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**Effective crime prevention: keeping pace with new developments**

## Effective crime prevention: keeping pace with new developments

### Working paper prepared by the Secretariat

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# I. Introduction

1. The modern State seeks protection from crime principally through the operations of the law enforcement and criminal justice systems. These "formal" systems of control serve the dual purpose of deterring law-breaking among the population at large and of apprehending, punishing and treating those who offend. Governments have tried to improve the effectiveness of those systems by such means as strengthening the police force, streamlining the judicial process, diverting less serious offenders from the system, increasing the severity of punishment for serious crimes and widening the range of penal treatments for recidivist offenders.

2. Complementing the formal system of control is what criminologists refer to as society's "informal" social controls. These include a panoply of measures taken by parents, schools and religious bodies to instil respect for the law among children and young people, to regulate the conduct of people as they go about their daily lives and to afford protection to persons and property through routine precautions and security measures.

3. The formal and informal systems of control depend upon each other for their effectiveness. Without informal social controls, the criminal justice system would soon be swamped with a multitude of crimes, both more and less serious, and would cease to function effectively. Equally, without the existence of the criminal justice system to impose the threat of arrest and punishment, informal social controls would face a constant challenge to their legitimacy and credibility.

4. As well as strengthening formal controls, Governments have tried to bolster informal controls through pronouncements about the duty of parents, schools, communities and other social institutions to promote the rule of law. More recently, as they have come to recognize the limitations of the formal system in controlling crime (and have had to meet its escalating costs), Governments have begun to explore more direct ways of improving informal social controls. Such activity falls under the general heading of "crime prevention", which covers a very wide range of possible actions.

5. Several detailed classifications of crime prevention have been developed by academic criminologists. However, policy discussions usually distinguish between just two kinds of prevention, social prevention and situational prevention, which correspond to the two main ways of preventing crime—reducing criminal motivation and reducing crime opportunities. For the purposes of the present discussion it is useful to distinguish among four different general approaches (three of which seek to reduce criminal motivation), which are distinguished by their own set of objectives and techniques. These four approaches to crime prevention are:

(a) Child development. Research has documented a variety of risk factors in early childhood associated with later delinquency and crime. It follows that interventions designed to address those factors through improved parenting skills, enriched early education and improved physical and mental health could lead to large reductions in future crime and delinquency;

(b) Community development. Ever since the pioneering work of Shaw and McKay[1] in Chicago, criminologists have recognized that powerful forces in local communities can promote or inhibit crime. An important strand of preventive work therefore consists of efforts to strengthen the economic viability and social cohesiveness of local communities, to provide more local services and facilities for community enhancement, to strengthen residents' ties to their local communities, to teach young people about the importance of the rule of law and to develop local police-community relations. Sustained efforts along those lines have recently been made in many Western countries, most notably in France (the Bonnemaison initiatives), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland ("safer city" programmes), Italy (the anti-Mafia education of young people in Palermo) and the United States of America (neighbourhood watch and community policing);

(c) Social development. This is the least advanced of the four approaches, but is of great interest in a United Nations context. It proceeds on the assumption that in developing countries and countries with economies in transition much crime results from poverty, lack of paid employment, poor education, discrimination and a variety of other social and economic deprivations. It is assumed that social development will remove these "causes" of crime. Unfortunately, there is no direct relationship between social conditions and crime. Thus, crime has unexpectedly increased in Western countries in times of increased affluence and improved social security. Crime also shows no direct relationship to levels of employment in Western countries. However, these findings may not hold for developing countries and countries with economies in transition, where the general social and economic conditions are much less favourable;

(d) Situational crime prevention. Unlike the three other forms of crime prevention, all of which seek to reduce the motivation for crime, situational prevention seeks to reduce opportunities for crime. This has been the fastest growing variety of crime prevention in the past 20 years. It has come to be associated with the spectacular rise of private policing and the private security industry in Western countries during that period.[2] In its government-sponsored forms it consists of crime prevention advertising campaigns, efforts to influence city planning and architectural design to promote a crime-free environment, focused efforts to diagnose and remove opportunities for highly specific forms of crime such as bank robbery or residential burglary and, more recently, putting pressure on business and industry to alter products and practices giving rise to crime.

6.      A large number of successes of situational prevention have been documented,[3] many of which show that crime is not merely displaced by situational prevention. This form of prevention is now part of official crime control policy in several European countries, including the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France. Even so, worries continue to be expressed about the wider consequences for society of pursuing this approach to prevention, in terms of erosion of freedom and of unequal access to crime prevention benefits.

7.      In the present paper, a brief review of the current status of these approaches is undertaken followed by a discussion of the likely direction of future developments in the face of current needs and future challenges. Special attention will be given to implementation difficulties, ethical considerations and the need for research and evaluation.

## II.  Current status of crime prevention

8.      It is only during the past 20 years that Governments have devoted serious attention to crime prevention and that it has become a subject for concentrated academic study. Even so, remarkable progress has been made, namely:

(a)     National crime prevention councils and agencies (directly or indirectly supported by government) have been established in many countries, including most of those in western Europe, Australia, Canada and the United States;

(b)     Many community crime prevention programmes have been implemented with government support in developed countries. Sometimes this has been in the form of demonstration projects, such as the safer cities initiatives in the United Kingdom, and sometimes in the form of generally available programmes such as neighbourhood watch in the United States and the Bonnemaison community development approach in France;

(c)     These crime prevention programmes have had a direct and visible effect on many aspects of people's everyday lives. Examples would include the adoption of "defensible space" architecture in public housing (which has contributed to the demolition of high-rise public housing) and the widespread adoption of closed-circuit television surveillance in town centres;

(d)     Criminologists have greatly expanded writing and research on crime prevention, as a result of which our knowledge of the subject is much greater than it was 20 years ago. Many new concepts assisting with the design, implementation and evaluation of crime prevention programmes have been developed;

(e)     A large number of evaluations, in particular of situational prevention, have been published. Many of these evaluations show tangible and sometimes dramatic reductions in crime;

(f)     The International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, a not-for-profit non-governmental organization, has been established in Montreal with support from a small consortium of countries. It runs a Best Practice Bureau, which identifies, compiles and disseminates information on successful crime prevention.[4]

## III.  New challenges

9.      Despite the considerable progress of the past 20 years, many challenges lie ahead in developing the full potential of crime prevention. Some of the challenges result from unresolved ethical issues, implementation problems and technical difficulties in evaluating the effectiveness of crime prevention, which will be discussed separately. In this section challenges resulting from two main sources are identified: (a) the uneven development of crime prevention and (b) the broad social, economic and technological changes that are altering the nature of crime. These challenges can be briefly stated as follows:

(a)     In an era of "small government" marked by continual pressure to reduce government expenditure, the additional resources needed for crime prevention are

difficult to find. Officials are reluctant to reassign existing criminal justice system resources to new crime prevention programmes, in particular when the effectiveness of these is in doubt. Even in countries where crime prevention is now an established component of criminal policy, the resources devoted to it are tiny compared with those devoted to the criminal justice system;

(b) As mentioned previously, the theory and practice of the main forms of crime prevention are unequally developed. The most difficult challenge will be finding the resources to support research on crime prevention through social development, given that this form of prevention is of greatest interest to developing countries and countries with economies in transition;

(c) Crime prevention is a concept recognized primarily in the developed world, but not all developed countries have yet recognized its potential. This situation is likely to change as the result of the wider dissemination of information about the theory and practice of crime prevention. The transfer of knowledge about crime prevention from the more to the less developed world presents a greater challenge. It is likely that situational prevention can be adapted successfully to conditions in the developing world. However, it is unclear whether the same can be said of child development and community crime prevention approaches, since these depend on a social infrastructure that may not exist in developing countries and countries with economies in transition. Furthermore, it is unclear how technical assistance about crime prevention can be delivered from the more developed to the less developed parts of the world;

(d) To date, most crime prevention efforts have been focused on traditional forms of crime, which provide the bulk of the official crime statistics—predatory property crimes, assaults, domestic violence and vandalism. It is unclear whether the preventive approaches developed to date can be applied more widely to other kinds of crime. One significant group of these (discussed in section IV below) includes organized and transnational crimes, but there are many other crimes that have received little preventive attention. These include child pornography, corruption, fraud and economic crimes, hate crimes and crimes against migrants and tourists;

(e) It is also unclear whether the crime prevention approaches developed to date can be effectively applied to prevent completely new forms of crime, such as those associated with the Internet;

(f) This also holds true for the prevention of terrorism, a form of crime that often combines elements of violence with propaganda, politics and warfare. There is a grey zone between violent crime and the crime of political violence, which has only recently received scholarly attention.[5]

## IV. The challenge of preventing organized crime

10. Organized crime, whether national or transnational, is widely perceived as a growing threat to civil society. Many transnational crimes, such as drug-trafficking, trafficking in humans and money-laundering, constitute a particular threat to developing countries and countries with economies in transition. These crimes seem likely to increase with increased globalization and, with the associated increase in international trade, the expansion of business and leisure travel and the greater erosion of political borders.

11. It is also widely recognized that traditional legal or enforcement responses to organized crime cannot succeed alone and must be combined with prevention. The Centre for International Crime Prevention, in its role of coordinating the preparation of the draft United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, has acknowledged that prevention is a core element of the strategy (see articles 22 and 22 *bis*). Further, it is understood that not every Member State will be in a position to implement the Convention fully without technical assistance from the United Nations. It is acknowledged that only with this three-part strategy—legal response, prevention and technical assistance—can Member States work both nationally and internationally to curb the spread of transnational organized crime.

12. Opinion and techniques vary on how to prevent organized crime. To the extent that it thrives on disadvantage, social development, community development and child development may all have a part to play in prevention. The programme developed in Palermo to educate people about the dangers of organized criminal groups is one example. However, disadvantage is not the key to understanding organized crime. Rather, the key seems to be that in every society, developed or not, illegal opportunities abound to make large sums of money. It is these opportunities which permit organized crime to flourish.

13. This being the case, the greatest preventive potential may rest in the situational approach, but it must be adapted to deal with the more planned, complex offences characteristic of organized crime. This will demand detailed research on the different forms of organized crime. Such research must identify the sequence of tasks involved in committing each form of organized crime and must describe in detail how each task is accomplished. It may turn out that the apparent complexity of organized crime lies in the sequencing of tasks rather than in the nature of the tasks themselves. Such research will clarify the "opportunity structure" for each crime and at the same time will suggest opportunity-blocking measures appropriate to each stage of the crime. Little research of this kind has been conducted, but many descriptions can be found in the literature of the opportunity structure for different forms of organized crime.

14. In addition, many examples exist of situational measures that are in use or have been proposed for use against organized crime. These include:

(a) The installation of electronic tracking devices in trucks, which wiped out organized thefts of trucks in Rogers County, Oklahoma, United States. Similar devices are being installed in cargo ships operating in south-east Asia to prevent piracy;

(b) Restrictions on the international dialling capability of public pay phones in a New York City bus terminal, which eliminated a multimillion-dollar organized telephone fraud business;

(c) A variety of security changes introduced by credit card companies in the United Kingdom, which saved millions of pounds in organized credit card fraud in the 1980s and 1990s;

(d) Changes made in the 1980s in the design of customs forms, which substantially increased the difficulty of importing stolen motor vehicles into the United Kingdom;

(e) The routine employment of certified investigative accounting firms to supervise the administration of contracts in the construction industry, which was proposed as a significant opportunity-blocking reform by the New York State Task Force on Organized Crime;

(f) The increased regulation of bank secrecy, which was identified in a recent United Nations report as an important route to reducing opportunities for illegal money-laundering.

## V. New preventive concepts, strategies and techniques

15. The increased attention being paid by Governments to child development is a change of considerable significance. Equally significant is that international bodies, such as the United Nations and the World Bank, are increasingly recognizing that the rule of law must precede economic and social progress. This could ultimately result in more international resources being channelled into crime prevention through social development. These developments aside, most of the recent innovations in crime prevention have been in situational and community approaches. In fact, such approaches have developed so rapidly that it is difficult to draw the line between what is new and what is not. In any case, space permits the mention of only the most significant new concepts, strategies and techniques in the fields of community development and situational prevention.

### A. Community development

16. The topic of community involvement in crime prevention will be covered comprehensively during the Tenth Congress in its workshop on community involvement in crime prevention. The most significant point is that there is now widespread recognition of the need for partnerships or multi-agency cooperation in community crime prevention.

17. Experience in a variety of contexts has shown that those partnerships cannot be sustained without a full-time coordinator. This need has been met in a variety of ways. For example, some central government community development demonstration projects have included funds for a local coordinator. Where a longer-term investment in community development is contemplated, a choice has had to be made between vesting leadership in the police or in the local municipal authority. Further, it is understood that effective community development requires partnerships to be formed not only between police and local government, but also with local business interests.[6]

### B. Situational crime prevention

18. Because of the concentrated injection of resources by countries such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, much progress has been made recently in the theory and

practice of situational crime prevention. Crime opportunity theory has made many advances in the past decade, especially in the form of routine activities theory and rational choice theory.[7] Some important new theoretical insights have been produced concerning the interaction of so-called root causes of crime (such as social deprivation, discrimination and inadequate parenting) and immediate situational opportunities in producing crime. New concepts, such as "repeat victimization", referring to the tendency for crime to be repeatedly visited on a small proportion of the total population,[8] and "hot spots", referring to the tendency for crime to be tightly clustered in particular places, have helped to focus situational prevention where it is likely to be most effective. Finally, considerable progress has been made in developing classifications and case studies of effective means of reducing crime opportunities.

# VI. Implementation difficulties

19.    Implementation difficulties are broadly of two kinds: (a) difficulties in persuading people to agree to the necessary measures; and (b) difficulties in getting agreed-upon measures implemented correctly. These difficulties are encountered in all forms of crime prevention and are often related to disputes about the ethical basis of the measures (see below). In community development, as mentioned above, most efforts to date have been focused on the second kind of implementation difficulty, achieving the necessary coordination among local agencies to implement agreed-upon measures. The more difficult problem of launching community development initiatives in the most distressed neighbourhoods, which lack human resources and basic organizational capacity, has been largely avoided. In social development, the implementation difficulties are presently focused on obtaining agreement about the necessity and feasibility of this approach to crime prevention. Subsequently, the issue of obtaining the needed resources will have to be faced. In child development, the controversies involve resource procurement and the ways in which crime prevention goals should be combined with the other goals of child development.

20.    In situational prevention, both kinds of implementation difficulties have been widely encountered. For instance, various efforts to introduce gun controls in the United States, designed to reduce the opportunity for lethal violence, are currently being resisted by the National Rifle Association and other members of the so-called gun lobby. At the other end of the spectrum of seriousness, managers

of apartment buildings often find that their security measures are defeated by residents who dislike the inconvenience of having to lock building entrances every time they go in or out.

21.    As situational prevention becomes more focused on achieving change in practices and products of business and industry that generate crime, it seems likely to encounter resistance on grounds of cost. For example, retail stores often resist advice about ways to reduce shoplifting because those methods also discourage impulse purchases. Insurance companies may resist suggestions about tightening up procedures to check on fraudulent claims because checking costs them more than simply paying all claims with the minimum of checking. Vehicle manufacturers resist consumer group pressure to improve the security of cars on the grounds that there is little public demand for increased security. Ways of overcoming these barriers to effective situational prevention are likely to be the focus of considerable discussion in the next phase in the development of situational prevention.

# VII. Ethical issues, rights and responsibilities

22.    Most of the ethical concerns expressed about crime prevention have been related to the situational approach rather than to the other approaches discussed here. This is because situational prevention seeks not to reduce criminal motivation, but to reduce opportunities for crime. It is therefore seen as a fundamentally more repressive approach than the others, and critics claim that the use of situational measures has many harmful consequences for society. These threats have been identified as follows:

(a)    The use of target-hardening and access-control measures will lead to the development of a "fortress society" in which people terrified of crime and distrustful of others barricade themselves in their homes. This will lead to the growing alienation of the population and the gradual destruction of community life;

(b)    The use of closed-circuit television and other electronic means of surveillance fosters the development of authoritarian, pervasive forms of social control and will result in the erosion of important civil liberties;

(c)    The increased use of security guards and private policing leads to the social exclusion of the homeless, minorities and unemployed young people from

public places such as shopping malls, parks and entertainment facilities;

(d) The increased use of security devices leads to the regimentation of society and means that law-abiding citizens are forced to endure irksome and inconvenient precautions such as security checks at building entrances and the loss of luggage storage facilities;

(e) The insistence that members of the public take precautions to protect themselves from crime results in crime victims' being blamed for their own misfortune. It also results in women's enduring significant restrictions on going out at night and travelling alone;

(f) Because situational prevention can be expensive, it can result in crime being displaced from the rich, who can afford to take protective measures, to the poor, who cannot afford to do so. It can also result in less serious forms of crime being replaced by more violent crime as offenders compensate for the increased difficulties they face.

23. These criticisms have not gone unanswered.[9] It has been argued, for example, that crime prevention through environmental design encourages natural surveillance by local residents of the streets and public areas around their homes and can promote community cohesion. Surveys have consistently shown that the public generally welcomes the surveillance of public spaces through closed-circuit television. Most people welcome information about routine precautions they can take to protect themselves from crime. Many publicly funded situational prevention measures have been used to bring down unacceptably high rates of crime in poor and deprived neighbourhoods.

24. However reasonable these and other defences may be, it is clear that the ethics of situational prevention will continue to be debated. Increasing experience of the other crime prevention approaches will most probably also result in ethical challenges. For instance, child development approaches are sometimes accused, on the one hand, of unfairly labelling as delinquent those singled out for special treatment and, on the other, of rewarding the least deserving members of the community. Community development projects are also often the butt of accusations of either preferential treatment or stigmatization of residents.

25. However, these and other social and ethical costs of crime prevention have to be weighed against the potential benefits of reducing the burden of crime on society and reducing the harm that befalls individual people as a result of victimization. The costs of prevention must also be compared with the human and social costs of the criminal justice system, which, despite the best efforts of jurists, parliamentarians and officials, continues to be intrusive and inequitable in its consequences.

26. Ethical concerns have been addressed in United Nations efforts to establish international principles for the implementation of crime prevention, most recently through the convening of an expert group meeting in Buenos Aires (8-10 September 1999) to consider elements of responsible crime prevention. The resulting draft guidelines (see annex), which build on those appearing in the annex to Economic and Social Council resolution 1997/33, propose that in their crime prevention plans Member States take account of the main international instruments related to human rights and crime prevention, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (General Assembly resolution 44/25, annex), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (resolution 48/104), the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh Guidelines) (resolution 45/112, annex), as well as the draft Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century and the draft United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

# VIII. Evaluation of crime prevention

27. Without evaluation, crime prevention practices cannot be improved and, without hard evidence about effectiveness, reliable information about best practices cannot be disseminated. These points have been emphasized in a variety of national and international strategy documents concerned with crime prevention. Unfortunately, considerable difficulties stand in the way of rigorous evaluation. These difficulties can be divided into resource limitations and technical problems.

28. One resource limitation is that the detailed crime data needed for measuring the outcome of crime prevention measures are frequently not available because statistical record-keeping is deficient. A second important resource limitation is the lack of trained personnel who are competent to undertake evaluation studies. This is not a problem only for developing countries and countries with economies in transition, but also for those developed countries without a strong tradition of quantitative research in the social sciences. In short supply everywhere is expertise in undertaking cost-benefit evaluations.

29. The different approaches to crime prevention cannot all be evaluated in the same way, and the technical problems encountered vary considerably with each approach. Social development approaches can be evaluated only using econometric techniques that compare crime rates before and after the implementation of development programmes or that compare countries at different levels of economic and social development. Evaluations of child development approaches, unlike the other crime prevention approaches, can in theory make use of rigorous experimental designs. However, randomly dividing children between treatment and control groups raises ethical and practical difficulties. In addition, it is difficult to measure long-term reductions in delinquency and crime through a child development approach. In evaluating community development, two main difficulties are encountered: (a) because a package of measures is usually implemented, it may be impossible to identify which of the measures, if any, is principally responsible for success and (b) because a number of objectives are often sought by the different partners, it may not always be possible to measure outcomes in ways that meet each partner's concerns.

30. Situational crime prevention techniques have been subjected to the greatest number of separate evaluations—more than 100 to date. In one respect, the effects of situational prevention are easier to measure. This is because reductions are sought in highly specific forms of crime and, if the measures are effective, those reductions should become apparent immediately.

31. It is rarely possible to conduct true experiments when evaluating situational prevention, and most evaluations of this approach rely on weaker time series or quasi-experimental designs. This makes it difficult to know for sure whether any reductions in crime are due to the preventive measures implemented. One solution to this problem may lie in the much clearer specification of the mechanisms by which the situational prevention measures achieve their effect on crime. Evaluations would then be as much focused on the process of implementing measures as on the results of the measures.[10]

32. A second general difficulty in evaluating situational prevention is that there is always the possibility that situational measures have led to crime's being merely displaced, not reduced. In fact, most evaluations to date have found rather little evidence of displacement.[11] In a review conducted for the Ministry of Justice of the Netherlands, Hesseling reported that in only 33 out of 55 situational prevention projects was there any sign of displacement.[12]

Furthermore, in none of the 33 studies was displacement complete. Instead, some crime prevention benefits were obtained in every case.

33. This work on displacement has led to the discovery of the phenomenon of "diffusion of benefits". This term refers to the fact that situational prevention often results in reductions not just in the crimes targeted by the measures, but also in crimes that have not been targeted.[13] It seems that potential offenders often overestimate the power or the reach of the measures that have been taken. Designing evaluations that simultaneously measure both possible displacement and diffusion of benefits will present significant technical challenges to the academic community.

34. Already a sufficient number of evaluations of crime prevention measures have been reported, so that meta-analyses (in which the results of separate evaluations are systematically compared within a common framework) can be undertaken.[3] This kind of comparison is important because individual studies do not always point in the same direction. This fact permits unsound preventive approaches to survive longer than they should. Meta-evaluations provide a methodology for taking account of small inconsistencies between studies to reach the most reliable conclusions about the effectiveness of particular approaches. As more crime prevention projects are subjected to evaluation, meta-evaluations will become increasingly feasible and will play an increasing part in the development of crime prevention policy.

*Notes*

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# Annex

## Revised draft elements of responsible crime prevention, prepared by the Expert Group Meeting on Elements of Responsible Crime Prevention: Addressing Traditional and Emerging Crime Problems, held in Buenos Aires from 8 to 10 September 1999

## I. The concept of crime prevention

1. Crime prevention, for the purpose of these revised draft elements of responsible crime prevention, refers to strategies and initiatives that seek to promote safety and security and that do not resort to formal criminal justice sanctions.

2. Crime prevention should address all forms of crime, violence, victimization and insecurity and take into account the growing internationalization of criminal activities.

3. Crime prevention is subdivided into approaches focusing on potential offenders, potential victims and situations. Crime prevention consists of: (a) primary prevention, which typically targets the social factors and psychological problems that predispose persons to offending and/or victimization; (b) secondary prevention, which includes measures directed at persons at risk of becoming offenders and/or victims; and (c) tertiary prevention, which involves measures to prevent recidivism among former offenders through social reintegration and/or treatment, as well as services to support victims.

## II. Promoting and sustaining responsible crime prevention

### A. Basic principles

4. Governments should play a leadership role in the promotion of safer communities through the creation and maintenance of a national strategy that acknowledges crime prevention as an essential component of social development.

5. Crime prevention strategies at the national, regional and local levels should be characterized by a multisectoral approach that includes members of the community as integral and essential partners in all stages of the planning and implementation of a crime prevention programme and that respects different social realities, cultures and genders.

6. Crime prevention strategies at the national, regional and local levels should address the root causes and risk factors of crime and victimization through social, economic, health and educational policies. Where appropriate, crime prevention programmes should be linked to comprehensive programmes addressing social marginalization and exclusion, with particular emphasis on families and children at risk. Crime prevention strategies targeting groups at risk of becoming offenders, especially youth, should be promoted and should include educational opportunities, employment, housing and leisure facilities.

7.     The prevention of crime and violence and the promotion of community safety should be a horizontal priority in the planning and management of cities.

8.     Governments should strive to achieve sustainability of their crime prevention strategies through consideration of the following means: assessment of the distribution of resources between crime prevention and the other elements of the criminal justice system with a view to encouraging adequate resources for effective and timely prevention of crime and victimization; clear accountability for funding, programming and coordinating crime prevention initiatives; and the encouragement of community involvement in sustainability.

9.     Partners in the implementation of prevention programmes, including law enforcement and health professionals, should have clearly defined and transparent roles.

10.     Law should define the limits within which the private security sector may act. The private security sector should, in accordance with human rights standards, not exercise any function that, by its nature, is incompatible with the rule of law and the principle that the use of force is reserved for the State.

11.     The development of national crime prevention strategies should foster commonalities between local and global crime prevention objectives.

12.     Under all circumstances, crime prevention measures should be carried out in strict conformity with the relevant provisions of international law and international standards of human rights.

## B.   Tools and methodologies

13.     Governments should establish special councils or other agencies specifically mandated to exercise the necessary leadership to draw up plans of action that define priorities, establish linkages and coordinate with relevant ministries, foster partnerships with non-governmental organizations and the business, private and professional sectors at the national, regional and local levels and develop and provide the tools necessary for communities to address crime problems.

14.     A national crime prevention strategy should possess the capacity to identify trends and risk factors and be forward-looking by encouraging the development of early-warning systems and/or indicators that Governments might use to better anticipate various forms of criminality, taking into account both their local and their global dimensions.

15.     Crime prevention strategies should encourage the development of the following: rigorous diagnosis, an action plan, an implementation strategy and an evaluation of effectiveness. These steps should involve multiple sectors and key partners of the community, including the citizens, with a view to establishing a coalition that is capable of exercising strong leadership and that draws upon the most promising practices.

16.     To promote prevention, provisions should be made available or strengthened for a range of mechanisms for mediation and informal conflict resolution.

17.     Situational crime prevention programmes should be developed, including target-hardening, environmental design and surveillance. These programmes should not unduly reduce the quality of the built environment or limit free access to the public domain or public facilities, nor should they infringe on personal privacy.

18.     Crime prevention strategies should contain a dynamic public education and awareness-building component that addresses the following: the provision of information

concerning effective strategies and techniques to relevant actors; the active engagement of the community in all aspects of the strategy; the accurate presentation of the crime problem and effective ways to respond to it, including measures that citizens can take to assist in the strategy; and the building of confidence in the formal institutions that make up the criminal justice system.

19. The strategy should ensure that crime prevention interventions are evaluated. Evaluations should consider not just the effects on crime but also wider benefits, such as a reduction in fear or improved confidence among stakeholders in problem-solving processes. Possible costs of the intervention should also be assessed, such as the displacement of crime or potential infringements of privacy and liberty. For promising interventions, evaluations should seek to identify ways to improve them and, through cost-effective assessments, suggest measures to sustain them.

## III. International cooperation

20. Member States, in creating an international crime prevention framework, should set out meaningful, achievable and concrete tasks that take into account the main international instruments related to human rights and crime prevention, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (General Assembly resolution 44/25, annex), the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (resolution 48/104), the United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Ryadh Guidelines) (resolution 45/112, annex), as well as the draft Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century and the draft United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

21. The strategy should be consistent and supportive of other relevant United Nations norms and standards in crime prevention and criminal justice.

22. The international exchange of information on the most promising practices, in terms of both effectiveness and respect for human rights, should be facilitated.

23. Technical assistance to Governments for the development and implementation of effective crime prevention and community safety strategies at the national, regional and local levels should be provided in accordance with the above-mentioned norms and standards.