'. However, they can be shown to be effective in the medium or longer term. There is now increasing attention to different ways of evaluating the impacts of complex strategies and interventions, and to the range of outcomes which result from such interventions, apart from any reduction in crime.

Beyond this, however, there are other factors to be taken into account in selecting and evaluating prevention strategies, including their ethical implications and their impact on the rights and liberties of different groups, such as young people or minorities. It is important to separate the tools and techniques for evaluating a programme (and getting quick results) from the need to ensure that pro-

grammes are well implemented and managed, and have outputs which meet logical expectations.⁴⁴⁵ Politicians, policy makers and practitioners need to know whether projects are well-managed and achieved the kinds of outputs they intended. Thus evaluation of prevention requires political choices and balances, and involves much more than just an assessment of the crime-reducing impact of a particular type of intervention.⁴⁴⁶

It is in this context that researchers, practitioners, and institutions have begun to define **indicators* to measure prevention effectiveness and the state of safety**.⁴⁴⁷ However, the use of indicators in prevention raises additional issues. For instance, a lower number of arrests in a given area might seem like a good indicator of crime reduction in that area. The relationship might be strong but it is important to distinguish indicators and objectives: it may also be possible that the lower number of arrests stems from reduced police presence. Currently, indicators used to evaluate prevention practices essentially serve as programme management tools that provide results to policy-makers, to the public and to intervention workers.⁴⁴⁸

REVIEWING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMMUNITY SAFETY POLICY AND PRACTICE - AN OVERVIEW OF CURRENT DEBATES AND THEIR BACKGROUND

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Introduction

International reviews of crime prevention policy and practice serve a variety of useful purposes, but by synthesising key sources and experience across different jurisdictions, they can in particular help planners to make judgments about areas of work that are most promising or likely to generate positive outcomes in their own areas. Hence, reviews of this kind can provide practical tools for decision-making, and help policy-makers and others both to build on documented successes and avoid “reinventing the wheel”, and to think again before progressing areas of work which, although they might have seemed desirable on other grounds, have been deemed to have been unsuccessful elsewhere.

However, such reviews also raise a number of difficult issues concerning how the available evidence about effectiveness can best be understood and made relevant to local policy and practice, and more generally, about how we can recognise “success” and “failure” in the field of crime prevention and community safety.

It is worth highlighting some of these key issues, which have been raised in the literature during the development of “evidence-based” and “what works” approaches in many parts of the world, and which are still hotly debated within the criminal justice and community safety fields.

“Evidence-led” criminal justice/crime prevention policy

Arguments concerning the desirability of maintaining strong links between social policy and research evidence are of course neither new, nor restricted to the crime prevention/community safety field, and many trace the origins of the current “what works” focus in social policy more generally to the work of Donald Campbell in the 1960s and 1970s.

In his presidential address to the American Psychological Association in 1969, Campbell argued for the creation of an “experimenting society”:

“The United States and other modern nations should be ready for an experimental approach to social reform, an approach in which we try out new programmes designed to cure specific social problems, in which we learn whether or not these programmes are effective, and in which we retain, imitate, modify, or discard them on the basis of apparent effectiveness on the multiple imperfect criteria available” (Campbell, 1969: 409).

Although Campbell was not speaking specifically about crime prevention, his comments were made during a period of policy experimentation and evaluation research activity in criminal justice and related fields that was fairly intense in the United States in particular, before links between research and the development of criminal justice policy became problematised in the wake of the “nothing works” phase during the mid-1970s (prompted of course, though controversially, by a review of the research evidence on rehabilitation, conducted by Robert Martinson; 1974).

These links became revitalised again during the late 1980s however, at which time “meta-analyses” also began to suggest that previous pessimism about the effectiveness of crime reduction initiatives more generally might have been misplaced (see Maguire 1995). This interest in meta-analysis and in developing stronger links between policy and research evidence continued into the 1990s, and in April 1996, led the United States Congress to commission an independent, comprehensive and scientific evaluation of what works in crime reduction employing “rigorous and scientifically recognized standards and methodologies.” The result of this mandate was a pioneering, comprehensive and systematic assessment of crime prevention programmes (ranging from early childhood prevention to ex-prisoner aftercare) titled “Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn’t and What’s Promising” (Sherman et al., 1997) produced by the University of Maryland’s Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice.

The latter report (hereafter the “Sherman report”) is referred to specifically here because it did have a significant impact on policy thinking toward the end of the 1990s and into the 21st century, and because it also provided a framework for reviewing research evidence which has been widely replicated since. A Sherman-style review was produced in the U.K. in 1998 for example (Goldblatt and Lewis, 1998), and more recent reviews have also adopted the general framework or used it as a focal point for assessing recent evidence or updating previous reviews across a range of policy areas (e.g. Aos et al., 2006; ARCS, 2008; Cann et al., 2003; Falshaw et al., 2003; Harper and Chitty, 2005; McSweeney et al., 2008; Seiter and Kadela, 2003; Welsh and Farrington, 2006).

The popularity of meta-analyses and systematic reviews more generally was also spurred on by organisations such as the influential Campbell Collaboration (and in particular in this field, by the Collaboration’s Crime and Justice Group), and also by an increasing interest on the part of policy-makers not only in the “what works” literature, but in cost-effectiveness and “value for money”. Again within the U.K., evidence reviews provided a foundation for major crime reduction programmes designed and implemented by the Government in the late 1990s, for example - primarily the Crime Reduction Programme, which has been referred to as being “the most ambitious, best resourced and most comprehensive effort for driving down crime ever attempted in a Western developed country” (Hemel et al., 2005).

In short, although the more specific notion of “evidence-based policy” has been described as being “a peculiarly British affair” (Solesbury, 2001: 6), the language of “what works” in crime reduction and criminal justice has spread throughout much of the developed world in recent years.

This development has not gone without criticism, however, and efforts to strengthen links between policy and research evidence have themselves generated a wealth of experience and new opportunities for such criticisms to be articulated – the Crime Reduction Programme referred to above clearly placed some of these issues in the spotlight for example (e.g., see Hemel et al., 2005; Hope, 2004;; Hough, 2004; Maguire, 2004; Tilley, 2005).

Some of the key criticisms focus on perceived flaws in the available tools for assessing the quality of research evidence, and these criticisms are described separately in the following section, but there are a number of others that are worthy of mention in this context.

First, it has been argued that marshalling high quality sets of evidence about the effectiveness or otherwise of crime prevention measures will not somehow “tell policy-makers what to do”, even if there were no disputes about evidence quality. Access to credible evidence concerning the effectiveness of youth diversion schemes does not make it obvious that we should replicate such schemes in favour of others, for example, let alone that this area of work should be prioritised over others such as burglary or domestic violence. Judgments about such priorities are essentially moral and political, and cannot be drawn solely by reference to the evidence concerning either the contours of particular social problems or by evidence concerning the effectiveness of interventions to address them (Tilley, 2001).

It is also clear that some areas of policy interest simply may not have an associated evidence base - hate crime directed at visible and newly-arrived refugee populations in some jurisdictions might suggest interventions that have not been assessed anywhere, for example, but policy-makers might feel a need to design appropriate responses nonetheless.

Furthermore, although positive outcomes that are focused on in crime prevention reviews (reductions in offending or victimisation in particular) are obvious “social goods”, they are not the only ones. Enhancing feelings of security, allowing healing opportunities for victims, or allowing offenders the opportunity to “pay back” to local communities could all be regarded as serving useful functions independently of any of the more standard crime prevention outcomes. As Travis has noted:

“Many community corrections agencies are experimenting with sanctions that are visible to the public and contain a measure of community restitution. These sanctions may or may not result in reductions in recidivism, but if they help to restore public confidence in the criminal justice system and allow offenders to give back to the community, then they are performing a valuable function (2003: 6).”

It has also been suggested that the notion of evidence-led policy has at its heart a view of the potential role of research evidence that is probably too optimistic, and evaluators themselves have not always sought to manage such expectations effectively (Hough, 2004; see also Gadd, 2004).

Hence, at the very least, the whole idea that crime prevention policy could (or should) ever be “evidence-led” in this sense has been problematised in the wake of such criticisms.

Assessing evidence of effectiveness – Key Debates

As the above remarks already suggest, efforts to strengthen links between research evidence and crime prevention policy and practice necessarily involve some notion of evidence “quality”, whether or not the essential features of the latter are made explicit – clearly, not all claims about the success or failure of crime prevention interventions are equally credible, and those who review the available evidence therefore need some reliable way of distinguishing between “good” and “less good” evidence.

In assessing the quality of evaluation evidence, it is often assumed that the standards and practices of the natural sciences provide the most rigorous and objective framework available, and many authorities have developed quality standards for evaluation that are based on that broad “experimental” framework.

The most referred-to set of quality standards of this kind for evaluation research – the Scientific Methods Scale, or SMS – was developed initially in the United States in order to assess methodological standards in crime prevention programme evaluations, and it involves five levels of methodological rigour. The scale begins with “Level 1” (being the lowest standard, applicable to studies that focus only on correlations between programmes and particular measures – e.g. offending - at one point in time), and ends with “Level 5” (the highest standard, reserved for studies that involve random assignment of programme and control conditions to units; Harper and Chitty, 2005). The “gold standard” Level 5 study within this framework is felt to be the randomised controlled trial, or RCT, which most closely mirrors the experimental approaches adopted in the natural sciences.

In short, SMS adherents argue that the higher that a piece of evaluation research can be placed on this scale, the more confident we can be in the evaluation’s conclusions concerning cause and effect.

This scale was used by Sherman and his colleagues to allow them to rank available evaluation studies in terms of quality, and then to aggregate sets of research evidence to yield overall conclusions concerning “what works”, “what’s promising”, and so on. Similar scales have also been adopted by the Campbell Collaboration referred to above, and by many key research funders and Government departments (including the Home Office in the UK, for example).

Such standards for assessing the quality of evaluation research evidence have been hotly contested in the literature however, and a number of key criticisms have been raised in particular by “scientific realists” (Pawson, 2006; Pawson and Tilly, 1997; Tilley, 2001, 2002) and other “theory-based” evaluators (e.g. Connell et al., 1995; see also Weiss, 1995). Exchanges between experimentalists and others have also flared up occasionally in the literature over the last 15 years, in relation to specific policy areas such as neighbourhood policing (Bennett, 1991, 1996; Pawson and Tilley, 1994) and community-based crime prevention programmes (e.g. Farrington, 1997; Pawson and Tilley, 1998; Farrington, 2003).

The criticisms raised are wide-ranging and involve both technical and philosophical arguments which are difficult to summarise in a short chapter, but a key objection is simply that while standards such as the SMS scale are intended to allow reviewers to focus only on the best quality research evidence and draw defensible conclusions from the latter which will aid policy-makers in focusing their own activities and resources, adherence to such standards can in fact have the opposite result, and seriously mislead thinking about programme effectiveness.

In short, the argument is that while “gold standard” RCTs can (if they are properly designed and implemented) provide evidence that particular impacts have in fact been generated by a programme and not arisen simply by chance, they still leave us with the problem of *explanation* – because while they do focus on key links between programmes (or interventions) and outcomes, they do not pay sufficient attention to possible causal mechanisms or to the complexities of the contexts in which programmes are implemented. Indeed, RCTs deliberately “bleach out” such complexities by regarding them as variables to be controlled – but in this way, such studies reduce their scope for telling us how a particular intervention generated positive impacts, even though they can sometimes tell us that the impacts were generated by the intervention and nothing else.

Hence, the argument goes, even successfully designed and implemented RCTs will provide few resources to practitioners and policy-makers who wish to understand how particular interventions have the impacts that they do, and what the scope for replication might be, for interventions that have been shown to “work” in particular

contexts.

Much more serious however, is a related claim by some critics that an adherence to SMS-type scales can actually lead policy-makers to *draw the wrong conclusions* about programme impacts and to implement new policies and programmes which can both make things worse on the ground, and waste large sums of public money.

Specific examples from the research literature are sometimes provided to illustrate the latter points. The Minnesota Domestic Violence Experiment was evaluated initially using an RCT design for example, and findings from that evaluation “strongly suggest(ed) that the police should use arrest in most domestic violence cases” (Sherman and Berk, 1984), since the use of arrest clearly did have a positive impact on subsequent levels of domestic violence. On the heels of those results, the programme was extended to other cities in the U.S., and the programme was again evaluated in several cities using an RCT design. This time however, the research highlighted very mixed results – in three cities, rates of subsequent domestic violence increased, for example, while in three others, rates decreased (Sherman, 1992).

Much has been written since then to try and account for these mixed evaluation results (again, see Sherman, 1992), but the key point to make here is that by focusing only on “gold standard” evaluation studies, the policy-makers “got it wrong” at great public expense, and in a manner which may have increased harm significantly for some. It is examples of this kind which have led some critics to regard evidence reviews that utilise SMS-type standards as being “dangerous nonsense” (Tilley, 2001).

It has also rightly been pointed out that the set of interventions that might produce positive outcomes is not the same thing as the set of interventions that have been “properly” evaluated, and this has resulted in some types of intervention being less visible in evidence reviews, on the one hand, (e.g. community-based or “social” interventions that are more difficult to evaluate; Hope, 2005), and to an undue focus on “programmes” or other interventions that happen to have received the most evaluation attention (Raynor, 2003), on the other (see Morgan, in HMIP 2002, for some comments on links between “what works” approaches and “programme fetishism”).

What does all this mean for review “consumers”?

The above snapshot of current debates about “evidence-led policy” and ways of assessing evidence of effectiveness is not intended to try and persuade readers to take up particular positions, but simply to underline the existence of such debates to the consumers of systematic crime prevention reviews – some of these key issues are highly contested, and this does have implications for the way in which reviews are received and interpreted.

First of all, given the above, credible evidence concerning “what works” in crime prevention is probably best understood as being evidence about interventions that “have worked in particular contexts” (and time periods) – this sounds much less definitive, but does give due regard to the essentially *contingent* nature of science and of findings generated by scientific research in many fields. An awareness of this contingency – such as that reflected in the opening comments from Campbell about “apparent effectiveness” and the need to apprehend critically the “multiple imperfect criteria available” – can usefully underpin our critical assessment of evidence concerning community safety policy and practice, and our decision-making about measures to adopt.

SMS-type quality standards for assessing research evidence have been described by a range of commentators as being problematic in that they both lead to an undue focus on evaluation findings which can be misleading, and exclude from consideration some studies that could help to clarify theories about links between interventions and desired outcomes in particular contexts (and time periods).

Hence, a healthy scepticism about reviews which utilise such standards is arguably prudent, although they should also be regarded as providing an important set of evidence which needs to be considered alongside other information – Campbell’s “multiple imperfect” sources.

Such scepticism also opens the door to more careful consideration by community safety policy makers and practitioners, of possible *theories* that might underlie expectations about positive outcomes – theories which do not always receive attention within evaluation research, but which community safety experts can contribute toward the development of. Indeed, claims made by some community safety practitioners that they “recognise good practice when they see it” are probably rooted in such theories whether they have been articulated clearly or not – although experience-based claims of this kind also need to be interpreted cautiously, they can usefully

inform decision-making.

In the longer term there is also a need for more research that focuses on and tests such theories about how successful crime prevention interventions generate positive outcomes. While a wide range of research of this kind has been undertaken in some policy areas, in some others, the research base is surprisingly atheoretical. In their discussion of offender rehabilitation for example, Gendreau, Goggin and Cullen (1999) make reference to:

"[t]he sad reality that so little is known about what goes on inside the "black box" of prisons and how this relates to recidivism.... Only a mere handful of studies have attempted to address this matter.... Analogously, could one imagine so ubiquitous and costly a procedure in the medical or social services fields receiving such cursory research attention?"

Finally, although the available research evidence concerning effectiveness - as imperfect and contested as it is - can provide valuable information for decision-makers, it cannot relieve them of the responsibility for making difficult moral and political judgments about priorities. Just as "the facts" about crime and victimisation do not speak for themselves, the effectiveness evidence (no matter what its quality or comprehensiveness) can never on its own provide clear answers to questions about such priorities.

2.3 Evaluating how it works, not just what works

Governments and international agencies have not only focused on *what works*? There has also been a **greater attention to 'how' projects work on the ground**. This includes the process of implementation, the capacities and resources available to those undertaking a programme, the need to adapt to local conditions, and the development of appropriate measures of outputs, outcomes, and indicators of change, apart from reduction in crime itself.

That implementation and process is as important as the type of programme itself, has been well illustrated by the evaluation of the large-scale *Crime Reduction Programme* introduced in England and Wales in 1999.⁴⁴⁹ Probably one of the most ambitious national crime prevention plans in recent years, it was intended to be a research-led programme using evidence-based knowledge. It was expected to cover a ten-year period with funding of some £400 million (app. \$783 M (US)). By 2002, some 1500 projects had been funded, and 10% of the funding was set aside for external evaluation*. The Programme was ended in 2002, after widespread implementation failure, few conclusive results, and considerable political changes. Part of the failure can be attributed to the lack of knowledge and capacity on the ground among the many practitioners developing the projects, to failures in understanding how to set realistic and logical goals and objectives, but also to **political pressures to provide rapid results**, and to meet targets and expectations which were set too high. The national government focus on perfor-

mance management and target setting placed **too much focus on central government demands, and conflicted with local needs and priorities**.⁴⁵⁰

Project evaluation, such as *The Pathways to Prevention Project* in Brisbane, Australia has shown that it takes time to work with local communities*, and that there is a **need for programmes to be flexible and adaptive**, and not apply a rigid format. Nor can they be expected to produce quick results in unrealistic time-frames.⁴⁵¹ Evaluations of grants in the *Community Prevention Grants Program* established in the US in 1992 has shown the need for flexibility in evaluation and a broader definition of "success", as well as greater project support through technical assistance and training for community-based projects.

Evaluation also tends to be developed as a **support for action**. From the beginning of the programme implementation, an external team of evaluators, most often university researchers, analyse and follow the project. Their role is critical and their observations are available sooner, which will allow intervention workers to change their practice if needed. Such experiences have been successfully conducted in Australia⁴⁵² and in the United States (see Chapter 8 on Chicago police reform).

Evaluation, therefore, remains a centrally important tool for crime prevention and community safety, for governments, researchers, and practitioners. The importance of flexible approaches to evaluation and assessment of the outcomes of programmes and strategies has gained greater support, and there is more recognition of the need to 'take time'.

In conclusion, despite problems, progress in prevention evaluation has made it possible to identify what works in specific fields, what is less effective, and why that is so. However, the dissemination of these findings, and more importantly, their use by policymakers at local and national levels, suggests that progress is not equal on both fronts. The case of video surveillance illustrates this discrepancy: while the impacts of video surveillance in terms of prevention remain limited, many countries continue to invest significant resources in this tool.

Yet, there does seem to be a clearly identifiable trend at the international level to ensure that prevention policies are based on reliable data, collected and analysed by independent authorities, the effectiveness of which is assessed in accordance with a rigorous methodology. Such progress, however, depends on the mobilisation of adequate resources, which not all countries are able or willing to provide.

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- 405 For France, see eg.: Institut des Hautes Études de la Sécurité Intérieure (1998) and Belgium : Service Public Fédéral Intérieur (2005). Note : The French Forum on Urban Safety proposes a project called "Sécuscope," which aims to support cities wishing to conduct a victimisation study.
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- 407 See for exemple Fondation Docteur Philippe-Pinel avec l'assistance technique du CIPC (2004).
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- 420 See: <http://www.inhes.interieur.gouv.fr/Observatoire-national-de-la-delinquance-6.html>
- 421 See: <http://www.aic.gov.au/research/cm.html>.
- 422 See: http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/latin-america/regional-cooperation/urbal/index_en.htm.
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CHAPTER 8

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

The 2002 United Nations Guidelines recognise the important role public authorities play in the prevention of crime. This role clearly refers to their capacity to define global strategies, as discussed in Chapter 6, and to “[create and maintain] institutional frameworks for their implementation and review”.⁴⁵³ Public authorities also include some specific actors traditionally part of the criminal justice system and play an indirect role in prevention.⁴⁵⁴ In this section we will analyse the involvement of the police and the justice system in prevention.

1. POLICE STILL SEEN AS THE PRIMARY PREVENTION ACTORS

Among all the public authorities in the criminal justice field, the police are still perceived to be primarily responsible for prevention policies, even if other institutional stakeholders are involved and can legitimately claim an important role. Police services are generally seen as the “natural” crime prevention actors and this is generally underlined by national governments. However, their prevention role does not seem to be clearly defined, and most conceptual frameworks on the role of the police do not specifically deal with prevention, even if there are numerous areas of overlap. A great deal of confusion, in fact, remains about the terms which are used, including their meaning.

1.1 The mission of police departments is increasingly focused on crime prevention

In response to the United Nations questionnaire on the implementation of its Guidelines, most Member States declared that they assign an important crime prevention role to the police, particularly in terms of social prevention and the prevention of situational crime.⁴⁵⁵ Several countries responded that the police intervene through patrols, surveillance and checkpoints, as part of national action plans. The police also participate by training “young leaders” through the use of awareness campaigns and the development of alliances between local and national actors.

However, as a rule, the prevention role assigned to the police remains very general. In Belgium and France, various “prevention missions” have been assigned to the police although the term is not used, except for specialised units such as the youth delinquency prevention section of the French National Gendarmerie. The same is true in Hungary, where the strategy “*Together with the municipalities*” emphasises the role of police departments in “local safety”. In Canada, the importance of the police role in prevention is recognised, but there is no clear definition of this role. Working with communities* and knowledge of neighbourhoods are mentioned, as is awareness of groups who are most at risk of victimisation. The Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police has proposed in 2006 the development of a national safety plan to clearly define the role of all safety actors. In Quebec, the Police Act (2001) assigns a “*crime prevention*” mission to Quebec police forces among other things. Two cabinet policies entitled “*Vers une police communautaire*” (2000) and “*Prévention de la criminalité: pour des milieux de vie plus sécuritaires*” (2001) refer to the prevention role of the police.

In African countries, a police prevention role is confirmed to varying degrees. The police in South Africa make a very strong claim to this role, even to the point where other actors are excluded. The South Africa Police Service (SAPS) has described its numerous prevention related activities in its activity reports.⁴⁵⁶ In Kenya, the Police Act of 1988 includes prevention as part of the police mission, through community police services. In Nigeria, the prevention role of the police is defined both in the Constitution and in the Police Act, with recent proposals to ensure a more active police role in the

field.⁴⁵⁷ Several governments in West Africa have stated that there is a great need for community policing*, because of the size of the territory, and the need to maintain relationships with the population.

In Latin America, several countries have assigned a clear prevention role to some police forces. In Argentina, police reform (1997-1998 and 2004-2005) included prevention mechanisms. It encouraged community participation as a central axis of its policy by creating neighbourhood, municipal and departmental forums (*Foros Vecinales*) and emphasised police specialisation, including a focus on crime prevention. Similarly in Uruguay, neighbourhood security commissions (*Comisiones de Seguridad Barrial*), community access to police in Montevideo, and the community police in Canelones were established to strengthen safety at the local level.⁴⁵⁸ In Chile, the National Strategy for Citizen Security, established in 2006, promotes a prevention strategy emphasising community integration together with the police in specific programmes (*Plan Cuadrante de Seguridad Preventiva, Programa 24 horas*) and an Observatory on good practices.⁴⁵⁹

1.2 Local and pro-active policing models

The main theoretical developments relating to police organisation have not been primarily concerned with the role of police in prevention, but the question has been approached indirectly.⁴⁶⁰ Each approach has its advantages and drawbacks and adverse effects, but interest in returning to, or developing, some form of pro-active community-based policing is evident in many parts of the world.⁴⁶¹

Neighbourhood policing* or **community policing*** have been defined in many ways, but in general they have the objectives of responding more effectively to community needs, developing partnerships* with the community*, and increasing levels of trust among the population. The community policing model is widespread, particularly in Canada, the United-States, European countries, including the United Kingdom and Belgium, and in some Latin American countries wishing to reform their police services, as in the case of Chile. In Africa, community policing models are often referred to in official policy.⁴⁶² Some countries have more recently begun to refer to community policing. In Portugal, for example, community policing was clearly established as a government objective (*Integrated community policing*), as in France, in 1997.

The **problem-oriented policing model*** focuses on service to the community* and the notion of pro-active intervention, rather than a reactive policing model, which merely responds to calls and establishes objectives without taking into account local needs. The goal is to identify problems that arise, to analyse the causes, and to tailor responses accordingly. Each police force assesses the threats to the quality of community life, rather than just reacting when offences have been committed. This is the model which has been promoted by police authorities in Norway.⁴⁶³

An example of the problem-oriented policing model: the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS)

The Chicago alternative policing model (in 2005, 2.8 million inhabitants, 4.7 police officers per 1000 inhabitants) was implemented in five city districts in 1993 with three objectives: the reorganisation of decision-making powers and police functions, the resolution of local problems using neighbourhood crime related data and active community participation, and lastly, increased coordination between local actors.

The 25 police districts were divided among 279 patrol teams, each consisting of 10 officers and responsible for an average of 4,100 households. Some officers were assigned to a rapid intervention team to respond to emergency calls and others continued patrolling to resolve local problems in cooperation with the citizens.

One of the unique features of the approach includes taking into consideration problems as they are identified by the actors. The patrol units hold monthly meetings with representatives from community organisations and residents in order to identify the most important crime issues in a local neighbourhood.

During implementation, the strategy was subject to strict evaluation. The results obtained indicated an increase in citizen trust towards the police and a decrease in crime rates. Although police reform is not the only factor that might explain the decreased crime rate, the results did show that crime decreased to a greater degree in the sectors that implemented the model as compared to the "control" zones.

Finally, **intelligence-led or knowledge-led policing*** has been developed to identify problems and threats clearly and to streamline the resources required, whether focusing on hot spot policing, or the use of crime analysis tools. This model was implemented in the United-Kingdom in the mid 1990s and in Australia, New Zealand, United States, and Canada. The model involves a way of understanding crime, not merely in terms of incidents, but also in terms of probabilities, influenced by the quality of the information available. It is based on the principle that in order to evaluate risks, it is necessary to have the right information.⁴⁶⁴ It is also based on the use of criminal intelligence and safety information provided by distinct sources (police

informants, interrogations of suspects, crime analysis, suspect surveillance, partner agencies, and information from the population). The expression "intelligence" refers to selected "information" which is assessed and analysed in order to anticipate crimes before they are committed.

These models have been widely implemented in many countries, but often deviated from their initial goals. To date, therefore, the results of police involvement in prevention are somewhat modest, despite the stated willingness to assign to them this task.⁴⁶⁵

CONTRIBUTION

MUNICIPAL POLICE AND URBAN SAFETY IN AFRICA

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Although it is known under various names such as "neighbourhood policing", "community policing" or "municipal policing", this type of police force is not new. In France, the municipal police forces first gained legitimacy by the way of royal "letters patent"¹, issued by Charles VII after the expulsion of the English, during the 15th century. Depending on the localities where they were created, such police forces were identified under various names: Guardians, Bowmen, and Watchmen... In cities of less than 5,000 inhabitants, the law of 1795 stipulated that the mayor would exercise the function of commissioner. The same legislation created a new function of judicial police officer, held by country field officers. Starting in 1942, during the Second World War, municipal police forces took on a new orientation. Field Marshall Pétain, Chief of State during the Vichy regime, established state authority over municipal police departments. However, the law of 1884² was not repealed and the mayors retained the right to create police forces.³

After gaining independence, new African States decided not to cut the umbilical cord with the former colonial powers. The vast majority of these new countries adopted the same administrative models as the former colonial powers. This explains why African countries rely on the same Jacobin model as their European counterparts, based on centralisation in the national capital. After the Baule speech delivered by François Mitterrand in 1990, linking foreign aid and democracy, many francophone African countries committed to the democratisation/decentralisation process. Under this dynamic, many countries imitated France and established a municipal police alongside their national force. Despite their close imitation of the French model, municipal police missions were, unlike their European equivalents, poorly defined in most cases. In cities like Dakar, Cotonou or Conakry, municipal police officers are often poorly equipped and have little involvement in urban safety. There is almost no legislation defining safety orientation and programming to unite actors (States, local communities, private security services, and citizens) for the management of urban spaces.

Municipal police forces in France are based on a community policing model under the authority of the mayor. The mission of community policing is to prevent, increase awareness, increase security, watch over the safety of individuals and property, work in cooperation with all relevant actors, protect citizens against violence, traffic incidents, incivilities and, when necessary, to impose sanctions as a supplemental deterrent to the activities performed by the national security police, the police and the gendarmerie. The community policing model also provides mediation and safety services defined in local safety contracts. On the other hand, in most African countries, the missions entrusted to the municipal police are limited to providing bodyguard services for the mayor and his assistants and to assisting local administration with the collection of certain taxes.

Urbanisation on the African continent is not a completely new phenomenon, but it is now progressing at an accelerated rate. Africa has one of the highest rates of urbanisation in the world. During the 1990s for example, the rate was 4.9%, compared with 0.7% and 1% in Europe and North America respectively. Whereas in 1950 only two cities in Africa had more than one million inhabitants (Cairo and Lagos), the total increased to eight cities in 1970 and to 24 in 1990. The total population of the continent tripled between 1980 and 1990. The number of people living in cities increased eightfold, from 20 to almost 155 million. Although the annual growth rate dropped off in the 1990s, in the year 2000 there were more than 260 million people living in cities and, in 2020, more than one out of two Africans will live in a city.⁴

Urbanization has numerous impacts on the daily life of populations, notably with respect to access to basic urban services, employment, and safety. In the larger cities of the continent such as Lagos (Nigeria), Kinshasa (DR Congo) Abidjan (Ivory Coast), or Dakar (Senegal), violence and crime have become part of the daily life of citizens; the national police alone is unable to prevent or punish acts of aggression.

Given this context, many countries in Francophone Africa have engaged in a process of decentralisation in order to respond to the needs of the population through community-based management. Given the weakness of the government and the degradation of police and judicial institutions (flagrant lack of resources and corruption...) many municipalities began to set up municipal police services in order to reinforce the safety of their citizens, drawing inspiration from the French model. In Senegal, for example, police officers were dismissed⁵ and were then partially reintegrated into a new municipal police force, after the adoption of the 1996 legislation dealing with regionalisation, the transfer of authority, and to the creation of borough police departments in the Dakar region.⁶ However, the ambience remains poisonous to the point where, in some cities, young men attempt to register in the "neighbourhood security" business, leading to the creation of "people's brigades" often called "neighbourhood safety committees".⁷

Over and above the problem of the "transferability" of the concept between two very different realities, the major question which is raised today is that of the usefulness of such a force in handling the increasing insecurity and violence in cities. In fact, is it not the time to ask questions about the rule of a municipal police force in a state where the issue of nationhood has not been settled yet, where democracy leaves much to be desired or where local democracy still falters? Finally, the absence of accountability of elected officials over urban safety issues combined with the lack of municipal resources may mean that such a security force will receive little or no consideration from citizens, who should be its natural allies.

1.3 In practice, the role of the police in prevention remains limited

The prevention role of the police is based essentially on three activities: **visibility, crime information campaigns, and relationships with the population**, including more or less active participation in partnerships*.

In police public policy, **visibility** has the double objective of deterring crime and affirming the availability and presence of the police. In many countries, such as Belgium, the presence of uniformed police in the streets is designed to increase the feeling of safety among the population.⁴⁶⁶ Ensuring police visibility is usually accomplished by increasing the number of patrols. Many cities have attempted to increase the number of police on foot, on bicycles or horseback, rather than use vehicle patrols. The latter, however, represent the majority of all patrols. Some programmes, such as the North Brussels project based on the Japanese KOBAN, have allocated

police to specific areas to ensure that they are seen, known, and recognised by local people.⁴⁶⁷ The deterrent effect of this type of police function, however, remains limited to "hot spots" and the impact on insecurity is sometimes exactly the opposite of the expected result.⁴⁶⁸

In addition to increased visibility, the goal of these models is to increase the **availability of police resources**. If the primary expectation of the population remains linked to the capacity of the police to respond in the shortest time possible, availability refers to the capacity of the police to deal effectively with victims by providing information and referrals to support services.

Information and awareness campaigns are designed to keep citizens informed about crime risks and to encourage the establishment of simple "situational" prevention measures. In Australia, Quebec, Belgium and France for example, brochures on crime prevention tips have been prepared for the victims of residential burglaries.⁴⁶⁹

In South Africa, the same type of campaign is used for rape and sexual assault. In Belgium, information is disseminated through well-structured *Neighbourhood information networks* (NIN) which include citizens and representatives of the local police. The goal is to share operational advice on prevention. Many networks which specifically target businesses and commerce have also been created in different countries.⁴⁷⁰

Programmes to organise school visits and homes for the elderly have the same objective although in the case of schools the results are questionable. Presenting information to children and adolescents about narcotics and statements about criminal conviction under the *DARE* programme have produced rather negative assessments.⁴⁷¹

Strategies designed to reinforce the prevention role of the police focus a great deal of attention on **relationships with the population (or the community*)**. This may be often aimed at obtaining better cooperation from the population (passive surveillance, witnesses, information sources...). This type of focus has led to the **development of specialised telephone information lines to report criminal acts** based on models such as *crime stoppers*. In Latin America, many different types of programmes encourage the public to testify or to at least report criminal acts which they have witnessed. In Sao Paulo (Brazil), an initiative launched by community organisations and private partnerships called the *Disque Denúncia* was created to gather information anonymously. In 2008, more than 6 million anonymous reports were received, helping to solve current cases and to conduct research. The initiative was extended to several Brazilian states, and in slightly different forms to several areas in Argentina (*Buzon por la vida Project*) and in Chile (as part of the *Cuadrante des Carabineros de Chile* plan).

Secondly, better relationships are designed to ensure a better response to community*, assessed informally (attendance at neighbourhood meetings, meeting with local community representatives...) or through specific surveys. The reinforcement of good relations with the population clearly corresponds to the objective of **improved police ethics, and gaining the trust of the community**. This is a very important issue throughout Latin America. The fight against police brutality and "racial profiling" is also a priority for many countries.

Police participation **in partnerships*** is often recommended and sometimes mandatory. In some cases, it is seen as unproductive, although it has also been a source of extremely rich and positive experiences. An example of this is

Police presence in the school system: limited effects

In recent years three major types of police programmes have been developed in schools:

Police "resource person": assigned to one or more schools in the same sector, *School resource Officers (SRO)* are in charge of providing information about law and order and advice to schools about certain practices. The programme began in the United-States in the 1960s. Similar programmes can be found eg. in the Netherlands (*school agent*) and Australia (*school-based policing*).

Police educators: this model is more wide-spread. Police officers teach about highway safety, drugs, gang related risks, etc. The most well known programmes are D.A.R.E (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) and G.R.E.A.T (Gang resistance education And Training) developed in the United-States. Similar initiatives exist in Canada, Australia, the United-Kingdom, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and South Africa.

Police liaison officer: this approach was developed in the United Kingdom. The role of the liaison officer is to develop partnerships with the community and to provide backup for intervention workers in the school system. One of the objectives of this programme is to improve the image of the police with youth. A similar school intervention programme has been established in Quebec, and was subject to extensive evaluation, resulting in the redefinition of youth intervention practices.

Few of these approaches have been evaluated and the results are often quite disappointing. Programmes such as DARE and GREAT have not proven their effectiveness either in terms of reducing drug use or gang affiliation or in increasing youth awareness about situations of risk.

Chicago's CAPS programme, which encourages citizens to take part in weekly meetings with the police in their neighbourhood (see box p. 182). In Australia, New-Zealand, Canada and in United Kingdom police partnerships with citizens help to gain a better understanding of problems related to crime. Meetings are organised with the police on a periodic basis and are attended by representatives of community organisations and residents* in order to determine crime and safety priorities. These

activities are organised under the **neighbourhood policing** model* the purpose of which is to allow police officers and citizens to draw closer together in order to solve crime problems.

Participation in formal partnerships* is sometimes presented as prevention action *per se*. An example is Burkina-Faso, where a partnership has been created to “provide multidisciplinary responses to complex problems created by insecurity” (the Police Act). The partnership also promotes better community relations. Participation in this type of partnership however has been debated: should the police share its information? Should the police take into account needs or requirements of other actors? These types of initiatives are not easy to implement because participation in partnerships are not an automatic guarantee of true cooperation.

Another trend is the **increased use of the Internet**. Some police services and government institutions accept anonymous crime reports over the Internet. Some researchers have recommended the creation of Internet sites provided by police services to mobilise citizen awareness and enable monitoring of police performance. Internet sites can be used not only to report crimes but also to consult the community* on a regular basis, keep citizens informed about local situations, improve community police programmes and provide links to other services.⁴⁷²

Apart from such activities, some police services have developed initiatives to increase their **active involvement with youth**, exercising a mentoring role. This includes youth capacity-building through various activities (economic, recreational, or sports). The goal is to stimulate a sense of responsibility and provide youth with better socio-economic opportunities. In Canada for example, the “Edmonton Neighbourhood Empowerment Team” (NET) aims to implement crime prevention strategies in poor neighbourhoods, under the direction of local residents* with support from the police.⁴⁷³ Since 1991, the programme “ProAction Cops & Kids” provides support for the Toronto Police Service to work with identified youth. In Australia, the “Victoria Police Youth Program” targets vulnerable youth. The programme allows the police to assume the role of “mentor” in order to stimulate youth involvement in multiple activities.

In all cases, both the local and the national context weigh heavily on police capacity to perform an active prevention role. The resources available, the quality of police training, the levels of crime, corruption, and the low application of the rule of law, all have a direct impact on the capacity of police forces to engage in prevention with citizens.

An example of a local integrated partnership: The Oslo SaLTO model

The SaLTO model was developed by the municipal authorities and the police services in Oslo. The goal is to prevent and reduce crime committed by youth (ages 12 to 23 years) through follow-up and intervention with youth who have had previous encounters with the law.

The strategy focuses on rapid intervention by municipal services and the police using a wide range of different social services and intervention measures.

The programme was first established in 2004, but it is too early to assess its impact on the level of youth crime. According to the programme promoters however, improvements have been identified in terms of a more coherent response to youth crime, the identification of typical problems, and the acceleration and prioritisation of interventions.

Private security

In addition to the public authorities, many countries are witnessing the multiplication of private security forces, whose mission, training and even appearance are very similar, if not identical to those of national police.

The number of private security agents is eight times higher than the number of public officers in the United-States. With the exception of Hungary, which has two security agents for every police officer, this ratio is the inverse of most European countries, ranging between one private security agent for one police officer in England and Wales and one security agent for five police officers in Italy. In Latin America, the ratio is slightly higher for security agents and the average range is one security agent for 0.6 police officers.

The progressive increase in private security forces brings several issues to the fore, including the fragmentation of state power and monopoly, which until now have been held by central government, and the inequality of access to private security, which is generally available only to individuals in communities who have sufficient resources to be able to afford it.

SPVM INTER-SECTOR PARTNERSHIPS: STREET GANG RELATED INTEGRATED ACTION

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In recent years, inter-sectoral partnerships have been adopted in a number of sectors (health, education, safety, justice, etc.). In addition to extending the limits of any given sector-based intervention, partnerships have become an unescapable reality in the context of government decentralisation, development of local resources and budget restrictions.

Since 1997, the partnership model has been an essential component of the community policing model adopted by the City of Montreal police (SPVM). The complex dynamics involved in urban safety are well known, and the SPVM alone cannot resolve everything. From this perspective, the implementation of inter-sector partnerships has been seen as a way of responding more adequately to the complex problems of urban safety. Such partnerships can be used to extend the limits of sector-based action, which sometimes hinder effective problem resolution from a global perspective. The goal is to approach the problem from different perspectives and new visions in order to provide better solutions.

To date, the SPVM has participated in numerous partnerships. Some were initiated by partners, others by the SPVM. One of the themes which has been dealt with under the framework of inter-sector partnership is a cooperative approach for dealing with the problem of street gangs; it includes SPVM representatives, and other concerned sectors (ex.: education, community sector, health, social services, justice, public security, academic institutions, etc.).

Despite the difficulties associated with the specific issue of street gangs, which we shall describe later, many of the partnership experiences were positive and may be described as successes. These experiences also helped the SPVM maintain close connections in the community, develop better protocols and practices, and adapt to new social realities. From a global perspective, the SPVM was able to make a contribution to the City of Montreal urban safety and quality of life policies.

For example, the City of Montreal Steering Committee on street gangs includes representatives from central services and from the Boroughs. The role of the committee is to define the mandates, the objectives and the corporate action plan. The Steering Committee is also responsible to approve the intervention approach, ensure action follow-up, prepare budgets, and organize services required for its activities.

On a local basis, teams from the Borough are in charge of local action plans and partner mobilization. Community police departments throughout the City of Montreal provide links with local partners and monitoring of SPVM operational teams.

In the specific framework of this partnership and other similar experiences, all actors have roles to play, information to share, and a certain level of responsibility for the resolution of the range of problems associated with a given situation. In some cases, it is possible to describe it as an intervention process that integrates all the practices of different partners. A unified plan makes it possible to take into consideration the constraints of each partner as well as the reciprocal impact of activities, rather than having to rely on a relay-type of operation.

The strength of this method is its capacity to ensure coherent and integrated interventions and to view the operational dimension of the intervention as an additional link which is often lacking in partnership experiences. To succeed, it requires an agreement in principle to use and share a range of approaches: prevention, dissuasion, repression, support, communications, etc.

The operational approach adopted by the SPVM and the City of Montreal Steering Committee on street gangs, is based on four levels of intervention, which are integrated into the problem-solving approach used. The four levels of intervention are crime prevention, crime repression, communication and research.

The four levels are complementary, mutually interrelated, and part of a coherent whole. They cannot be treated separately or as opposites because acting on only one level alone would mean neglecting the other levels of action. Integrated actions are developed at the four levels. The activities performed by intervention workers, at any one of the four levels, are all interrelated to the extent that they have been designed to be complementary.

This four level approach, which has been adopted by the partners from different sectors, is also used to delineate the fields of action of each sector. Every sector has its role to play and objectives to meet. The actions are meant to be coherent and respectful of the expertise brought by each sector.

However, it is important to point out that the four level operational approach adopted by the SPVM and by the City of Montreal Steering Committee on street gangs does not represent a panacea. As we stated earlier, the experience gained by the various inter-sector partners has not been without its pitfalls.

The ability of the partners to share the range of expertise provided by different services and organisations, functioning, on the one hand, under their own specific structures, and, on the other hand, having their own specific mandates and action plans, is a major challenge. This always occurs in all partnership contexts. The whole issue of the diversity of organisational structures, mandates and approaches to action, which represents the essential conditions of inter-sectoral partnerships, is one of the factors that has an impact on the success of the initiative. Such factors may have an impact on the intervention priorities and strategies to be adopted, budget allocation, delegation of autonomy, commitment to the process, openness to others, etc.

Many other problems are encountered frequently. Each of them represents challenges that must be dealt with. Faced with such problems, some partners may be sceptical of the potential effectiveness of the process. The latter are very often disappointed that concrete results are not easily achieved, and that many of the intended or projected solutions are short-term rather than long term.¹

Our experience has led us to identify five obstacles which have also been identified in the work of Roy, Perreault *et al.* (2005)², who analysed inter-sector actions. The obstacles are related to the manner in which the partnership process is organized.

1. *Lack of financial resources.* Very often, it is frustrating for partners to work with a limited budget and insufficient resources to promote cooperation (logistics, salaries for employees of underfunded organisations, etc.) or to implement the projects resulting from both cooperation and consensus.
2. *Problems related to meeting attendance.* Far too many partnership processes work in parallel. Most organisations do not have the material or human resources required to attend all meetings. As a result, the meetings are very often attended by different people, a fact which slows down the process a great deal. Finally, not all participants bring the same personal and strategic skills to the process. This is considered to be a key issue in the process, because the success of the partnership usually depends on the initiative of participants.
3. *The absence of a well established operational mode and rules for sharing information.* This also hinders progress in the discussions and the completion of projects. It happens frequently because no one sitting at the table is truly responsible for operations.
4. *Lack of clarity about institutional responsibility for action (accountability) on which consensus has been achieved in terms of cooperative action.* There is also the question of legal responsibility of each of the partners.
5. *The impact of rigid structures or the difficulty of cooperation within certain organisational structures.* Agreements and decisions reached within partnerships must be reported back to the parent organisation and sector. The process can often be quite complex. There is nothing to guarantee that the results of cooperative efforts will be accepted by the organisation or sector. This is sometimes because the structure is too difficult to modify (such as the bureaucratic structure of the city), might be too diversified (community organisations, for example, do not share the same point of view), or might oppose decisions on which they were not consulted (health workers, for example, might have a great deal of hesitation in adopting agreements made by decision-makers who are attempting to modify their practices).

All of these obstacles will slow down or even prevent the development of concrete actions in the field. However, a review of data related to numerous field projects on street gangs³ has shown that these obstacles can be overcome. Some inter-sectoral partnerships have succeeded in deploying projects with positive results that promote continuity of service, succeed in reaching common objectives within an integrated approach, and make it possible to treat different aspects of the same problem (this might involve protection, care, accompaniment, etc.). It is not surprising to see that many experiments have been described as positive.

Finally, we must also note that different experiments have confirmed the importance of an integrated approach, one that is enabling stakeholders to have real impact on the problem as a whole. These experiments can also be considered a step towards the harmonization of varying levels of responsibility (despite legal and structural constraints, etc.). There is considerable experience making it possible to develop tools to help ensure the implementation of effective actions in the face of complex problems.

2. IN SOME COUNTRIES, JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE IN PREVENTION

Like the police, the justice system has also traditionally had a prevention role. Apart from its deterrent effects, this includes approaches promoting the prevention of recidivism; the use of alternatives to prosecution and incarceration; and rehabilitation initiatives. Since such measures fall under criminal legislation, they are not examined in detail in this report. The justice sector is also involved in restorative justice* initiatives which support community dispute resolution or a better understanding of victim and offender rights. Close ties between the justice sector and local communities, their knowledge of local contexts and involvement in partnerships* all help to contribute to better programmes and interventions.

2.1 Access to justice helps promote the rule of law and citizen trust

The role of justice as a prevention stakeholder differs considerably from one country to another. Unlike France, few countries make any explicit claim that it has a prevention role (see box beside). International organisations tend to focus on their role in community justice. UN-HABITAT for example recommends the development of neighbourhood justice as a mean of reinforcing judicial institutions.¹⁸⁷ In developing countries or in countries in transition, support for such initiatives is seen as a factor that will help to restore or maintain the rule of law. In developed countries, there have been many experiments with neighbourhood justice which aim at **responding to geographical distance or "socio and cultural" differences**. This may help certain populations understand their rights.

In France, the prevention role of the judiciary is clearly defined

France has had an urban judicial policy (*politique judiciaire de la ville*) for nearly twenty years. The goal is to ensure that judicial responses are adapted to urban and local realities.¹ Among other things, this policy has facilitated the creation of points of access to law, especially in correctional facilities. It has also helped to establish the sustainability of Houses of Justice and Law. Furthermore, the policy has contributed to the involvement of non judicial actors in case management work with young offenders, with alternatives to incarceration, and with social educational follow-up for individuals convicted of a crime.

Within this context, the various actors in the French judicial system, including prosecutors, youth court judges, judges responsible for sentencing, youth educators, and correctional and probation officers have participated more or less actively in public prevention policies. The importance of this role was emphasised in February 2008 by a Cabinet circular dealing specifically with the *crime prevention role of the judicial system* described as a "highly important legal attribution because of its involvement and implication in local prevention policies and the fight against crime".²

In order to reach local communities, different countries have **created centres directly within neighbourhoods**. These structures are different from conventional courts, and include a variety of services offered to the population: judicial mediation*, access to law or after-care services for offenders released from prison. Such services have been particularly well

developed in Latin America (see box below). In France, they are known as Houses of Justice and Law and in United Kingdom, examples include the *Community Justice Centre* in Liverpool. In Australia, the State of Victoria created the *Neighbourhood Justice Center*.¹⁸⁸

More generally, improved **access to the law** aims to help people understand the law better, on the one hand, and on the other, make justice services more accessible. Accessibility is generally considered to favour prevention to the extent that it facilitates conflict resolution, and reinforces citizen empowerment.

As with police services, judicial prevention sometimes includes participation in **local partnerships**. The involvement of judicial actors in local partnerships varies from one country to another, and is

very often hindered by the principle of independence and the limits which are imposed on information sharing.⁴⁷⁶ While local authorities would like to see more regular cooperation, the judiciary is not always included in partnership mechanisms in any systematic fashion. Partnerships with justice are usually established on a case by case basis, and limited to specific actions.⁴⁷⁷ On the other hand, whenever justice is formally integrated into partnership mechanisms, it often becomes the institution which has primary responsibility for prevention, as appears to be the case in Australia and the United-States.⁴⁷⁸ The judiciary has been one of the main parties in partnerships developed for the first local safety contracts⁴⁷⁹ in France in 1997, or in Italy, under “memorandums of agreement” negotiated between justice services and local authorities for intervention in the fields of drug addiction, reintegration, and health in the prison system.

Casas de Justicia (Houses of Justice) are developing in Latin America

With strong support from international organisations (IDB, UNDP, and the World Bank), foundations, and national cooperation agencies (including USAID), the *casas de justicia* generally have three types of missions:

Peaceful conflict resolution and mediation: a process that more or less falls under the framework of the judiciary, whereby Houses of Justice offer conflict resolution services with the help of professional mediators and multidisciplinary teams of educators, psychologists, lawyers, and sometimes police officers.

Information on rights is delivered in various forms and aims at facilitating a better understanding of justice and access to justice.

Accessibility is important objective in countries in some regions which are very isolated or are in conflict; likewise, the *casas de justicia* are meant to serve populations who face the greatest difficulties, such as Indigenous populations, and populations with little education.

In Colombia, first launched in 1995, today 40 Houses of Justice provide services to the most marginalized populations. Extensive evaluation has shown that they now serve three times more people than the original objective (30 000 persons), and enable users to proceed with peaceful resolution of their disputes. However, there is still work to be done to publicise the services they offer to the population.

A similar initiative has been undertaken in Argentina, where *Casas de Justicia* have been in operation since 2003. This project is run by the Secretariat of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, as part of the 2001 *Proyecto de Modernización del Estado* (State Modernization Project). In Costa Rica, the *casas de justicia* were first created in 1998 by the National Alternative Conflict Resolution Branch and offer various possibilities for mediation to the population.

Although they operate under a different name, two *Centros Pilotos de Prevención* were created in Uruguay in 2000 to provide mediation services, especially in cases of family conflict, spousal violence, or conflicts between neighbours. According to an IDB estimate, the centers have contributed to an improvement in the feeling of safety in communities. In Bolivia, the “*Centros Integrados de Justicia*” were established in very remote and unstable regions. The objective is to provide access to law and justice, and the activities of these centers focus on Indigenous peoples. They are the first institutions to offer conflict resolution outside the conventional justice system.

2.2 The role of justice as “peacekeeper”

In 2002, the UN Economic and Social Council recommend the involvement of the justice sector in prevention through the promotion of a restorative justice, design to aid victims and to make perpetrators aware of the consequences of their acts in a constructive way.⁴⁸⁰ **Justice** is then described as being “**restorative**”; or “**reparative**”; it promotes peaceful conflict resolution and helps communities gain a better understanding of crime, one of the positive benefits of which is better prevention.⁴⁸¹ It is important to distinguish this type of process from community initiatives which provide such services under the name of “**social**” **mediation***, since disputes between individuals do not necessarily constitute a criminal offence.

Judicial mediation* and similar restorative process are increasingly being implemented by public authorities. Since January 2008 in Sweden, it is obligatory for municipalities to offer **victim-offender mediation** to all offenders under the age of 21. Victim-offender mediation is often organised within the municipalities in cooperation with social services, the police and the prosecutor.⁴⁸² In France, following empirical studies, mediation was incorporated with the criminal justice system in the *Code de procédure pénale* in 1993, and is available in cases of minor infractions.⁴⁸³ The mediator is professionally trained and mandated by the prosecutor.⁴⁸⁴ Similar initiatives have also been launched in South Africa, e.g. victim-offender mediation has been used in the Magistrate’s Court of Greyton (KwaZulu-Natal), since 1995.⁴⁸⁵ In Peru the pilot project *Justicia Juvenil Restaurativa*, has been developed by the foundation *Tierra de Hombres* and local municipalities.⁴⁸⁶

Specific support services for **victims** have long been provided in some countries. Increasingly, they are being seen as part of government services in developed countries. Specific policies and mechanisms such as the Assistance Centres for Victims of Criminal Acts (CAVAC) in Quebec⁴⁸⁷, local offices for crime victims in Sweden⁴⁸⁸, or victim assistance associations in France⁴⁸⁹, have been created. They help to repair the harm inflicted and to restore the dignity of the victim, as well as his or her capacity to enter into a relationship with the offender.

In conclusion, in spite of some resistance to change, significant efforts have been made to convince public authorities to work more closely together and integrate prevention into their mandates. Apart from changes to their methods of work or organisational structure, they need to be closer to neighbourhoods and become involved in local partnerships. Nevertheless, the limits to their ability to respond to local safety needs have led to the development of new services in the field, as will be seen in the following chapter.

- 453** ECOSOC (2002a), § 7.
- 454** Crawford Adam (2001b).
- 455** ECOSOC (2007c).
- 456** Van Der Spuy Elrena, Röntsch Ricky (2007).
- 457** See: http://www.police.gov.ng/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=i&id=52.
- 458** Beliz Gustavo, Hacia una nueva generacion de reformas en seguridad ciudadana?, in Alda Erik, Beliz Gustavo (Ed.) (2007), pp. 1-117.
- 459** Blanco Javiera (2007).
- 460** For two recent reviews, Brodeur Jean-Paul (2008); Rosenbaum Dennis (2007).
- 461** Van Der Spuy Elrena, Röntsch Ricky (2007); Wood Jennifer, Dupont Benoît (Ed.) (2006).
- 462** Quéro Yann-Cédric (2007).
- 463** See: www.politi.no.
- 464** Ratcliffe Jerry H. (2003).
- 465** For an analysis and presentation of the evolution of these models, see: Brodeur Jean-Paul (2008).
- 466** (Belgium) Conseil des Ministres (2008), Plan National de Sécurité 2008-2011.
- 467** Police locale Bruxelles zone 5344, v. <http://www.polbruno.be/framzonfr.html>.
- 468** Blais Étienne, Cusson Maurice, Les évaluations de l'efficacité des interventions policières : résultats des synthèses systématiques, in Cusson Maurice, Dupont Benoît, Lemieux Frédéric (sous la dir. de) (2007), pp. 115-129.
- 469** Barchechat Olivier (2006).
- 470** See: http://www.besafe.be/frame/binz/nl_index.asp?choixLangue=fr
- 471** Rosenbaum Dennis, Hanson Gordon S. (1998); Blais Étienne, Cusson Maurice (2007), op. cit.
- 472** Rosenbaum Dennis, Schuck Amie, Graziano Lisa (2008); Rosenbaum Dennis (2007); Rosenbaum Dennis, Community Policing and Web-Based Communication: Addressing the New Information Imperative, in Fridell Lorie A., Wycoff Mary Ann (Eds.) (2004), pp. 93-113.
- 473** Bernier Chantal (2007).
- 474** UN-HABITAT (2007a).
- 475** See: <http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/juge-justice-proximite/reseau-judiciaire/mjd/>;
<http://www.communityjustice.gov.uk/northliverpool/index.htm>;
<http://www.justice.vic.gov.au/wps/wcm/connect/DOJ+Internet/Home/The+Justice+System/Neighbourhood+Justice/>
- 476** For European cities see: Kulach Justyna, Whiskin Nigel, Marks Erich (2006).
- 477** Napolano Carla, Wyvekens Anne (2004).
- 478** Answers of the United States to ECOSOC's questionnaire, CCPCJ, 2007, questions I.3.
- 479** (France) Circulaire relative à la mise en œuvre des contrats locaux de sécurité du 28 octobre 1997.
- 480** See: Economic and Social Council resolution 2002/12 of July 24, 2002, annex; Basic principles on the use of restorative justice programmes in criminal matters. ECOSOC (2002b).
- 481** Council of Europe (2004); Recommendation R(99)19 concerning mediation in penal matters adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 15 September 1999.
- 482** Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (2007).
- 483** (France) Loi du 4 janvier 1993 portant réforme de la procédure pénale.
- 484** See: <http://vosdroits.service-public.fr/particuliers/F1739.xhtml>.
- 485** See: <http://www.unhabitat.org/list.asp?typeid=3&catid=375>.
- 486** See: Tierra de Hombres (2007), Revista Especializada en Justicia Juvenil Restaurativa, n° 8.
- 487** Site : <http://www.cavac.qc.ca/>.
- 488** Vourc'h Catherine, Marcus Michel (Ed.) (1995); Gavrielides Theo (2007).
- 489** See eg. The Institut national d'aide aux victimes (INAVEM), founded in 1986, regrouping almost 150 victim assistance associations : <http://www.inavem.org/>.

An example of the problem-oriented policing model: the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) (p.180)

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An example of a local integrated partnership: The Oslo SaLTO model (p.184)

Source:

- www.salto.oslo.no

Private security (p.184)

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In France, the prevention role of the judiciary is clearly defined (p.187)

- 1 In improving the quality of justice delivery, the "Politique judiciaire de la Ville" considers the specific characteristics of the modern city, including both its territory and its citizens, with a view of making it an agent of peace, ensuring social cohesion and upholding all rights in the urban environment.
- 2 *Circulaire relative au rôle de l'institution judiciaire en matière de prévention de la délinquance*, February 6, 2008.

Sources:

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Casas de Justicia (Houses of Justice) are developing in Latin America (p.188)

Sources:

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NOTES AND REFERENCES OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS

Municipal police and urban safety in Africa (p.181)

Notes:

- 1 A « letters patent » is a legislative act by which a monarch grants an office, right, monopoly, title or status to a person or an entity.
- 2 This law, in continuity with the laws of 1789 and 1790, established the police as a municipal prerogative and designated the mayor as the authority responsible for law and order in his jurisdiction. <http://www.vie-publique.fr/politiques-publiques/securite-interieure/chronologie/chronologie-1884-1997/>
- 3 Venelles Mag n°20, February 2007, pp. 22-25, Dossier « La Police Municipale à Venelles : une équipe pour prévenir, sensibiliser et sécuriser », www.venelles.fr, retrieved March 27, 2008.
- 4 UN Statistics Division, 2002.
- 5 On April 28, 1987, following protests by Senegalese police forces, the socialist authorities suspended all of the country's 4800 policemen.
- 6 Note: In Senegal, as in all African countries, security is not a realm transferred to local communities.
- 7 SOW S., SOW O., 2000, Problématique de la sécurité urbaine en « milieu périurbain défavorisé » et émergence des mouvements populaires de sécurité : Le comité populaire de sécurité de Grand Yoff à Dakar (Sénégal), April, European Forum for Urban Safety, <http://www.fesu.org/index.php?id=645&L=1> (03/27/2008).

SPVM inter-sector partnerships: street gang related integrated action (p.185)

Notes:

- 1 Nevertheless, nobody mentions the possibility of the return of a strictly sectorial approach.
- 2 Roy, Perreault et al. (2005). « Représentations des actions intersectorielles dans la lutte contre le VIH/sida. Volet 1 : Les points de vue des stakeholders-clés de divers secteurs du centre-ville de Montréal ». Research report presented to FQRSC. Montréal : Cri-Uqam.
- 3 Chamandy, Anne (2006). Rapport d'étape : *Portraits des arrondissements Lasalle, Côte-des-neiges/Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Villeray/St-Michel/Parc-Extension, Rivière-des-Prairies/Pointe-aux-Trembles et Montréal-Nord*. SPVM, Section recherche et planification.

CHAPTER 9

SUPPORTING COMMUNITY SAFETY WITH NEW SERVICES

SUPPORTING COMMUNITY SAFETY WITH NEW SERVICES

Many countries have sought to enhance public safety through the expansion of services and the development of new and innovative professions linked to crime prevention. Similarly, additional safety objectives have been given to existing job descriptions to respond to challenges arising from changing societies. These new positions and objectives variously aim to enhance social capital, strengthen social controls and ensure a safe environment that will allow community life to flourish.

What needs have inspired the development of these new professions? Why have they developed? Objectives vary, but it is important to note that many of these new professions or services do not necessarily see themselves as promoting “crime prevention” per se. Instead, they may see themselves as filling a void within the community*, stemming from a lack of social cohesion, or a pervasive fear of crime.

Urban development has been closely linked to a number of problems related to security. Mega-cities have led to isolation and increasing marginalisation of some sectors of the population. Diversity within populations arising from immigration - which also represents a great benefit for countries - may have contributed to growing challenges, including cultural misunderstandings and xenophobia. Ghettoisation and the emergence of outlying underprivileged neighbourhoods have exacerbated the problems of access to public services. The increasing automation of services, particularly in developed countries, has reduced human interaction contributing to social cohesion.

New mandates and professions in security often seek to address these disconnects between citizens and institutions, or to mediate misunderstandings between individuals.⁴⁹⁰ At the heart of many of the new programmes outlined here, is the belief that a greater sense of security and the provision of non-violent means of conflict resolution, can facilitate the creation of stronger communities.

1. SERVICES TO IMPROVE SAFETY

The expansion of community safety services includes two main types. First, new professions support or expand the role of traditional actors,

providing additional services in fields where public services providers are resource-stretched and over-extended. Second, traditional professions have expanded their mandates to address crime prevention issues.

1.1 New professions to support and extend traditional security services

A lack of resources, as well as the need for better communication with residents* and to improve the visibility and presence of security “forces,” have led to the development of **direct support to the police**. In England and Wales, Community Support Officers (CSO) have become an essential part of local policing since their creation in 2002. The work of a CSO is to provide a “visible and reassuring” presence on the streets, to tackle “anti-social behaviour”, and to deal with truants, graffiti, abandoned vehicles, litter, missing person enquiries, confiscate alcohol consumed in public places, support victims and controlling crowds at major events.⁴⁹¹ In France, 20 000 new *adjoints de sécurité* (security deputies) were created in 1997, under the law which created 350 000 jobs for young people (*emplois-jeunes*), co-financed by the State and the municipalities.⁴⁹² The *adjoints de sécurité*, aged from 18 to 26 years, were uniformed, contractual employees working for the National Police. In 2006, there were 10 722 *adjoints de sécurité*, approximately 41.5 percent of whom were women.⁴⁹³

In South Africa, Community Patrol Officer (CPO) projects train unemployed youth to provide security services and projects have been developed in a number of cities.⁴⁹⁴ In Australia, there have been a number of interesting initiatives to develop

new jobs in the field of crime prevention with ties to the Aboriginal* community. A *Law Reform Commission* 1986 report responded positively to the existence of Aboriginal Police Aides.⁴⁹⁵ Today Aboriginal Police Aides have been created in most provinces of Australia to assist local police. They are also known as Aboriginal police liaison officers (APLOs), or Aboriginal community liaison officers (ACLOs). These aides are members of the community*, with local knowledge and thus a better understanding of its people. They help the police by fostering mutual understanding between police and the community.⁴⁹⁶

Support is particularly important at night. Night patrols may take on a variety of forms in Australia depending on their location and the needs of the community, and may be referred to as street patrols, community patrols, mobile assistance patrols, foot patrols, and street beat programmes.⁴⁹⁷ In Norway, the Nightravens programme involves volunteer adults who work in cooperation with local social welfare and educational authorities, the police and business. Volunteers are out at night and especially weekends, to engage with youth and prevent delinquent behaviour. In 2007, there were over 500 Nightraven groups operating in Norway, and approximately 300 000 volunteers had participated in the project.⁴⁹⁸ A similar scheme was implemented in Holland in 1997. In the City of Haarlem, 16 Night Wardens were selected based on their social skills and ability to remain calm to patrol the streets at night and mediate conflicts

Night Correspondents: an innovative response to night problems

“Night correspondents” in France do not provide a “security service” exclusively but contribute significantly to conflict resolution.

Night correspondents exist in a number of cities, including Rennes (where they were first initiated in 1994-1995) Paris, Rouen, Grenoble, Nantes, and Angers. Their service is separate from the police, although they receive training from the police and may call the police or other public services (medical or fire) when needed.

The City of Paris currently manages the largest Night Correspondent service in France: it includes about one hundred persons divided into 6 teams, who are responsible for various missions which range from accompaniment of vulnerable persons, to listening and mediation. It also includes technical intelligence about public streets, property, etc.

as they arose. The project was supported by a publicity campaign to reduce noisy behaviour on the streets. Complaints dropped by thirty percent, and recruitment included 40% women and 40% ethnic minorities.⁴⁹⁹

1.2 Traditional professions with expanded mandates

Traditional professions working in public places have expanded their roles, in response to an increase in demand, as seen in Chapter 5. Major issues are related to **transportation**. Whether these demands are official or unofficial, the role of a bus driver, for example, has often become that of mediator, responding to conflicts between passengers and assuring their security. In the United States, the San Francisco’s Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) advises customers to sit close to train operators in off-peak hours to ensure safety.⁵⁰⁰ In Montreal (Quebec), the *Société de transport of Montréal* (STM) requires drivers, during night time hours, to drop off women between stops if they request it.⁵⁰¹

Guardianship of public spaces has also been used in crime prevention strategies. In New York, in Bryant Park, special uniformed security staff has been increasingly employed to enhance a sense of security and thus greater use of the park, without demanding resources from the police.⁵⁰² In Belgium, *gardiens d’espaces publics* (public space guardians) provide assistance to the community* in the form of directions or referrals to appropriate social services, as well as repair or report damages and ensure respect for green spaces.⁵⁰³ As seen in Chapter 5, **sports stadium staffs** have increasingly been involved in security. Initially developed in the 1980s specialised personnel are paid by clubs, to ensure order maintenance as fans arrive and remind them of the rules of good conduct.⁵⁰⁴ Similar roles exist in Belgium, also under the title of stewards, funded through contracts issued by the Ministry of the Interior (*contrats de sécurité*).⁵⁰⁵

All these services are good examples of the hazy frontier between “safety” objectives and conflict mediation, as expected outcomes provided by new professions or expanded roles.

2. CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND SOCIAL MEDIATION SERVICES

These new jobs generally fill a need for services not previously offered by public authorities or organisations. For that reason, they have often been started at the grassroots level. Due to their suc-

cess, they have been increasingly institutionalised and incorporated into government mechanisms, especially in developed countries.⁵⁰⁶ Grassroots initiatives have some inherent advantages. Frequently, they are much better adapted to local needs and their supporters have a better understanding of the community*. However, grassroots organisations also confront a number of challenges. Acquiring funding for the provision of basic services can be difficult, and when funds are limited, evaluation* is difficult.

The adoption of social mediation* programmes by local and national governments can provide big benefits. Citizens can find alternative means for conflict resolution, while the state may see a reduction in crime and a lighter load on its criminal justice system. However, to maintain effectiveness, municipal and national governments adopting these programmes must not lose sight of the original reasons for their establishment: responding to **local community needs**.

UN-HABITAT's Global Campaign on Urban Governance recommends social mediation in its principles of good urban governance: "Cities should also work with social mediation and conflict reduction agencies and encourage cooperation between enforcement agencies and other social service providers (health, education and housing)".⁵⁰⁷ In Europe too, social mediation has been promoted to address acts of violence (of limited gravity) and disorders in public spaces, for instance. The project **EuroMediation** was developed to exchange local experiences of mediation*. Over a period of 16 months, a number of cities participated in the project to promote knowledge and comparison of mediation practices at local levels. Significantly, the final report of the group concluded that increasingly, cooperation between citizens and cities needs to be reciprocal and allow for the initiatives of citizens to be heard.⁵⁰⁸

2.1 Social mediation: providing a human presence and conflict resolution

Social mediation is frequently developed in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and these new professionals work within the communities to listen, mediate, and observe. Some patrol neighbourhoods deter delinquent and criminal behaviour and improve the feeling of safety. The mediators of the *Équipe de Médiation Urbaine* (urban mediation team) for example, located in the Montreal neighbourhood of Ville-Marie (Canada) play a role as intermediaries linking top-down and bottom-up efforts and assisting community

residents* to exploit resources offered by local institutions. They have been seen as positively contributing to the development of social capital.⁵⁰⁹ Their work may be based on strong local partnerships and funded by grants from national and local authorities.⁵¹⁰

In several countries some programmes are well established and structured. In the Netherlands for instance, most cities have the "Stadswachten", uniformed units to promote public safety and act as 'eyes and ears' of the local government and police and as hosts for the city.⁵¹¹ Other programmes are less long term, such as the "Grands frères Perspective" in Switzerland. Since 2004, it has recruited motivated but unemployed young people to work on a voluntary basis for a period of six months. They are trained to "put a break on violence" in trains and stop its escalation and they gain interpersonal skills, training in mediation*, and a certificate that can help on the job market.⁵¹²

Neighbourhood Wardens in England and Wales: a well evaluated programme

Civic wardens inspired the creation of the **Neighbourhood Warden** schemes in England and Wales, which have been found to be effective. Started in the late 1990s, there were over 500 such warden schemes by 2005, concentrated in deprived urban neighbourhoods, with 3000 wardens employed by councils, social landlords, neighbourhood renewal partnerships and development trusts. An independent national evaluation of the Neighbourhood Wardens in England and Wales between 2001 and 2003 revealed a drop of 27.6% in the rate of victimisation of residents in neighbourhoods where wardens were present, compared with a rise of 4.7% in comparison areas where schemes did not exist.

2.2 The role of intermediaries and cultural and institutional mediation

Developed countries, even with restrictive migration policies, have seen high levels of economic immigration. Many newly arrived immigrants live in deprived areas. This situation has led to the development of "**intercultural mediation**" aimed at improving understanding within communities, and especially between public institutions and immigrants.

One initiative that began at the grassroots level is known as the *femmes-relais* of Seine-Saint-Denis, in France. Towards the end of the 1980s, a number of immigrant women living in difficult neighbourhoods recognized a common problem: the difficulty to deal with public institutions. In particular, they found that barriers existed between them and French social, health, and legal services. In Seine-Saint-Denis, a difficult suburb to the north of Paris, women formed the first associations of "**femmes-relais**" that were later supported through a national funding programme called "*adultes-relais*". Over time, experience and knowledge have affirmed the place of *femmes-relais* as professionals who are an integral part of social work. According to *Profession Banlieue*, a research and network centre specialising in urban issues, the role of *femmes-relais* is unique in mediation. In 2000, a "*Fédération*" of the associations *femmes-relais* was created, bringing together 10 different associations, to promote the skill and professionalism of the *femmes-relais* associations.⁵¹³

Many European countries have developed cultural mediation, including Belgium, the Netherlands or Denmark. In the City of Kassel, Germany, the Schlachthof Cultural Centre in 2001 trained 24 immigrant women from 15 countries to be intercultural mediators. In 2005, the office received requests for **intercultural mediation** from immigrants and public institutions offered training and seminars on intercultural communication and cultural knowledge, non-violent communication and conflict resolution.⁵¹⁴

Another more "institutionalised" example of mediators operating between citizens and the State is that of the **délégué(e)s du Médiateur de la République** (delegates of the national Ombudsman) who operates in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in France.⁵¹⁵ Delegates help citizens address their problems relating to government institutions. To improve the service offered particularly to the citizens that are most vulnerable, 338 local points of access throughout France have been created. By the end of 2007, they were also meant to be present in 35 penitentiaries. Delegates are meant to provide a local resource and contribute to the humanisation of the law, as well as provide critical observations to improve practices within the French bureaucracy.

2.3 New or traditional services?

In developed countries, services providing human presence and community conflict resolution are often seen as "innovative" while in many other countries, they form part of traditional cultural practices.

Community mediation* is used in a range of post-conflict countries or in states with fragile, limited or weak services. In Zwelethemba, a community north of Cape Town, South Africa, a model based on traditional peace-resolution approaches has been adopted to enhance **community dispute resolution and problem-solving capacity**. Everyday disputes are brought before a local Peace Committee that evaluates the case according to a Code of Good Practice.⁵¹⁶ Positive results have led to the transfer of the "model" to other communities in South Africa, and have inspired similar practices in Rosario, Argentina, Sao Paulo, Brazil and Toronto, Canada. In Trinidad-and-Tobago, community mediation is promoted by the government and aims to "assist positive behaviour change, (including) anger management and conflict resolution".⁵¹⁷

Many of the positions described here are still evolving. Further work is needed on their definition, integration, evaluation, adaptability, and sustainability. In all cases, it is important to ask whether or not these programmes contribute to the modernisation of traditional institutions or whether they are simply a temporary solution delaying more comprehensive and far-reaching changes.

In developed countries, the undefined nature of these new safety professions often decreases their utility. To varying degrees, their work may be poorly understood by the community*, by state institutions, and even by workers themselves. Coordination between actors, old and new, may improve this situation. To help achieve these aims, there is a need for reliable scientific evaluation of programmes, as well as precise knowledge and follow-up of new jobs. Sustainability also results when programmes are adapted to the local community. As seen in comparative analysis of European countries, social mediation programmes are frequently adapted to local contexts. However, as Michel Wieviorka points out, such programmes need to avoid "ethnicising" social problems to excess, where the problem is related to inequality.⁵¹⁸ Grassroots programmes, generally speaking, succeed in understanding local conditions. The incorporation of these programmes into state structures may lend them the legitimacy and sustainability they need to continue in their work. Likewise, top-down initiatives may have the funding necessary to implement programmes, but must incorporate local knowledge to be viewed as legitimate and increase efficacy.

In conclusion, the development of new services in the field of community safety and prevention reflects a range of changes in attitudes towards prevention, and expectations of neighbourhood and community residents, as well as the limita-

tions of public authorities' abilities to respond adequately to insecurity and local crime.
Community safety must be based on the quality of interpersonal relations and institutions.

Wherever new services were created, efforts have to be made to ensure the fluidity of relationships, improve understanding between partners and residents*, and re-invest in social and community space.

- 490** The development of new professions in crime prevention is an accomplished fact. This is underlined by the 2007 Erasmus project to create a "European Masters of Urban Safety" programme. See: <http://www.fesu.org/index.php?id=428>.
- 491** See V. <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/police/recruitment/community-support-officer/?version=1b>.
- 492** Institut des Hautes Études de la Sécurité Intérieure (1998).
- 493** See: http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/sections/a_l_interieur/la_police_nationale/presentation-generale/effectifs/.
- 494** Gray Sharon (2006).
- 495** The Law Reform Commission (Australia) (1986).
- 496** See: <http://www.aic.gov.au/topics/indigenous/cjs/police/approaches.html>.
- 497** Australian Institute of Criminology (2004b); Harry Blagg (2003).
- 498** See: <http://www.natteravn.no/page.asp?cat=23&documentID=226>.
- 499** EFUS, Night Wardens, Haarlem, Netherlands 1997 [<http://www.fesu.org/index.php?id=1649>].
- 500** See: http://www.bart.gov/about/police/crimeprevention_1.asp.
- 501** See: <http://www.stm.info/english/en-bref/thebusnetwork.pdf>.
- 502** UN-HABITAT (2007a).
- 503** Gray Sharon (2006).
- 504** Murat Bernard, Martin Pierre (2007a).
- 505** Gray Sharon (2006).
- 506** Wieviorka Michel (sous la dir. de) (2002).
- 507** See: <http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp?typeid=19&catid=25&cid=2097>.
- 508** EuroMediation SecuCities Workgroup (2007).
- 509** Crawford Adam (2005).
- 510** See: <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/page.asp?id=567>.
- 511** Response from the Netherlands to the United Nations Economic and Social Council Questionnaire on UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime, 2007, Question 12b.
- 512** CFF (2008), *Grands frères Perspective: RailFair... Fair-play dans les TP*, Trafic voyageurs, Sécurité publique [http://www.railfair.ch/Web/fr/grands_freres_Perspective/Default.htm].
- 513** See: <http://www.professionbanlieue.org/>.
- 514** EFUS, Office for Intercultural Mediation, Kassel, Germany 2005 [<http://www.fesu.org/index.php?id=539>].
- 515** See: <http://www.mediateur-republique.fr/Accueil>.
- 516** Dupont Benoît, Grabosky Peter, Shearing Clifford (2003).
- 517** See: TTConect (2008), Community Mediation, Government of Trinidad and Tobago. [<http://www.gov.tt/citizen/service.aspx?id=%7B6A1F3D68-9D59-410A-BB90-387DDBFB683%7D>].
- 518** Wieviorka Michel (sous la dir. de) (2002).

**Night Correspondents: an innovative response to night problems
(p.200)**

Sources:

- European Forum for Urban Safety (1997), *Les Correspondants de nuit: Une nouvelle pratique des services à la population*. Paris : EFUS.
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**Neighbourhood Wardens in England and Wales: a well evaluated programme
(p.201)**

Sources:

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CHAPTER 10

**EXPANDING THE ROLE OF LOCAL
AND COMMUNITY ACTORS**

EXPANDING THE ROLE OF LOCAL AND COMMUNITY ACTORS

The role of local governments in crime prevention is strongly upheld by international organisations. This role includes three principle characteristics: the use of a comprehensive approach, based on a detailed analysis of all factors influencing the genesis of crime and victimisation, including social, economic, environmental and institutional factors; the mobilisation of key stakeholders at the local level; and the importance of the leadership entrusted to local authorities. As the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (2002) make clear, the local level also includes “civil society”*, and the notion of “community”*.⁵¹⁹

1. LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ARE RECOGNISED AS ESSENTIAL ACTORS IN PREVENTION AND COMMUNITY SAFETY

1.1 Local authorities have a major role to play in prevention

The norms and standards for crime prevention adopted by the United Nations promote “a multi-agency approach and a coordinated response at the local level, in accordance with an integrated crime prevention action plan”. They also emphasise that “all levels of government should play a leadership role in developing effective and humane crime prevention strategies”.⁵²⁰ Similarly, the **Council of Europe**, in its *European Urban Charter* (1992)⁵²¹, and the **European Union**, under the Tampere (1999) and The Hague (2004)⁵²² action programmes, as well as decisions related to the Crime Prevention European Network (2001 and 2004)⁵²³, also refer to the lead role that municipalities must play in prevention. There is a consensus that “communities are best suited to direct policies or develop approaches that fully understand crime prevention issues (...). By virtue of proximity, municipal governments are seen, in the public eye, as the most accessible and the best informed jurisdictions to deal with real or potential crisis situations”.⁵²⁴ Local elected representatives are, therefore, directly implicated in prevention, for helping to shape the **direction** of local strategies, for **coordinating** the services and actors involved, to ensure they no longer work in isolation from each other, and for **promoting comprehensive and community-based approaches**.

The involvement of mayors and local authorities in crime prevention began to emerge in developed countries from the 1980s. A number of countries adopted policies recognizing, at least in principle, the importance of the key role of the mayor.⁵²⁵ The credibility of local prevention initiatives often depends on the mayor’s involvement, sometimes in a very personal way, or in other cases through strongly political commitment. Local and comprehensive approaches (multi-sector and multi-disciplinar) are strong components of European prevention policies.⁵²⁶ The approach was first affirmed by the Mayors’ Safety Commission (Commission des maires sur la sécurité) held in France in 1982.⁵²⁷ In Portugal, municipalities are in charge of crime prevention policies and strategies for their jurisdictions, especially through the agency of Municipal Safety Councils (Conseils municipaux de sécurité).⁵²⁸ In New Zealand, local safety plans, established on the basis of *community safety profiles*, address the national prevention strategy.⁵²⁹ In 2001, 62 local authorities signed partnership contracts and established *Safer Community Councils* modelled on the French contract system.⁵³⁰

The importance of the role of cities in community safety led to the creation of a number of **National Forums for Urban Safety**, as well as the European Forum on Urban Safety, created in 1987⁵³¹, which is its most recent Saragossa Manifesto, adopted in Spain in November 2006, again underlines the role of local intervention.⁵³²

Inter-city coordination: *Forum Metropolitano de Segurança Publica* Sao Paulo region, Brazil

The “Metropolitan Forum on Public Security”, created in 2001, comprises the 39 municipalities that surround the City of São Paulo. The Forum’s main purpose is to review and develop practical measures to reduce violence and crime rates in the area.

The Forum brings together elected Mayors, representatives from civil society organisations, private and public institutions, universities, and members of State and Federal Governments. The Forum is organised into five theme-oriented discussion groups: Criminal information/Statistics, Municipal Guard Action and Development, Criminal Prevention, Media Support and Communication, and Legislative Follow-up.

The Forum initiated the programme *Dial for Denouncements* (see p. 185) as part of a partnership between public authorities, the private sector, and citizens.

An example of a local crime prevention strategy: the Toronto Community Safety Plan

Proposed by the Mayor and adopted in 2003, the Toronto Community Safety Plan established a “Mayor’s panel on community safety” responsible for providing strategic advice and guidance, and a permanent Community Safety Secretariat, in charge of coordinating and implementing the safety plan.

The strategy has developed a range of initiatives including:

- Strong Neighbourhoods strategies in 13 targeted communities;
- Mayor’s Community Safety Awards - an important way of bringing attention to safety issues at the local level;
- Crisis Response teams to support neighbourhoods deal with traumatic incidents;
- ProAction, Cops and Kids: initiatives run by the Toronto Police Service for youth at risk.

In federal countries, the role of local government in crime prevention has also developed even though federal or provincial governments are still important players. In Canada, for example, the role of local governments has been recognised and encouraged.⁵³³ In Quebec, the Government Crime Prevention Policy⁵³⁴ (November 2001) defines the municipality as the **champion** of crime prevention at the local level. Some cities have developed their own policies, eg., Montreal recently adopted a *Politique pour un environnement paisible et sécuritaire à Montréal*.⁵³⁵ The cities of Toronto (see box below) and Vancouver created their own community safety or urban development revitalisation programmes, with a particular focus on crime. An evaluation of the Vancouver programme after five years shows very positive results.⁵³⁶ In Australia, on the whole local elected representatives do not play such a central role in crime prevention, but the States and Territories do have a strong role.⁵³⁷ Since the 1990s, partnership strategies for safer cities have been implemented in the States of Victoria, South Australia and Queensland.⁵³⁸

In Latin America, the implication of local elected officials in national strategies still varies despite to the trend to decentralisation. Responsibility for urban safety does not belong to any particular level of government.⁵³⁹ In Chile, where centralisation remains strong, municipal public safe-

ty councils were recently established by local organisations and placed under the leadership of the mayors, helping to bring prevention closer to the local level.⁵⁴⁰ In 2007, 82 municipalities participated in Public Safety Community Plan (Plan communal de sécurité publique). In Ecuador, the 1998 constitution gives some autonomy to local governments and allows municipalities, including Quito, to take initiatives to respond to safety issues.⁵⁴¹ In Brazil, public safety policies have long been the prerogative of the central government, but municipalities are now being encouraged to take a greater part in prevention measures initiated by the federal government. Since 2001, there has been increasing local involvement in community safety. Cities such as Diadema, São Carlos, Curitiba and Fortaleza, for example, have developed comprehensive safety plans with a strong prevention component; in the case of Diadema, with very strong positive results.⁵⁴² Such safety plans are adapted to the specific context and needs of each locality, and promote civil society* involvement.⁵⁴³ In El Salvador, public safety policies are under the responsibility of the central government, and municipalities are not at present seen as having the necessary knowledge or resources for such initiatives. Local action, therefore, takes place in partnership with national public safety and justice departments and the Public Safety National Centre (CNSP), a body in charge of prevention programmes in 15 municipalities in the country.

City Associations, Federations and Mayors' Conferences play an important role in supporting municipal prevention strategies. Such associations ensure the dissemination of practices and tools designed to help municipalities. For example in the United States the National League of Cities published a 2006 report on good practices in 17 cities, where mayors and police chiefs collaborate on issues of youth safety. In 2007, the organisation published a guide on multi-agency municipal collaboration on working with diasaffected youth.⁵⁴⁴ The United States Conference of Mayors has also done a significant amount of work directly and indirectly related to crime prevention, such as the 2008 compilation of best practices on at-risk youth and high school dropout prevention.⁵⁴⁵ Several organisations have specialised commissions on safety issues, for example the *Union des municipalités du Québec* or the *Association chilienne des municipalités* created urban safety commissions (*seguridad ciudadana*) charged with promoting prevention, and partnerships with law enforcement (*Carabineros de Chile*) and other players at the local level.

The response of local elected officials to this prevention role is sometimes ambivalent. In France, for example, some refuse to assume the task, given strong pressures from citizens, but the limited allocation of resources.⁵⁴⁶ In other regions such as Latin America, for example, the seriousness of security problems has led some city mayors to claim a role in prevention. Overall, the local level is where crime affects people's lives most immediately, and where there is an opportunity to enhance and utilise community spirit, cooperation and social participation.⁵⁴⁷

1.2 Challenges of limited legal and financial resources

Strong support of national and sub-regional governments is very important for local government safety strategies, but they do not always have the necessary resources. While local authorities are widely proclaimed to have an important role in safety and prevention, fewer countries bestow formal jurisdiction on them. National governments often set out broad guidelines define a framework for local partnerships, and provide incentives and some support for local action, but long-term resource allocation or the imposition of priorities can be problematic. In simple terms this means that "although 70% of offences are committed in cities, cities do not necessarily have 70% of the resources devoted to urban safety activities. Consequently, one of the main resulting problems is ...that available resources are not always allocated to adequately meet priorities".⁵⁴⁸

Financial resources often come primarily from national governments, as part of "contract" procedures. In the United Kingdom, Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (or local neighbourhood safety partnerships⁵⁴⁹) are mandatory local partnerships based on national guidelines, rather than local initiative.⁵⁵⁰ Two thirds of the funding comes from the national government. In France, the central government is committed to supporting local initiatives through contracts (city contracts, local safety contracts, and since 2006 urban social cohesion contracts). In Belgium, localities that meet certain socio-demographic or crime-related criteria can receive funding from the Minister of the Interior for safety and prevention plans.⁵⁵¹ In Chile, the National Public Safety Strategy provides for a Municipal Management Support Fund (MMSF) (*Fondo de Apoyo a la Gestión Municipal*) to finance action under the Municipal Public Safety Plan.⁵⁵²

Support for Municipalities in Norway: the role of KRÅD

In Norway, the National Crime Prevention Council (KRÅD) aims to encourage municipalities to apply a crime prevention model: the *Local Crime Prevention Enterprises Model*, initiated in Denmark at the beginning of the 1990's. The model includes the establishment of close collaboration between different local services and organisations to implement prevention measures. It is based primarily on extensive cooperation between police and municipal authorities, and requires the support of a dedicated coordinator for the coordination of the interventions recommended. Of the 420 Norwegian municipalities, more than 200 have already adopted the model. When they implement the model, cities can receive a grant, as well as technical support from KRÅD. Since 2005, the programme has had an annual budget of \$1 M (CAD).

GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF BOGOTÁ

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This article presents the concept of governance of security and illustrates it in the light of the experience of Bogotá, where the progress in urban security in the past 15 years has been very important. It also discusses briefly one of the new instruments of governance of security in this city, namely the *Libro Blanco de la Seguridad Ciudadana y la Convivencia*¹ (White Paper on Urban Security and Coexistence).

1. Governance of security and its progress in Bogotá

The case of Bogotá can serve as example to understand the contribution of governance of security to the achievement of a public policy in urban security. Urban security policies in this city during the period 1992-2007, have been evaluated as successful by many authors (Acero, 2003; Llorente & Rivas, 2004; Martín & Ceballos, 2004; Sánchez, et al., 2003; Urban, 2006; Velásquez, 2007). Crime indicators show a clear trend of improvement in that period. Evidence shows, however, that other cities in Colombia, in the same period of time, applied public policy instruments comparable to those of Bogotá, but were not as successful. This suggests that the success of a policy of security does not depend exclusively on the application of coercion, prevention or solidarity tools and programs that in a certain moment were deemed appropriate for a given place in another area or in a different moment. How can Bogotá's success in its urban security policy be explained? Why a similar approach of these urban security policies has not worked in other Colombian cities? A first hypothesis stated by Velásquez (2008) is the construction of some sort of "non formalized governance", which has allowed, in a political system that provides for four-year terms for mayors, without possibility of reelection, the sustainability of the central elements of the urban security policy.

From 1992 to 2007 Bogotá combined elements of different urban security strategies. Some of the tools, especially in the mid-90s, were inspired by the approximation of epidemiology of violence which had already been used in Cali (Guerrero, 1999a, 1999b). However, evidence has showed that Cali subsequently met serious problems of governance and citizen security. Velásquez (2007) explains the difference between these two cities in the fact that "public security depends less on traditional instruments and tools for public policy of urban security, than on the forms of governance of security one city can develop in a particular time." In Bogotá, security and crime prevention became a central issue of the government agenda. For the mayors of Bogotá, urban security became a priority, and in consequence, during the 90's they developed a new approach for the city called "citizen security", away from the old and prevalent paradigm of national security in the country. Crime and violence became part of political responsibilities of the city's authorities. Security was no longer an exclusive issue of law enforcement agencies and justice, but became a matter of urban development. That is why, in the discussion about urban security, social and economic actors were involved.

In this 15-years period, each mayor, even coming from different political parties, aimed to build on what was already built. As if there was an implicit agreement ("not formalized governance"). Each administration, according to their own reading of an evolving reality of insecurity in the city, has incorporated new actions to the existing policy of security, but not necessarily affecting the current actions. As explained by Llorente & Rivas (2004): "There was an appropriate mix of strategies, although there is no certainty about the weight of each ingredient in the mixture. But beyond the measurements that indicate us about effectiveness of specific programs or actions, it seems essential that the city had developed a discourse about protection of life which could summon and congregate all the citizens."

2. The White Paper on Urban Security and Coexistence in Bogotá: A New Instrument of Governance of Security

The aforementioned can explain some of the causes of Bogotá's advances in urban security. It also illustrates two things: 1) The uncertainty generated by the continuity of the security policy given its dependence on the relationships between actors, which is not predictable; 2) The need to adapt to future challenges. To address these crucial aspects of continuity and resilience, and finally sustainability, Bogotá has proposed a governance tool called the White Paper on Urban Security and Coexistence (LBSB, 2007, 2008), conceived as a process of foresight, and developed through a plural dialogue and multipartite consensus about issues

and challenges of urban security for the future. The process has already led to develop a space of exchange between different actors, from different institutions and different political affiliations. They have initially identified these challenges together and then they will make recommendations on how to deal with them.

As an instrument of governance of security, the White Paper has permitted spaces for implicit negotiation between actors in the city, on identifying and addressing those issues and challenges of urban security, while also seeking an input to a culture of anticipation, usually weak in the Latin American public sector, but necessary as a key element in the prevention of insecurity. The White Paper is linked to the UN-HABITAT "Safer Cities" programme (UN-Habitat, 2007) and is supported by international cooperation, the government of Bogotá, different non-governmental organisations and members from civil society.

From a thematic point of view, the White Paper has focused on eight aspects considered as the most important challenges for urban security in Bogotá in the future:

- Implications of the armed conflict and post-conflict settings on the dynamics of crime
- Trends and dynamics of risk factors for homicide and high impact crimes
- Socio-economic prevention of crime
- Governance of urban security and citizen participation
- Interinstitutional and intergovernmental relationships in urban security policy
- Evolution of law enforcement and security forces institutions
- Justice administration, penal system and the problem of impunity
- Measurement, social representation and communication of insecurity and crime

About fifty security experts and actors of the city, coming from different institutions and with different political affiliations, have been involved in the process. The first results are that they have reached an agreement regarding the main questions and challenges that Bogotá will have to face in the coming years in the medium and long-term. The first product of the White Paper (LBSB, 2008) reflects major security challenges for Bogotá and provides a first set of priority questions that the city should answer in the near future.

The White Paper, as an instrument of governance of security, has allowed to start to develop a kind of "state policy" (in the sense of long-term policy) and an ability to anticipate, which is so limited in Latin American cities' governance. The development of such capacity is the key for developing a deeper crime prevention urban policy.

2. CIVIL SOCIETY HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE

The involvement of the community* and civil society* is expressly recognised by the UN as an *essential part of effective crime prevention*. The UN Guidelines state that "Communities, in particular, should play an important part in identifying crime prevention priorities, in implementation and evaluation, and in helping to identify a sustainable resource base".⁵⁵³

Civil society* involvement in prevention can help, above all, to improve knowledge of local problems, and aid the development of appropriate responses to them.

2.1 Defining local safety needs

As suggested in Chapter 7, residents* and local organisations are important to the safety audit process, providing key information on experiences of victimisation beyond reported incidents, and on perceptions of safety and insecurity.

Questionnaires or surveys are usually used to consult citizens and other civil society* groups, including the business community. For example, in Belgium, *Le Moniteur* conducts a biennial population survey including questions on insecurity.⁵⁵⁴ **Focus groups** are also used to assess residents' perceptions and can provide more spontaneous responses than formal surveys.⁵⁵⁵ Other types of consultation enable residents to be involved in constructive solutions, for example, **through safety audits** (see contribution p. 159) or **user surveys**.⁵⁵⁶ Participant observation is also an important means of obtaining qualitative information. In all cases, sharing the results of consultations and surveys with inhabitants is valuable for promoting debate and a better awareness of issues. Citizen involvement is sometimes more institutionalised through **neighbourhood committees**.⁵⁵⁷

Regardless of the approach used, however, civil society* involvement is not without its **difficulties**. These can stem from *lack of knowledge* on the part of local authorities themselves.⁵⁵⁸ Many researchers

have found that community participants in consultations are often not representative of all groups of the community*. It tends to be those most interested and/or concerned about the local situation who participate in such consultations. Their strong involvement can affect the results and fail to reflect the overall opinions of the population, and especially the most marginalised. Attention have also drawn to the paradox that citizen involvement tends to be is most successful in communities with the fewest problems.⁵⁵⁹

2.2 Active participation

Actively engaged citizens are more likely to comply with public prevention policies and local initiatives. Such participation may increase when there is a high level of trust in the police. As noted in Chapter 8, community access to the police helps to improve relationships. Mistrust and misunderstanding between the public authorities and citizens⁵⁶⁰ can create substantial obstacles for successful safety policies. In some countries, the political situation is directly related to mistrust, as the findings of an Abidjan safety audit demonstrated, with a climate of suspicion created by political violence.⁵⁶¹

The NIMBY syndrome - *Not in my backyard* - can be a factor in refusal to implement prevention programmes, especially when they are developed for marginalised populations, such as drug addicts⁵⁶² or prostitutes.⁵⁶³ Prevention policies are likely to be successful when they are well integrated into the local fabric. The conditions for success have been analysed through “best practices”, based on different types of intervention model (for example SARA⁵⁶⁴).⁵⁶⁵

More active participation may also be sought. Different “models” or analyses of participatory methods have been suggested. Some researchers have distinguished between two types of role for civil society*: the “immunological model” which strengthens the capacity of the community to defend itself against crime, and the “prophylactic” model which seeks to get rid of the problems by strengthening social bonds and working to eradicate the causes of crime.⁵⁶⁶ *Community policing** is seen as helping communities build their resilience to crime. Others distinguish between prevention strategies which are horizontal, and centred on community needs, or vertical.⁵⁶⁷ For this type of strategy, institutions intervene with the community*, which is therefore either considered as a prevention stakeholder or an area for prevention.⁵⁶⁸

In a study conducted by the European Forum for Urban Safety on the involvement of citizens in local drug prevention, three **citizen involvement strategies** were identified: space management strategies (the reclaiming of public and semi-public spaces by the population, using public discussion and education on public safety issues), strategies to modify attitudes (developing an an observatory and better media relations) and prevention strategies (using health mediators for example).⁵⁶⁹ A number of researchers also stress the importance of **informal** civil society* participation.⁵⁷⁰ This can include approaches such as “quiet” action, involving non reaction to provocation in public spaces; “open participation” where citizens demonstrate, by example, appropriate use of space; and “mixed participation” with combined citizen and public authority activities such as “Neighborhood Days” (see box p. 116).

One of the community’s traditional roles is to **reinforce social control**. There have been several *Neighbourhood Watch* experiences for a long time.⁵⁷¹ The police force has often considered the civil society’s involvement as restrictive, and the community is expected to facilitate the police’s work by vigilance and the *denunciation* of misdemeanours⁵⁷² (see Chapter 8). In some countries, *informing*⁵⁷³ is questioned, while others may question its relevance, and it is said that neighbourhood relationships may be strengthened without a surveillance dimension.⁵⁷⁴

The role of the **private sector** as a partner in prevention has also been supported by the UN Guidelines.⁵⁷⁵ The European Union has also provided funding for studies on public-private partnerships.⁵⁷⁶ As suggested in Chapter 1, the private sector is increasingly implicated in national and local prevention strategies. They are faced with some of the same safety challenges. This trend is strong, as ICPC’s Fifth Annual Colloquium, held in Chile in 2005 underlined. The Colloquium highlighted the range of roles the private sector plays in crime prevention.⁵⁷⁷ There is increasing awareness of the impact of crime on businesses, growing public-private partnerships in service provision, multi-level mechanisms to encourage business involvement in prevention, an expansion of private security and security technologies, and the emergence of corporate social responsibility.⁵⁷⁸ A role for the private sector has also been demonstrated in community safety initiatives in social housing.⁵⁷⁹

A number of prevention programmes focus specifically on the needs of the business sector with tools and good practices to support them.⁵⁸⁰ The private sector can also act as a catalyst in prevention programmes, such as the *National Roads and*

Motorists Association (NRMA) in Australia, which initiates both situational and social development programmes.⁵⁸¹ Many non-government organisations, such as *Crime Concern* in England and Wales, are financed in part by the private sector. Similarly, the *National Crime Prevention Council* in the United States is supported by some major American companies among others.⁵⁸²

Therefore, the business sector can be considered as a stakeholder in prevention along with other local stakeholders. In South Africa for example, *Business Against Crime* has collaborated with local communities and governments over a number of years in a variety of prevention projects.⁵⁸³ In Sweden, local crime prevention councils are supported by the National Crime Prevention Council (Brå), and include the private sector in their crime prevention activities.⁵⁸⁴

Taxi Drivers: local actors for safety around the world

Taxi drivers can play an important role in community safety as private sector partners, because they are at the heart of a city's activity. They can aid clients including visitors, but they are also can be targets of aggression.

In Uganda, the *Uganda Taxi Operators and Drivers Association (UTODA)* includes all taxi drivers and operators mainly based in Kampala, where taxis are the main means of transport. Because of the level of street crime at the end of the 1990's, UTODA trained its drivers to become "crime preventers". The association is also in charge of the corporation's internal discipline.

In Portugal, the *Tàxi seguro* programme was developed by a mobile telephone supplier, in partnership with the Ministry of the Interior, to offer drivers more safety. A similar programme was developed in Bogotá, Colombia, with an alert system enabling drivers to report crimes committed in taxis and to protect the users. This was in collaboration with the police and the taxi corporation *Pactos de Seguridad*.

In Quebec (Canada), the *Taxi-Plus* programme was implemented in Granby, Quebec in 1995. The aim was to educate taxi drivers on the key role they can play in ensuring women's safety, such as responding to the needs of women in difficulty on the street, and being prepared to take them to a safe place if required. A similar project was later implemented in Montreal.

Public-private partnerships are, however, subject to some challenges.⁵⁸⁵ Their requirements of measurable results are not always compatible with long-term social development projects. Businesses depend on market conditions and their funding is often time-limited. A second challenge relates to the difficulty of establishing relationships of trust between private businesses and public institutions, both of which may be reluctant to share information or leadership.⁵⁸⁶

The up and down of the Business Improvement Districts

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are areas where groups of businesses and property owners cooperate to establish their own public safety programmes, and create a more user-friendly environment to increase trade. They often hire their own security guards to protect properties. Present notably in large north American cities, they may be considered as a private means of supplementing publicly funded law enforcement. Essentially, BIDs' crime prevention activities do not fight crime or enforce the law, but instead they seek to change the public's perception of the safety of an area. Private security forces typically cooperate with the police in the case of arrests and in their general activities. Other methods used by BIDs are improved public lighting on the streets, arranging for private pick-up of litter on sidewalks, and organising music festivals.

BIDs typically cover limited geographical areas in cities, often a commercial street or city block. Available statistics show that most neighbourhoods with BIDs security programmes experience at least 10% reductions in crime rates, in what were typically high crime areas in the downtown core of US cities. Seen as an attractive programme, more American cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Montreal, now have BIDs in their downtown areas.

However, there is a debate as to how the interest of the corporate community to improve business affects the public priorities of liberty, privacy or justice. One example is the presence of street artists or buskers, who might be seen as undesirable by private businesses which fund the BIDs. In this context, control mechanisms on private security activities need to be established.

2.3 In the search for sustainable partnerships

Partnerships* according to § 9 of the UN Guidelines for the Prevention of crime “should be an integral part of effective crime prevention, given the wide-ranging nature of the causes of crime and the skills and responsibilities required to address them. This includes partnerships working across ministries and between authorities, community organisations, non-governmental organisations, the business sector and private citizens”.⁵⁸⁷ The term “partnerships” is used by all international

organisations and every level of government, but sustaining them remains an issue.

The co-production of safety is often affected by the normal tendency of stakeholders to work alone. In other words, actions tend to be compartmentalised.⁵⁸⁸ In every country where integrated safety policies are implemented, enormous efforts need to be made to break down the silos in which different sectors operate. Lack of funding is also a recurrent challenge, and can increase scepticism about the likely outcomes of strategies defined and chosen in local consultations, as has been the experience of Douala (Cameroun) for example.⁵⁸⁹

CONTRIBUTION

CRIME PREVENTION PARTNERSHIPS : OVER-EVALUATED AND UNDER-UTILIZED TOOLS

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In the last few years, the concept of partnerships has gained cult status in the world of crime prevention and delinquency control. The police, the public sector and community groups implementing programmes targeting at-risk populations, or even the private security sector - seeking to minimize costs - have all pushed for the necessity to act in partnership with other actors. This concept has been hailed as a panacea, seemingly capable to solve just about any problem.

Generally speaking, partnerships are defined by three major virtues. First of all, they are unlike single-institution interventions because they offer a better response to external conditions and are more flexible. With shared resources, knowledge and technologies, all of the involved partners indirectly benefit from a higher intervention capacity. Secondly, sharing costs and efforts makes it easier to manage the risks facing an organisation when it launches a new programme or initiative. Lastly, unlike competitive market-driven sectors, partnerships rely on positive values like collaboration, trust, inclusion and cordial inter-agency relations.

A few examples, taken from the police context, illustrate to what extent the notion of partnership is becoming an international standard in terms of prevention:

- In England, police authorities have adopted the term “extended police family” to designate the public and private stakeholders collaborating with the police for patrols and investigations (Johnston 2003 & 2005). This integration of external partners comes in the wake of 1998’s Crime and Disorder Act, which set out to systematically implement local structures to coordinate multilateral partnerships for fighting crime and disorder (Newburn 2007, 570).
- In 2006, New Zealand undertook the modernization of its Police Act. The extensive consultation process included sections for the Act suggested by local citizens in a participative website (wiki). The enactment was introduced to Parliament in December 2007 and it is truly in the spirit of partnership. Section 10 of the Bill states that agencies other than the police play an important role in policing, and that, therefore, the police must cooperate closely with citizens and other concerned organisations to fulfill its mandate (King 2007).
- In Australia, the Victoria Police introduced the Nexus Project in 2005, which is based on ‘leadership’ and legitimacy, to integrate other organisations dealing with very diverse safety problems such as organized crime, repeat sex offenders, youth protection, public transit safety, anti-social behaviour around public housing or family violence. Every problem is analyzed to map out the concerned businesses and organisations, their awareness of the situation as well as their skills and resources at their disposal to solve problems. Partnership strategies are developed and based on these assessments, and are designed to promote smart and efficient safety interventions (Wood et al. 2008).

While they may be praiseworthy, these partnerships inevitably create tensions that considerably limit their scope; these tensions are regrettably rarely taken into account when it comes to evaluating results.

One of the challenges is to define common objectives, especially in the case of major inter-agency partnerships. To mitigate conflicts, partners are often tempted to agree on minimal objectives, an unsound basis for concrete action. On the other hand, partnerships may lead to the multiplication of objectives, which increase the risk of contradictions and internal incoherence (Crawford 1997). Implicit objectives may also interfere with explicit objectives; this may lead to dysfunctional prevention partnerships.

When the purpose of a partnership is ambiguous, there is a direct impact on trust; this trust is in most cases fragile and situational, which means that all of the stakeholders constantly re-evaluate it to circumscribe eventual negative consequences stemming from the opportunistic or predatory behaviour of partners. On the other hand, resilient trust stems from convergent interests or common values guaranteeing stable relationships, even in the event of failure or wrongdoing in a partnership (Tilly 2005). Trust is fragile in prevention partnerships and this situation is compensated by frequent acts of goodwill. A considerable amount of energy is invested for this that could have been invested in more productive ventures.

As consequence of this fragile trust, the quality of information shared in the partnership is inversely proportional to the number of partners involved; the more partners, the more one can expect the exchanged information to be of low quality. Highly valuable information is hoarded or only shared between the closest and most trusted partners.

Informal hierarchies are thus created within partnerships; they have an insidious and malicious impact on the functioning of a partnership, aiming to accelerate the consultation and decision-making process. The spirit of partnership is then more or less abandoned for the sake of efficiency, or under the pressure of special interests.

Because of these concrete risks, it is essential to encourage those promoting partnerships to abandon candid and superficial visions and to choose methodologies that facilitate the operations, the identification of strong and weak points, and the assessment of results.

Several organisations dedicated to prevention insist on the virtues of partnerships and actively participate in numerous multilateral initiatives, but very few organisations took the extra step to identify which of their employees were the best at establishing and maintaining trust with external organisations. The capacity to network and to take actions based on consensus should be formally encouraged by the human resources management, notably by dedicating specialists to the management and monitoring of partnerships (Goldsmith and Eggers 2004).

However, monitoring is rarely implemented. How many police forces, municipal delinquency prevention programmes or community organisations are capable of drawing an exhaustive list of their partners and the multilateral initiatives in which they are involved? How many of them specifically measure the considerable energy that is invested in each partnership and the benefits of these efforts for the organisation and entire community? How many of them regularly evaluate the relevance of the partnerships in which they are involved and put an end to collaborations that have become sterile or do not meet their intervention priorities? These disturbing questions must be asked in order to reach a dominant model of partnerships.

Although it is more difficult to measure the efficiency and efficacy of a partnership than that of a vertically integrated administration, it is possible to identify some reliable indicators. First of all, the nature of the action in partnerships may be determined by the number of partners, the frequency of their meetings, as well as the quantity and quality of information exchanged. The speed at which information is shared between partners points to the value of a partnership; it is also a useful indicator. It could also be helpful to evaluate how the partners take decisions, whether they are reached by consensus or under the pressure of dominant stakeholders. The fulfillment of objectives is part of the second category of indicators, used to determine the legitimacy of a partnership or of its joint activities, to measure the impacts of these activities on users and communities, or to compare the efficiency and efficacy of the partnerships with those of other bureaucracies or the market.

In conclusion, the implied benefits of using partnerships are hardly sufficient to guarantee that they achieve the expected results. Although partnerships may be attractive, they can also lead to abuse when they are not monitored. Rather than mistakenly believe that the idea of "partnership" is enough to encourage stakeholders, with different cultures and interests, to collaborate and trust each other, it is important to develop a true science of partnership, based on thorough and transferable methodologies, with sustainable advantages for prevention.

Considerable experience has been accumulated over the past few years about one of the central roles of strategic crime prevention, multi-sector partnerships. The difficulties and frustrations of developing and sustaining viable partnerships at the community level, and the characteristics of successful partnerships are now much clearer.⁵⁹⁰

Some of the key features of successful partnerships seem to be:

- Strong leaders and managers
- Agree on the problem and intervention
- Recruit qualified staff
- Build grass roots support
- Identify adequate funding and resources
- Provide good oversight of project implementation
- Evaluate the partners' efforts

Other aspects of recent experience point to the importance of:

- Local ownership, local knowledge, specificity and context
- Strengthening capacity and skills
- Real participation
- Private-public community partnerships
- Social mediation* and the role of women
- Community participation in integrated urban development
- Flexible evaluation

In conclusion, the importance of building safety at the local level is widely recognised today. This is where the impacts of crime and victimisation are experienced on a daily basis, and where local governments can understand and respond to the needs of communities, since they can listen to the concerns of citizens, involve them in initiatives, and adapt a community-based approach to local contexts and realities. The experience of local government partnerships implemented in Europe in the 1980s has expanded to many regions, including Latin America and Africa, with the development of comprehensive and structured programmes, even though the requisite resources may be lacking.

To ensure the long-term viability of partnerships, **sustainable structures** are often sought. As seen before, the principle of partnership is sometimes defined by legislation, as it is in the United Kingdom, France, Chili and New Zeland.⁵⁹¹ Some partnerships, which are more flexible and deal with issues beyond safety, are similar to "round tables" or "alliances", and collaborate for a specific cause, such as youth, women or elderly people.⁵⁹²

To ensure sustainability of strategies, local authorities need to create **sustainable internal structures** to mobilize, coordinate and implement their plans. UN-HABITAT's utilizes this approach in its Safer Cities Programme. Local coordinators are recruited as part of "Safer Cities Teams" in the many projects which have been initiated under this programme.⁵⁹³ This includes Durban, Johannesburg, Dar es Salaam, Antananarivo, Abidjan, Dakar, Nairobi, Bamako, Yaoundé and Douala, Port Moresby.⁵⁹⁴ Similar approaches have been deployed in Latin America, including cities in Brazil and Chile.

- 519 ECOSOC (2002a).
- 520 See: ECOSOC (2002a); ECOSOC (1995); UN-HABITAT (no date).
- 521 Council of Europe, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (CLRAE) (1992), *European Urban Charter*, adopted March 18, 1992.
- 522 See: *The Hague Programme - Ten priorities for the next five years*: [http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/news/information_dossiers/the_hague_priorities/index_en.htm].
- 523 Commission des communautés européennes (2004), Communication au Conseil et au Parlement européen sur la Prévention de la criminalité dans l'Union européenne, COM (2004) 164 final.
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- 525 Kulach Justyna, Whiskin Nigel, Marks Erich (2006).
- 526 Napolano Carla, Wyvekens Anne (2004).
- 527 Commission des maires sur la sécurité (France) (1982).
- 528 (Portugal) Lei sobre os Conselhos municipais de segurança 18 July, 1998.
- 529 Alvarez Joséphina (2006).
- 530 Shaw Margaret (2001b).
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NOTES

prevent theft. Citizens may also ask these organisations to help them revitalize a neighbourhood and to establish a community crime prevention strategy. See: <http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/>.

- 575** ECOSOC (2002a), § 9.
- 576** See: http://www.ec.europa.eu/justice_home/funding/tenders/2004_S200_170329/invitation_tender_fr.pdf
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- 578** Capobianco Laura (2005); Australian Institute of criminology (2004a); Hardie Jeremie, Hobbs Ben (2002).
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- 580** See eg. National crime control Platform in the Netherlands : <http://english.justitie.nl/>.
- 581** See: <http://www.nrma.com.au/pub/nrma/community/crime-prevention/index.shtml>.
- 582** See: National Crime Prevention Council (USA): www.ncpc.org; Crime Concern (UK): www.crimeconcern.org.uk.
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- 592** For example, the territory overviews created by the Centraide/ United Way organisation, in Montreal: <http://www.centraide-mtl.org/centraide/static/publications/default.htm>.
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**Inter-city coordination: Forum Metroplitano de Segurança Publica,
Sao Paulo region, Brazil
(p.212)**

Source:

- <http://www.forumsp.org.br/>

**An example of local crime prevention strategy: the Toronto Com-
munity Safety Plan
(p.212)**

Source:

- www.toronto.ca/community_safety

**Support for Municipalities in Norway: the role of KRÅD
(p.213)**

Source:

- <http://www.krad.dep.no/>

**Taxi Drivers: local actors for safety around the world
(p.217)**

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**The up and down of the Business Improvement Districts
(p.217)**

Source:

- Franck Vindevoel (2005), Private Security and Urban Crime Mitigation: A bid for BIDs, *Criminal Justice*, Vol. 5, pp. 233-255.

**Key features of successful partnerships
(p.220)**

Source:

- Lab Steven P. (2007), *Crime Prevention. Approaches, Practices and Evaluation*. 6th ed. Cincinnati: LexisNexus, Anderson Publishing.

NOTES AND REFERENCES OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS

Governance of security in the light of the experience of Bogotá (p.214)

Note:

1 “Convivencia” is a concept emerged and used in Latin America to picture an idealistic view of a common life among different cultural, social or political groups, a possible common life, a “living together” steady, permanent, desirable by itself and not only because its effects (Mockus, 2002). There is not a word with the same meaning either in English or French. But it could be possible to use “coexistence” or “living together” in English or “cohabitation”, “convivialité” or “vivre ensemble” in French.

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CONCLUSIONS TO PART TWO

- 1 – This review of worldwide prevention policies and practices clearly demonstrates the progress that has been made in **the dissemination of international norms and standards in crime prevention**, in terms of the principles on which they are based, and the **development of national prevention strategies** that they have inspired. The political, economic, cultural and social evolutions entailed in the transition to democracy, especially in Latin America and in Eastern Europe, have been an incentive for many governments to develop integrated prevention policies based on these principles. On an international level, nevertheless, much work still needs to be done to identify the conditions for their implementation and **adaptation to different local contexts**.
- 2 – **The trends that have been identified are not found in all countries around the world**. There are still important differences between countries that have succeeded in implementing comprehensive strategies, and in making a commitment to identify and implement innovative practices, and those that have only been able to establish some *ad hoc* preventive projects, or that lack the necessary capacity and resources. We should not underestimate the fact that the perception of these differences is sometimes sustained by shortcomings in the dissemination of information about practices. Projects often lack access to a “global prevention and community safety network”. Research and exchange networks are still inadequate in many countries, making it difficult to undertake a full inventory of existing initiatives.
- 3 – Crime, and the range of factors that impinge on community safety, are rapidly evolving with the impacts of globalisation, urbanisation, social and cultural changes, economic conditions, and political contexts. Community safety challenges established professional cultures and crosses institutional borders. In order to respond to peoples’ aspirations, stakeholders and authorities need to be able to demonstrate their imagination and capacity for adaptation. **It is at the local level, in cities and communities, that the most promising dynamics and capacity for innovation are found**. Although regional and national authorities often support these initiatives, through the development of a policy framework, specific tools, or resource allocation, these often fall short of what is needed.
- 4 – Crime prevention, either as a discipline or public policy, **is relatively new and its comprehensive nature does not facilitate its development as a unified field of action**. It is supported by rich theoretical and conceptual frameworks, and strong political commitment, by international organisations, governments and practitioners. However, it still encounters resistance in terms of implementation, undoubtedly because it implies a complex multi-partner commitment. Awareness and understanding of prevention have been encouraged by the reinforcement of a **culture of evaluation** and public policy research, as well as by **international exchange** and the **comparative analysis of policies and practice**.

CONCLUSION

This first overview of crime prevention and community safety at the international level clearly demonstrates the numerous shortcomings in existing data, in terms of their comparability and dissemination. Today, community safety is too often poorly acknowledged, and crime prevention policies are still the subject of limited research or are not well known. By bringing together some of the available information on these issues, and by identifying through comparative analysis, the progress made or still to be accomplished, this report aims to **provide a more systematic and focused analysis of prevention issues**. This work, which will be issued biennially, is intended to shed light on, and valorise the **multitude of prevention initiatives, experiences, and projects around the world**, undertaken not only by public authorities, but also less well-known actors on the ground.

In addition to being a tool for analysis, this report is also intended to **promote “integrated” prevention approaches**, in other words, it hopes to mobilise actors and neighbourhoods to use a multidisciplinary approach. By enhancing innovative grassroots experiences and ambitious strategies, we hope to show that faced with crime and insecurity, present solutions are not restricted to repressive responses. In 2010, our report will include a third section dedicated to the evaluation of prevention interventions, enabling us to look at both methods and results. Crime prevention can be difficult to evaluate especially when it entails multiple forms of intervention. In spite of the high expectations of outcomes and standards applied to prevention, which often seem disproportionate, it is evident that it is very important to identify better evaluation methods and approaches. This work on evaluation will complete our overview of community safety and prevention developments.

While we adopted an international perspective, we have not attempted to ignore, assume, or deny differences between contexts, levels of crime, or the resources of each country. International comparison allows for broader dissemination of useful information; it favours exchange between experts and those new to the field, and provides sources of information or inspiration that are sometimes difficult to access. Apart from differences, we have sought to identify the methods and principles which are likely to be applicable in all regions of the world. In this respect, we hope to both question and strengthen the relevance of United Nations’ standards and norms relevant to these issues. Finally, by working at the international level, we hope to promote an **approach** to prevention and the reduction of crime that is **balanced, humane and inclusive, and that favours individual and collective achievement**.

GLOSSARY

The terminology used in the field of crime prevention and community safety confronts several linguistic difficulties, not just between languages, but also within them. Certain terminology is not always universally used even within the same country. This Glossary includes definitions for those terms used in the report which are indicated by an asterisk (*). They are given in three languages (English, French and Spanish).

**anti-social behaviour
incivilities**

***comportement anti-social
incivilités***
or ***nuisances*** (BEL)
or ***irritants*** (QC)

molestias públicas

Anti-social behaviour is a term frequently used in the United Kingdom and in Latin America. In the United Kingdom, it is defined in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, as behaviour “that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household as himself; behaviour which causes or is likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more people who are not in the same household as the perpetrator”.¹ It includes graffiti, destruction of public property, public gathering of individuals seen as menacing, abusive or intimidating language, excessive noise, littering, drunken behaviour, drug dealing, and other behaviour perceived as having a negative influence on the quality of life and livelihood of certain areas. Elsewhere, we use the terms “incivilities”, “irritants” or “nuisances” to refer to a set of behaviours and situations which are not illegal per se, but which go against normally accepted rules of civil society; these may lead to increased fear of crime among residents and other users of public space.² This category also encompasses other behaviours cited above. Depending on the country, the term “nuisance” is often used. It is used in particular, in Belgium, without negative connotations, to designate the inconvenience felt by users and residents of public spaces.³

civil society

société civile

sociedad civil

Civil society refers to citizens or citizen groups working outside government and its formal institutions. It includes those working to promote and defend their interests, such as union and management organisations (“social partners”), professional associations, charitable organisations, non-governmental organisations, and organisations involved in local and community life, including faith-based groups.⁴ The concept is traditionally seen as separate from public and government institutions, and the private sector. However, in the context of this report, we have included the private sector, notably business groups, and especially those working with local populations.

community

***communauté
or collectivité***

comunidad

There are many definitions of community, and for the purposes of this report we use the UN Guidelines definition of “community” to designate “the participation of civil society in local affairs”.⁵ The Guidelines infer that civil society is a generic concept, as expressed in § 16: “the active participation of communities and **other segments of civil society** [emphasis added] is an essential part of effective crime prevention.” “*Collectivité*” and “community” are two terms, used more or less synonymously in this report, to include not only residents, but also community organisations, local businesses, as well as various local branches of government.

GLOSSARY

community mediation

médiation sociale
médiation communautaire
médiation de quartier
médiation citoyenne

mediación comunitaria

In the present report, community mediation refers to forms of dispute resolution between opposed parties in a community. It is usually conducted by a non-judicial authority, and may have several objectives, including resolving conflicts and disputes, mending social ties and increasing citizen empowerment and social controls.

community policing (USA, CA, AUS)

police communautaire (QC)
ou *police de proximité* (FR, BEL, CH...)

policía de proximidad
policía comunitaria

There are many definitions of community policing, but generally it refers to a policing model which focuses on working with and engaging the community and community structures in a partnership approach to identify, respond to, and solve crime and disorder problems that affect the local neighbourhood.

community safety

sécurité quotidienne

seguridad cotidiana
or *seguridad comunitaria*

Community safety is a broader concept than “crime prevention”. It refers to the sense of well-being and the quality of life of a community or neighbourhood. It also suggests the collective nature of creating a safe community. It requires policing structures to be consultative and inclusive than might otherwise be the case.

coexistence

coexistence

convivencia (ciudadana)

This notion, common in Latin America, refers to all the components related to the quality of life of a community, and “living together”, in the sense of peaceful and harmonious cohabitating.

crime prevention

prévention de la criminalité (du crime)
or *prévention de la délinquance* (FR)

prevención de la criminalidad
(del crimen)
prevención del delito
prevención de la delincuencia

We use the term as defined in § 3 of the UN Guidelines: crime prevention “comprises strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime, by intervening to influence their multiple causes.”⁶

evaluation

évaluation

evaluación

Evaluation refers to the systematic and rigorous application of recognized methodology to objectively assess the process and outcome of an intervention or policy. An evaluation aims to assess a programme’s efficiency and effectiveness, and its impact and sustainability.⁷

indicator

indicateur

indicador

A set of qualitative or quantitative measures about a phenomenon or action. Indicators are often expressed in terms of a target (figures) in order to assess the scope of the results of a policy initiative or programme.⁸

GLOSSARY

indigenous people
or **aboriginal people** (CA, AUS)

peuples autochtones
peuples aborigènes

pueblos indígenas
pueblos aborígenes

There is no generally accepted definition of “indigenous peoples.” A commonly accepted definition is: “...those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems”.⁹

intelligence-led policing

Policing strategy model based on knowledge and intelligence, the goal of which is to precisely identify potential problems and threats and to streamline the use of resources, which may be concentrated around “hot points” (hot spots policing), and on the development of crime analyses tools. The term “intelligence” refers to selected information which is assessed and analysed in terms of its usefulness for prevention and the resolution of criminal problems.¹⁰

judicial mediation

médiation pénale

mediación penal

In the present report, judicial mediation refers to mediation which is authorized by the judicial process, and involves offenders or those charged with offences, and their alleged victims. As with other types of mediation (e.g. civil and commercial mediation), the process is supervised and validated by the judicial authorities. The principal objective is to bring about some form of reparation for the harm done. If an offender is sentenced to imprisonment, mediation (or some other form of reparative justice) may form a condition of sentence to aid the victim and assist the offender with reinsertion in the community.

knowledge-based prevention

prévention fondée sur la connaissance

prevención basada en conocimiento

The development of prevention strategies based on reliable information and scientific evidence about the targeted issues, rather than relying on other considerations, including political persuasion. This approach requires the use of large data-sets and specific tools and processes, such as safety audits, surveys (e.g. victimisation surveys), or observatories. It also includes an evidence-based (or evidence-led) approach, which integrates the results of rigorous evaluations.¹¹

locally-based crime prevention
or **community-based crime prevention**

prévention communautaire
prévention du crime
à l'échelon local

prevención de la delincuencia
(a nivel local)
prevención del delito basada
(a nivel local)
prevención comunitaria del delito

This approach aims to “change the conditions in neighbourhoods that influence offending, victimisation and the insecurity that results from crime by building on the initiatives, expertise and commitment of community members.”¹²

GLOSSARY

mediation

médiation

mediación

Mediation refers to a process of building and restoring the social fabric of society, by managing conflicts in everyday life. It is usually undertaken by a neutral and independent third-party, who acts as communicator between individuals or institutions, to help them to improve relationships, or to solve conflicts.

migrant

migrant

inmigrante

No legal or generic definition exists for the term “migrant” in international law, except for specific categories such as “migrant workers” which is defined in the *International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* and the International Labor Organisation (Conventions n° 97 and 143).

However, reference is frequently made to an operational definition, in accordance with which, the following categories of persons are considered to be “migrants”:

- a) any individuals who are outside of the territory or state in which they hold nationality or citizenship, but who do not receive legal protection from this state, and are living within the territory of another state;
- b) persons who are not entitled to any general judicial regime inherent to the categories of refugee, permanent resident, naturalized citizen, or any other status granted by the host state;
- c) persons who are not entitled to any general legal protection of their fundamental rights by virtue of diplomatic agreement, visa, or other agreement.

The advantage to this definition is that it does not bear any bias in terms of the motivations that influenced the migrant to leave his own country. The categories therefore include persons who have fled from their state of origin, especially for reasons of political persecution, conflict or economic difficulty as well as persons who have left their country by choice or personal convenience.¹³

neighbourhood policing

Neighbourhood policing is a policing strategy similar to community policing. It is a key component of policing in England and Wales and elsewhere. It aims to provide a visible police force that is accountable to community members, expressing local solidarity and citizen-focused, in order to meet a community’s needs.

partnership or local coalition

partenariat coalition

alianza coalición asociación (de actores locales)

Partnership refers to a process of working jointly together to develop prevention strategies. This usually includes authorities and institutions directly involved in prevention, along with other state services, non government organisations, and especially, local citizens and the private sector. Thus municipal authorities, police, justice and education institutions, public or semi public services, such as public transport companies, social housing organisations, local resident associations, and neighbourhood businesses and commercial outlets that play an important economic role in the community, may all be involved.¹⁴

prevention of recidivism

prévention de la récidive

prevención de la reincidencia

This approach aims to “prevent recidivism by assisting in the social reintegration of offenders”. This may include programmes in institutions, or reintegration programmes on release from custody.¹⁵

GLOSSARY

problem-oriented policing *police orientée vers la résolution de problèmes* *policía orientada a la resolución de problemas*

A policing strategy model that focuses on the identification and analysis of crime problems specific to a given sector. It seeks to resolve them through the joint involvement of the community and police services.¹⁶ The notion is that police should not address crimes one by one, but seek to group them together and address their underlying cause(s). Problem-oriented policing represents a shift from community-oriented policing, with the notion that the police are better positioned to analyse and respond to crime than the community.¹⁷

protective factors *facteurs de protection* *factores de protección*

A series of internationally recognised and research-based factors that help to protect children and young people, in particular, from crime and victimisation (eg. having a strong and cohesive family; not dropping out of school etc.). They help to reduce the impact of any negative events, or help individuals avoid or resist the temptation to break the law. They may also work to reduce the chances that people will enter on a path likely to lead to breaches of the law. Protective factors also help build alternate life-choices.¹⁸

reparative justice
or **restorative justice** *justice réparatrice*
justice restauratrice *justicia restitutiva*
justicia restaurativa

The UN Economic and Social Council defines restorative justice as “a concept that recognises that a crime often affects not only the futures of victims and communities, but also those of the offenders involved. It seeks to restore all of the interests of all of the parties affected by a crime, to the extent possible using the active and voluntary involvement of the offenders, the victims and the communities.”¹⁹

Restorative processes include a range of approaches such as mediation, conciliation, family group conferencing and sentencing circles.²⁰ The aim is to reach an agreement which restores some kind of equilibrium for victims and offenders, by meeting individual and collective needs and responsibilities of the parties, and the reintegration of the victim and the offender.²¹ The agreement may include a sentence of reparation, restitution or community service. The facilitator’s role is to act in a fair and impartial manner, with the participation of the parties in a restorative process.²²

resident
or **inhabitant**
or **citizens** *résidents* (QC)
habitants (FR, BEL, CH)
citoyens *residente*
habitantes
ciudadanos (la ciudadanía)

These terms refer to people living within a given neighbourhood or area, or individuals who frequent the same places or use a service, and in the widest sense, to users of public space.²³

risk factors *facteurs de risque* *factores de riesgo*

A series of internationally recognized and research-based factors found to increase the chances that a child or young person will become involved in offending or victimisation. They include a range of individual (eg. very early aggressive behaviour; dropping out of school), family (low parental functioning or violence) and environmental characteristics (e.g. poor housing and environment), or services provision (eg. poor schooling, lack of access to social services).

GLOSSARY

situational crime prevention

prévention situationnelle
or *prévention des situations criminogènes*

*prevención de situaciones
propicias al delito*
prevención situacional

This approach aims to “prevent the occurrence of crimes by reducing opportunities, increasing the risks of being apprehended and minimising benefits, including through environmental design, and by providing assistance and information to potential and actual victims.”²⁴

**social crime prevention
prevention through
social development**

prévention sociale de la criminalité
or *prévention par le
développement social*

prevención social del delito

This approach aims to “promote the well-being of people and encourage pro-social behaviour through social, economic, health and educational measures, with a particular emphasis on children and youth, and focus on the risk and protective factors associated with crime and victimisation.”²⁵

- 1 (UK) Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (c. 37), art. 1 al. 1 lit. a.
- 2 See eg. Skogan Wesley G. (1999), *Measuring What Matters: Crime, Disorder, and Fear*, in Langworthy R. L. (Ed.), *Measuring What Matters*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice / Office of Community Oriented Policing Service, pp. 37-53;
- 3 See eg. Roché Sébastien (1996), *La société incivile*. Paris : Seuil.
- 4 See eg. Roché Sébastien (1999); Savignac Julie, Lelandais Isabelle, Sagant Valérie (2007).
- 5 Commission of the European Communities (2001), *European Governance : A White Paper, Brussels*, COM(2001) 428 final (25.07.2001)
- 6 ECOSOC (2002a), § 5.
- 7 ECOSOC (2002a).
- 8 See the Glossary of the *Beccaria Programm, Quality Management in Crime Prevention* [<http://www.beccaria.de/nano.cms/en/Glossary/Page/2/>].
- 9 UNODC, UNICEF (2007); Tilley Nick (1995), *Thinking about Crime Prevention Performance Indicators*. Crime Detection & Prevention Series, Paper 57, Police Research Group, Home Office.
- 10 Martínez Cobo José (1986), *Study of the problem of discrimination against Indigenous Populations*, E/CN.4/ sub 2/1986/87 UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7Add.1-4; UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2004), *World's Indigenous Peoples to Meet at United Nations 10-21 May, New York: United Nations*. [<http://www.un.org/hr/indigenousforum/press1.html>].
- 11 Ratcliffe Jerry H. (2003).
- 12 Welsh Brandon C. (2007a).
- 13 ECOSOC (2002a), § 6 lit. b.
- 14 ECOSOC (2000), *Specific groups and individuals: migrant workers. Human rights of migrants: report of the Special Rapporteur Gabriela Rodriguez Pizarro*, submitted pursuant to Commission resolution 1999/44 of the UN Human Rights Commission in its 56th Session. Geneva, UN. E/CN.4/2000/82.
- 15 Marcus M., Vanderschueren F., en colaboración con Buffat J.P. y Lunecke A. (2004), p. 269. See eg. ECOSOC (2002a), § 9, § 17 lit. d et § 19.
- 16 ECOSOC (2002a), § 6 lit. d.
- 17 Goldstein Herman (1979).
- 18 Brodeur Jean-Paul (2008).
- 19 See for example (Australia) Commonwealth Attorney-General's Department (1999), p. 48.
- 20 ECOSOC (2002b).
- 21 Economic and social Council Resolution 2002/12, § 2.
- 22 Economic and social Council Resolution 2002/12, § 3.
- 23 Economic and Social Council Resolution 2002/12, § 5.
- 24 The terms *résidant* and *résident* (in French) are homonyms to design inhabitants. However, the former refers to an individual living in an area, whereas the latter refers to a "person established in a country other than its native country." See: Le petit Robert 1 (2002), *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française*. Paris : Le Robert.
- 25 ECOSOC (2002a), § 6 lit. c et § 26.
- 26 ECOSOC (2002a), § 6 lit. a et § 25.

ANNEX I: EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

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ANNEX II: PNI MEMBERS

The **United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI)** was created by the United Nations and the Government of Japan with the goal of promoting criminal justice systems and mutual cooperation in Asia and the Pacific Region. This promotion takes the form of training courses and seminars for people working in crime prevention and criminal justice administration both in Japan and abroad, as well as the research and study of crime prevention and the treatment of offenders.¹

The **United Nations Interregional Crime & Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)** was founded in 1967 to support crime prevention and criminal justice initiatives. It engages in applied research, training, technical cooperation and information activities. In terms of its dissemination activities, UNICRI issues publications, maintains a documentation center and maintains contacts with professionals and experts worldwide.²

The American **National Institute of Justice (NIJ)** has been mandated to “advance scientific research, development, and evaluation to enhance the administration of justice and public safety” since its founding in 1968. It implements that mandate through the creation of relevant knowledge and tools, the dissemination of relevant and reliable information, and by ensuring professionalism and integrity in its research and programmes. The NIJ work concentrates in many areas, such as crime control and prevention, justice systems and offender behaviour and violence and victimisation. It also contributes to the domains of field testing of promising programmes and international crime control.³

The **International Institute of Higher Studies in Criminal Sciences (ISISC)** is a non profit organisation founded in 1972 is engaged in human rights research, training, technical assistance, publication and advocacy. ISISC focuses in particular on Arab and Muslim countries and has produced several publications on human rights, international criminal law, international humanitarian law, and post conflict justice.⁴

The **Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC)** has been a contributor of criminological research since 1973; it conducts, publishes and disseminates research, as well as organizes conferences and seminars. Its work on the extent, nature and prevention of crime in Australia also helps to inform government policy.⁵

El Instituto Latinoamericano de las Naciones Unidas para la Prevención del Delito y el Tratamiento del Delincuente (ILANUD) was founded in 1975 by the United Nations and the government of Costa Rica. ILANUD has signed agreements with several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Like the other regional organisations in the network, ILANUD provides resources, training and technical assistance; it also organizes expert meetings on topics of prevention and criminal justice.⁶

Founded in 1980, the **Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences (NAASS)** is an academic institution that promotes research on security issues, offers post-graduate programmes, and organizes training courses that contribute to the prevention and control of crime in the Arab countries.⁷

The **European Institute for Crime Prevention and Control (HEUNI)** was established in 1981 in an agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Finland. The institute encourages the exchange of information on crime prevention amongst European countries. Its activities parallel those of its fellow network members and include arranging meetings, carrying out research and providing technical assistance.⁸

The **Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law** (f. 1984) is an academic institution that strives to promote human rights and humanitarian law by means of research, academic education, dissemination and institutional development. It also possesses an international focus; the Institute offers training and capacity building programmes in Sweden and abroad and maintains links with several academic institutions as well as international organisations, non-governmental organisations and government institutions worldwide.⁹

The **Korean Institute of Criminal Justice Policy (KICJP)** was established in 1989 and its mission is to assist policy formulation through its analysis of crime trends, causes and countermeasures. Its activities include research, education and the promotion of international exchange.¹⁰

ANNEX II: PNI MEMBERS

The **United Nations African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFRI)** was created in 1989 and its membership is open to all Member States of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). The institute supports the active cooperation of governments, academic institutions and experts involved in crime prevention activities in the African region in the context of wider development concerns.¹¹

The **International Centre for Criminal Law Reform and Criminal Justice Policy (ICCLR & CJP)** in Vancouver, Canada, is a joint initiative of the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and the International Society for the Reform of Criminal Law with the support of Canadian government as well as the province of British Columbia. Since its establishment in 1991, the Centre has contributed to the priorities of Canada and the United Nations in the field of criminal law and criminal justice and strives to improve the quality of justice through reform of criminal law, policy, and practice around the world. The primary role of the Centre is to provide advice, information, research and proposals for policy development and legislation. The Centre fulfills this role in part through offering education, training and technical assistance.¹²

The **International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice programme (ISPAC)** was created in 1991 in order to direct professional and scientific information in the shape of technical assistance, training and education, research, monitoring and evaluation to the United Nations on numerous topics such as the status of women, the environment and transnational crime. It has a broad focus on knowledge sharing and the exchange of information related to crime prevention and criminal justice. Membership in ISPAC is extended to all organisations with expertise in crime prevention and criminal justice and with an interest in participating in the Council's work.¹³

The **Institute for Security Studies (ISS)** is a regional research institute started in 1991 and operates across sub-Saharan Africa. Its work focuses on a broad definition of human security, including personal and community security and its activities include an expert workshop series, assisting policy development and monitoring policy implementation.¹⁴

In 1994, the **International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC)** was created to become an international forum for national governments, local authorities, public agencies, specialized institutions, and non-government organisations to exchange experience, consider emerging knowledge, and improve policies and programmes in crime prevention and community safety. Its activities include monitoring global developments, providing assistance to members and facilitating expert interaction, as well as contributing to public knowledge of crime prevention and community safety. The ICPC also promotes the implementation of best practices and tools to enhance community safety.¹⁵

- 1 <http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pages/History.htm>
- 2 <http://www.unicri.it/>
- 3 <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/about.htm>
- 4 <http://www.isisc.org/PagesHome.asp?Menu=1>
- 5 <http://www.aic.gov.au/institute/>
- 6 <http://www.ilanud.or.cr/acerca.html>
- 7 <http://www.naass.edu.sa/>
- 8 <http://www.heuni.fi/12441.htm>
- 9 <http://www.rwi.lu.se/institute/aboutrwi.shtml>
- 10 <http://www.kicjp.re.kr/english/index.asp>
- 11 <http://www.unafri.or.ug/about/index.html>
- 12 <http://www.icclr.law.ubc.ca/>
- 13 <http://www.ispac-italy.org/about.php>
- 14 http://www.iss.org.za/index.php?link_id=1&link_type=13&tmpl_id=3
- 15 http://www.crime-prevention-intl.org/menu_item.php?code=mission

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