



International Centre for the Prevention of Crime
Assisting cities and countries to reduce delinquency, violence, and insecurity

The Role of Local Government in Community Safety

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Executive Summary

Good governance

Mayors and municipal leaders throughout the US have been confronted with increasing problems of community safety in recent years. This has begun to affect not only urban centers, but small towns and rural municipalities. Many other countries have experienced similar rapid increases in crime which have only begun to decline in the past few years. The response of many governments has been to toughen their legal and justice systems, increasing policing capacities and penalties, in an effort to deter or repress crime and violence. Yet the social and economic consequences of crime for society and victims are enormous:

- expenditures on law enforcement have increased massively
- sentences have become tougher
- the number of offenders prosecuted and incarcerated has risen dramatically
- private security personnel have outstripped official law enforcement
- there has been an increasing resort to fortifying places and excluding individuals
- crime causes serious problems when cities decay and residents and businesses move away reducing the tax base.

Crime has traditionally been seen as the responsibility of the police, and the courts. In spite of increased expenditures, they have not been able to contain the huge increases. There has been a loss of confidence in criminal justice systems, and public concern about crime remains high. Rapid changes in migration and populations, increases in poverty levels and income disparities have affected many countries, and are expected to continue. Crime *prevention*, rather than reaction or repression, has generally played a very minor role. If we are to have an impact on current crime problems, and avoid even greater problems in the future, there has to be a more balanced approach and a *major shift* in how we think and act.

Who this monograph is for

This *monograph* is intended for use by mayors, city managers, planners and elected officials. It brings together information from around the world, as well as the US, on the emerging ways in which people in such positions have been able to use their authority and energy to foster safer, healthier communities, and sets out the elements needed to bring about change. It outlines:

- why change is necessary
- why we can no longer leave community safety to the criminal justice system
- how our knowledge about the factors which lead to crime and insecurity have increased
- how our knowledge about how we can intervene effectively and more cost effectively has increased
- the framework for action which has emerged - the leadership, strategies and tools which are needed to bring about change
- some examples of city-led projects and
- some of the lessons learnt from past practice.

From crime prevention to community safety

Mayors and local governments have played a major role in the evolution of community safety over the past twenty years in countries across Europe, North America and Africa and Australasia. There have been increasing numbers of initiatives targeting crime, victimization and the social exclusion of individuals, minority groups and neighborhoods. The links between poverty and social disadvantage, crime and victimization have made it clear that many agencies need to work together to prevent crime. Mayors and local governments have come to see community safety as a *basic human right* and an aspect of the *quality of life* of communities. They have been able to mobilize local partnerships with key actors - the police, agencies and organizations and residents - to develop safe, secure and lively communities in large metropolitan areas as well as smaller cities and rural areas:

- there has been a shift from a relatively narrow focus on crime prevention to the broader issue of *community safety and security* as a public good
- a developing consensus about the need to work for community safety by tackling the *social and economic conditions* which foster crime and victimization
- from seeing the primary responsibility as that of the police, to recognizing that *governments, communities and partnerships* at all levels need to be actively engaged
- a recognition of the crucial role which *local municipal leaders* play in this process through organizing and motivating coalitions of local partners to create healthy and safe communities.
- increasing evidence shows that intervention targeting risk factors can be *effective* and *cost effective* in reducing crime and other social problems.

A framework for community safety

What has emerged in recent years is what can be described as an *understanding* of, and a *strategy* for, tackling community safety, which local governments can use. The framework which has emerged includes:

- recognizing crime and safety as a right and an issue of the quality of life
- working across jurisdictional boundaries horizontally as well as vertically
- the crucial role of political leadership
- adapting strategies to local needs on the basis of good analysis and targeted plans
- building capacity
- tools and tool boxes

Limitations, lessons learned - and examples from practice

Defining communities, developing and sustaining partnerships are not simple or easy tasks. Much can be learned from past experience and from failure. The importance of inclusion in community partnerships, understanding the links to underlying problems, looking at the strengths and assets of communities and individuals as well as risk factors, of working on the process (how to analyze, target, plan...) rather than focusing only on programs or going for quick results, and problems of funding and evaluation all need to be thought through.

Examples from Britain, France, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, the US and European cities illustrate

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how this framework has been applied and adapted to the specific needs of individual communities. The initiatives selected are at different stages of development, and have not all reached a stage where there are evaluated outcomes. They include three year strategic plans in large cities, projects targeting youth needs in public space, small town coalitions, neighborhood problem-solving committees, comprehensive community programs, hot-spot initiatives which utilize pooled funding resources, coalitions targeting violence against women, groups of cities working on common problems or against racism, and the use of local security contracts to develop permanent social observatories to aid understanding and assessment of problems and targeted action plans.

Mayors can't solve everyone's problems - but they can provide leadership

Mayors are strategically placed to make a difference. Leadership to identify and mobilize key partners; a rigorous safety audit, developing an action plan with short- and long-term goals; implementing, monitoring and evaluating the plan, and exchanging expertise and good practice - provide a method for tackling community safety which has been shown to bring results, as well being cost effective in the short- and long- term.

Section I Community Safety in Cities, Suburbs and Rural Areas

Introduction

Mayors and municipal leaders throughout America have been confronted with increasing problems of community safety over the past thirty years. Disorder, crime, drugs and guns have been daily reminders of the difficulties of living in safety and security. In the 1990's, however, these problems multiplied to levels not seen before, and with a major impact on children and adolescents. Young people have increasingly been the victims of violence, including homicides, and their involvement in serious crime and violence has also risen.

Incidents in small towns and cities, and in rural areas, tragedies like that at Columbine high school, have demonstrated that crime, insecurity and violence are no longer just the problem of inner-cities and large urban areas. Recent surveys of young people find higher levels of drug use in rural and non-metropolitan areas than in the inner city. Guns - which are found in millions of homes across America - have been a major factor in the increase in deaths of young people in the 1990's.

Increases in crime, violence and insecurity have also affected many other countries across the world. Only in the past few years has there been any decline in crime rates. The response of most governments, as in America, has often been to toughen their legal and justice systems, increasing policing capacities and penalties, in an effort to deter and repress crime and violence. Expenditures on law enforcement have increased massively. Sentences have become tougher. The number of offenders prosecuted and incarcerated has risen dramatically, and private security personnel have outstripped official law enforcement. The costs of maintaining criminal justice and correctional systems have similarly risen to unprecedented levels. Throughout this period crime *prevention*, rather than repression, has generally played a very minor role. Further, crime prevention has been seen as largely the responsibility of the police. As this monograph makes clear, investing in the broader approach of community safety offers much greater rewards.

Between 1980 and 1997, nearly 38,000 juveniles were murdered in the US.
The rise in murders of juveniles between 1984 and 1993 was all firearm related, as was the subsequent decline.
Juvenile Offenders and Victims 1999 National Report (OJJDP)

In the past few years there have been significant reductions in levels of recorded crime and violence in a number of European countries and in North America.¹ In the US, for example, the FBI (2000) reported a 7% drop in serious crime in 1999, for the *eighth* year in a row. This related to all types of crime, violent and non-violent, and was found in all geographic areas or regions of the country, although there are some exceptions. Other countries have also noted declines in officially recorded crime, including violent crime. Canada has experienced a reduction over the past eight years to the lowest level in two decades. In England and Wales recorded crime fell by 8% between 1993 and 1995, and a further 10% between 1995 and 1997, although violent crime is still rising.

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Yet levels of crime and victimization are still *well above* those found in most countries thirty years ago, and they continue to be of great public concern. The public is often misinformed about criminal justice, as well as unaware of recent declines in crime and violence.² There are also a number of trends which suggest that unless cities begin to act differently, they will cease to be places of growth, health and well-being.

In 1994 a United Nations survey of 135 mayors from every continent found that crime and violence was the fourth “most severe” problem facing the world’s cities.

How are mayors and local governments responding to these problems in other countries?

There have been some *marked changes* in the ways in which governments, both locally and nationally, understand problems of crime, violence and insecurity, and how they have begun to tackle them. Many countries now see them as intricately linked to the health of neighborhoods and communities - to their quality of life - and as part of a wider concern with community safety and security.

This has led to a focus on tackling the underlying problems of those communities, based on careful analysis and planning, and in collaboration with citizens and local agencies. It represents a much more concerted and multi-faceted approach to prevention, and one which is likely to be more cost effective and bring wider benefits to the community than reacting after events and tragedies have taken place.

Who this report is for

Cities, municipalities, and their leaders are in a unique position to mobilize local agencies in the development of safe, secure and lively communities. They are *strategically* placed to bring together all the actors. They have traditionally been responsible for urban or rural planning, they have intimate ties with all the local services, hospitals, schools, transport, youth and social services, police and judiciary, and the business community, to say nothing of their constituents.

Our cities must be places where human beings lead fulfilling lives in dignity, safety, happiness and hope. *Habitat II Declaration. 1996.*

This monograph is intended for use by mayors, city managers, planners, elected officials, and other people who face the increasing challenges in their communities. Its purpose is to set out the elements needed to bring about change. It brings together information from around the world, including the US, on the emerging ways in which people in such positions have been able to use their authority and energy to work towards safer communities. It discusses:

- why change is necessary
- why we can no longer leave problems of crime to the justice system
- how our knowledge about the factors which lead to crime and violence have increased
- how our knowledge about how we can intervene effectively has increased
- the methods - the strategies and tools - which are needed to bring about change
- some of the lessons, limitations and knowledge about how these can be confronted.

Examples of local government and city-led projects illustrate these themes, and some sources of

information, support and expertise are indicated.

The challenges for local governments

Growing urbanization, increasing poverty and income disparity

The twenty-first century for mayors and local governments around the world is going to be one of huge challenges. Populations are expanding and migrating, towns and cities and their surrounding rural areas are growing very rapidly, and levels of poverty and disparities between rich and poor increasing. These developments have already had a significant impact on safety and security in many countries and are likely to continue.

- Currently, between 40% and 55% of the world's population live in urban centers and this proportion is expected to increase to around 70% by 2020.
- In many Western countries, in spite of increasing overall wealth, levels of poverty have risen.
- More people are now living in poverty and income *disparities* between families have increased.
- There is a growth in the proportion living in poverty, and these groups tend to be concentrated in particular areas.
- In developed countries, while the growth of cities has been less rapid, there have been significant declines in conditions in many inner-city cores, but poverty in rural areas has also increased.
- Far more women now live in poverty in both developed and developing countries. There are more women living as single mothers, and they are likely to face greater problems of discrimination in job markets and housing than men.
- Minority and immigrant populations are also far more likely to be living in poverty than the majority population, partly because of systemic racism and discrimination.

Increasing migration and immigration and the rapid growth of cities are bringing about major changes to the ethnic character of their populations. There are increases in indigenous populations moving to cities in Australia, New Zealand, North and South America. European countries have increasing immigration from the former Soviet Union, the Mediterranean and North African countries.

Social exclusion

In a number of countries, the concentration of poverty and social and economic problems in particular areas has led them to talk about *social exclusion*. In Britain, France and Germany, for example, the increasing income disparity and concentration of poverty has been restricted to certain areas of the country.³ Often these are public housing estates, in suburban as well as inner-city areas, with the worst housing and environmental conditions and housing the poorest families, including many immigrants and minorities.

Social exclusion is “a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low income, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health, poverty and family breakdown.”
Bridging the Gap Social Exclusion Unit, 1999.

People in such areas are excluded from taking part in the employment, health, safety and prosperity enjoyed by the rest of the population. For their residents, poor health, crime, vandalism, drugs,

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unsupervised young people, litter and dilapidation, pollution, lack of transport and services, all add to the inequalities and lack of safety and security in their lives.

In the US, there has been a polarization of black communities in inner-cities with increasing levels of poverty, single-parent families, poor housing, drug use and high crime. It is these areas which experienced the huge increases in youth crime especially violence and youth homicide in the early 1990's. In some areas of cities, whole generations of children are also growing up without fathers while the increased imprisonment of women has left many of their children without close parental care. The network of social controls which would have been exercised by people such as parents, employees, friends and neighbors in such neighborhoods has been reduced. This has major consequences for the future. The proportion of black, American Indian, Asian/Pacific and Hispanic children is expected to increase for the next twenty years.⁴

The issues facing deprived neighbourhoods are well known, and make sober reading. Virtually every social problem - crime, joblessness, poor health, underachievement - is substantially worse in deprived areas. There is growing evidence that these problems reinforce one another to create a downward spiral of deprivation and decline.

Neighbourhood Management (2000: 7)

Poverty in the US has also increased outside the big cities and in rural areas. It affects the majority white population too, especially in the Southern States. Between 1988 and 1997 there was a 32% increase of white juveniles living in poverty, for example.

Between 1988 and 1997, the overall number of juveniles living in poverty grew 13%. The number of black juveniles in poverty decreased 2% compared with a 21% increase for white juveniles and a 32% increase among Asian/Pacific Islanders.

Juvenile Offenders and Victims 1999 National Report (OJJDP).

In a number of countries, there are growing problems for small and mid-sized towns and rural areas. They are becoming besieged by rapid urban expansion and satellite communities. In England and Wales, some of the highest increases in reported crime in the 1990's have been in rural areas.⁵ In the US, while *overall* levels of reported crime in the US have been falling for the past eight years, in some towns and rural areas such as those close to the Mexican border, there have been *increases* in crime and victimization.

Unemployment, drugs and young people

While North America is currently experiencing a better economic climate, changing labor and trade markets, technological developments and the loss of unskilled jobs in many countries have had a major impact increasing the extent of unemployment and of long-term unemployment. This has especially affected young people, increasing their vulnerability to drugs and gangs, illness and crime. Growing numbers of adolescents and young adults are now out of school, job training or work. For example:

- In a range of European countries youth unemployment rose from 15% to 20% for young men, and 19% to 23% for young women between 1991 and 1995 (Pfeiffer, 1998).
- In Australia, full time employment among teenagers fell from 56% in 1966 to 17% by 1993 (NCP, 1999).

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- In the US, unemployment is especially high among African-American and Hispanic youth who have few educational skills to offer - in one city 63% of them do not graduate from high school (Rosenbaum, et al., 1998).

Drug use and the mixing of different drugs and alcohol, have become much more prevalent among young people. This has been the case in European countries over the past ten years, but especially in areas of high unemployment.⁶

In America, a recent study by the *National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (No Place to Hide, 2000)* commissioned by the US Conference of Mayors found that drug use was *higher* among young teens in mid-sized cities and rural areas than in the large metropolitan centers. Eighth graders in rural areas were 83% likelier to use crack cocaine and 70% likelier to have been drunk more than twice than those in large cities, for example.

Smoking, drinking and drug use among young teens is higher in rural America than in the nation's large urban centers... Since 1990 drug law violations have increased more in small communities than in large cities; drugs are as available in small communities as they are in large cities, and adult drug use in such communities is equal to that in large metropolitan centers. At the same time, mid-size cities and rural areas are less equipped to deal with the consequences. *No Place to Hide (2000)*

Offending and Victimization

In most countries similar *patterns* of crime and victimization can be found with concentrations of problems in areas with many social and economic problems. We now know from surveys in a number of countries that a small number of serious or persistent offenders are responsible for the majority of crime, especially serious crime.

There is also a large overlap between victimization and offending. Those who are victimized tend to come from the same backgrounds and areas as those who are charged with offending, and people are often re-victimized. A British survey (1992) found that 4% of victims suffered 40% of the crimes, and in the US around 50% of violent crime takes place in about 3% of addresses.

In many countries surveyed 6-7% of young males are responsible for 50-70% of all crimes, and 60-85% of serious and violent crimes.

Violence against women and children is widespread in many countries. In developing countries, it is estimated that between a third and half of all women are victims of violence from male partners.⁷ In the US the number of children who are abused or neglected almost doubled between 1986 and 1993. We know that violence in the family often leads to other problems, including crime and ill health as children grow up.

A major problem for many countries - like the US - is the over-representation of indigenous and racial and ethnic minority groups in criminal justice systems. This includes Aboriginal and other indigenous populations in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the US. It also includes minority populations such as Black, Hispanic and Asian citizens in North America, and more recent immigrant and second-generation minority groups in many European and other countries. There have been big increases in the proportions of immigrant children and second generation children in justice systems in a number of European

countries.⁸

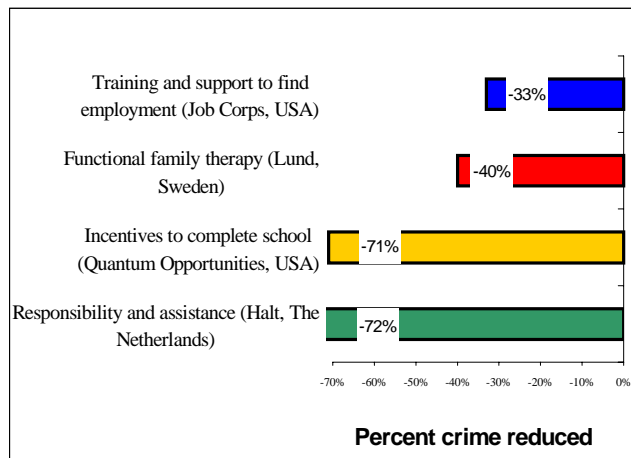
Increasing knowledge about prevention

Risk and prevention - people in trouble have multiple problems

We know much more about the actual benefits of tackling community safety than we did in the past. This underlines the importance of *investing* in prevention. There is now accumulating evidence about the *factors* which put *people and areas at risk* of becoming involved in crime and victimization. It is remarkable how similar these seem to be from one country to another (Farrington, 2000). They include such things as poverty and poor environment, poor parenting practices, family conflict and violence, early signs of aggressive behavior, spending too much time with friends and without adult contacts, doing poorly at school or dropping out and truanting, failing to learn good work skills or have employment opportunities, living in poor areas without services and facilities and having access to drugs. All these factors place children at risk and affect their development from birth to adulthood.

Early intervention is effective

There has been accumulating evidence of the *effectiveness* of intervention, particularly in deprived areas, and with families and children most at risk (Sherman, et al., 1997; ICPC, 1999a). These include projects providing pre-school home visits and training to give children a “head start” in school. They have shown impressive long-term reductions in delinquency, less school drop-out, and improved quality of life for children and parents. Parent training and family therapy projects designed to strengthen parent’s child-rearing capacities have similarly shown both short- and long-term benefits.



PREVENTION PROGRAMS TARGETING RISK FACTORS FOR YOUTH 12-18 SHOWING REDUCTIONS IN DELINQUENCY

Other research has demonstrated that widespread intervention programs in schools can help reduce bullying behavior, improve school climate and academic performance, as well as reduce school disruption and drop out. Programs targeting at-risk youth - those who have dropped out of school, or been excluded - have shown that work skills, job-training and mentoring can all help to re-integrate them into their communities.

Broken windows and brown fields

Many countries have demonstrated that changing the environment and situations which encourage crime is effective. Cleaning up run-down areas and streets, changing the architecture and design of buildings or

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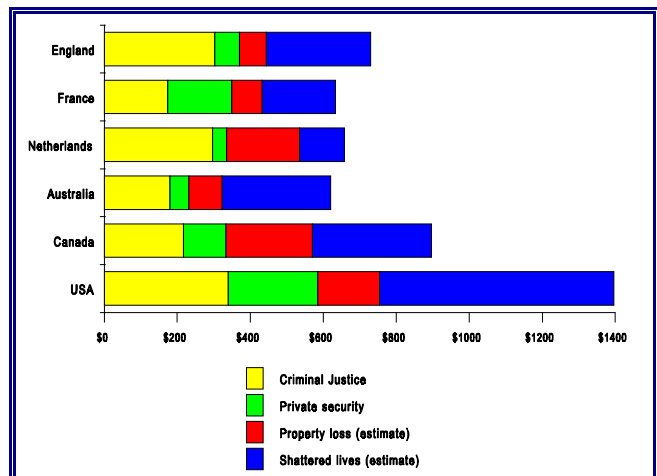
public spaces, better lighting and surveillance, all reducing the opportunities for crime. Many studies have demonstrated reductions in household burglary, car theft, graffiti or vandalism. Household burglary has been reduced by as much as 70-75% by “cocoon” neighborhood watch and improved security and property marking in the Netherlands and England and Wales for example. Vandalism and disorder have been reduced by increasing surveillance on public transport, the use of closed circuit television, or requiring bar owners to change their serving practices. Other projects have targeted the facilitators of crime, drugs, gangs and guns. Much of this work has been initiated by the police in coalition with local mayors, agencies and community members.

What is important is that all this experience demonstrates that approaches which are carefully planned and build on past knowledge *do* reduce crime and reduce risk factors. They improve the lives of those involved, and they show that crime prevention approaches are neither “hard” nor “soft” - but alternative ways of effectively dealing with crime and victimization. They demonstrate that the most effective intervention projects are those which *cut across* the agencies and institutions found at the local government level: community organizations, family, police, school, labor, social services, youth, housing and justice systems.

Costly examples

Dealing with the impact of crime is very costly: money spent on more police, courts and prisons needs to be set against the long-term results. While people may feel that “something” is being done when tough measures are taken against crime, this does not deal with the long-term consequences for families, nor help to prevent future delinquency. Children growing up in poverty, lacking services and supports, are vulnerable to long-term involvement in drug use and crime. Most prisoners will eventually be released from prison, but generations of children may have been raised without close parental care.

There are considerable differences in the *costs and benefits* of action to prevent crime, compared with action after it takes place.⁹ Preventive action can be up to ten times more cost-effective than traditional control measures such as incarceration. Money invested in crime prevention can also bring other benefits such as improved education, work skills and health, or greater productivity, apart from those associated with crime and victimization.



Good governance

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The social and economic consequences of crime are enormous. Apart from the immediate costs to society and to victims, there has been a huge growth in expenditure on policing, the courts, prisons and private security. Crime also causes serious problems for local government when towns or city centers decay as residents, businesses and jobs move away, reducing the tax base. Crime has traditionally been seen as the responsibility of police and prosecutors. It is to them that mayors and the public have usually turned. Yet in spite of increased expenditures, they have not been able to contain the huge increases in crime over the past forty years. *Fear of crime and violence* has led to an increasing resort to fortifying places, excluding individuals, using tougher criminal justice. This does not deal with the long-term problems of the excluded. It does not deal with the spread of crime and insecurity to smaller cities and to rural areas which is now happening in the US. There has been a loss of confidence in criminal justice systems in many countries, and public concern remains high. What is needed is an approach which balances good policing and justice with well planned prevention.

Local leaders are acutely aware of the many costs of crime to the community and the need to reduce or prevent it. Outlays for local law enforcement and other criminal justice elements skyrocket; locally supported hospitals, social services, and schools suffer as they absorb the costs of crime and its effects on victims.

Creating a Blueprint for Community Safety (1998).

Public opinion shows consistent support for prevention. In a 1994 survey, 61% of Canadians felt government resources should be spent on prevention, rather than criminal justice. In the US, 54% felt increased spending on social and economic problems, rather than police or prisons, was a more effective response to crime.

A *National League of Cities* survey found that two-thirds (64%) of mayors saw strengthening and supporting families as the most effective approach to crime reduction, and 49% jobs and economic development. (*Waller & Welsh, 1999*).

Mayors can't solve everybody's problems... but they can provide the leadership

If we are to have an impact on current crime problems and avoid even greater problems in the future, there has to be a *major shift* in how we think and act. Seeing community safety as a basic human right, as an aspect of the quality of life - as good governance - implies that local government leaders have the primary responsibility for fostering safe and healthy communities. These are no longer issues to be left to the police alone, and local governments are *strategically* placed to bring together all the actors.

Section II The Emergence of Community Safety

How are local authorities in other countries tackling these problems?

In recent years, in an increasing number of countries around the world, crime prevention projects have reduced the opportunities and increased the risks of committing crime - by changing policing practices or the city environment. Some countries have focused on renewing poor neighborhoods, and strengthening the ability of residents to integrate into society better. In both cases there has been an emergence of community-based strategies and expertise, bringing together *local partnerships* of actors - with local authorities playing a key role.¹⁰ There has been a shift from the narrower notion of crime prevention - something the police do - to the broader idea of community safety - which is a community responsibility.

Focus on the city

Since the 1980's city leaders have begun to take on a leadership role in prevention. In France, for example, the *Mayors Commission on Security* (Bonnemaison, 1982) led to the creation in 1982 of a system of city contracts with mayors which enabled them to create local crime prevention councils. Under the leadership of their mayors these councils brought together a range of local people and agencies to develop prevention projects in their communities throughout France.¹¹ The *European Forum For Urban Safety* (EFUS) was set up in 1987 linking mayors across Europe to develop community safety through strong city partnerships, and now includes over 100 local authorities.

A series of international meetings have brought together mayors with police executives, judges, community leaders, policy makers, and crime prevention practitioners and researchers to discuss ways of creating safer communities. These have taken place in Strasbourg (1986), Barcelona (1987), Montreal (1989), Paris (1991) and Vancouver (1996). The US Conference of Mayors, and the National League of Cities took part in the first *European and North American Conference on Urban Safety and Crime Prevention* in Montreal in 1989. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities and the European Forum on Urban Safety were also represented, and the conference set out an "Agenda for Safer Cities". These organizations also took part in a follow-up conference in Paris (1991) which brought together 1600 people from 65 countries who set out "Seven Steps to Make World Communities Safer".¹²

Developing and transitional countries

In developing countries and those in transition to development, attempts to develop city-based crime-prevention strategies have also been made.¹³ A Latin American Forum on urban safety was held in Cordoba in 1998. In Africa, an *International Forum of Mayors for Safer Cities* was held in Johannesburg in 1998, and brought together nearly 60 mayors from across the continent.¹⁴ A *Safer Cities Program* was also launched in 1996 with pilot projects in Johannesburg, Durban, Dar-es-Salaam and Abidjan.¹⁵

Cities that are safe for all people will, in turn, make the whole world a safer place for fear of crime and violence imprisons people in their homes and makes the realization of all other human rights more difficult to achieve... Prevention strategies addressing the root causes of urban crime hold considerable promise.
Kofi Annan, Secretary General, UN (1998)

South Africa has placed a strong emphasis on

community-based solutions and local autonomy. Its manual for local community-based crime prevention, *Making South Africa Safe* (1999) lays out a clear framework for developing and implementing local strategies.

Recent European initiatives

Currently, in over 20 countries *local* authorities and communities are developing community-based policies and programs with the support of permanent national government bodies which promote community safety.

In *England and Wales* local governments have been mobilized by two major initiatives which began in 1998. Under the *Crime and Disorder Act* (1998), each local authority and its police force must establish a multi-agency *Community Safety Partnership*. These are to include health, probation and other authorities, as well as youth representatives. In three-year cycles these partnerships will conduct local safety audits¹⁶, set priorities for action and develop and initiate strategic plans.

Community Safety Partnerships will:

- conduct and publish local safety audits of crime, victimization and disorder problems, in consultation with local residents
- set priorities for action
- develop and initiate strategic plans to deal with those priorities with clear objectives and targets

This recognizes that crime prevention *partnerships* are likely to be more effective than single agencies (such as the police or a school) working alone, and that *targeted* strategies, using rigorous analysis, monitoring and evaluation produce results.

Kingsmead Estate, Hackney UK

Starting with civil injunctions to stop gangs and criminal intimidation, this local council, tenants and police partnership has moved on to community development eg., renovating properties and starting drop-in centers and activities for young people...

Burglaries fell from 340 in 1992 to 50 in 1993 and residents have gained confidence...

Reducing Neighbourhood Crime (1998)

These community safety partnerships are part of the new *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*. Since 1998, the *Social Exclusion Unit* has produced a series of 18 *Policy Action Team* reports as part of this strategy. They outline ways in which its four targets: less long-term worklessness, less crime, better health, and better qualifications can be reached.¹⁷

Local governments can apply for some of the \$415million in funding for developing crime reduction strategies targeted to high-risk crime areas and families. In addition, 10% of this money is to be spent on evaluating these programs to ensure that short- and long-term benefits as well as their costs and benefits can be assessed. Overall, there is a major emphasis on what is called "joined-up thinking" - trying to work *across* authority and agency boundaries, at the local as well as the regional and national level (*Joining It Up Locally*, 1999).

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In *France*, local community crime prevention partnerships have now been in existence for over 15 years. In 1997 they were re-named *local security contracts* (CLS), and try to balance social development with safety and security. They are based on the notion that security = prevention + sanction + re-integration. Prevention and re-integration are seen as the responsibility of everyone in the community. The contracts require local partnerships to foster access to justice and victim assistance, to create new youth jobs and training, as well and take action to prevent delinquency through youth employment, parent support, and sport and culture programs which meet local needs.

Hanko, Finland : In 1991 this small city of 11,000 changed its child welfare policies away from institutional care; implemented a nightlife street patrol program to increase informal social control; and developed employment and apprenticeship programs to reduce truancy, substance abuse, crime and anti-social behavior.

There was a 41% reduction in property crimes by juveniles, and a 50% reduction in welfare costs between 1991-1993.

100 Crime Prevention Programs (ICPC, 1999b: 86)

Many of the new jobs - as social mediation agents and local security assistants - will be filled by youth from disadvantaged areas where levels of unemployment are high.¹⁸ The local security contracts are *embedded* within the larger city contracts concerned with overall social and economic renewal and development

Local Security Contracts

Some 378 city contracts have been signed with mayors, and 720 local security contracts will be completed covering most large urban areas in France. Job creation will include the appointment of 20,000 "social mediation agents" to work on prevention and security issues at the local level, and 15,000 local security assistant jobs attached to the police.

Belgium has adopted the French system of funding city contracts. Over 30 municipal crime prevention councils have signed contracts in the past six years, as well as the five major cities, and the seven districts of Brussels. The councils are usually required to appoint a *responsible officer* to administer and develop their work to meet local needs.

The Netherlands developed a *Major Cities Policy* in 1996 to respond to the crisis in its cities. This focuses on the concentration of unemployment, family breakdown, run-down streets and public spaces, drug addiction and crime. Agreements have been reached between local government leaders in the four major cities and 21 medium-sized cities, and with national government ministries. These provide funds to allow for the development of strategies and programs targeting those issues.

The *Stadswacht* or city guards program in Dordrecht, Holland recruits and trains the long-term unemployed to work as uniformed civilian police. They provide information for the police and municipality on crime and disorder problems and solutions, as well as helping tourists...

There has been a 17% reduction in crime in the areas they patrol since they were introduced.

100 Crime Prevention Programs (ICPC, 1999b: 66)

In 1999 the *Integral Programme on Safety and Security* was launched to target youth crime and safety, drug-related nuisance, street violence, safe residential environments, robberies and muggings, vehicle-

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related crime and traffic safety. The emphasis is on working jointly across ministries at the municipal level and with community and business groups. Current projects target at-risk children and youths, particularly ethnic minorities, by providing “healthy start” programs and those which aim to reduce school drop out and unemployment.

Australasia and Canada

In *New Zealand* sixty two local authorities have signed contracts to set up *Safer Community Councils*, modeled on the French contract system. They aim to enhance the ability of local communities to prevent crime and deal with local crime-related problems, and seem to be having some success (Hamilton, 1999). Cities and shires across the provinces of Victoria, South Australia and Queensland in *Australia* have also been developing safer city strategies and aids to local governments and their partners since the mid- 1990's (ICPC, 1999b; White, 1998).

In *Canada* the *Federation of Canadian Municipalities*, and local authorities in cities such as Montreal, Toronto or Kitchener have been active in developing community safety plans. The federal government through its National Crime Prevention Centre has recently put \$27million (Canadian) into three major funding programs: a community mobilization program; a crime prevention investment fund, and a crime prevention partnership program. These are intended to stimulate locally-based community crime prevention which focus on social development, as well as develop tools and knowledge about partnership development, needs assessment, plan development, best practices, implementation, effective intervention, and evaluation.

In 1990 an escalating illicit drug trade and a high crime rate in the Little Burgundy area of Montreal, led to the creation of the a neighborhood coalition with municipal departments, residents and the police. They developed a new sports complex, better libraries, transport, lighting and security, encouraged job creation and provided better social assistance services. They developed a community newspaper and an annual residents festival. There was a 46% reduction in reported crime after the first three years, and in the drug trade.

100 Crime Prevention Programs (ICPC, 1999b: 46)

Recent developments in the US

In the US, city mayors and local authorities have begun to play a much more active role in community safety over the past ten years. The increase and spread of crime, victimization and violence in the late 1980's and early 1990's associated with the epidemic of crack cocaine, youth violence and homicides, and rapidly increasing prison populations have all helped to spur a search for new approaches. Apart from their involvement at international conferences, the *US Conference of Mayors* (USCM) and the *National League of Cities* (NLC) have undertaken surveys and developed working groups on aspects of crime prevention including issues such as drugs and youth.

MUSCLE and T-CAP: Combining municipal and grassroots energies

In 1991 the severity and increase in crime problems led eight Texas mayors to form MUSCLE - *Mayors United on Safety, Crime and Law Enforcement*.¹⁹ Their eight cities were home to 35% of the population,

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but 60% of violent crimes across the state. They developed not only legislative proposals, but a major crime prevention initiative (NCPC, 1994). The *Texas City Action Plan to Prevent Crime* or T-CAP included seven of the cities. They felt that developing their programs simultaneously would enable them to benefit from each others' experience.²⁰

The federal government funded the National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC) to act as a facilitator. This included hiring a state coordinator, developing a planning prototype, staff training, and developing local material, manuals and communication to assist in the implementation of community-based plans. Each city established a *coalition* of municipal agencies and community leaders from across their communities under the mayor's leadership; a *needs assessment*; set up task forces of residents and experts to deal with specific issues; and developed an implementation plan which was *city-wide*, not limited to one area or project, or to one type of need.

T-CAP was able to:

- create a road map to reach goals
- focus effort where action was needed and productive
- avoid the "business as usual" trap
- maximize use of existing resources
- tailor its product to local needs
- build new commitments, partnerships & resources
- reflect and incorporate changes in the real world outside the planning room
- deal more effectively with contingencies and emergencies.

NCPC (1994: 4)

The plans were very diverse, reflecting local interests and issues. They ranged from setting up a youth sports network and organizations to help poor neighborhoods, to school curriculum changes and crime prevention resource centers. The result was that "the role and value of crime prevention grew, along with people's capacity for action" (NCPC, 1994: 4). T-CAP was able to show that cities *already have* a great deal of existing knowledge. Municipal agencies such as parks departments, sanitation, traffic, youth services, health and education all collate information which, if put together, can provide a rich picture of how problems of violence and crime are linked together with other social issues, and how intervention might work. The costs of the program were also relatively modest, with \$450,000 in federal funding, and \$5-10,000 from participating cities, as well as *in kind* support.

Comprehensive Community Programs

In the 1990's a number of major federal funding initiatives have facilitated local community-based crime prevention action which responds to local needs. They recognize that fragmented services waste resources, and that it is better to work collectively rather than in isolation. These initiatives have become increasingly comprehensive and include *Operation Weed and Seed*, *Pulling Americas Communities Together* (PACT), and *Comprehensive Community Programs* (CCP).²¹ They have three major differences from earlier funding approaches:

- they fund *comprehensive* rather than single issue or service programs
- they target some of the *key situational, social and economic factors* associated with crime using multi-disciplinary approaches
- they combine *grassroots* and local initiatives and controls, with funding and support from higher levels of government, rather than a "top down" approach (Kelling et al., 1998).

The *Comprehensive Communities Program* (CCP) was launched in 1994 by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) to integrate law enforcement with social programs, and empowers local leaders to control the allocation of funds.

Sixteen CCP sites have been funded.²² They required communities to take the initiative in developing partnerships, to have an existing local coordinating structure and develop community policing. In many cases CCP cities and communities have built on their earlier experiences of local coalitions developed under T-CAP or Weed and Seed funding. The expansion of community policing as a requirement is seen to have helped community strategies. They have learnt by their mistakes and successes. Self-evaluation and accountability has usually been built into the contracts.

A few signs that CCP is working:

In *Baltimore*, trash has been removed, crack houses have been shut down, and properties have been put into receivership to be managed on behalf of neighborhoods. Associations have been formed to help renters buy homes... that were formerly abandoned.

In *Columbia*, police can now park both their personal and police cars in public housing developments without fear of vandalism, and pizza is again being delivered to residents.

In *East Boston*, the head of a local business association is asking merchants to remove the metal shields over their doorways and windows.

In *Salt Lake City* and *Fort Worth*, residents are asking for a say in local government and an opportunity to voice their opinions about local problems.

Kelling et al., 1998

Examples of the successes of some of these programs are highlighted in *Six Safer Cities* which outlines their main strategies and programs (NCPC, 1999a). The six cities: Boston, Denver, Fort Worth, Hartford, New York City and San Diego have all achieved substantial reductions in crime which are greater than the national decline in the 1990's. The shrinking of the youth population responsible for much crime, changes in the drug market, improved economic stability and youth employment, have probably all contributed to the decline in recorded crime, along with the multi-agency and local community-based initiatives. In Boston, Fort Worth and New York City the police took the lead in initiating their project. In Denver, Hartford, San Diego it was the mayor and city council who took on the leadership role. In all cases they worked with multi-agency and community coalitions to develop locally tailored programs. They have also shown benefits in terms of community health which go well beyond reductions in crime - measuring success in terms of what matters most to local citizens (NCPC, 1999a).

Small Cities Initiative

A number of small towns and rural municipalities have also been developing comprehensive programs. Around 70% of Americans live in towns and cities of between 25,000 and 50,000 people. The *Small Cities Initiative* was developed by the NCPC in 1997 bringing together seven cities, with federal, state and local funding.²³ There are now 11 cities in the initiative supported by the technical assistance of the NCPC, developing strategies which utilize and work to preserve their close networks and resources.

Summing it up

Looking at the involvement of local authorities across a number of countries in Europe, North America and Africa and Australasia - in large metropolitan areas as well as smaller cities and rural areas - it is clear

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that there have been a number of important trends:

- there has been a shift from a relatively narrow focus on crime prevention to the broader issue of *community safety and security* as a public good
- a developing consensus about the need to work for community safety by tackling the *social and economic conditions* which foster crime and victimization
- from seeing the primary responsibility as that of the police, to recognizing that *governments, communities and partnerships* at all levels need to be actively engaged
- a recognition of the crucial role which *local municipal leaders* play in this process through organizing and motivating coalitions of local partners to create healthy and safe communities.
- there is also increasing evidence that intervention targeting risk factors can be *effective* in reducing crime and other social problems, and
- that intervention can be *cost effective* compared with criminal justice solutions.

What has emerged in recent years is what can be described as an *understanding* of, and a *strategy* for, tackling community safety, which local governments can use. This is outlined in the next section.

Section III A Framework for Community Safety

A strategy for analyzing problems and mobilizing energy and resources

This section outlines the major elements of the framework for fostering community safety which are now being used by local governments in many countries. The approach includes:

- recognizing community safety as a right and an issue of the quality of life in healthy communities
- working across jurisdictional boundaries horizontally as well as vertically
- the crucial role of political leadership
- adapting strategies to local needs on the basis of good analysis and targeted plans
- building capacity
- tools and tool boxes

Safe and healthy communities

Community safety - like health - is a central aspect of the quality of life of citizens, and one they are entitled to. Protecting communities from crime, or re-establishing levels of safety can be tackled in the same way as public health issues. A preventive public health approach, such as that used to reduce the incidence of heart disease, involves looking for the factors which increase the risks of its development. By looking at the patterns of economic and social problems in a neighborhood or community, and of crime, disorder and victimization, it becomes easier to see how and where to intervene. In the US, *The Center for Disease Control and Prevention* has been active in demonstrating how crime and violence can be seen as health problems; the *Communities That Care* program pioneered in Seattle is a good example.

Similar programs are now being developed in the UK (Nuttall et al., 1998) Scotland and the Netherlands (Junger-Tas, 1997) as well as other states in the US.

This type of approach encourages broader responses for victims too. Recognition of the long-term impact of crime on victims' health has resulted in programs which provide on-going community assistance beyond immediate victim support. An example is the Boston partnership to support youth victims of crime and to prevent re-injury, since it is now well known that the risk of re-victimization is high once someone has been victimized (see box below). In London, England the local health service is now developing a health strategy which recognizes the links between crime, disorder and victimization and health, and thus the need to take a much broader view of prevention (Crime Concern, 1999).

Communities That Care in Seattle, Washington uses a public health approach. Its main goals are to reduce delinquency and drug use by combining knowledge about risk and protective factors and effective interventions, with carefully planned community mobilization. A community board of key local leaders, residents and agencies undertake an assessment of the main risk and protective factors and develop a strategy for intervention.
(Wong et al., 1996)

Horizontal and vertical thinking

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A second major theme is the development of collaborative *partnerships* which “think outside the box”. Working across boundaries is important for two major reasons. Isolated projects are unlikely to be effective in dealing with the multiple problems facing families living in deprived and high crime areas. In their review of what works in preventing crime, for example, Sherman and his colleagues (1997) concluded that effective crime prevention in high-violence neighborhoods requires intervention in *many local institutions* at the same time. This applies to small town settings too.

Boston Youth Services Provider Network now operates in 4 out of 11 police districts and has partnered with BostonCares for Injured Youth, and the hospital emergency surveillance system. They identify youth who have been injured intentionally. Such youths have a 1 in 25 risk of re-injury. BostonCares provide community-based after care to help them deal with their injury and reduce the risk of re-injury.
CCP Bulletin, March 1999.

Secondly, in many countries there has been frustration with years of funding, or project development, which does not have long-term or measurable impacts. Effective local government action requires all the municipal services to work together, rather than in isolation. It requires support from higher levels of government and links between national, state, region or province. This has been a major motivation for the policies initiated in England and Wales which stress the importance of working across jurisdictions and developing “joined-up thinking”, and has always been characteristic of the approach in France.

Perhaps the most fundamental difficulty we encounter when we attempt to develop initiatives to tackle social exclusion is the patchwork of funding resources....
Young People. Policy Action Team 12 (1999)

Political leadership - the role of the champion - everyone knows who the mayor is

The third theme relates to experience from many countries which has shown that there needs to be real *commitment and leadership* from someone at a high level who takes *responsibility* for putting the issues of community safety on the policy agenda.

This has often been the mayor, a Chief Executive of a local authority, a Chief of Police or another key person at the local government level. In some cases a specific body or community safety officer is appointed and given the responsibility of animating and developing partnerships and plans. It is clear that local governments, whether mayors in big or small cities, local boroughs or municipalities are best placed to give citizens a *say* and a *role* in the development of their neighborhoods, and they can play a number of major roles:

A 1996 study by the *National League of Cities* showed that local elected officials and administrators are leaders in four ways:

- they model and set the tone for public discourse and problem solving
- they use the power of their office to convey messages to their community
- they help shape the processes and programs
- they use team building skills to build trust and communication and resolve conflicts

- *preventive* in terms of educating the population and the media

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- *promotional* in terms of encouraging the development of community safety
- *active* in terms of providing aid to victims, facilitating mediation and resolution of local disputes and conflicts
- knowledge *development and planning*
- articulating the internal and external requirements and constraints
- putting in place a *permanent local structure* with local coordination and the necessary resources

What brings communities together?

The NCPC asked a range of local government-community coalitions what had motivated them to work together. The answers show that it varies considerably, depending on local circumstances and events. There may have been one or more of six different factors which acted as a catalyst or triggered action (*Creating a Blueprint for Community Safety*, 1998: 13):

- a pending crisis and a sense that the situation would worsen without immediate action
- community pressure arising from a catalyzing event or tragedy
- success of an existing or related single issue initiative
- support from outside
- realization that single-focus interventions cannot deal with complex issues
- desire to sustain safe neighborhoods and avert a crisis.

Adapting strategies to local needs on the basis of good analysis

The fourth theme to emerge has been the importance of thorough and careful analysis of local problems. This includes melding knowledge about the factors which place people and places most at risk, and effective intervention strategies for reducing those risks, with rigorous analysis of local problems.

A careful analysis of local problems - sometimes called a *safety audit* or a *security diagnosis* - requires the collection of detailed information about crime, victimization, disorder and fear of crime in a neighborhood or across a whole municipality or city (where, when, who).

This can include police statistics, census data, as well as the results of local surveys of residents, businesses, schools, transport officials, hospitals. But the analysis needs to go further by looking at the links to a range of other problems such as housing, jobs and unemployment, school drop out, youth facilities and other existing community resources. A good security diagnosis can take between six months and one year to complete. This careful analysis allows for the development of targeted strategies and plans. Once projects have begun, they need to continuously monitored and evaluated to see if they are working as planned, or need to be modified.

The more focused the strategy, the more successful it is likely to be. This means, for example, allocating resources to:

Neighbourhood management projects are most likely to be successful if they adhere to the following five principles:

- someone with overall responsibility at the neighborhood level
- community involvement and leadership
- the tools to get things done
- a systematic, planned approach to tackling local problems
- effective delivery mechanisms

Neighbourhood Management. Policy Action Team 4 (2000)

- the most deprived areas
- areas where most crime occurs or hot spots
- places already victimized
- families most at risk
- individuals most at risk
- individuals who have been victimized

There may be differences in the types of approaches which can be used in small cities and rural areas compared with large urban areas.

The importance of capacity building

Developing *partnerships*, getting *funding* or *local security contracts*, conducting a *security diagnosis* or *safety audit*, developing an *action plan*, *implementing* and *evaluating*, and *sustaining* the plan are not simple tasks. They require expertise, information and approaches which may be very different from traditional ways of working.

Capacity building includes the development of the skills, practical knowledge, experience and tools required to undertake effective community-based action. Many countries now recognize the importance of capacity building. A growing range of training programs for community safety personnel, on monitoring and evaluating, training on special issues (eg., drugs, domestic violence, mental health) and the provision of on-going technical assistance, advice and support is now being developed.

In European countries training is being provided by organizations such as the *European Forum for Urban Safety*, *Crime Concern* and the London Borough of Brent in England and Wales, and *Copping On* in Ireland. This includes training for specific interventions such as mentoring or working with at-risk youth, or to provide governments and community safety partnerships with a range of skills. In England and Wales, local governments also have national guidelines eg., on setting up partnerships, developing safety audits and evaluating the outcome of programs.

Copping On is a small center in Ireland which provides locally-based training for people working with early school-leavers and young people at risk. This includes a residential program and resource pack and follow-up support.

In the US, the CCP's have been provided with technical assistance, as well as budget and program guidelines by the federal funders (BJA). The National Funding Collaborative on Violence Prevention (NFCVP) and the NCPC already provide training for collaboratives and local authority community safety initiatives. The NCPC is also developing a curriculum training program with Kansas University for use over the web.

The press and the media

Building capacity to develop public awareness of community-based prevention, and to utilize the media appropriately is another important area. This includes showing the benefits and successes from well-planned strategies, telling stories about how problems have been reduced or solved. Mayors, and councillors, local agency staff, the police, community safety professionals, community members, researchers and evaluators all need training and clear policies, to develop their ability to communicate with

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the media. It is important to present initiatives as a *citizen* project to help to ensure community ownership. It is important to be able to get information across quickly - in sound bites!

Local security contracts and funding

Community projects cost money for start-up, pilot projects, and implementation, as well as needing long-term funding. Resources are needed to *sustain* action at the local level; to *demonstrate* the effectiveness and efficiency of projects; and to *disseminate* information and best practices through transfer and training.

One of the major ways has been through the development of local security or community safety contracts which allow local partnerships to develop and tailor plans to their own needs. In many cases there are requirements that projects are monitored and evaluated.

Apart from specific grants and contracts from state or national organizations, pooling existing funding across local government agencies, with schools, community organizations, private foundations and businesses are all ways in which initiatives can be funded. The NFCVP pools resources from public and private sources to help local community coalitions develop programs to reduce violence.

Quality of Life and Social Safety: Ghent, Belgium

In 1997 a Safety Contract enabled a high-rise “problem-estate” to improve its physical conditions and quality of life, reduce drug dealing, car theft and burglaries, and escape from its “problem” image. Over 300 residents, local government and the police developed and carried out the plan.

European Crime Prevention Awards 1999

Tool boxes and tools

Tools are needed to *identify trends* in crime and insecurity, their location and geography, and the associated social and economic problems; to *target risk factors* underlying those problems; to *evaluate* the process and impact of programs.

Manuals and guides

A great deal of information on community-based strategy development is now accessible in many countries, based on experience gained over the past ten or more years. Compendiums of best practice programs, guides and “how-to” manuals, summaries of evaluated research, detailed “blueprints” or guides to setting up a range of tested, effective programs in communities are now available (see Sources and resources). US examples include: *Innovative State and Local Programs* (BJA 1997); *Creating a Blueprint for Community Safety* (NCPC, 1998a); *Standing in the Gap* (NCPC, 1999b); *Blueprints for Violence Prevention* (CSPV, 1997); *150 Tested Strategies to Prevent Crime from Small Cities, Counties, and Rural Communities* (NCPC, 2000).²⁴

Collecting local information - observatories and crime mapping

One of the major requirements for working collectively at the neighborhood level, and in partnerships, is information. A safety diagnosis requires good information about the range of social, economic, health, environmental problems apart from information on crime and disorder from police records or local residents and organizations. One solution in Europe has been the creation of *observatories*. These are permanent centers set up in communities or cities which collate information on a range of social, economic, health indicators, including criminal justice measures. Their effectiveness depends on the

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quality of the data, the diversity of sources and their accuracy, as well as good qualitative observations.

In France, Eurolille set up its Observatory in 1995 to collect information about the frequency and location of crime, mental health problems etc., on the capacity of neighborhoods to respond to problems, their strengths and weaknesses. It surveyed residents, disadvantaged groups and young people to assess their views on problems and solutions.

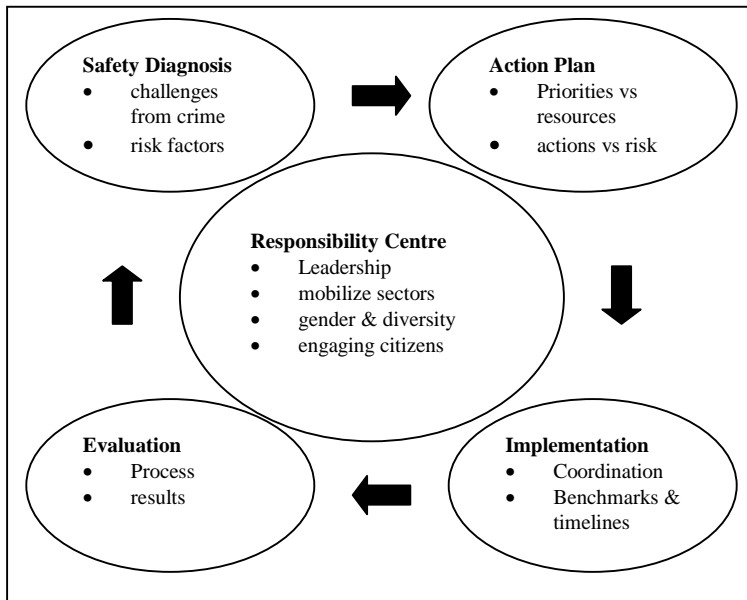
Other tools which can be used include *crime mapping* involving systematically collecting and assessing the location and development of specific problems in neighborhoods. Other recent initiatives in the US include *Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiatives* (SACSI) and *Addict Drug Monitoring Indicator* (ADAM).

Euralille is a new neighborhood in the city of Lille, France built in 1990 with large residential, shopping, entertainment and commercial sectors and a rapid transport system. It established its Social Observatory in 1995 to collate information as a basis for developing a joint action plan, and neighborhood safety policy. Businesses were required to contribute resources to the process. The overall purpose is to develop a healthy social climate in Eurolille, reduce crises and encourage interaction between institutions, agencies and individuals. (EFUS, 1996)

Benchmarking is another tool used to compare practices and performance between different service providers, to identify good practices, to foster collaboration between providers, or to establish a basis for subsequent evaluation of programs. By using standardized procedures and measures, comparisons to be made between them.

The basic elements of the local authority approach to community safety

Thus the basis elements of a local government approach to community safety include the following:



- *identification and mobilization* of key partners led by local city authorities and involving local agencies, community organizations, police and justice systems, and the private sector
- a rigorous assessment or *security diagnosis* of local problems of urban safety and victimization to set out policies and priorities based on partnership consensus
- development of *local action plans* which addresses the causes of crime and victimization, not just its symptoms
- implementation and evaluation of *long- and short-term prevention projects* which target,

- social exclusion and urban poverty, specific crimes and specific geographical areas
- this is a *long-term process*, and requires education that prevention is a *normal* part of local community activity and local governance.

The range of agencies, organizations and individuals who should be involved is very extensive, offering considerable flexibility and opportunities. A list of potential partners for developing a comprehensive plan, developed by the NCPC, is shown in the adjacent box.

Who should be involved?

- **Local government leadership**
- law enforcement & criminal justice
- human & social service agencies
- neighborhood, civic associations, clubs
- youth/seniors: individuals & groups
- health, safety codes, quality of life agencies
- schools: universities, school board, principals, PTA
- cultural & ethnic populations
- business owners & organizations
- faith community leaders
- locally-based media
- foundation & other non-profit groups
- public housing residents associations & management
- military: active and reserve

NCPC Planning Brings Results (1998)

Section IV Limitations, Lessons and Conclusions

The final section of this monograph provides some examples of the ways in which different cities and local governments around the world have applied the strategic approach which has been outlined. This section is concerned with some of the limitations and lessons which have been learned from past experience in developing community safety initiatives, and of working in local partnerships. A great deal can be learnt from program failure (R. Sarre, 1991). Some of the most important lessons in developing partnerships, undertaking safety audits, or developing strategies and programs, come from learning what can go wrong, what proved difficult, as well as what went right. There can also be unintended consequences and side-effects.

We should stop thinking about communities as homogenous neighbourhoods and start recognizing them as comprised of interest groups that are often in conflict.
(*Shearing quoted in van Zyl Smit 1999*).

One of the continuing discussions over the past years has been what we mean when we talk about a “community” and whether local authorities are able to really work with all members of a neighborhood.

- some people have argued that conflict can in fact be constructive, and that conflicts need to be talked through not smoothed over
- it is easier to work with established members, less easy to include marginal groups
- communities which are weakest will need the most help and support
- cities and local authorities must be willing to share the blame and the credit

Having the tools for promoting community safety is not enough. A clear understanding of the underlying problems is essential. It is important to resist focusing just on the *symptoms* of crime and disorder in a community, or on visible crime in public places, or reported crime. Minority groups, for example, may be wary of reporting harassment or crime. Recognizing the long-term nature of community change, and working on the *process* itself (how to analyze, target, design, adapt, implement, evaluate, and modify initiatives) may be more important than focusing on “projects”, current fads, or going for quick results.

Partnership problems and information-sharing

Developing partnerships is not an easy task. This includes:

- getting agencies to work together and share information
- ensuring that some agencies, such as the police, do not dominate
- ensuring that community partnerships represent the interests of minority groups as well as the majority
- ensuring that women as well as men have an equal voice
- balancing confidentiality issues with information-sharing to get action
- retaining momentum and sustaining initiatives

Three examples of these kinds of difficulties are given below.

Differences in styles.

Experience of developing *Community Action Teams* (CATs) in *Salt Lake City* has shown that there can be a number of problems to overcome (Rosenbaum, 1999). Tensions can arise between city departments with different management styles. An open management style of the Mayor's office, encouraging brainstorming, cooperative problem-solving and risk-taking was in conflict with a traditional hierarchical and bureaucratic style of the City Police Department. This led to the isolation of police officers on CATs from their police colleagues. The situation was resolved by organizational and communication changes by the police. Some local CAT teams tended to identify more with their community than the city, and the initial management of the teams was not clearly thought through. Community residents were not regular members of the CATs because of the confidentiality of information being shared, which often related to individual cases. Some CAT members, such as community prosecutors, attended irregularly initially, because their own caseloads were too heavy.

Voluntary groups and multi-agency work

Multi-agency local partnerships to reduce domestic violence have been encouraged in countries such as Britain, Australia, South Africa and in North America over the past ten years. Experience suggests that while they have many benefits, there can be difficulties (Hague, 1999). Voluntary groups tend to be under-represented in such partnerships, while the statutory groups tend to "take over". Partnerships can pose problems for grass-roots women's organizations who want to retain their independence as providers of services to women. Small minority groups (eg., ethnic groups) can be marginalized by local partnerships, and diversity is often not reflected in their membership. Women who have experienced domestic violence, their needs and views, are often left out. Long established organizations providing services to women can be ignored in the rush to develop "new" initiatives.

We believe that the road to successful implementation lies not in running away from the concept of "community" but in embracing it, studying it, understanding it, and responding to it appropriately.

Rosenbaum et al The Prevention of Crime: Social and Situational Strategies (1998)

Changing leaders

Sustaining initiatives is difficult when mayors or police chiefs are replaced, when funding runs out or other priorities dominate. A change of leadership may mean that there is less investment in plans. In Toronto, for example, a new mayor was elected as the task force on community safety submitted its plan, and there is now a new police chief. Responsibility for implementing the plan was not given to the office of the Chief Administrator as recommended, but moved to a different section as part of the city reorganization, one with a number of other functions. Over time, staff and personnel have changed so that there is a loss of "institutional memory". This means that it will be more difficult for the implementers to generate and sustain the energy, time and resources needed. One of the lessons learned from many initiatives is that not only do they need to have a "champion", community members need to feel they "own part of the process" if the momentum is to be maintained and initiatives sustained over time, and as elected officials or leaders move on.

Evaluation and funding issues

Projects can be evaluated at different stages: in terms of whether they meet the immediate goals they set out to achieve; whether they have short-term effects on crime and other measures, such as reducing truancy or improving employment skills; whether they have long-term effects on a range of factors such as education levels and health, apart from reducing crime and victimization; or whether they are cost effective. Some researchers have emphasized the importance of looking at the *process* of program development and implementation, rather than just the outcome in terms of reductions in crime. What were the conditions which helped the program work or fail? It is clear that the more multi-disciplinary and comprehensive a program, the more difficult it is to assess exactly what it was that worked. What seems important is to establish a range of short- and long-term goals and outcomes for projects.

Finding different ways of working to utilize existing funds and resources and bringing together untapped energy is part of the new way of working. Nevertheless, funding is still important. Unfortunately, it is still *categorically* driven in many countries - tied to particular single problems or initiatives. A blended pooling of resources is more valuable for city initiatives, as in the Maryland example, or community contracts, which fund local prevention councils to develop a range of projects which meet their needs. In a number of countries, business partners support and sponsor projects, but follow-on funding is not always easy to obtain on a long-term basis.

Emerging issues

A public health approach to community safety which looks at risk factors is very valuable, but it is also important to look at the *strengths and assets* of individuals and communities, not just on their problems. Other issues which need to be considered included the role of volunteers and faith communities and how they can best be included under local government leadership; the extent to which public groups can intervene in private issues, or private locations; the rights of young people to public space; and the impact of new technologies on communities, such as the use of the Internet to facilitate racism and intolerance.

A range of “new jobs” associated with community safety in European countries - including mediation and security assistants, outreach workers, youth wardens, trained permanent community safety officers, and the increasing interest in mediation and restorative approaches in many countries at the community level are all promising. Communication, especially using the Internet offers many opportunities for exchange of experiences and expertise, training, linking municipalities together.

Centralized states and federal nations

The different approaches to facilitating local government involvement in community safety, which have been illustrated in this monograph, show similarities and pose some questions. It seems clear that local action needs to be supported from above - vertically - as well as horizontally. The Netherlands, Belgium and England and Wales, for example, illustrate very clear leadership at the national level, and linked in to regional and local municipal leadership. While regions or counties adapt and develop community programs to their needs, there are binding requirements attached to funding contracts, and in some cases legislation, which requires them to act in partnerships.

In France, the creation of an Inter-ministerial delegation to the City (DIV) has meant that all the sectors, health, justice, housing, employment work together to develop the economic and social health of cities, rather than acting as independent ministries. The cities themselves are able to define their own alliances in relation to their own needs. This gives them legitimacy, and allows them to negotiate, innovate, and

modify the functions of local agencies, and develop new capacities.

Canada and Australia, both federal countries with national structures are not able to mandate their provinces, territories or states with such ease. Nevertheless, their national crime prevention centers are well placed to offer funding, stimulate best practices and coordinate information to regional and local groups. The US, with a federal structure but strong state autonomy, has arguably less leverage to enforce or legislate. It has, nevertheless, managed to encourage a considerable amount of important locally-based action across communities, enabling mayors, local councillors, city managers and administrators to begin to make links with their regions and states, as well as with federal funders.

Summing it up

The pace of change in cities around the world has increased enormously in the past few years:

- with rapid globalization, urbanization and migration, the health and well-being of citizens are major concerns in developed and developing countries
- poverty and exclusion have increased and are two of the most important problems facing cities and municipalities, and major factors increasing the risks of crime, victimization and insecurity
- in the past decades, while tougher criminal justice responses have been applied in many countries, the problems of community safety have increased and remain a major concern for citizens
- there has been a loss of faith in criminal justice systems
- at the same time there has been a recognition of the importance of prevention and of community safety as a right, and a recognition of the need to revitalize cities and municipalities to deal with the social exclusion of young people and their families.

Since the 1980's, mayors and other local authority leaders have begun to promote community safety. They no longer see crime as primarily the responsibility of the police. They have come to see it as an issue of good governance which requires community partnerships to tailor local solutions to local problems. Accumulating evidence from many countries points to the similarities in the factors which place people and places at risk of crime and victimization, and their close ties to poverty and discrimination. Evidence of the short- and long-term effectiveness of intervention to reduce risks is also accumulating, and has been shown to be cost effective.

The basic elements of the framework outlined: leadership to identify and mobilize key partners; a rigorous safety audit, developing an action plan with short- and long-term goals; implementing, monitoring and evaluating the plan, and exchanging expertise and good practice - provide a method which local authority leaders can use to energize and create new approaches to foster safety in their communities.

Section V How They Did it - Examples from Practice

This section highlights a variety of community safety initiatives developed by local government partnerships in countries around the world. They have been selected to illustrate different aspects of the strategic approach, as well as showing how communities of different sizes have tackled a range of issues. They have not all reached a stage where plans have been completed or outcomes evaluated, but sources and contact points are given for follow-up.

The examples show how large cities developed strategic plans following safety audits and public consultation (Brent and Toronto); neighborhood-based committees and action groups (Salt Lake City and Hartford); urban planning and management strategies for youth and public spaces (Brisbane & Leichhardt); small town initiatives (Freeport); domestic violence strategies (METRAC); state-wide city initiatives targeting hot-spots, and cooperative financing strategies (Maryland); coalitions of local authorities and cities (Big Cities; EURO 2000); and social observatories as tools for strategic local planning (Aix en Provence).²⁵

London Borough of Brent (England): Community Safety and Community Empowerment

Population: 240,000

Lead office: Community Safety and Community Empowerment under Mayor

- Brent is one of 33 London boroughs, each with their own mayor and council.
- It has the highest proportion of Black and ethnic minority citizens in London - 50%.
- It is the most culturally and racially diverse of all local authorities in England and Wales.
- It includes areas of considerable wealth and extreme poverty.
- The average unemployment rate is 13%, but as high as 30% in some local wards.
- Crime rates in the borough are higher than the national average, and concentrated in deprived housing estates, some of them presenting serious problems of policing.
- Major concerns are street robbery, theft and burglary, drug and alcohol related crime and violence.

Partnership working

Brent now has ten years of experience of working with partnerships, undertaking safety diagnoses and planning and implementing strategies. It has a *permanent* department of *Community Safety and Community Empowerment* within its Community Development Directorate, which works closely with all council services, police, health, voluntary sector, national agencies and businesses.

Over the past ten years, Brent has developed *five* inter-agency crime prevention and

community safety strategies. Projects developed with partners have included burglary reduction programs, a mentoring scheme for young people, neighborhood watch, and a Targeted Policing Initiative for high-crime areas using crime mapping and analysis. The latter has been funded by a £1.3million national

In Brent's experience, the 3 key principles necessary for effective local authority crime prevention work can be classified as the 3 C's:
Councillors - to secure political support for crime prevention
Corporate - to secure a council corporate approach to crime prevention
Coalitions - to ensure that local authorities take the lead in developing crime prevention strategies.
John Blackmore, Head of Community Safety & Community Empowerment, London Borough of Brent

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government grant. Brent has also set up accredited community safety training courses for local citizens, and a community information system web site BRAIN (www.brent.gov.uk/brain). It recently held a conference on community safety which was transmitted on the internet, and will form the basis of a video. Its most recent safety strategy for 1999-2002 was produced by the partnership between the local council and the police, probation service and health authorities serving the borough, and followed a safety audit and extensive community consultation.

The *Crime and Disorder Audit* (1999) compared Brent's crime levels with neighboring boroughs, highlighted crime hot spots, and examined trends in the major crime issues: burglary, robbery, violence, sexual offences, young offenders, domestic violence, racial incidents, victimization of the elderly, disorder, road injuries, drug and alcohol problems, and fear of crime. It showed, for example, that recorded crime had decreased in the Borough by 5% between 1996 and 1998 - burglary and street robbery by 13 and 14%, although violent crimes as a whole had gone up. The audit listed some of the options for reducing the problems identified.

Community consultation

- 10,000 copies of a summary of the *Crime and Disorder Audit* were sent to the public, statutory, voluntary and private groups including ethnic minority groups, faith groups, neighborhood watch and business groups.
- the full Audit was available in police stations, libraries, medical clinics etc.
- 100,000 copies of a freepost questionnaire were distributed with the Council magazine to all households, and with copies of the council community newspaper *Safer Brent*, asking for comments on the findings and suggestions for action.
- a special survey of young people's crime concerns was carried out among 1000 secondary school children.
- area consultation forums were held to discuss the audit, and at resident and tenant organizations, police community consultation groups, and the Brent Youth Council.

Brent Community Safety Strategy 1999-2002

Top priority targets identified for reduction:

1. residential burglary
2. robbery and street crime
3. improve partnership response to racial incidents, and violence and victimization of ethnic minorities
4. reduce crime and disorder in town centers
5. reduce crime by young offenders

The resulting *Crime and Disorder Reduction and Community Safety Strategy 1999-2002* identifies the fifteen priority targets for the Borough, an overall target for each priority, a detailed list of action plans for each of the targets, and performance measures to assess their effectiveness. The top priority is burglary reduction and the target is reduction by a minimum of 6% in 12 months, or 12% in 36 months compared with 1998 figures. Apart from the top five (see box above) other priority targets include reducing youth victimization, domestic violence, road injuries and drug and alcohol abuse.

Contact: Dr. John Blackmore, Head of Community Safety and Community Empowerment, London Borough of Brent, Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley, Middlesex, HA9 9HD, England. 44 181 937 1035; 44 937 1056 (Fax); E-mail: jblackmore@gw.hackney.gov.uk.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada: A Community Safety Strategy for the City of Toronto

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Population: 2.5 million

- Toronto has seen enormous growth as a city and region over the past twenty years
- rapid changes in the ethnic distribution of the population are occurring - before 1980 60% of immigrants were from Europe, since then the majority are from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, China, Hong Kong, the Philippines
- 42% of citizens have a mother tongue other than English
- these changes have brought considerable social and economic benefits, but there is increasing income disparity and poverty
- only 27% - 36% of Toronto citizens feel that all ethno-cultural groups are treated fairly by city politicians and the police
- overall levels of crime rose from the 1980's to 1993 but have since declined
- violent crime levels were still increasing by 1997
- levels of insecurity increased over this period and remained high
- community safety was one of the top concerns of citizens.

Formerly a city of 650,000 people, the new megacity of Toronto was created in 1998 with the amalgamation of the surrounding municipalities of East York, Etobicoke, North York, Scarborough and York. The new city council established a *Task Force on Community Safety* to develop a comprehensive safety plan. Chaired by two councillors it included representatives from the police, school boards, neighborhood crime prevention groups, businesses, ethno-cultural groups and agencies, and organizations working with “at-risk” children, the disabled, and family violence prevention.

Its key strategy was community consultation using a community survey, interviews with city councillors, public meetings and presentations. Its interim report was discussed at a conference bringing together citizens, local organizations and councillors.

The final report *Toronto. My City. A Safe City. A Community Strategy for the City of Toronto* (1999) outlines the extent of the problems of crime, insecurity, and inequalities, discusses their root causes and how these can be overcome, existing community services and programs, sets out its vision for a safe city within a healthy communities framework, and outlines 35 recommendations for implementation. One percent of money spent on criminal justice

was to be allocated to additional prevention programs. Each recommendation identifies the major city services which should take the lead. A new task force to develop a *work plan* to implement the recommendations was established in 2000. Among other work, a social atlas, based on analysis of city wards is being constructed, and implementation of the plan is expected to take three years.

Toronto Community Safety Strategy (1999)

A Vision for a Safer City

- reducing crime and fear of crime
- increasing the knowledge and involvement of the community in creating a safer city
- focusing on vulnerable groups
- recognizing diversity
- knowing what works: the importance of evaluation

Five Directions for Action

- strengthening neighborhood
- investing in children and youth
- policing and justice
- information and coordination
- making it happen: community safety as a corporate policy and with council accountability structure.

Contact: Lydia Fitchko, City of Toronto Community & Neighborhood Services Department, Social Development and Administration Division, 55 John Street 11th Floor Metro Hall, Toronto, Ontario M5V 3C6, Canada. (416) 392 5397; (416) 392 8492 (Fax); E-mail: lfitchko@city.toronto.on.ca.

Brisbane, Queensland, Australia: Youth and Public Space Major Centers Project

Population: 1, 575,000

- a major Australian city with regional and sub-regional satellite centers
- recent strong population growth including immigration from South East Asia
- concerns about crime, vandalism and incivilities in public places and the presence of street kids, youth gangs, and the increasing exclusion of minority youths
- high numbers of indigenous young people from rural areas
- lack of transport, services, and facilities designed to meet the needs of young people

This project aimed to develop safer public spaces which were more inclusive and relevant to the needs and interests of young people. It focused on the major public sites where young people gathered, such as city and regional shopping malls, beaches, parks. The project took as its starting point the importance of recognizing their right to have access to public space and to be consulted and involved in the development of facilities.

The city held extensive discussions with young people and other users of commercial and community spaces and compiled information on the city council planning system, strategic, corporate and local area plans and urban design. It examined good practice models and principles, and the current use of major centers in the city, suburbs and regions. The report *Planning and Management Guidelines* (1998) “provides the most comprehensive analysis and series of prescriptions on young people and public space issues in Australia”. It sets out principles and recommended policies, detailed strategy outlines, and target indicators to reach each of the policy objectives in three areas: youth and community development policy; urban management through strategic and local planning and design; and operational management and community relations in major centers.

Talking about Public Space

If you're younger most of what you have to say is overlooked by authority figures...
To sit in the shopping center, they've made this new rule that you have to buy something, eat or drink, and they've put a limit on it - 15 minutes...
Security hassle you when you are not with an adult.
When we're playing football and basketball security people always hassle...
Indigenous young people in Australia from *Hanging Out* (1999).

A related project, *Girls In Space Consortia* (1997), looked at the needs of girls and young women in public spaces. Brisbane now has good examples of well planned and designed city centers such as Southbank.

Sources: P. Haywood, P. Crane, A Egginton & J. Gleeson (1998) *Out and About: In or Out? Better Outcomes for Young People's Use of Public and Community Space in the City of Brisbane*.

Leichhardt Municipal Council, New South Wales, Australia: Draft Youth Social Plan

Population: 62,053

This smaller municipal council developed its *Youth Social Plan 1995-1997* (White, 1998) to respond to major problems of unemployment, poverty and inequality found locally, and to provide concrete ways of dealing with current problems. These included conflicts over the use of public space by young people especially those aged 12-24. The plan asserts the basic rights of young people and outlines strategies for:

- a stronger focus on area planning and local services coordination
- providing more equitable distribution of youth services and facilities throughout the municipality
- youth consultation, participation and advocacy
- recreation and public space provision for young people
- providing youth facilities for commercial developments
- active recreational spaces
- public space design and inclusion of artwork
- health and well-being of young people
- youth and family support services
- education, training and employment
- housing and homelessness
- crime prevention

Sources: *The Youth Section of Leichhardt Municipal Council's Draft Social Plan 1997-1999: defining how Council works with and on behalf of young people aged 12-24*. R. White (1998) *Public Spaces for Young People*.

Youth and community development policy principles:

- inclusive public and community spaces
- recognizing the tension between commercial & community objectives
- understanding shopping centers in their local & regional contexts
- the active inclusion of young people
- responsive & coordinated policy development within council
- promoting realistic & accurate information on young people to the broader community
- responding to diversity among young people
- safety

Brisbane Major Centers project

A crucial issue is whether young people view amenities as youth friendly. A survey of young people found that the factors involved in defining a place as "friendly" included acceptance and support, no violence, cheap food and drinks, and no adults or police.

Hanging Out (1999)

Freeport, Illinois: Coalition for a Safe Community

Population: 27,000

Lead office: Mayor

- in the early 1990's 25% of the population lived at or below the poverty line
- 54% of children were living in poverty
- 20% of the population was Afro-American and there were concerns about disparities in educational provision and treatment of students

The *catalyst* to action was the threat by four Fortune 500 companies who provided 40% of local employment to pull out of the city. The city set up *Project 2009* with local businesses in 1993. They developed a strategic plan to ensure that 90% of young people stayed in school, and graduated from school equipped to work in local businesses. The project coalition included the city leaders, school administrators, business and community representatives and local clergy.

In 1994 the Mayor met with 100 residents over 18 months to discuss and debate concerns about increasing violence. This resulted in the setting up of the 1996 *Coalition for a Safe Community* with the mission to build a safe and healthy community for children and families. Four task forces developed plans. Family mentoring, parenting education and media awareness, programs and curricula and a jobs bank have been developed. Rates of child abuse and neglect have since fallen; the local newspaper has developed a guide to local family and social services; new lighting has been installed; a new neighborhood park and play area is planned; school buildings are now available as community centers; and 50 new mentors for local youth are being recruited by local organizations and businesses. Even with a new mayor and police chief in 1997 and 1998 implementation of the plan was completed. The Coalition has been able to get over \$450,000 from state, federal and foundation grants and will be developing an affordable housing project.

Sources: *Creating a Blueprint for Community Safety*. (NCPC, 1998a); *Standing in the Gap* (NCPC, 1999b).

Contact: Tracey Johnson, Deputy Director MLKCSI, 511 South Liberty Street, Freeport, IL 61032. (815) 233 9915; (815) 235 0007 (Fax).

Hartford, Connecticut: Neighborhood Problem-Solving Committees (and CCP)

Population: 124,000

Lead office: Mayor and police chief

- from 1986-1996 Hartford crime levels put it in the top 10 for cities over 100,000
- it had severe gang wars in neighborhoods
- main tools: neighborhood problem-solving committees (PSCs) and Police Gang Task Force
- other programs - *Our Piece of the Pie* (OPP); community courts; an ACTION line for citizen complaints

A mayor's commission on crime was set up in 1987 (NCPC, 1999a). It recommended city-wide community policing, and the development of partnerships with other agencies and the community, recommending that the entire community needed to work on the social issues. The ACTION line takes calls from residents about disorder and crime problems which are followed up. A Police Gang Task Force was established in 1992, and neighborhood problem solving committee (PSCs) were set up in the 17 city

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neighborhoods. These meet monthly and diagnose neighborhood problems, and decide on objectives and plans. Three special assistants to the City Manager were hired to liaise between PSCs and the city government. *Our Piece of the Pie* (OPP) is a pre-work program for youth set up in 1996. It hires young adult managers (20-26 years) as trainers, councillors, role-models and supports for at-risk youth, and acts as a youth job clearing house. Rates of employment placement from the program have been up to 87%. Overall rates of crime fell by 30% from 1986 to 1996.

Sources: Six Safer Cities (NCPC, 1999a)

Contact: Rae Ann Palmer, Coordinator, Special Projects and Community Programs. (860) 543 8681; (860) 722 6216 (Fax).

Salt Lake City, Utah: Comprehensive Community Program (CCP) - Changing the way government works

Population: 180,000

Lead office: Mayor

- percentage of population below poverty level 16.4% (national level 12.8%)
- unemployment rate (1995) 3.6% (national level 5.6%)
- rate of violent crime 83 per 10,000 (national level 72)
- area targeted: city-wide
- main targets: youth offenders and gang members
- main tool: Community Action Teams.

Salt Lake City has not only grown but become increasingly diverse ethnically and racially in recent years. Youth violence, including drive-by shootings, and gang-related crime rose in the early 1990's. Fear of crime increased and the courts were overloaded

The city set up *Community Action Teams* (CATs) in each geographical area, as neighborhood-based, problem-solving teams focusing on the problems of youth and youth gangs. The CATs include community police, probation, city prosecutor, community mobilization specialist, youth/family specialist, and a community relations coordinator. The CAT youth workers are from the local Boys and Girls Club, and help link at-risk youth to local services. More recently, school representatives have joined each team. The CATs meet weekly to deal with neighborhood problems, with the aim of providing services quickly to clients, cutting across agency boundaries and "red tape". The Mayor's Office of Community Affairs acts as the liaison between agencies and city government and the teams. Some of the outcomes include *Community Peace*

Community Action Teams

The purpose of the teams is to pool their resources (time, authority, staff) in a problem-solving focus on neighborhood-specific and family-specific problems as they arise.....CATs are empowered by upper level city management to work out the most effective solution they can devise through collaboration among member agencies and the community.

Standing in the Gap (NCPC, 1999b)

Services, a diversion program providing education, mediation and intervention to first-time offenders; a domestic violence court; increased youth and family specialist staff. The city has been able to attract increased resources from federal, state and local government and from foundations. These have led to new

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programs, new staff. Gang activity has diminished, property crime is down, and homicides have declined 33% from 1995.

Sources: National Institute of Justice *Research in Brief* (Kelling et al., 1998); *Standing in the Gap* (NCPC, 1999b)
Local contact: Jeanne Robinson, Assistant City Prosecutor Salt Lake City. (801) 535 7660.

State initiatives: Maryland Hotspots Communities - Reclaiming our Neighborhoods

This initiative targets communities across the state of Maryland:

- it recognizes that nationally 50% of crime occurs in 3% of addresses
- it is the first *statewide* intervention to help selected “hot-spot” areas reclaim their neighborhoods
- it involves \$3.5million state and federal grant funding invested in 36 communities

Responding to the heavy concentration of crime, insecurity and victimization in certain areas of cities and towns and rural areas, 36 “hot-spot” communities across the state of Maryland are being targeted with comprehensive programs. The program began in 1997 and provides funds to neighborhoods to develop partnerships and strategies to reclaim those areas.

A major innovation is the pulling together of *state and federal funding* to support “core” and “enhancing” projects arising out of strategic plans. Each community also receives operational and technical assistance from a wide range of state and local council agencies and services. The *core* elements are: community mobilization, community policing, community probation, community maintenance, youth prevention and local coordination. The *enhancing* elements are: community prosecution, juvenile intervention, crime prevention through environmental design, victim outreach and assistance, community support for addiction recovery, and housing and business revitalization.

Contact: Michael A. Sarbanes, Executive Director, Governor’s Office of Crime Control and Prevention, 300 East Joppa Road, Suite 1105, Baltimore, Maryland 21286-3016, USA. (410) 321 3521; (410) 321 3116 (Fax); E-mail: michael@goccp.usa.com

METRAC, Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Taking Action Against Woman Abuse

- one in 6 women in Canada is abused by her partner each year
- over 60% of homicides result from family violence
- a major problem has been lack of coordination of services and programs across all sectors.

In 1992 the *Metro Woman Abuse Council of Toronto* was formed to “create a Metro-wide integrated community response to women abuse which promotes effective and efficient provision of services for assaulted women and their families.”

The Woman Abuse Council was set up in 1992 sponsored by the Chairman of Metro Toronto. The city provides in-kind support. The Council brings together 18 representatives of key sectors of the community: including shelters, police, hospitals, support service agencies, community health centers, probation, survivors groups. There are five standing committees and ad hoc working groups.

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Its successes include conferences bringing together different sectors and groups, a *Best Practice Resource Manual* and *Best Practice Guidelines for Responding to Women Abuse for Health Practitioners*, safety audit kits, protocols and accountability standards for intervention programs, education and awareness projects. It has worked with the police and courts to develop specialized domestic violence courts, model batterer's programs, and court-watch projects, and developed inter-sectoral partnerships and protocols.

Contact: www.city.toronto.on.ca/council/wac_index.htm

Coalitions of cities:

Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht, Netherlands - Big Cities Policy

Major problems: social problems including drugs, nuisance and street crime in the major cities in the Netherlands led to the development of a *Big Cities Policy*. A memorandum was drawn up by the municipal authorities of the major cities to strengthen their social and economic bases, in partnership with the national government, in three major areas: employment and education, public safety, quality of life and care. The main impact is be at the neighborhood level and the plan sets targets and outlines measures to be taken.

As part of the initiative *Justice in the Neighborhood* "Justice closer to the citizens and their problems" is a pilot project 1997-1999, modeled on the French example.²⁶ Neighborhood Justice offices were opened in 5 Dutch cities to work in problem-oriented ways with local residents. The offices provide accessible quick, and direct action to deal with local street crime, nuisance and conflicts. They offer information, legal advice, and mediation of conflicts, to help prevent local conflicts get out of control.

Source: Ministry of Justice, Information Department, Tel. 31 (0) 70 370 68 50; 31 (0) 70 370 75 94 (Fax); E-mail: infodesk@wodc.minjust.nl or voorlichting@best-dep.minjust.nl ;
Web site: www.minjust.nl:8080.

EURO 2000 Football Cities Against Racism

The European Forum on Urban Safety funds groups of cities in European countries to tackle specific problems. Over the past ten years it has brought member cities together for conferences and initiatives on eg. violence and schools, the mass media, senior citizens, victims, immigration and insecurity, the integration of young people, decibel night life, and drugs. A recent initiative is around racism and soccer violence. Soccer violence has been a major problem in Britain as well as other European cities for a number of years. Nine host cities (Brent in London, four Dutch and four Belgian cities) have developed anti-racism campaigns around the EURO 2000 championships.

Contact: Dr. John Blackmore, Head of Community Safety and Community Empowerment, London Borough of Brent, Brent Town Hall, Forty Lane, Wembley, Middlesex, HA9 9HD, England. 44 181 937 1035; 44 937 1056 (Fax); E-mail: jblackmore@gw.hackney.gov.uk , European Forum on Urban Safety, 38, rue Liancourt, Paris 75014, France. 33 1 40 64 49 00; 33 1 40 64 49 10 (Fax); E-mail: fesu@urbansecurity.org .

Aix-en-Provence, France: Local Security Contract and Observatory

Population: 126,000

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Lead office: Mayor

- the city has experienced considerable growth in the past 30 years
- it is “rich, cultured and young”
- but with increasing disparities between its economically stable and its marginalized populations

The city received a *Contrat de Ville* in 1994 to improve housing, transport, health, education and health services, as well as develop delinquency and drug prevention. A partnership community council for the prevention of delinquency was formed, which applied for a new security contract (CLS) as soon as they were announced in 1997. The partnership includes not only the city of Aix-en-Provence, but its surrounding communities each with their own mayors, police and other services. Representatives of the region and national ministries are also included.

A very comprehensive *security diagnosis* was undertaken, looking at direct and indirect problems. A permanent *observatory of social problems* has been set up, using specific indicators used at the local government level, which is for use by the city itself and the adjoining municipalities.

Ten priorities have been established relating to: the quality of life; social, cultural and sports facilities and policies; citizen access to the law; prevention of child abuse and neglect; prevention of substance abuse; parental support; victim support and aid; improving court and reintegration policy and practices; and safety and security. The action plan (*Fiches actions de contrat*, 1999) outlines 42 separate actions relating to these ten priorities. In each case it identifies the specific problem; the objectives set; the agreed action; the partners responsible for piloting and implementation; methods of finance where applicable; evaluation; and target dates. The prevention of school violence, for example, involves measures to reduce absenteeism and school exclusion, early identification of behavior problems, the use of alternative measures for dealing with discipline problems, educational support etc. The plan is now being implemented and evaluated.

Among other initiatives, community policing has been established, and new security assistants recruited to aide the police and public. Better links and coordination between the national and municipal police have also be set up. Social mediation agents have been recruited and trained to work on public transport, around schools and in public spaces. Their role includes mediating situations before they become out of control, and acting as interveners between groups such as local shop owners and young people, to try to develop creative solutions. While the outcomes have not yet been evaluated, in terms of the development of the observatory, and the energy generated at the local level, the CLS has clearly had a considerable impact on policies and practices in the city as well as the region.

Sources: Diagnostic local de securite de la Ville de Aix-en-Provence (1999) and Fiches actions de contrat (1999): Centre de gestion de la fonction publique territoriale des Bouches du Rhone.

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Additional Resources and Addresses

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THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN COMMUNITY SAFETY

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Web site: <http://www.crime-prevention.org>

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National Funding Collaborative on Violence Prevention

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International Centre for the Prevention of Crime

“Assisting cities and countries to reduce delinquency, violence and insecurity.”

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ICPC Governmental Advisory and Policy Committee	ICPC Board of Directors Associations of cities	Crime Prevention Organizations	International, Governmental and Private Organizations
Canada USA France Province of Québec United Kingdom The Netherlands Ivory Coast Portugal South Africa	African Forum for Urban Safety European Forum for Urban Safety Federation of Canadian Municipalities Forum de l'Océan indien pour la sécurité urbaine Forum français pour la sécurité urbaine The United States Conference of Mayors World Association of Large Metropolises (Metropolis)	British Columbia Coalition for Safer Communities (Canada) Crime Concern (UK) Institute for Security Studies (South Africa) National Crime Prevention Council (USA)	Asia Crime Prevention Foundation Centre for International Crime Prevention (United Nations Office at Vienna) Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) United Nations Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders (ILANUD)
	International, Governmental and Private Organizations	United Nations Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders (ILANUD)	
	Asia Crime Prevention Foundation Centre for International Crime Prevention (United Nations Office at Vienna) Naif Arab Academy for Security Sciences United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI)		

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Endnotes

1. This refers to crimes recorded by the police. Of course we know from victimization surveys in many countries that only around 50% of crime events are reported to the police, so these are underestimates of the extent of crime and victimization.
2. In England and Wales, for example, 59% of the public thought that crime rates were still rising in 1998 in spite of four years of decline (Mattinson & Mirrlees-Black, 2000).
3. For example: in Britain, 82% of Pakistani and 84% of Bangladeshi families - many of them living in public housing - have incomes which are less than half the national average, compared with 28% of the majority white population (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998: 30). In France, concentrations of social problems are found in the satellite housing complexes around the major cities with social outcasts and immigrant families living in far greater poverty and conditions than the rest of the country (Dubet and Lapeyronnie, 1994 in Pfeiffer, 1998). In Germany, 39% of foreign born Turkish youths experience high levels of deprivation compared with 12% of native born Germans (Pfeiffer & Wetzels, 1999).
4. See OJJDP (1999) and Harris & Curtis (1998) for more information about juvenile offending and victimization and future population trends. Hagan (1996) and Rose and Clear (1998) have discussed the impact of high rates of imprisonment on neighborhoods.
5. *Cutting Crime in Rural Areas* (Crime Concern, 1995).
6. An international survey in 12 countries found drug use was very prevalent among youth in areas of high unemployment, and associated with a higher incidence of property and violent crime (Killias & Ribeaud, 1999).
7. Heise, L.L., et al. (1994) *Violence Against Women: The Hidden Health Burden*. Washington DC: World Bank.
8. In Germany, for example, the proportion of ethnic minorities in youth custody increased from 10% in 1990 to 35% by 1998 (Pfeiffer & Wetzels, 1999).
9. See ICPC, 1999a for a discussion of cost savings.
10. For a more detailed account of national developments see Waller & Welsh, 1999 and ICPC, 1999b.
11. These include summer holiday and job creation programs for disadvantaged young people. Since 1989 these city contracts have been administered through an inter-ministerial agency (known as the DIV) at the national level, which links the interests of national ministries together in supporting a range of city projects.
12. See *Crime Prevention Digest II* (ICPC, 1999a) to learn more about these developments.
13. Countries in transition include many Eastern European countries formerly part of the Soviet Union, or Eastern Bloc. Developing countries include many in South America, Africa, and Asia. International victimization surveys have been carried out in many of them since the mid 1990's.
14. Institute for Security Studies (1999). *International Conference on Safer Communities*. Pretoria: ISS.
15. These are being funded by the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (Habitat) based in Nairobi in partnership with the ICPC, EFUS, the South African Institute of Security Studies, and national and local governments. Projects in other African cities are being developed as well as in Asia and Latin America under the Habitat program (www.unchs.org/safercities). The project in Dar es Salaam was awarded the Urban Security Prize at the Africities summit 2000.
16. A Safety Audit includes a detailed mapping of crime and disorder problems in a community. See Section III for more details.
17. *National Strategy for Neighborhood Renewal* (2000) is a multi-ministry strategy for tackling the problems of deprived neighborhoods. Each of the 18 reports focuses on a particular issue eg., Report No. 12 deals with *Young People*; Report 4 with *Neighborhood Renewal*. Three major areas of funding targeting crime reduction and community safety are *Sure Start* for early family intervention, *On Track* funding projects for children and families 5-12, and *Youth Include* targeting at-risk 13-16 year-olds in deprived areas.
18. See *Profils, missions et perspectives des agents locaux de mediation sociale* (Forum Francais, 1999). For information on similar initiatives in other European cities see *Safety and Security: New Jobs for the New Millenium* (European Forum for Urban Safety, 1997).

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19. These were the mayors of Arlington, Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio.
20. El Paso decided not to participate in T-CAP.
21. "Local crime prevention offices now receive more Department of Justice funding than at any time in American history..." (Sherman et al., 1997).
22. They include Baltimore, Boston, Columbia, Fort Worth, Salt Lake City, Seattle which have been intensively evaluated; Gary, Hartford, Wichita, Denver, East Bay, Atlanta which have been the subject of less intensive evaluation (Kelling et al., 1998). A total of \$34 million was invested in the program.
23. They include Burlington, Chapel Hill and Garner in North Carolina, Deerfield Park, Florida, Deer Park Texas, Lima and Stow, Ohio, Keene, New Hampshire, Bessemer, Alabama, Pearl, Mississippi, and Pueblo County, Colorado.
24. The NCPC has produced a number of other guides to community initiatives in crime prevention including: *Crime Prevention in America: Foundations for Action* (1990); *Uniting Communities Through Crime Prevention* (1994); *New Ways of Working to Reduce Crime* (1996); and *Designing Safer Communities* (1997).
25. Other examples can be found in *100 Crime Prevention Programs to Inspire Action Across the World* (ICPC, 1999b).
26. Maisons de justice et du droit.