

# Our Collective Responsibility

A National Programme for Crime Prevention

Ministry of Justice

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The National Council for Crime Prevention

(Brottsförebyggande rådet), established in 1974, is a government agency under the Ministry of Justice. The purpose of the council is to promote crime prevention measures in different areas of society and work for the co-ordination of measures against crime. The Council's activities consist of evaluations, research and the dissemination of information. Many of the Council's activities are carried out in collaboration with other authorities. The Council has an office with a permanent staff.

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## Foreword

This booklet describes a Swedish national crime prevention programme. The background to this programme is that crime in Sweden has increased markedly and continuously since the beginning of the 1950s. It is certain that the criminal justice system alone cannot halt this trend. In order to reverse the trend it is important to establish a broadly based collaboration between different members of the community and to focus their efforts on crime prevention to a greater extent than hitherto.

In the spring of 1996, the Swedish government decided to adopt a national crime prevention programme. The purpose of the programme is to intensify crime prevention work throughout the country and inspire municipal authorities, organisations and private citizens to become involved in preventing and hindering crime. The point of departure has been the experience derived from earlier Swedish crime prevention programmes as well as that from the prevention programmes of other countries.

Against the background of the need to augment exchanges of information and knowledge between the member states of the European Union, Sweden has taken an initiative to extend and intensify collaboration on crime prevention within the Union. There is also an obvious need for an international exchange of knowledge and experience on questions of national crime prevention strategies. This English translation of the Swedish national crime prevention programme is one element in our efforts to broaden international collaboration by making Swedish knowledge and experience available to interested parties outside the country.

My hope is that by an enhanced exchange of information and knowledge between member states of the European Union, we shall improve and intensify the crime prevention work that is undertaken nationally, and thereby reduce criminality and increase the sense of security of the citizens of our various countries.

Laila Freivalds  
Minister of Justice

## Introduction

This booklet presents the first stage of the government's national crime prevention programme.

A starting point for the government's work is that the social problems created by crime must be attacked by a broad policy on crime. Much of the interest in policy on crime is centred on the work of the criminal justice system, such as police numbers and the length of prison sentences. Such factors are undoubtedly important, but in an increased awareness of the importance of prevention work in all areas of social life is also necessary.

Another starting point is that the causes of crime must be tackled locally, where the problems exist. In the period since the end of the Second World War much of the previous informal social control has been replaced by formal, official control. This has meant that the distance between the problems which crime causes locally and the measures which must be taken to combat those problems has become too great.

Successful crime prevention work requires an initiative by citizens and widespread commitment on the part of the general public.

The programme is made up of three central elements.

- ?? The government and government authorities will give increased attention to the way in which general social developments, and political decisions on matters other than crime policy, exert an influence on criminality. Greater demands to prevent crime will be made on those whose activities create occasions for crime to take place. Those concerned in all parts of society just consider to a much greater extent than at present the effects their decisions and actions have on crime.
- ?? Legislation and the work of authorities in the field of crime policy is to be developed and made more effective.
- ?? Measures will be taken to support and promote citizen involvement and the collaboration of authorities, companies, organisations and individuals in local crime prevention work.

The programme presented here is to be regarded as the start of a broad based initiative to create opportunities for long-term and tenable crime prevention work in all parts of society. The programme will form the basis of consultation with a variety of bodies including the municipal authorities.

A committee should be appointed to ensure that the intentions of the programme are carried out, especially at local level. A vital task for the committee will be to implement and follow-up the consultation initiated by the government.

Stockholm  
1 June 1996

# 1. Governmental and Private Responsibilities, and Citizen Initiatives

## An introduction to the programme

### Crime policy

Since the end of the Second World War the amount of crime in Swedish society has increased sharply. Statistics on reported crimes show that the annual number of crimes brought to the attention of the police has increased from 200,000 in 1950 to 1,150,000 in 1995, an increase of some 500%.

Some of this increase depends on an increased tendency to report crimes and various changes in statistical presentation. However, it is beyond doubt that not only has reported crime increased, but that actual crime has increased considerably, both in total and in individual and more serious categories of crime, such as assault, robbery and serious theft, together with drugs related offences.

During the same period the proportion of cleared-up crimes has decreased. Clearance of crimes is a complicated concept, but based on a definition in which the perpetrator of the crimes is prosecuted, it must unfortunately be conceded that the total clearance rate for the period since the war has been more than halved.

The phenomenon collectively known as criminality has many different causes and can, in respect of criminal acts, appear in different forms. Criminality can also result in highly different consequences, depending on which persons or interests are affected.

For these reasons it follows that the most effective measures against criminality may vary considerably in individual cases, depending, for example on the nature of the crime or the characteristics of the criminal.

### *New serious types of crime*

We live in a time of rapid social changes, in which demands on the capacity of legislation and controlling authorities to adapt to new problems constantly increase. Thus over the last thirty years, society's crime policy has time and time again been confronted with new and serious types of crime: drug related crimes in the 1960s, economic and in the 1990s, spectator violence, racially motivated crime and criminal motor cyclist gangs. These are just a few examples of the new workload of the criminal justice system, which even forty years ago was largely involved dealing with the traditional crimes of violence, theft and fraud.

Moreover, the means available to society to combat crime have up till now been limited in content, and in many cases historically and ineffectively impounded.

### *An overview of crime policy*

In the public debate of recent years, crime policy has come to be completely linked to state of official measures aimed directly at crime, i.e. the system of rules and related sentencing provisions and the control exercised by the police, prosecutors, courts, prison and probation authorities who in their various ways are responsible for ensuring adherence to those rules.

Yet crime policy encompasses much more than these aspects and also includes general welfare policies on housing, schools open to everyone, nursery schools and leisure activities in which children from different backgrounds and environments meet. These measures are not, as in many other countries, aimed only at risk groups. But measures which help to strengthen the safety net for children and young people at risk, or which work against the marginalisation or social exclusion of large groups of people, are equally, perhaps more important parts of crime policy works than measures carried out in the criminal justice system.

In recent decades, this comprehensive view has been a distinguishing feature of public crime policy in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries.

### Looking back—from informal to formal control

Laws against crime in Sweden traditionally stretch back more than a thousand years. Yet the official apparatus for control as we know it today took shape during the development of industrialisation. Thus, terms of financial and other resources, the major growth of the control apparatus took place in the period immediately following the end of the Second World War. During that time, the older, informal citizen or private controls lost much of their previous importance.

From having initially functioned as an alternative and later as a complement to official formal controls, informal control has progressively been superseded by formal control.

It was also during the period following the war that Swedish society developed in such a way that the conditions for criminality became radically and negatively changed. This is partly because of structural factors which Sweden has in common with other western European countries. The marked improvements in material living standards and changing lifestyles have resulted in a sharp increase in the number of opportunities for crime. Urbanisation has reduced social control and increased anonymity, immigration has changed the makeup of population, and systems of norms have changed together with the roles of church and family.

Old forms of authority have thus disappeared. Many of these changes in society have been desirable in themselves, but they have also produced several unwanted side effects. The reverse side of all that was positive was something less attractive, and all too little notice has been taken of the effect on crime of the negative aspects of positive social developments.

### *Once the damage is done ...*

Crime policy, narrowly defined to refer to the work of the criminal justice system, is clearly aimed at the individual offender. This part of crime policy rests ultimately on a state monopoly of constraint and is only rarely preventive in the sense of removing the underlying causes and basic reasons why crime is committed. If the use of resources by the controlling bodies is examined, it is apparent that most of those resources are used to control the effects of crimes already committed, after the damage has already been done.

Private or citizen initiatives against crime, together with the knowledge that crime is ultimately a result of general development in society at large and is thus obviously affected by measures other than those of crime policy alone, have not been given sufficient attention.

Nor has a crime prevention perspective been sufficiently applied to those parts of social policy which border on crime policy in a narrow sense. There is a need to increase awareness, chiefly on the part of political decision makers at different levels. In order to reduce the risk of decisions leading to unwanted crime policy side effects.

Naturally, certain areas of social policy are of more importance than others, for example, those concerning children and young people, health care, alcohol, drugs and education.

One should also be aware of the considerable crime prevention work carried out by ordinary citizens in their roles as parents, individuals, or within special interest groups, institutions and companies. This work is built upon co-operation, informal controls and individual commitment, the basis and nature of which are vastly different from state initiatives.

Citizens' initiatives, so called to distinguish them from official action, are almost always voluntary or motivated by private reasons.

They are often intended to protect individual property or areas of legal interest. Furthermore, they are generally of a preventive nature, and cannot other than in exceptional cases be based upon repressive measures.

That official responsibility and private initiatives exist side by side is an important precondition for crime policy in its broadest sense, to be able to function in contemporary society, with all its new circumstances. Official measures and private actions supplement, and are dependent on, each other, increasing our collective capacity to deal with criminality.

#### *Neglect of citizen initiatives*

As mentioned earlier, informal social control wanted in the post war period at the same time as official forms of controls were being extended. In recent years, when policy on crime has featured in public debate, usually concerning increasing crime figures and the decrease in the number of crimes cleared up, discussions have persistently centred upon official efforts. The debate has largely come to focus on loopholes in the law and the system of punishment, together with the lack of resources and poor effectiveness of the criminal justice authorities. These are undoubtedly important questions in themselves, but they are only one aspect of society's policy on crime.

Whilst crime policy has been focused on tackling criminality through comprehensive legislation—which at the same time as being fair and just was also intended to make the controlling authorities as effective as possible—private and citizen initiatives were not given the attention they deserved.

Informal control was largely replaced by the institutionalised actions of society. Co-operation with citizen involvement at a local level, in the environments in which we live and work, the small world in which we carry out our daily lives, was neglected. Instead, the focus shifted to legislation and the work of the various criminal justice authorities.

#### Looking ahead—new challenges

Since it has become increasingly obvious that the authorities of the criminal justice system cannot fight crime alone, coupled with the fact that resources even in future will never be sufficient, there is now a new challenge for municipal authorities and other local organisations to co-operate for the benefit of all in a more organised way, and to make use of the resource to be found in the power, commitment and opportunities provided by citizen initiatives.

In highly developed industrial and welfare state such as our own, it almost goes without saying that the responsibility for combating crime ultimately rest with the state chiefly through the legislative process and the work carried out by the criminal justice authorities. There is, however, no question of being tempted to fall into the trap of believing that citizen efforts in crime prevention at a local level could replace official crime policy. Instead, it is more a question of making use of the extra resource which the voluntary work of ordinary citizens provides.

#### *The question of effectiveness*

The forms assumed by official responsibility and those of citizen initiatives are not the only areas of difference. Ultimately, there is also the question of effectiveness in the choice of measures to adopt. This means taking account of the obvious fact that different crimes demand different counter-measures. These are sometimes of a formal, supervised and official nature. Sometimes they take the form of civilian initiatives at a local level. Brought about by voluntary or purely private means.

Put simple, the distance between crime at a local level on the one hand and the measures to prevent and combat that crime on the other, has become too great. This has brought several negative consequences in its wake. The commitment and creativity which individuals can

develop when confronted with adversity of this kind has to some extent been lost. The link between the various problems and the measures taken to remedy them has been lost sight of. These measures have not been sufficiently rational because of too wide a distance between problems and remedies.

#### *Local work*

As far as local citizen crime prevention is concerned, we are now faced with an important political task. This is to highlight the local community's responsibility and importance in crime prevention in order to utilise and support the creativity and working capacity of private individuals, organisations and companies. An important part of this process is to find effective forms of support and co-ordination from the authorities who bear the ultimate and formal responsibility for combating crime.

#### *Working together*

The challenge for the government—and for society as a whole—is thus to lay the foundations for a new and effective programme for crime prevention.

The national crime prevention programme therefore takes a comprehensive view of crime policy in Swedish society. This means that governmental, private and citizen initiatives will work together in their efforts to prevent crime.

The programme is directed at what is generally known as traditional crime: theft, fraud, violence, criminal damage, i.e. the crimes which dominate the statistics and which affect people in their everyday lives.



## 2. Types of Problem and the Choice of Measures.

### General considerations

#### Crimes

There are various essential component parts in the description of any crime. A crime presupposes a perpetrator, a suitable victim or object of attack and, finally, something usually referred to as the absence of capable guardianship, i.e., that the victim or object of attack is not in some way guarded or protected, and therefore can actually be attacked.

Based upon these essential conditions, our methods for combating crime are given from the outset, and no other methods exist. The number of criminals and/or the number of objects of attack, must be reduced or, at least, the attempt made to keep them apart.

The criminal justice system has tried to reduce the number of potential criminals or to limit their tendency towards crime through measures of moral improvement, deterrent and rehabilitation, or by putting criminals in prison. These measures have traditionally centred on the perpetrators of crime.

On the other hand, private and citizen efforts are often characterised by various attempts, technical or physical, to protect possible objects of attack, often those in which private motives for doing so are involved as is the case, for example with private houses, cars and summer cottages.

That various interested parties have chosen to combat crime in different ways is also usually a natural result of the varying nature of their work. Thus, for example, it is natural for the police to have elected to employ at least a part of their resources in tracking down the few thousand car thieves who are responsible for the majority of the 400,000 or so car thefts committed each year in Sweden instead of trying to keep watch over the four million cars which constitute possible targets for similar thefts.

#### Combating crime

The fact that the basic logic of combating crime is evident from the outset, given the nature of the problem, does not mean that it can be directly converted to direct remedies or even ready-made strategies. The main reason for this is that the prerequisites for crime vary too much and, depend on the type of criminal, the object of attack, the opportunity presented or the type of crime itself.

What characterises an effective measure is the obvious fact that it is designed specifically for the type of crime it is intended to prevent or hinder. The problem is to find the right measure against a specific kind of crime.

The difficulties involved in doing this are not made easier in circumstances such as those where the police and other authorities quite simply lack the resources, and never will have sufficient resources, to keep a watchful eye on the much larger group of possible criminals or the seemingly infinite number of possible objects of attack.

Nor can the problem be solved by the legislators and criminal justice authorities handing over their powers of control and punishment to the private individuals, organisations or companies who have a direct interest in protecting their own property or their own affairs.

#### *Joint aims*

If measures to counteract crime are to be "tailor-made" then it is necessary for official crime policy to work together with private and citizen initiatives in a more far-reaching way than at present. A good knowledge exists about when, where and how this should and must take place.

However, we must be aware at the same time that such a joint effort is not always useful or necessary. There are types of crime which the criminal justice authorities are ill-placed to prevent, so their ambition from the outset must be to attempt to investigate and legally regulate damage which has already been done. Obviously there are also crimes against which any possible citizen initiatives would be completely ineffective, for instance, serious financial crimes, organised crime and political terrorism.

However, for the great majority of crimes it is a fact that effective crime prevention work requires a combination of legislation and the measures of official bodies on the one hand, and private or citizen initiatives on the other. It can take place in various ways—through all those involved attacking the same problems separately on the basis of their varying possibilities and methods, or by working together towards joint goals from the outset.

### Local problems—local solutions

Various studies have clearly shown that crime which affects people in their local environments is of great significance. Using these studies as a starting point, provides an insight into the extent to which these crimes were directed at individuals or their households, affecting them in their local environment, i.e. their homes or neighbourhoods, places of work or places of leisure, etc.

According to the latest survey of the victims of crime (comprising interviews with a cross-section of the population aged between 16 and 74) six percent of those questioned stated that during a twelve month period they had been subject to some form of violence or threat of violence. This amounts to some 400,000 persons per year.

Normally such cases do not involve any serious crimes, but for two percent of those questioned the violence had been serious enough to lead to visible marks or injuries. And only a small number of these crimes were reported to the police, Depending on the degree of seriousness and the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, the number of these crimes actually reported varies between five and twenty percent.

In the majority of cases, worthy of note in this context, these are also crimes which affect people in their “own” local environments.

It should also be mentioned that women who have been assaulted or subject to sexual abuse by men often live together with, or know, their assailants, and that the majority of violence against women takes place in the home.

The risk of becoming a victim of theft and criminal damage is much greater than the risk of being subject to violence or threats. The been victims of offences against their property over the last year. This means that one and a half million people in Sweden have suffered from property offences each year. And the majority of these crimes go unreported.

Clearly, there are other social disturbances than crimes which affect a sense of personal security. In the most straightforward cases this may be a question of shortcomings in the purely physical environment, but it may also involve ethnic and social tensions in the areas in which people live, or questions of order in local shopping centres, public transport terminals, bars and night-clubs, or noisy youths or bullying in schools.

### *Taking fear seriously*

Certain cases can even be so complex that strong feelings of insecurity are not necessarily base on any factual high risk of being exposed to crime or other disturbances.

Data from the courts, surveys of victims and other special studies clearly reveal, for example, that pensioners are a category of the population least at risk from violence or threats. In reality those risks are very small, almost infinitesimal. At the same time, it has been clearly shown that no other group is so worried about such threats, and the causes of this strongly felt

fear have been explained by researcher workers by reference to isolation, vulnerability and infirmity.

It is, therefore, for these reasons. That many old age pensioners change their lifestyles in an attempt to avoid risks which, in reality, they never or seldom actually face.

The only constructive way to tackle such a problem is to take their worries seriously and to try to find ways to break down the isolation and fear which they feel. The problem cannot be dismissed simply by pointing out that it is unfounded. It must be attacked as a problem in itself, and by the provision of measures to create feeling of security.

Since crime affects people in their local environments, it follows that priorities for crime prevention should also be determined at local levels. Furthermore, it is at local levels that the knowledge exists as to how best to influence those circumstances which are the actual preconditions of crime, and how to influence those underlying factors which give rise to crime and feelings of insecurity.

### Reducing the opportunities for crime

In a historical perspective the growth in the number of crimes can be linked to the fact that with increased welfare and changing living conditions there are considerably more things to steal, that the things which are stolen are more unprotected than previously, and that occasions for vandalism and fraud are many times more frequent than before. The same is true of crimes of violence and is especially true of crimes related to social gatherings, since the number of situations which can escalate into violence has increased sharply.

A guiding principle in efforts towards crime preventions is therefore to try to influence the opportunity structure for crime, that is, to reduce its rewards, and make it more risky and difficult to carry out. As we shall later see in more detail, so-called situational crime prevention is divided into measures which make criminal acts more difficult to commit, those which increase the risk of being discovered, those which reduce the rewards of crime, and those measure which make it more difficult to explain away criminal acts, e.g. by saying that "everyone else is doing it".

Knowing where and when crime is committed, and the circumstances which lead to it, can result in control over a large amount of everyday criminality.

Certain residential areas are more prone to break-ins than others, certain types of shops are more at risk of robbery and shoplifting than others. In certain car parks. Thefts of or from cars are more common than in other places, and certain areas are more prone to criminal damage than others.

In addition to this, certain categories of persons are at greater risk of being victims of crime than others, not least those who have earlier been victims of crime.

Knowledge about where and when crime is committed is vital in order for resources to be utilised where they are most needed. This may include information to certain households, targeted guarding of property or areas especially at risk, or other concrete situational measures such as improved lighting or better locks and doors for people's homes.

### *Alcohol—the fuel of violence*

The increase in the number of crimes of violence can also, as mentioned, be linked to the number of opportunities, namely that the number of situations which can lead to violence has increased.

This is especially true of violence related to social gatherings—violence outside the home. The majority of such violence is the result of banal and often trifling events. Serious violence not prefaced by some form of quarrel, disagreement or hand-to-hand fighting does occur, but it is rare.

In crimes of violence, the perpetrator and, often, also the victim is usually under the influence of alcohol, and even though the connection between alcohol and crimes of violence is not a simple one, it is clear that alcohol is unequalled as the fuel of violence.

Thus the prevention of crimes of violence largely centres on attempts to reduce the number of events and kinds of behaviour which, experience shows, often develop into violence.

#### *Reducing recruitment to criminal lifestyles*

Crime is not only concentrated to certain times and places: it is unevenly spread between those who themselves commit crimes. This means that a very small number of active criminals account for a very large proportion of crimes. The levels of concentration vary between different types of the crime, but, taken together, the majority of the more serious crimes, such as burglary and crimes of violence, can be ascribed to a group of repeating offenders, sometimes known as persistent, chronic or “career” criminals, who are disproportionately criminally active.

We know from various criminological studies that the group of permanently offending criminals—who are disproportionately criminally active.

We know from various criminological studies that the group of permanently offending criminals—which is almost always comprised of men—makes up around half of one percent of the male population. This marginal group accounts for the majority of all house breaking offences, attacks on cars, and other similar serious thefts committed in Sweden.

Furthermore, this group accounts for significant volumes of theft from large and small shops. Robberies in shops, certain types of fraud, receiving of stolen goods, open trafficking of drugs, more serious traffic offences and a part of the more serious crimes of violence which take place among groups of drug and alcohol misusers. The latter constitute a considerable proportion of all the most serious crimes of violence.

The criminality of this group is also markedly concentrated to the areas in which its members live.

#### *Narcotic drugs*

Any offenders belonging to the group mentioned above are usually well known to various social welfare and criminal justice authorities since early childhood, and have had extensive experience of various types of youth reform schools, drug treatment centres and prison beginning at an early age.

Persistent offenders are often drug misusers. They are marginalized in society from an early age, and have a very high mortality rate. Common causes of death are drug-related illnesses, overdoses, accidents, murder and suicide.

The most effective means of preventing the large amount of crime committed by these persistent offenders is obviously to stem the flow of new entrants to such a criminal lifestyle. This often starts in earliest youth, usually before the age of criminal responsibility, with minor theft, criminal damage, etc.

A great deal of this crime can be characterised as purely opportunistic, very seldom planned and usually committed as a result of seeking excitement together with peers. Most young people do not go farther than that, but some of them continue, and their crimes get more serious. From a large number of opportunist criminals, a small number of people will develop to become persistent offenders.

#### *Parents*

The role of parents is crucial. Parents have primary responsibility for their children and are probably society’s best resource for crime prevention, since they are the ones with the greatest chance of providing their children with opportunities for sound social development. Research

also shows that the parents' contact with their children, their insight into their lives, their emotional relationship and their communication are of decisive importance for crime prevention.

But responsibility for children should not be confined to their own families. Societal organisations also have a responsibility to offer children and young people sound conditions in which to grow up.

Certain types of factors can be identified as presenting a risk for criminal development, but for the vast majority of those individuals considered to be most at risk, the prospects of developing a normal law abiding life are, however, rather good.

Early efforts to prevent criminal development should therefore be aimed at general measures focusing on the environments in which you people grow up which are unfavourable for a good start in life.

Within the framework of such general measures, which, for example, can be focused on those living in a certain area, special attention should be paid to children who have earlier exhibited problem behaviour, or those who have parents who find it particularly difficult to carry out their responsibilities for upbringing.

When young people commit criminal acts, society should quickly become involved with clear, concrete and consistent measures. The main part of this work rests, and will continue to rest, outside the criminal justice system, and should, in the case of children below the age of fifteen and for all important issues, fall within the jurisdiction of the social welfare services.

#### *Early intervention*

Particular attention needs to be given to early remedies, i.e. those aimed at children and young people in risk environments and risk situations, in an attempt to prevent, or at least to limit, unfavourable development. The social welfare services should therefore intensify their efforts to develop methods for the care and treatment of young people who have started to display criminal tendencies.

Reducing the number of people who commit serious crime for a long period in their lives in the long term is thus a question of reducing that which can be seen as the recruiting base for such criminal lifestyles. Strategies of this kind comprise social measures, such as those designed to help and support parents in bringing up their children, and situational measures which make it more difficult, more risky and less rewarding to commit crimes.

Key persons and bodies interested in this work are many. Of them, parents, schools, social welfare services and the police are the most important. But many others too, such as private businesses, restaurant owners, housing companies, trade unions, insurance companies, the church and not least voluntary organisations and individuals, have a large, indeed a crucial part to play in crime prevention work.

### Reducing the criminal activity of persistent offenders

The perspective changes when it comes to reducing the criminal activity of *persistent offenders*. What most of those active in traditional criminality have in common is that they are almost permanently involved in some kind of institutional care or treatment, usually within the prison and probation services. A crime prevention strategy with the long term aim of preventing continuing development of criminality in this group can and should take this fact as a starting point.

#### *Influencing sentenced offenders*

One of the most important tasks of the prison and probation services is to influence those who have been sentenced so that they do not revert to crime.

Locally, the probation service is responsible for ensuring that this is carried out in the best possible way. The probation service should strengthen its co-operation with other local bodies, especially social services and the police.

It is important that the authorities should have a shared common view of treatment of persistent offenders, and that the exchange of knowledge and information between them is increased. A combination of constructive measures in the form of education and training, work and treatment for alcohol and drug abuse, together with proactive police work to localise, supervise and make frequent strikes against those most criminally active, can reduce their criminality.

### Three kinds of measures

A number of options are open to those involved in preventing and combating crime. Basically these involve three kinds of measures.

?? *Firstly*, to pay closer attention to how the general developments in society, and political decisions in other areas than policy on crime can affect criminality, The consequences of various decisions and measures taken against crime in the fields of education, policy on children and young people, training and employment are examples of this.

Through measures which change structures the number of opportunities for crime and the occurrence of unsuitable environments, both social and purely physical can be reduced, The representatives of business and individual companies, and political decision makers at national, regional and local level have a major responsibility in these matters. Practically speaking, this means a series of measures from the manufacture of thief-proof cars to town planning, housing policy and control of licensed premises. Measures of this kind are dealt with in Chapter 3.

?? *Secondly*, it is important to develop and improve legislation and the work of authorities on crime policy, though penal legislation, efforts on the part of the criminal justice authorities, and measures within the education and social services systems. Measures in these areas are dealt with in Chapter 4.

?? *Thirdly*, it is important to make use of citizen initiatives in crime prevention work, chiefly at local level. This can best be done through co-operation between authorities and citizen interests: support for personal crime prevention initiatives such as neighbourhood watch schemes, Parents' Walks Around Town, Guardian Angels, technical protection against crime and information and measures to reduce the opportunities for crime together with reparatory measures in the form of joint initiatives between citizen groups, the police, and social welfare authorities, such as round-the-clock support for women and victims of crime, counselling and homes for battered women. Measures of this kind are dealt with in Chapter 5.

### 3. The Crime Prevention Perspective and Social Policy

#### Proposed measures

The number of opportunities for committing crime has increased dramatically since the Second World War as a direct result of industrial development.

Thus, for example, the increased number of cars has given rise to increased thefts of, and from, cars. In the main, these thefts are in direct proportion to the number of cars on the roads.

Another example is the changed character of retailing. Thefts from shops and shoplifting, a major current problem, were rare elements in crime statistics before the introduction of self-service shops and supermarkets.

New methods of payment provide yet another example. They have made possible a large number of new opportunities for fraud—cheque fraud during the 1960s and credit card fraud twenty years later. Opportunities to commit crime are also brought about by new regulations and systems of benefits in the public sector, such as housing benefits, sickness and unemployment benefit to individuals, and the making of various forms of grants to companies and organisations.

#### The crime prevention perspective

Over recent decades we have also become increasingly aware of the negative consequences of the post-war development of Swedish society into a highly industrialised welfare state.

Redressing the shortcomings of the physical, working and residential environment has been high on the list of political priorities for the last twenty years.

We have attempted to address these problems through political efforts, legislation, various measures taken by public bodies, and, not least, through the voluntary efforts of the business world.

#### *Prevention is cheaper*

The above-mentioned efforts have often been of a preventive nature, based on the perception that it is cheaper to undertake the prevention of, for instance, environmental damage, disease, accidents and fires than to try to remedy the damage after it has occurred. Financial incentives are often cited, and today, environment-friendly goods and services constitute a viable and profitable business idea.

Yet this preventive thinking has not had nearly so much impact in the field of crime prevention. This is remarkable, since there are few areas in which the various changes that have occurred in society, not least those resulting from industrialisation, so clearly show their influence as in the development and nature of criminality. It must be admitted, sadly enough, that insufficient attention has been given to crime prevention.

#### *It's too easy to commit an offence*

The four examples mentioned earlier—cars, retailing, means of payment and benefit systems—account for 40 percent of all crime. In the light of this, the strategy for a crime policy should be to prevent offences concerning these examples by influencing the situations and circumstances which can be made use of for committing offences. Today, many offences are committed simply because they are easy to commit. What is needed, therefore, is to make it more difficult, less profitable, and more risky to commit them.

There are strong reasons for imposing stricter demands than at present on those who create crime-producing situations, in the same way as we have long acted to prevent damage to the physical environment, accidents in traffic, harm related to alcohol, fires, etc.

Naturally, the main responsibility for this work should lie with the political decision makers, as well as the business community which, through its agencies, organisations and companies, creates, designs and steers the underlying structures of society. And this latter responsibility should be recognised even though the motives for action have clearly been quite the reverse of creating new opportunities for crime.

Our improved insight into these matters must now be translated into political decision and practical action in a completely different fashion from that which has characterised the past.

#### *The example of cars*

An example to illustrate the point is that of cars. It goes almost without saying that the car is a necessary part of modern Swedish society. Without cars, Sweden, as we know it today, would grind to a halt. The car is an essential element in maintaining our general quality of life, and ordinarily makes life better and simpler to live.

For many years we have tried in various ways to reduce the negative consequences of the increased number of cars by reducing the environmental effects of exhaust emissions, and by the prevention of road traffic accidents. This has been done through a combination of technical measures and making stricter demands on car drivers—measures which have been singularly effective. Never before have such safe cars been manufactured as now, and their safety is regularly checked through compulsory tests. As a result of legislation and other measures, cars have become more environment-friendly. They use less petrol and produce less damaging waste emissions. Every year the National Road Administration makes great efforts to build and maintain safe roads, and higher demands are constantly being made on drivers for health, sobriety and knowledge of the highway regulations.

However, it must be noted that measures for direct crime prevention in respect of car related offences have not been given the same attention. Considering the technical development which has taken place, cars are still inexplicably easy to steal, or vulnerable in other ways. To break into a car. Start it and drive away can generally be achieved—by those who know how—in a matter of minutes, and does not require much technical skill or help in the form of tools.

At the same time it is obvious that the necessary technology for making cars theft-proof already exists. It is perfectly possible not only to make cars practically impossible to steal, but even to ensure by purely technical means that they cannot be driven by persons who are drunk.

New reporting procedures for theft and damage involving cars have recently been the subject of an experiment which serves as an example of how much can be achieved in this field. Instead of simply being required to report damage to the police, as is usually the case, the car owner was required to present the car for a special examination carried out by the police and the insurance companies working together.

The result of the experiment was that the average amount of damages and insurance fraud was greatly reduced by this new procedure—in itself a benefit for the majority of policy holders. The procedure also provides us with information about crime prevention, and can also be expected to result in car owners taking more care of their vehicles.

#### *The example from methods of payment*

Methods of payment such as cheques and credit cards, as well as the more recent possibilities to use computerised systems for money transfers and automatic payments, have greatly simplified day-to-day financial transactions. The reduction of cash has also had a positive effect in preventing certain types of crime. If this trend continues, the opportunity for traditional robbery offences should be reduced in the future.

Unfortunately, these new methods of payment have also given rise to new offences, despite the fact that the possibility of preventing them is considerable. A telling and concrete example of this is provided by the measures introduced in 1971 to reduce the number of cheque frauds.



What made these offences possible was a bank guarantee, whereby the person receiving a false cheque was indemnified by the bank for an amount up to 300 Swedish crowns (the equivalent of 2,000 Swedish crowns today) without the requirement of personal identification. As a result of discussions between representatives for the banks and business interests, it was agreed to abolish the bank guarantee and place the financial responsibility instead on the person receiving the cheque. This led in turn to an improvement in the verification routines of shopkeepers, and within one year the number of reported offences was reduced by 85 percent. A simple change in the system led to the prevention of almost all the offences previously committed.

The possibilities for preventing such offences in contemporary Sweden are generally good. This is largely a result of the computerised accounting systems which form the basis of financial transactions. Broadly speaking, all business activities that are exposed to financial and system related offences have built-in possibilities to carry out checks and verifications.

### The role of the business community in crime prevention

The business community has a major responsibility for preventing depredations of its own systems or goods. Awareness of the effectiveness of preventive measures has increased in recent years, and certain parts of the business community already carry out comprehensive crime prevention activities.

The post offices and the banks took steps to protect themselves against robbery more than twenty years ago by developing technical protection, by training their staff appropriately and by giving relevant information to their customers. Over the last two years the number of post office and bank robberies has been sharply reduced, and there is good reason to think that some of that reduction has been brought about by the banks and post offices themselves.

For several years, the Swedish Retail Trade Association has been carrying out crime prevention measures in collaboration with the police and the insurance companies, using information and technical measures to protect shopping centres, department stores and shops against robbery, theft and shop-lifting.

It should be quite natural to think that those who manufacture certain products, or who market or have some similar responsibility for such products or services, as is the case with many public bodies, bear a considerable responsibility for ensuring that those products and services do not give rise to crimes or other social problems. There is great interest in crime prevention on the part of the business community, and a willingness to act chiefly through adapting the design of their products and services so that they not become the cause of crime.

#### *Discussions with the business community*

Awareness of the responsibility that the business community and certain sections of the public sector have for the creation of opportunities for crime needs to be enhanced. In order to enhance the responsibility assumed by various branches of business and sectors of public activity, the government is to invite their representatives to take part in discussions on crime prevention measures. Mutual consultation in these matters between companies and organisations and representatives for different administrations should constitute a central element of local efforts to prevent crime. It seems reasonable to expect:

- ?? housing companies and other property owners to counteract the risks for breaking and entering, thefts and damage in flats, garages, cellars and attic storage areas through a combination of technical efforts, proper maintenance and supervision;
- ?? the branches of the bar/restaurant/night-club/entertainment sector to reduce the risk of violence and disorderly behaviour in connection with the various leisure and entertainment events they provide through improved and more flexible supervision;

- ?? car manufacturers to reduce the risk of the theft of cars, thefts from cars, drunken driving and other serious traffic offences through a variety of technical measures;
- ?? retail traders and shop-keepers to reduce the risk of theft and shoplifting by avoiding the inappropriate exposure of certain types of goods, and to ensure that products susceptible of misuse are not sold to, or allowed to come into, the hands of unsuitable users;
- ?? insurance companies, by setting premium levels and insurance conditions, influence policy holders to take more effective precautions to protect themselves against crime. Moreover, the companies should increase their efforts to improve damage assessment and be willing to review such matters as the settlement of claims and exchanges of information with other companies.

### The crime prevention perspective and public affairs

A considerable part of the responsibility for the negative consequences of the societal developments described earlier, must be deemed to rest with parliament, the government and other political decision makers at local and central levels, together with a variety of public bodies and representatives of the public sector.

Parliament, the government, and other public authorities have, therefore, a special responsibility to take account of the consequences for crime prevention when new or changed regulations and operation are to be introduced in the public sector. They should also set a good example by their efforts to develop methods for analysing and preventing crime that is related to regulations or public sector activities.

#### *Central instructions*

The government has therefore decided to instruct governmental committees of inquiry and persons appointed to conduct special inquiries to give more prominence to crime prevention in their analyses and proposals. This means that the proposals they present for government consideration must take account of contingent effects on crime. If it proves impossible to do so because of the nature or the subject of the inquiry, this is to be stated and justified.

### The residential environment

Rapid industrialisation has led to a marked increase in urbanisation. The geographical distance between the place of work and the home has increased, together with general mobility. A direct consequence of this is that the conditions for informal social control have drastically diminished. Today, our teachers and those working in our neighbourhood shops are seldom our neighbours. More than one hundred thousand concierges and caretakers have been replaced by electronic code locks and telephone numbers to property service and cleaner companies.

The social control that was based on people knowing each other as a result of their daily contact has diminished and anonymity has increased. The number of “watchful observers”– who, in a concern for local civic welfare, kept an on eye the community–have become fewer in contemporary Swedish industrial society.

When the new towns and suburbs were built during the second half of this century, material and economic considerations were of great importance. The aim was to make rapid building a solution to the serious housing shortage of the time, to build larger flats with better technical standards, and to ensure that shopping centres, schools and public transport were in close proximity to the places where people lived.

However, with the benefit of hindsight we can see that in practice this resulted in the dismantling of the social controls which came about from day-to-day, often, routine activities. The feeling of belonging, of living in “my” neighbourhood, has in many places disappeared.

### *Social planning*

The experience we have now gained, together with the research which has been carried out, shows that by careful social planning for our immediate environment, we could have avoided many of these negative effects of urbanisation and reduced the risk of violence, theft, criminal damage and other social disturbances in our local surroundings.

Experience also shows that those environments which have been carefully planned from the outset are more attractive to live in. This in turn leads to more people becoming involved in their social environment and the day-to-day life of the area. In the last analysis it is a question of the purposeful design of individual dwellings and buildings, their relationship to each other and to the local environment.

Many of these measures are of a technical nature, but if long-term results are sought, it becomes a question not only of building to make the commission of crime more difficult with locks and other technical crime prevention aids (something which in the long run may also lead to negative consequences) but also to increase visibility and proximity between households, so as to increase the risk of detection if crime is committed.

There is also good reason to think that the areas in which people live and spend their entire day give a greater feeling of security, leading to reduced crime. To a large extent, and technically speaking, this is a question of planning the functions of the area concerned.

It is, therefore, desirable to avoid residential and working environments which are segregated or divided by social categories, and concentrate instead on mixed types of housing and occupations to produce a more varied social mix of residents. It is also useful to combine various functions and activities—dwellings, workplaces, shops and other services, to create multi-faceted environments which continue to live through the different times of the day's 24-hour cycle.

### *A European Union project*

When planning new residential environments, or re-building or extending those already built, crime prevention and general measures to promote public safety, should be given greater priority than has hitherto been the case. By planning for proximity, visibility and participation in the local community, the possibilities of reducing crime and increasing the sense of personal security become greater.

In this connection, an interesting project, currently under discussion in the European Union, is a possible future agreement between the constructional market's entrepreneurs for the "security marking" of residential areas, blocks of flats and houses. The project is intended to lead to a common European standard in these matters.

### *Swedish Board Of Housing, Building and Planning*

The government is to instruct the Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning to make an inventory of existing knowledge on how constructional planning and the design of individual buildings influences criminality, and ensure that crime prevention aspects are incorporated into decision frameworks both when the planning of new areas and the modification of older areas is undertaken.

The experience and knowledge which emerges is to be continuously transmitted to municipal authorities, building and housing companies and others involved in residential planning and construction.

## Initiatives in housing areas at risk

Segregation in residential areas, especially on the outskirts of some larger cities, has increased in recent years. Experience shows that those who live in what are called “environmental programme areas” have less favourable opportunities to make use of the advantages offered by the welfare state. Segregation tendencies can be observed to occur between several. Often overlapping, categories of persons: between the rich and the poor, the young and the old, between immigrants and Swedes.

People who for various reasons have social difficulties often live in residential areas with a lower quality of environment. Those living in these areas also tend to move more often, something which effectively counteracts efforts to promote feelings of participation and responsibility for social control.

This concentration of socially problematic households and individuals provides a springboard for crime and other social problems.

The processes which lead to social exclusion, marginalisation, crime and other social problems in these areas must be counteracted to the greatest possible extent. It is imperative that ways and means be found to avoid the creation of residential areas with a segregated population.

Currently, considerable sums are being spent on creating better conditions for those living in certain residential areas of large cities. In 1990, 30 million Swedish crowns were allocated to a project to coordinate efforts for young people at risk in residential areas with social problems—the “Plus Project”. More recently, 125 million Swedish crowns were made available to support local initiatives in areas containing a high proportion of immigrants opportunities on the labour market.

The government’s initiatives in residential areas with a high proportion of immigrants are to continue. The Plus Project will provide support for local collaborative prevention projects in a number of medium sized municipalities with interest in, and the possibility of, making full use of the knowledge gained to date.

But such special efforts are not sufficient. There must be an increased awareness of the fact that joint resources must be used where they are most needed. It is, therefore, clear that when allocating society’s resources, a major proportion should be devoted to those areas which have special needs for schools and social welfare services or, for instance, augmented police work.

## The need for research

A crime policy must be based upon knowledge and a realistic approach. It is important to find out what the realities are, and how different ways of preventing and proceeding against crime actually work. However, the fact that more knowledge is needed should not be a reason for delay in taking immediate steps. By applying the knowledge we already have, further knowledge can be gained. But this means that there must also be a continuing commitment to various kinds of research and development projects, both centrally and locally. It is important that all measures taken should be subject to evaluation.

Research and development projects can include the design, implementation and evaluation of measures in the three central problem areas of crime prevention, i.e. the prevention of opportunistic crime, reduction of the number of persons drawn into criminal lifestyles, and reduction of crime amongst persistent offenders.

In particular, there are gaps in our knowledge about social prevention, for instance concerning the factors affecting the risk for development of a criminal lifestyle and the steps which can be taken to prevent such a development in the long-term.

It is also important to set up and support research and development work concerning crime prevention measures among socially and economically disadvantaged families, together with

methods for the successful introduction and implementation of crime prevention programmes in socially unstable residential areas.

Since changes in society most influence criminality rather than the criminal justice system, research in such matters as health and medical care, the school system, children and young people, social planning, and traffic and the environment should also be undertaken to better understand how a variety of factors operate to affect criminality.

## 4. The State's Responsibility for Crime Policy

### Proposed measures

The main weight of crime prevention work must, as stated previously, be undertaken at local level, where the problems actually exist. However, this should not disguise the fact that it is the state which is ultimately responsible for crime policy. Indeed, it is an important function of parliament and the government to ensure that local initiatives can be carried out under favourable conditions, with the necessary resources and with access to effective instruments.

The present section of this booklet describes the work in progress to develop legislation and efforts on the part of the authorities in the cause of crime prevention.

### Legislation

As mentioned earlier, the state has special responsibility to consider the effects on criminality when deciding on new regulations or changes in existing systems. This applies especially to the legislative work of the government and parliament. Since complicated and unclear regulations can often be exploited for criminal ends it is vital to ensure that legislation is clear and comprehensible. Similarly, when new social benefit schemes are prepared, it is important to ensure that they do not make for invitations to fraud or other abuse.

Clearly, the state also has a responsibility to ensure that legislation is formulated so that it provides the instruments which the authorities and others need in order to prevent crime.

#### *Reform of the system of sanctions*

The penal system obviously plays an important part in combating crime. The sanction system's structure and substantive provisions have recently been reviewed by a parliamentary committee, the Penal System Committee. Has recommended far-reaching changes to the system of sanctions.

Since imprisonment has not proved particularly effective as a deterrent, or as a means of preventing relapse into crime, it is important to review the feasibility of finding alternatives to imprisonment. The development work which has been initiated in this matter is therefore important in the light of current circumstances. A central theme of this work is the development of credible alternatives to imprisonment by moving away from locking up offenders in prisons towards less destructive and more cost-effective methods. In Sweden, this approach concerns the commonly used shorter prison sentences for which restriction of liberty, rather than deprivation of liberty, can prove more effective for crime prevention – which is, after all, the underlying purpose of the intervention.

#### *Intensive supervision with electronic monitoring*

A limited trial of intensive supervision with electronic monitoring has been undertaken in connection with the development of alternatives to imprisonment. Experience with the trial to date has already shown that intensive supervision with electronic monitoring makes it possible to maintain a lengthy period of restriction of liberty without placing the offender in prison.

Against the background of this positive initial experience and the importance of developing alternatives to prison, it has been decided to extend the trial as from 1 January 1997 to cover the whole country and prison sentences of up to three months. (The initial trial was limited to six probation districts and prison sentences up to two months).

### *Young offenders*

As mentioned earlier, experience shows that the longer a criminal lifestyle has been pursued, the greater the difficulty of breaking it off. For this reason, efforts focusing on young people are of central importance in crime prevention. An important element in these efforts is that society should react with appropriate measures when young people commit offences.

The question of the sanction system for young offenders is currently under review. The starting point for this review are the recommendations of a governmental committee on young offenders about the way in which society should intervene when young people over the age of 15 years (the age of criminal responsibility) commit offences.

The need is to find a suitable balance between the societal interests that shall be satisfied by the criminal justice system and those that shall be satisfied through the social welfare services. Sanctions applicable to young people should be adapted to their level of personal maturity and their special circumstances. It is also important that the system of sanctions should be so developed that the traditional criminal justice demand for predictability, clarity and consequentiality can be better met than at present. The reaction to an offence must not be entirely dependent on the ambitions and available resources of the social welfare services. Instead, the criminal justice measure of handling young persons over to the social welfare services should involve a certain minimum level of support, care and rehabilitation. The main responsibility for young offenders will continue to remain with the social welfare services.

A quicker reaction to offences should lead to a reduction of youthful tendencies to commit them. The routines for dealing with cases involving young offenders by the police, the prosecutors and the courts have been modified with a view to bringing about a speedier administration of justice, better forms of collaboration and a procedure adapted to the special demands made when young offenders have to be dealt with. The government is to follow up the new provisions, ascertain their effectiveness—including crime prevention aspects—and determine whether the results are those intended.

Mediation for young offenders is another example of what is being done to stop young persons from re-offending. In several parts of the country various projects are under way which involve the young offender being confronted by the victim of the offence and being required to make some form of amendment. The Chief Public Prosecutor is to develop models for how mediation can best be used with young offenders as an element in society's reaction to their offences.

### *Controlling the possession and use of weapons*

There is no doubt that access to weapons has an effect on serious crimes of violence. To reduce their occurrence of and improve the control of weapons is thus an important step in crime prevention. At the government's initiative, a review of weapon legislation is currently under way with a view to reducing violent offences. The majority of guns used in such offences as armed robbery are weapons which have previously been legally owned weapons.

The review of weapons legislation began with an evaluation of the ban on carrying knives and certain other dangerous objects in public places. It has been proposed that the ban should be extended to include guns. Such an extension would make it easier to act quickly against the misuse of guns owned with the support of a licence. More stringent punishments for serious breaches of the ban are also proposed.

New rules concerning firearms held by state authorities have been drawn up, mainly in order to improve security against theft and the misuse of military firearms. A number of improvements in this area have already been introduced, and further measures to tighten security will follow, *inter alia* including the question of the way in which Swedish Home Guard volunteers store their firearms.

### *Surveillance—cameras and security guards*

The use of surveillance cameras can effectively prevent such crimes as robbery, attacks on cars and criminal damage. Shop assistants, for example, can also feel an increased sense of security if they know that the shop maintains surveillance. Recorded material can also be useful when investigating committed crimes.

The likelihood of preventing crime need to be given more serious attention when considering the possible use of cameras. Currently, assessments are being made of the possibilities of developing the use of surveillance cameras for prevention purposes. The aim is to present a proposal to parliament in 1997 on the increased use of surveillance cameras to prevent crime.

Security guards play an important role in crime prevention, as do security companies and other bodies working for increased security in society. The conclusions of a commission on social safety included a proposal for the increased use of security guards. There were also proposals that doormen and other door keepers should have the status of trained security guards to a greater extent than at present, that locksmiths should hold permits to practise, and that those who enter shops or sports stadiums without permission should be punished for trespass. A bill based on the commission's recommendations is to be presented to parliament in 1997.

### *Victim support*

Research on victims of crime shows that once people become victims, they run an increased risk of being exposed to crime anew. This is often because they belong to groups whose members frequently become victims, such as drug and alcohol misusers. And breaking and entering houses may, for example, come about because the risk of this offence, for various reasons, is particularly high in the area in question, or because the dwelling were not sufficiently protected. An important element of crime prevention is, therefore, to help victims, through information or other forms of support, to analyse why just they have been subject to crime and what can be done to prevent a recurrence.

There is, therefore, a close link between crime prevention work and support for victims of crime. This link is particularly evident in cases where the victims are in situations which continually expose them to a risk for crime, for example, in families where violence and assaults often occur.

Since the middle of the situation of victims of crime has been given greater prominence. A programme of measures presented in 1988 took up questions of criminal injury legislation, victim support emergency services, police work and compensation for damage. Subsequently, provisions have been introduced about the right in certain cases for the injured party to have a legal representative and the possibility of obtaining a prohibition against visits by the perpetrator of a violent act. Bodyguards and a variety of technical aids are used to protect persons under threat. In addition, provisions have been introduced to protect the identity of persons under threat, including the possibility for a person to change his or her identity.

A governmental commission has been set up to evaluate measures taken over the last ten years to assist victims of crime. The overriding purpose is to provide a broad account of what has been done and to survey the rights and access to support available to victims of crime. The combined effect of these rights is to be analysed. The commission is to recommend any changes which might be desirable on the basis of the information obtained and the analysis made.

Any proposed changes are not to be limited to legislation, but can include such matters as the routines for dealing with cases and collaboration between authorities, as well as improvements in the training of those dealing with victims.



### *Violence against women*

A commission to review questions relating to violence against women and propose measures to combat such violence was set up by the government. The commission's recommendations have relevance for various aspects of social life. A significant number of the proposals made concern the ways in which different authorities should deal with cases of violence against women as well as how levels of knowledge and skills can be enhanced among those working with such cases. The commission concluded that changes in the law cannot alone solve the social problems posed by violence against women. Certain changes in legislation are nevertheless recommended.

One practical proposal has already been given effect as a result of the commission's work, namely a National Resource Centre at the Uppsala Teaching Hospital has been set up for women who have been the victims of rape and assault.

Active co-operation between various authorities and organisations is already under way in several countries on question is relating to violence against women. This co-operation is partly the result of a three-year trial project on improved collaboration between authorities which the National Board of Health and Welfare has led in five countries. Collaboration groups made up of relevant authorities and organisations have been set up in all municipalities in the project counties, and several models for joint action have taken shape.

In order to increase knowledge relating to violence against women, the National Police Board, together with a number of other authorities, has carried out a training programme at the request of the government for professional groups working in the criminal justice system, the social welfare services, and the health and medical services. Groups for continued training have been set up in each county.

### *Collaboration and confidentiality*

Good collaboration is a prerequisite for success in crime prevention work. The significance of this has been highlighted by a commission on public safety. Collaboration implies a more efficient use of existing resources. Authorities and others who together have to solve a given problem can divide up the work so that the authority best suited to carrying out a particular task actually does so.

It has been said in a variety of contexts that the law on confidentiality leads to problems when authorities with different confidentiality regulations have to co-operate. The police, in particular, consider that they do not have sufficient access for crime prevention work to information from the social welfare services about young people. The authorities who should collaborate in crime prevention also include education authorities—who have different confidentiality regulations for different sectors of their activities. The provisions on confidentiality which concern education authorities, the social welfare services and the police in matters of crime prevention are to be reviewed.

The starting point for this review is that the law on confidentiality should not, without good reason, jeopardise a trustful collaboration between different authorities.

### *Authorities within the criminal justice system*

Authorities within the criminal justice system have an obvious part to play in crime prevention. However, it is important to develop their working methods so that alone or jointly or in collaboration with authorities external to the criminal justice system, they create better possibilities to carry out their work.

### *Problem-oriented community police work*

The police have a duty to prevent, proceed against and combat crime. It is, therefore, self-evident that the work of the police is of great importance in crime prevention efforts and for

this reason, equally apparent that the police should actively participate in local crime prevention efforts.

Over recent years, police organisation has been undergoing comprehensive changes through the development of problem-oriented working methods and a corresponding development of community-based police activities. This reorganisation of police activity clearly plays a major role in the further development of crime prevention. The reform means that police work is to be carried out with locally based units in geographically limited districts.

In the new work organisation, problem-oriented methods are a predominant element. Problem-oriented work involves the systematic identification of the conditions which make up situations for the commission of crime (the direct causes of crime,) together with those factors which facilitate occasions for crime. Using this knowledge, steps can then be taken which are best suited to changing the conditions so that the risks for crime are reduced.

The basic principle is that this work should be carried out by community police in co-operation with individuals, authorities, clubs and societies and business people, and should comprise both social and situational crime prevention.

Thus, the community police reform means that the major part of police work is moved to a local level thereby giving the police a greater possibility to intervene at an early stage. Community-based police activity should be of the greatest importance in preventing and acting against everyday crime, such as breaking and entering, assaults, criminal damage and street drug peddling. Within their own district, the community police are responsible for all types of police work, including crime investigation.

For the current financial year the government has set aside 105 million Swedish crowns for the special development of police work including *inter alia* problem-oriented community police work. New forms of training for the police, currently under review, will emphasise the importance of this way of working.

#### *More effective working methods for the police and prosecutors*

A high risk of detection is clearly a restraining factor for a person on the point of committing a crime. For this reason it is in the interest of society that the police, in combating crime, have access to effective ways to exercise vigilance over presumptive criminals so that they cannot act undisturbed.

As a result of a government initiative, new provisions have recently come into force to enable the police to use hidden remote-control surveillance cameras in preliminary investigations into serious crime. The police should therewith be able to carry out more efficient observation with greater precision than has previously been allowed. The provisions on tapping telephones and secret telecommunications surveillance have been adapted to follow technical developments and changes in the telecommunications market. The need for changed provisions to give the police further capacity to use technical aids is to be considered.

In order to undertake their duty to prevent crimes and other disturbances of general order and safety, the police make use of criminal intelligence activities. At present it is not possible to use computerised systems to register the results of such activity. Where it is a matter of identifying individuals suspected of crime, DNA-analysis has led to considerable improvement. A governmental commission has recently recommended that the police should use computer technology to register the results of intelligence work and to maintain a special register containing information on DNA-analysis in criminal cases.

There is an increased risk of crime and other disruptions to public order at major events or other situations where many people are gathered together. Steps currently under review include giving the police greater powers than they currently enjoy to intervene when necessary in such situations, giving them more power to act in the cause of crime prevention,

by, for instance, being able to cordon off or forbid entry to certain areas or places, and empowering them to temporarily confiscate certain property.

The new working methods described here are expedited to result in significant improvements in crime investigation. The resulting increased risk of being detected and brought to justice should prove a valuable contribution to crime prevention work.

The community police reform and problem-oriented police work also open up, to a certain extent, new possibilities for local prosecution services. It is the prosecutors who have overall responsibility for criminal investigation even if the work is carried out by the police. The current organisational changes with the police forces will lead to a large amount of this investigation work being carried out in the community police areas. This will create good opportunities for purposeful work through collaboration between the police and the prosecutors.

The government will shortly be issuing guidelines on the further collaboration between the police and prosecutors. The aim is for carefully properly developed collaboration to lead to better investigative work and the setting of more purposeful priorities. The police and prosecutors should continue to work in future with joint strategies to combat local crime.

By adapting preliminary criminal investigations to local conditions, crime prevention aspects should come to have greater importance in setting work targets.

#### *The activities of the prison and probation service to prevent re-offending*

A large amount of crime is committed by a small and criminally active group of offenders who have often been—or currently are—in the charge of the prison and probation service. For this reason, the ability of the prison and probation service to prevent re-offending is of prime importance. For some considerable time the prison and probation service has been developing programmes to reduce re-offending among those who are criminally active. These programmes are in use with prisoners as well as with those subject to the various forms of probation.

In the prisons, efforts are made to provide inmates with work, education and treatment that can increase the likelihood of a crime-free life after release. One important element in these measures involves trying to deal with inmate drug and alcohol misuse. Both the number of treatment and motivation centres for drug misusers, and the number of drug misusing inmates who are in a treatment programme, have increased over recent years.

Another important element in the crime prevention work of the prison and probation service is to ensure that inmates are released under conditions which offer them reasonable possibilities to manage their lives without crime. Preparation for release is therefore of the utmost importance. Where prisoners are conditionally released and placed under supervision, collaboration with the police concerning those who are especially criminally active is being tried.

Further measures should be taken to encourage the rehabilitation of offenders into society. One possibility currently under consideration is whether provisional with electronic monitoring could be useful during the final period of a long prison sentence, i.e. during the period immediately preceding conditional release. In this way opportunities could be created for further treatment and training programmes at the same time as a satisfactory level of control is assured. The aim of these developments is to facilitate adaptation to live outside the prison.

#### **Combating drug smuggling**

The link between drug-related crime and other types of crime is well known. In order to be able to combat the problem of drugs, efforts are needed to reduce both the supply and the

demand. Where supply is concerned, international co-operation is obviously of great importance, Efforts have to be made to stop drugs from getting into the country.

The powers of the customs authorities to intervene at the border, *inter alia* where the illegal import of drugs is concerned, remain unchanged, even with the increased integration in Europe that has taken place.

New legislation gives the customs authorities the right to inspect the booking and passenger lists of transport companies. The information gained can be used to focus checks with greater certainty on shipments of goods and on persons where there is a suspicion of, for example, drug smuggling. It is hoped also to make it possible for the police, for the same purposes, to have the right to inspect the information contained in the lists of transport companies.

### Other authorities and crime prevention issues

Crime prevention work is not simply the responsibility of the criminal justice system alone. Instead, it is an important task for all authorities to give consideration to crime prevention aspects in their respective fields of activity.

#### *Social welfare services*

The work of the social welfare service for the care of individuals includes the provision of help to children whose basic needs are not being catered for and to young people who come to notice because of drug and alcohol misuse, criminality, or other obvious indications of social problems. Such children and young people run a greater risk than others of falling into a criminal lifestyle. Measures taken by the social welfare service can counteract such a negative development. Each year, a total of some 1.5 percent of all children aged 17 years or less are in receipt of some kind of support from the social welfare services.

A proposal for a new law on social welfare service based upon the report of the Committee on Social Welfare Service, "A New Social Welfare Service Act" is being prepared by the Ministry of Social Welfare. The Committee has made a number of recommendations which emphasise the importance of preventive work by the social welfare services. The Committee also stresses the need for early efforts focused on children, young people and adults in risk environments and risk situations. The aim is to prevent and offset the need for taking more extensive steps at a later stage.

In the view of the Committee, the social welfare services should bear the responsibility of ensuring that analyses of consequences are made with major changes to the environment or in municipal authority activities. The benefits of any proposed changes will be set against possible negative effects on those living in the municipality.

The Committee also proposes a new provision concerning group-focused and area-oriented work to improve the possibilities of making early contact with families in need of support and help. Since preventive work with children and young people requires extensive collaboration, the Committee considers that the social welfare services must also be given an express obligation to work together with other authorities, organisations and individuals.

Work on the Committee's proposals is still continuing, but it can already be said that its recommendations are fully in accordance with the idea of reinforcing crime prevention work. Preventive aspects will play a central part in the continuing review of the social welfare services' work methods, the aim being to use the capacity of the social welfare service for early crime prevention measures as effectively as possible.

#### *Support for parents*

Mentioned should also be made of a special working group that has been set up within the National Board of Health and Welfare with the task of surveying, describing and analysing all activities for parental education and support.

This means examining parental support work for families with babies, pre-school children of school age. It concerns, therefore, work at mothers' and children's health care centres, within child welfare and education as well as privately organised activities, such as those within various study organisations and parents' groups.

*Early intervention—projects and measures undertaken by various authorities.*

The National Board of Health and Welfare collects and collates existing research on early intervention, and promotes the continuous development of knowledge and methods. But other authorities and organisations can also make a meaningful contribution to knowledge about what can be done to support children at risk.

On the initiative of the Swedish Association of Municipal Authorities, methodological development work is being undertaken with family counselling groups. From 1996 to 1998 such groups will be the subject of a trial in ten Swedish towns. Family counselling groups provide opportunities for families and those in their social networks to discuss and offer suggestions on measures which can be taken to help children at risk. The work is based on the idea that the family itself, with the help of an independent co-ordinator, should arrive at a plan containing decisions as to how the child can best be supported. If the plan is approved by the social welfare services, it will be for a social welfare worker to support the family. The National Board of Health and Welfare is to evaluate the trial.

In January 1996, the National Council for Crime Prevention started a project, "Early Preventive Measures", to increase knowledge on this matter. The project includes a study of the extent to which mother and child care centres, nurseries, leisure activities, psychiatric work among children and young people, and pre-school and elementary school activities prevent crime. It also includes a survey of ongoing and completed projects in the field of psychiatry for children and young people which seek to prevent a negative development in children and young people.

Evaluations of such projects are to be collated. In addition, the working methods and activities of the social welfare services, the schools and the police will be surveyed and described.

The National Council for Crime Prevention also intends to compile an inventory of current knowledge about juvenile delinquency that will, inter alia, illumine the use of the provisions on the interrogation of minors and the question of the registration of juvenile delinquency.

*Preventive measures against alcohol and drugs*

The misuse of alcohol and drugs is not only one of society's most serious social and medical problems. A large proportion of crime is also associated with this misuse in one way or another. Alcohol, for example, plays a part in 70–80 percent of all crimes of violence.

Measures against the misuse of alcohol and drugs are therefore of crucial importance in crime prevention.

Currently, there is a worrying tendency among certain groups of young people to take a more accepting attitude towards drugs and experimentation with drugs. This tendency makes the need for prevention, information and the shaping of opinions even more acute. To be successful, preventive work must be of patient and persevering character, and not rely on occasional campaigns.

The National Institute of Public Health has been given the task of co-ordinating increased efforts to prevent the misuse of drugs and alcohol. Heading this work is a national management group consisting of representatives from a number of central authorities, and, inter alia, from municipal and county council organisations. The management group has produced a national action plan for the prevention of drug and alcohol misuse.

A central theme in the action plan is that the situation currently demands a mobilisation of local strengths, from municipal authorities and residential areas, places of work, schools and homes, to meet the challenge of the increasing alcohol and drug related problems to which Sweden may be subject. The plan asserts that preventive work among children and young people must be given priority. It also provides important points of departure and principles on how strengthened local work can be developed. Major resources have been invested to implement this national plan of action.

There is much evidence to suggest that the consumption of home distilled spirits has increased in recent years. The government has therefore requested a number of authorities to collaborate in an attempt to chart the extent and nature of the illicit trade in spirits and produce proposals for suitable measures for its reduction. Special project funds will be set aside for appropriate measures, to be taken chiefly at local and regional level.

A worrying development, and one which will make increasing demands on customs inspections, is that the smuggling of alcohol appears to have increased considerably in recent years. During the period from January to May 1996 the customs authorities confiscated more than twice as much alcohol as during the whole of 1995.

A not inconsiderable amount of crime directly connected with the misuse of alcohol and drugs is that of driving under their influence. A number of different sources have claimed that the number of drivers who drive under the influence of drugs other than alcohol, is on the increase and that the possibility of taking action against these drivers must be improved. The government has therefore appointed a special investigator to consider what legislative changes would achieve effective regulation of this problem.

Finally it should be mentioned that a parliamentary commission has been asked to make a comprehensive survey of the extent and nature of the doping problem, and ascertain whether there is a link between doping and crimes of violence. The commission is to assess the need for resources to improve the provision of information by various authorities, the health and medical services, the schools, and sporting and other voluntary bodies.

#### *The schools and crime prevention*

The schools, unfortunately, are an often under-used resource in terms of crime prevention, and the important part that they should play in that connection cannot be overemphasised. Since children and young people are at school for a major part of the time in which they are growing up, schools have important possibilities to influence the development of any tendencies to commit offences. The problem is, however, that school staff do not always perceive their work as including crime prevention.

The government has decided on a new teaching plan for elementary schools which sets out core values and tasks for the schools. The changes which have been made in the education system in recent years, inter alia an emphasis on the schools' duty to disseminate the commonly held values of our society, mean that the schools are now in a better position to put effective crime prevention into practice.

The teaching plan places a duty on the schools to develop their pupils' sense of justice and their capacity for tolerance, generosity and the taking of responsibility. This implies important work to ensure that their integrity is not violated and that they do not become excluded from the fellowship of the school community.

From 1994 onwards the national Agency for Education has been working with a project entitled "Preventing, detecting and dealing with bullying". It has been carried out in collaboration with other authorities and organisations. A number of municipalities were given grants to find ways to counteract bullying. An inventory of the ideas generated in the project has been compiled and sent out to all schools. The project has recently been the subject of a final report.

The Office of the Children's Ombudsman has a responsibility for co-ordinating measures against bullying and a responsibility to work together with authorities and organisations to improve the community's efforts against bullying. The office of the Children's Ombudsman has recently asked a large number of thirteen-year-olds how they thought work to combat bullying should be carried out. The children considered, inter alia, that staff in schools were neither observant or active enough in their attempts to stop bullying. The government is to press home to adults who are close to children that they have a responsibility to prevent, stop and find remedies for bullying.

The government intends to appoint a working group whose task will be find ways and means for collaboration between various authorities and propose measures to support the work of schools in fosterage and crime prevention. The group will include representatives of the authorities with responsibilities for different aspects of the schools' various tasks and activities.

The government will actively strive in other ways to promote both the strengthening of the school's role in crime prevention and the dissemination of information about, and experience of, crime prevention to those working in the schools. To this end, the Ministry of Education will organise a hearing in the autumn of 1996 on what schools can do to prevent crime. The government will also seek to ensure that appropriate teaching materials on the norms, values and principles of justice upon which Swedish society rests, are made available to the schools.

#### Economic crime

Economic crime is the cause of considerable harm. Law-abiding companies are forced out of business by competition from the owners of businesses who place themselves above the law and can therefore sell their products more cheaply. Employees lose their jobs when companies become bankrupt. Tax revenues are reduced. In the long term the general sense of justice, social solidarity and morality in business life are threatened.

In April 1995, the government decided on a strategy for combines efforts by the community against economic crime, a term which also includes environmental offences.

The strategy has four cornerstones. Legislation against economic crime is to be made more rigorous. Authorities must become more effective in intervening in cases of economic crime. More emphasis is to be placed on prevention. The business community must assume increased responsibility in combating economic crime.

In order to carry out the strategy, the government has set up a large number of reform projects with the aim of securing a significant reduction in economic crime.

## 5. Citizen Initiatives

### Crime prevention measures at local level

The great majority of offences which affect individual citizens are committed in their local environments and often have their roots in this environment. It is there that the causes of crime are to be found and there that the offender lives or sojourns. Effective measures to counteract this kind of crime must therefore be based primarily on local efforts to prevent crime.

Ultimate responsibility for combating crime rests with the government, but for this responsibility to have an impact at local level, all positive forces need to work together and combat crime on a broad front. Crime prevention measures at a local level should be so organised that citizen and other private initiatives can be made full use of and effective collaboration achieved between voluntary work and the measures of a variety of administrations.

Clearly, both the content and form of local work will vary according to local circumstances and conditions. It is not, therefore, possible to put forward an all-purpose model for crime prevention work at local level. Instead it is a question utilising and developing local knowledge and local involvement to find the best ways of preventing crime in a given area.

The ideas presented in the present section of this booklet are not rules or instructions on how things ought to be done, but ideas and suggestions based on the experience gained from local projects which have been run throughout the country, including, in particular, pilot projects which were initiated in the spring of 1991. These and other local initiatives in crime prevention have confirmed that it is not advisable to try to stipulate in detail how such work should be carried out. But they have also shown that certain methods are more successful than others.

### Starting points for local crime prevention work

The decisive factor in local crime prevention work is that there is local involvement and a local willingness to act. In order to have an effect on crime at local level, various interested parties must be actively involved. The possibilities for the police alone to achieve results are limited.

In recent years, citizen initiative and involvement in these questions has been clearly demonstrated, inter alia through individuals forming groups such as Parents' Walks Around Town, neighbourhood Watch and Guardian Angels.

These are often purely private initiatives, but perhaps equally often the result of private individuals, municipal bodies and local firms coming together with a shared aim. The experience is that retail trade and other business organisations, insurance companies, political organisations and voluntary groups, together with different authorities and municipal administrations, are increasingly and ever more extensively active in local crime prevention work.

A further condition is knowledge about what measures will reduce crime and increase safety in the local community in the short and long term. The knowledge which has already been gained through practical experience at local level, through projects, surveys and other research, forms a sound basis for achieving results in local crime prevention work. However, this should not be taken to mean that there is no longer a need for a continuing build-up of knowledge about crime prevention.

It is also important that there should be major state involvement. Through the national programme for crime prevention, the government seeks to promote crime prevention work at local level.



## A model for collaboration

Collaboration models and methods for crime prevention have been developed in many local authority areas. In the framework of pilot projects, the testing of various kinds of organisation has been included. Local authority planning on safety questions has been dealt with extensively by the Commission on Public Safety, whose recommendations have been circulated for discussion and criticism.

A central question in the continuing work is that of finding suitable ways of organising local crime prevention efforts. It is clearly necessary to take the views and experience of the local authorities into account. The government therefore intends to hold consultations with municipal authorities on this question.

As a basis for this consultation, some thoughts can be presented here about how suitable forms of organisation can be created and the kind of circumstances which should be taken into account. The outcome of this consultation, together with the report of the Commission on Public Safety, should provide a useful basis for the continuing consideration of these questions, in the first place by the Crime Prevention Implementation Committee (the work of which is described in Section 6 of this booklet) but also by state and municipal authorities.

### *Local crime prevention councils*

What will ultimately determine the success of the crime prevention enterprise are the attitudes and efforts of ordinary people, many of whom are involved and willing to help, but perhaps not always knowing in what ways they can be useful or where they should seek guidance. To keep initiative and commitment alive, requires a simple organisation of some kind. In this connection a local crime prevention council could play an important role and provide a natural focal and contact point for those individuals, firms and organisations who wish to play their part. Such a council could also co-ordinate a variety of local initiatives and disseminate the available knowledge on crime prevention issues.

The police should, of course, play an important part in any local crime prevention council. Crime prevention work is an important part of police activity, and with their problem-oriented methods of work and the associated emphasis on community policing under local responsibility, such work assumes an even greater importance.

But the role of municipal government should not be underestimated. The municipalities, by their political decisions on such matters as education and social welfare services, can influence the way in which crime prevention work is organised, and facilitate joint action and collaboration over the boundaries of municipal sectors. Moreover, the municipal authorities have taken over responsibility for the granting of licences to serve alcohol in restaurants, thus giving them a new and strengthened part to play in the matter of policies on alcohol.

The municipal authorities are as well placed as the police to be the responsible organisers of local crime prevention activities.

A local crime prevention council can be a valuable complement to the community police councils which are currently being created throughout the country. The fact that the geographical boundaries for the local authorities and the police do not always coincide should not be allowed to hinder such collaboration. This collaboration should take place whenever necessary over the boundaries of municipal authorities and police districts.

Apart from representatives from the police and the local authorities, a local crime prevention council should include representatives from the schools and social welfare services. Other authorities that might well be represented are those responsible for recreational activities, health and medical services, job centres, and alcohol and drug treatment. The council should also include the individuals, clubs and associations, firms and organisations with the skills and ability to contribute to prevention work. It is no less

important to involve housing societies, trade unions, representatives from insurance companies, as well as retail and trade associations.

The establishment of local crime prevention councils comprising representatives from municipal authorities and other local bodies, private parties and individuals must not, of course, lead to emphasising only the various activities of the constituent authorities. On the contrary, a crime prevention council should act primarily to support citizen initiatives and make full use of the individual citizen's interest in participating in crime prevention work.

#### *Tasks of a local crime prevention council*

The tasks which can be carried out by a local crime prevention council include:

- ?? Adoption of a crime prevention plan comprising both long and short term goals and measures.
- ?? Drawing up practical plans of action to reduce the number of persons recruited into a criminal lifestyle, reduce the number of opportunities for crime, and reduce crime among persistent offenders.
- ?? Taking responsibility for the co-ordination of different measures and the swift dissemination of information on the need for joint efforts between various authorities and bodies.
- ?? Following-up and evaluating the measures taken for the crime prevention.

Evaluation results should be made available at national level so that experience can be made use of in continuing, comprehensive work on crime prevention. In this work, the National Council for Crime Prevention should play an essential part. The mobilisation of concerned individuals presupposes that they live, work or go to school in a given area and receive information about the results of the measures which have been taken. In this way an interest in crime prevention can be stimulated and lead to increased knowledge about which measures can be effective.

The local crime prevention council should, therefore, be responsible for the local dissemination of information about crime prevention work, and for ensuring that the results of the steps taken are reported back to those concerned.

### Situational crime prevention

As mentioned earlier, operational crime prevention work can be divided into strategies that seek to influence the situational circumstances which make people choose to commit offences, and those that seek to reduce human inclinations or motivation to commit offences. These are usually referred to as situational and social crime prevention respectively.

*Situational crime prevention* seeks to reduce the likelihood of crime being committed by making it less rewarding, more risky and more difficult to carry out. This form of crime prevention also includes measures to counteract the tendency to justify crime by saying, for instance, "everyone does it", "it doesn't harm the poor" or "they deserve it to happen to them". Whereas social crime prevention has the long-term aim of influencing the conditions which are of importance for the individual's tendency to commit crime, situational crime prevention uses the actual crime situation as its starting point.

#### *Rapid results*

Situational crime prevention can be a good way to begin crime prevention work at local level. Firstly, experience of local collaborative efforts against crime shows that it is easier to agree on how the number of opportunities for crime can be reduced than it is to agree about measures which should be taken for social prevention. Secondly, it is easier to unite people

behind such initiatives, and today there is such good information about situational crime prevention that it should be possible to have an effect on at least certain types of crime.

A third reason for beginning with situational measures is that successful projects of this type have been shown to give rapid and often measurable results. Good results from the measures undertaken, even if the operation is limited in scope, awakens enthusiasm in decision makers and other participants. This makes for good possibilities for continuing with projects and programmes of a more long-term nature, the results of which will not be apparent until much later.

Influencing the structure of opportunity for the commission of offences has long been associated with preventing theft. Steps have been taken to make objects more difficult to steal, by, for example, improving locks and doors for houses, incorporating steering locks on cars, cash dispensing machines in shops and extra structural protection for the cellar and attic storage space common in Swedish blocks of flats. But situational crime prevention extends to more than this.

It has been found that crimes of violence and other public disturbances can be influenced by situational measures carried out in a consistent and purposeful way. And authorities, firms, associations, just as much as individuals can make major efforts to reduce the opportunities for, and thereby prevent, various kinds of economic crimes, inter alia by requiring a receipt in all matters of payment and refusing to undertake "black" work (that is, work for which taxes or social benefit contributions are evaded).

To sum up, situational crime prevention can be divided into four kinds of measures:

- ?? Make it more difficult to commit crime
- ?? Increase the risk for detection of crime.
- ?? Reduce the rewards of crime.
- ?? Make the justification of crime more difficult.

#### *Making it more difficult to commit crime*

Making criminal acts harder to commit can, apart from physical hindrances, include making entry more difficult at certain places (for instance indoor car parks), using code locks and door entry phone systems for residential dwellings, or repulsing potential offenders so that they do not come into contact with things to steal or with likely victims. These measures can, for example, consist of moving or increasing the number of bus stops so that young people coming home late at the weekends do not congregate at one and the same place, or keeping supporters of opposing teams apart from each other before, during and after football matches. Certain kinds of offences can be prevented by making the availability of goods which can be used for the commission of crime more difficult, for instance by regulating the sale of spray paint aerosols.

#### *Increasing the risk of detection*

Another group of situational measures are those intended to increase the risk for the detection of a perpetrator of crime, or at least make him believe that the risk of detection is greater than it in fact is. This is not only a question of formal social control, i.e. the kind practised by the police, security guards, and store detectives. The control can also be informally exerted, for example by teachers, taxi drivers, conductors, shop assistants, refuse collectors, postal delivery staff, etc. Such control differs from formal surveillance in that it is practised by people with other work functions than these having a direct responsibility for crime control. A good illustration of social control is provided by concierges. Experience shows that the concierge system, where it still exists, is popular with tenants, not least because properties which employ a concierge are less subject to criminal damage, breaking and entering generally and breaking and entering into cellar and attic storage space.

This is really a question of increasing the number of “watchful observers” in society and their possibilities of detecting crime through, for instance, the design of the constructional environment and local community surroundings.

In certain residential areas there is a marked prevalence of defilement, graffiti, car wrecks, broken bicycles and the like. In such areas there is considerably more serious crime, usually involving violence and breaking and entering, than in other areas. This is connected, of course, with the fact that in these areas the households of those who are socially marginalised (for example, alcohol and drug misusers, and offenders) are over-represented.

Research has demonstrated that in areas which apparently show a lack of social organisation and low social control, offences are not perceived so negatively as in areas with no signs of decay. The less serious offences, which are also more easily dealt with by situational means but which, unchecked, constitute a breeding ground for more serious criminality, are more widely accepted. Broken street lamps are seen as an invitation to smash those that do work, and walls covered in graffiti stimulate continued defilement in the area.

Careful planning of the environmental layout of constructional areas, inter alia to increase the feeling of social participation and visibility, can influence the crime level in such areas.

#### *Reducing the rewards of crime*

Over and above an increased risk of detection and subsequent threat of punishment, situational crime prevention can also consist of reducing the anticipated reward of committing an offence. The profit from a breaking into a car is reduced if valuable articles such as a car stereo are removed when the car is left unsupervised, and a shop robbery offers less gains if larger currency notes are stored in thief-proof canisters. Prominent marking of valuable property—bicycles, mopeds, etc.—can contribute to causing a potential offender to refrain from taking that property, and, even if it is stolen, it will be more easy to recover.

#### *Making the justification of crime more difficult*

An extensive study of everyday crime such as tax offences, drunken driving, shoplifting and offences committed by employees shows that a significant number of those involved excuse their own behaviour with phrases such as “everyone else is doing it” or “it does not harm a poor person”. Such justifications of personal deviant behaviour must be counteracted. Making such justifications more difficult can, for example, involve making far more clear than is usual what kind of behaviour is unacceptable. It is important to raise the threshold about the kind of behaviour which can be tolerated concerning, for example, alcohol consumption and social disturbance in public places—parks, and city squares and districts.

### **Social crime prevention**

The starting point for social crime prevention is that the individual’s tendencies towards criminal behaviour are grounded early in life, and are the result of individual characteristics and a low degree of integration into the community. The necessary positive measures, which are often of long term character, seek to strengthen self-control (and therewith strengthen the capacity to resist temptation or provocation) and social ties to the community.

The most significant factors in preventing the development of criminality are mainly to be found in other sectors of society than those normally associated with crime policy pure and simple. Awareness of the fact that social policy decisions concerning, for instance, the labour market, youth policies, social welfare policy and housing, can have criminal policy side effects on crime must be enhanced at central, regional and local level.

Special attention should be paid to the importance of schools and parents in reducing the risk for children and young people to develop criminal life styles.

### *Parents are of decisive importance*

Parents are obviously important for the individual's development of self-control and for the development of social ties. A cornerstone of family policy is that both general and selective measures should contribute to the capacity to grow up to become a secure and responsible adult. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that parents are of decisive importance for the norms and values that are absorbed by their children.

Deficient contact and insecure relationships with parents can lead to criminal behaviour. Insecurity can result from the parents providing insufficient guidance or giving contradictory messages in bringing up a child, or from parents demanding blind obedience, or from parents having a repressive or threatening relationship with the child. In addition, the degree of parental insight into, and supervision of, the child's behaviour outside the family is an important factor when trying to explain the criminal behaviour of the young.

The *educational system* emphasises the values of social and intellectual achievement. To live up to these values is to strengthen the ties to the community. Those pupils who do not manage to do so can easily fall outside the fellowship of the school, and risk developing an attitude of indifference to school which in its turn can be expressed through truancy and later through crime.

Negative attitudes to school and school work, low educational ambition and poor performance are associated with criminal and antisocial behaviour in children and young people.

### *The importance of measures at an early stage*

Social background factors, such as low socio-economic status, broken families and parents with a criminal history, are correlated with criminal and other antisocial behaviour among children and young people, but only in interplay with the family, attitudes to school and school work, and relationships with friends.

No matter what social background a child has, it is the quality of his or her relationship with parents, school and friends that most affects any possible development towards criminal behaviour.

Good relationships with parents can well compensate for shortcomings in the social background such as, for example, a broken family or poor financial or material resources.

It follows from this that it is important to initiate measures at an early stage to promote sound social development and to assist parents in bringing up their children. The longer a life of deviant behaviour, the more difficult it is to prevent that development from continuing. The persistent offender becomes more and more trapped in a lifestyle which in itself appears to generate crime. This kind of lifestyle is often linked to various kinds of drug misuse, which itself makes it difficult for the offender to come into contact with persons other than criminals. Chronically recurring contact with the criminal justice system can also limit the possibilities of entering the labour market and building up a social network. This in turn can contribute to the offender feeling that social gains are to be found in criminal rather than law abiding behaviour.

### *The need for intensive development work*

There remains much to be learned about social crime prevention. Since remedial measures are often initiated at an early stage but their effects are often not felt until much later stage, all those involved require considerable staying power. The need for a continuous build-up of knowledge requires intensified development work between various actors on the social scene, chiefly parents, the social welfare services, motherhood groups, child care groups, and the schools.

Together with the measures to promote favourable social development which already form part of the regular activities of various authorities, a number of experimental projects are in progress throughout the country, inter alia to support parents who experience difficulties in bringing up their children. Other broadly-based projects have led to proposals for measures within the field of social crime prevention.

Among these proposals for early social welfare measures is one for providing increased information and training to new parents in order to support them in their child-rearing role. Such a measure can well be included in a combination of measures made available to everyone, for instance, all residents in a particular housing area, with individual measures adapted to the needs of an individual child or family. Parents can, for example, be offered a contact person with whom they can discuss their problems and who can provide them with support in bringing up their children. Measures such as these should be adapted to local circumstances and stem from the conditions which prevail in the housing area in which the families live.

#### *The significant opportunities open to schools*

In social crime prevention focused on older children, the school assumes a prominent position. Together with parents and others involved in crime prevention, schools have significant possibilities for creating good conditions for their pupils' social development.

As mentioned earlier, many schools have developed special programmes to counteract bullying and truancy. These are two important areas for evaluation and the development of further knowledge.

In many schools throughout the country, supportive school-friend activities have been initiated. These should be susceptible of further development, together with routines for continuous information to parents about discipline and behaviour, and immediate contact with parents where serious problems emerge.

From the fifth or sixth year of school and throughout the time spent in elementary school, local recreational organisations and the police should become involved in crime prevention work to a greater extent than at present. Their efforts could include linking school and leisure activities so as inter alia to increase contact with adults, and provide focused information about local problems to adolescents and their parents.

The schools should also produce an action plan on how to deal with offences committed by pupils in or near the schools. In combination with this, the police and social welfare services can help in the identification of youthful gangs who are on their way towards the commission of more serious offences.

#### *Major risks with an early start in crime*

Special attention should be paid to those juvenile offences which, as experience shows, tend to occur early in a long and serious criminal career. Car theft is an example of such an offence. The age of first offenders is usually low, and the statistics show that among those who begin early with car theft, the proportion relapsing into further crime is particularly high.

An early start to committing offences, especially when these are of a more serious character or consist of the repeated commission of offences over a relatively short period, is something that always needs to be met by special social welfare measures. Otherwise there is a considerable risk that crime will continue or become more serious.

With persistent offenders, social welfare efforts should be focused on constructive steps to tackle specific problems in the individual's life. This usually means an attempt to support the creation of a structured life outside the criminal circles in which the offender usually moves.

The resources mobilised to prevent a continuing life of crime in those who are persistent offenders must be co-ordinated if they are to have the necessary impact. The exchange of

knowledge and information between the police, the probation service, social welfare services, the job centres the health care and the medical authorities should, therefore, be improved.

## 6. Implementation

The crime prevention programme presented by the government comprises measures at central, regional and local level. It deals both with measures that can be put into practice immediately and those that produce effects in the long term. Many of the measures relate to matters over which the state has direct control, such as new legislation, changes to existing legislation, terms of reference for new commissions and committees of inquiry, tasks assigned to local authorities and the apportioning of state funds.

The most important feature of the programme, however, are the measures to support and promote crime prevention at a local level. These are intended for use by municipal authorities, private firms, organisations and associations, as well as private individuals. To a great extent this part of the programme is based both on a more or less formal and a more or less voluntary collaboration between all those with the possibility to prevent crime at local level. This means that there must be organisational support if the intentions of the programme are to be realised. The present section of this booklet describes how the government intends to provide that support.

### A new role for the National Council for Crime Prevention

The National Council for Crime Prevention was set up in 1974. Its tasks then included the co-ordination of the work of various societal bodies against crime and working together with other authorities and organisations to achieve comprehensive participation in crime prevention. The aim was to improve collaborative possibilities and remove the shortcomings which then existed in co-ordination. Other tasks included the preparation of broad proposals on crime prevention measures, monitoring and evaluating research of interest for crime prevention and disseminating the results of such research.

Since that time, the National Council for Crime Prevention has been the subject of several commission of inquiry and, in consequence, its activities have undergone various changes. From the beginning, however, comprehensive research has always been a major activity.

Following the latest changes which came into effect in July 1993, the Council has become a qualified expert body on crime policy questions with the task of promoting crime prevention through development work, evaluation, applied research and the dissemination of information on criminal policy issues. An important part of this work consists of producing material for the government to enable it to adopt measures and set priorities for criminal policy work, as well as to evaluate measures which have been carried out. Support for local crime prevention work has been another priority.

A large part of the work currently carried out by the Council is, therefore, already concerned with support for local crime prevention work. Indeed, the results of work currently under way can be used for this purpose. Thus, for example, a handbook on local crime prevention is in process of production and a comprehensive review of available knowledge about crime, offenders, causes of crime and crime prevention will be published.

#### *The National Council for Crime Prevention is to give priority to local prevention work*

The activities of the National Council for Crime Prevention in support of local prevention work is to be further emphasised and further developed. The Council is therefore to give priority to tasks which promote such work. They can be summarised as follows.



The Council is to draw up methods which, through collaboration with other authorities, will stimulate local crime prevention work. The Council is also to work actively to ensure that local crime prevention work is appropriately organised.

The Council is to provide information on crime prevention work. This can include practical methods for the making of an inventory of problems and providing information about where relevant material can be found. The Council will actively promote the collection and dissemination of knowledge about successful crime prevention projects undertaken in Sweden and other countries. The Council will also seek, in collaboration with the universities, to ensure that the needs for specialist training are met.

There is a widely felt need for the Council to monitor and evaluate a number of local crime prevention projects. It is also important to find ways of involving persons with scientific knowledge, such as those from local universities, in local crime prevention work so that they can contribute to the planning and evaluation of local projects and provide support for research and development. An increased interaction between research and practice will create the conditions for a systematic build-up of knowledge and promote continuity of work.

In order to meet the demand for an enhanced support of local prevention work, the National Council for Crime Prevention must make certain changes in existing priorities and make some changes in the direction of its work. The aim is to carry out these changes during 1997.

### Financial support for local activities

In order to support continuous, long-term and enduring local work on crime prevention, money for this purpose must be set aside in the state budget. For the year 1996, the sum of 10.8 million Swedish crowns was made available to support local crime prevention projects. A similar sum will be used for the support of local projects in the financial years 1997 and 1998. In the long-term, this support could be co-ordinated with the grants currently given by the National Police Board for local crime prevention projects.

The financial resources that have been made available are mainly to be used to develop local crime prevention. If they are used for research, this should be for applied research and smaller projects. This makes for more rapid results and reduces the vulnerability of the projects. Grants can also be made for the initial creation of a local organisation for crime prevention work, but such funding should not be used to finance the day-to-day activities of local organisations.

It should be possible to incorporate the projects and initiatives that receive financial support into a long term plan for accumulating knowledge. This means that rigorous demands must be met before money can be granted. The results and experience of grant-aided activities must be made available for use as accumulated knowledge. All such activities must, therefore, be carefully documented and followed up. The National Council for Crime Prevention will use the resulting information and experience to establish a central information bank.

### Appointment of a crime prevention implementation committee

An implementation committee will be appointed. Its task will be to ensure that the intentions of the national programme for crime prevention are put into practice. The committee's main duties will be to carry out and follow up the national consultation which the government has initiated and to inspire, support and monitor crime prevention work, primarily at local level.

In collaboration with municipal authorities, the committee shall also ensure that local crime prevention work is suitably organised and that local crime prevention programmes are adopted.

*Disseminating knowledge*

In order to be able to set up effective crime prevention activities, knowledge about the causes of crime and the possibilities of preventing it has to be acquired.

The implementation committee will disseminate existing knowledge and seek to promote a constructive exchange of information. It shall be a duty of the committee to keep itself informed about the local needs and wishes expressed by municipal authorities, administrations, organisations and private individuals, and to arrange appropriate contact between those responsible for the various preventive activities.

The implementation committee will also investigate whether there exists suitable teaching material for schools about the fundamental norms, values and principles of justice of Swedish society. Where the committee finds a lack of such material, it must seek to promote its production, or in some other way ensure that it is made available to schools.

*Trial projects*

In order to achieve continuous development of knowledge relating to measures for crime prevention, specialist research projects should be devised and implemented. This presumes that local work in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the projects receives support from competent research workers. The research units of the National Council for Crime Prevention and the National Police Board already carry out important work in this area. But other research workers will also be able to offer their skills to local work. The implementation committee will develop ways of collaborating with the universities so that they may contribute their research and development skills for use in local projects.

The main crime prevention work will be carried out at local level. However, it is also important to explore how preventive efforts at regional level can be strengthened. The implementation committee should carry out a study of this question and propose measures that will strengthen regional preventive work.

*Apportion funds*

The implementation committee will also be entrusted with apportioning the funds set aside in the state budget for crime prevention work. Grants are to be made following application. The implementation committee will draw up detailed guidelines for the granting of funds and assigning priorities to projects, deal with applications for grants, follow up projects and, in association with the National Council for Crime Prevention, work about methods for building up an information bank containing accounts of the experience gained from the various projects.

Yet another duty of the committee will be to plan the consultations which the government has decided to initiate with the representatives of business life.

The committee will be free to adopt other measures and present other proposals than those mentioned here if they are in accordance with the overall aim of supporting, promoting and developing crime prevention work.

The government will actively monitor the work of the implementation committee and continually assess the need for further measures.

The committee will have a chancellery at its disposal. It shall provide regular reports on the results of its work and submit a final report by 30 December 1998 at latest.

**Continuing work**

As mentioned initially, one of the aims of this programme is that crime policy should be broadened so as to increasingly embrace crime prevention. In this respect, the programme which the government presents here should not be seen as a plan with a beginning and an end, but rather as the starting point for a long-term process.

A central element in this work is to find organisational ways and means, not least at local level, for more permanent, long term methods for conducting concerted crime prevention work.

The government is fully aware that successful crime prevention programmes which make full use of citizen initiatives and involvement cannot be determined centrally in accordance with some uniform model.

#### *National consultations*

The programme presented here will, therefore be sent out to the municipal authorities throughout the country to become the subject of broadly-based national consultations. The intention is to enable experience gained from local work and from the municipal authorities' views on the form and direction of crime prevention measures, to be shared. Organisational issues and locally implemented tasks will, therefore, be the focus of special attention.

The working methods for these consultations will vary, but ensuring that they are carried out and followed up will be an important task for the implementation committee since the consultations provide a basis for a continuing assessment of the ways in which crime prevention work can be made both more extensive and intensive.

#### *A long-term and enduring undertaking*

By accumulating knowledge methodically and systematically and seeking to ensure that a crime prevention perspective receives consideration within every sector of the community affected by criminality, the essential conditions can be created for long-term and enduring crime prevention work.

This booklet presents the first stage of a Swedish national crime prevention programme. The programme was adopted by the government in the spring of 1996. The purpose of the programme is to intensify crime prevention work throughout the country.

This English translation of the Swedish national crime prevention programme is one element in the efforts to broaden the international collaboration by making Swedish knowledge and experience available to interested parties outside the country.

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