Crime Prevention Through
Social Development

A Discussion Paper for Social Policy Makers and Practitioners

Canadian Council
on Social
Development

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Canadian
Criminal Justice
Association
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SOURCES

Selected references are listed in the section on Further Resources.

For more detailed information, the reader is referred to *Crime Prevention Through Social Development: An Overview With Sources*, which provides the evidence, theory and references to support the assertions and recommendations made in this booklet.

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FOREWORD

This booklet is about reducing violence on our streets and in our homes by addressing the social causes of crime.

Persistent and serious criminals tend to be males brought up in socially disadvantaged situations. Systematic studies that follow the development of young children can identify specific experiences which predispose some individuals to crime.

The scope for increased security and harsher punishment to reduce these criminal tendencies is limited. However, strengthened and more accessible social programs focused on the relevant family, school and life experiences may reduce the chances of young Canadians growing into serious criminals.

This booklet examines examples of Canadian social programs in the light of the conclusions from research. It suggests several specific actions that must be taken, including some reversals in cutbacks and reinforcement of successful approaches.

It is for governments, voluntary agencies and individual Canadians to study these suggestions. Action is urgent if we are to reduce the loss, injury and suffering of Canadians from crime.

PURPOSE

This booklet is intended to stimulate discussion and action on how crime could be reduced by targeted social development programs, such as those aimed at improving the family, housing, school or work experiences of disadvantaged Canadians.

CRIME AND ITS EFFECTS

In 1983, 1.6 million offences against persons and property were recorded by the police in Canada X the equivalent of one for every five Canadian households. Approximately this number of offences has been recorded each year since 1980. These statistics include more than 200,000 residential break-ins, 80,000 common assaults, and 600 murders.

Although police records give a reliable minimal estimate of the numbers of crimes, systematic surveys of Canadians show that there are many more common crimes that are not reported to the police. For instance, relative to those recorded by the police, there are twice as many thefts and 50% more residential break-ins that are not reported. Though the offences not reported are often less serious, it is estimated that the total of reported and unreported crime is equivalent annually, for theft, to one for every three households and, for residential break-ins, to one for every 27 households. Similar rates for selected offences are shown in the following table.

Approximate Annual Rate per Households
Violent Offences

Murder	1 / 12,000
Death by an impaired driver	1 / 5,000
Sexual Assault	1 / 250
Robbery	1 / 200
Assault	1 / 33

Property Offences

Theft of a motor vehicle	1 / 80
Residential break and enter	1 / 27
Theft over $200	1 / 11
Theft under $200	1 / 6

Note: Estimation procedures used, and a comparison with estimates derived from police data is available in the *Overview with Sources*, (see Further Resources).

In sum, the more serious the offence, the less likely it is to occur. We are most likely to experience crime as a break-in or a common assault, but on average, only once every 25 years (aside from minor thefts, many of which are against businesses). Further, the risk varies with many factors such as the location of the household and one's lifestyle. For instance, the break-in rate may average one for every 10 households in central-city areas; the common assault rate for households which include a male aged 18 to 24 may be one in 20.

The public has the perception that violent crime is increasing. This perception comes partly from newspaper coverage of "sensational and exceptional" crimes, combined with increases in reported police statistics. Both these sources can be misleading. For example, increases in police staffing, computerization, and the use of insurance are just three factors that could have increased the number of reports to police without any change in crime itself. Newspaper articles on sensational crimes tend to create a fear of victimization that is not supported by statistics. Where systematic surveys have been undertaken, rates of violent crime have tended to stay steady. Also, in Canada, the per capita conviction rates for murder were as high in each of the decades before the Second World War as they were in the 1970s.

Whether crime is on the increase or not, the reduction of present rates of crime will require every effort. Thousands of Canadians and their families suffer loss, injury and emotional distress that could be avoided by effective prevention measures.

WAYS OF PREVENTING CRIME

Crime prevention refers to the reduction of future risks of crime. It is generally accomplished through law enforcement and corrections, reduction of opportunities to commit crime, and social development actions.

Law enforcement and correctional actions try to limit the opportunity and interest of persons to commit crimes. This is done through constructive education and punishment of offenders as well as deterrence of potential offenders.

Opportunity reduction involves security precautions to protect persons and property from crime. These can include community initiatives such as Neighbourhood Watch and Block Parents programs. They can also include "environmental design" activities. For example, police and city planners can modify traffic flow or the location

of schools to diminish the potential for crime.

Crime prevention can also be realized through certain social development actions. Effective social development initiatives are usually those targeted to risk groups who are not only socially and/or economically disadvantaged, but who also experience family, school and community problems.

LIMITS OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND SECURITY PRECAUTIONS

While the police, courts and corrections assist in controlling crime, their scope for further crime reduction is limited.

Since 1960, Canada has been spending a growing proportion of its resources on criminal justice. A major part of the increase has gone to more police and prisons without any apparent reduction in crime. In 1982, total expenditures exceeded $3 billion.

However, studies of the effectiveness of police patrols and detective functions have placed in question the extent to which crime can be reduced through commitment to these areas.

Because only 20% of crimes known to police result in a conviction, it is difficult to reduce crime significantly through policies focused exclusively on punishing offenders. Evaluations of correctional programs have concluded that even for those convicted, present approaches are rarely successful in reducing the likelihood of reconviction.

The combined effect of the police, courts and corrections may also control crime by deterring potential offenders. However, studies have been unable to show any significant or lasting effect on crime from increases in penalties, which appear to deter those who do not need to be deterred. Jurisdictions which have more persons in prisons tend to have more crime than comparable jurisdictions which have fewer persons in prisons.

While opportunity reductions can reduce and displace crime in the short term, they may not reduce it in the long term.

Some police departments have been active in supporting the organization of Block Parent and Neighbourhood Watch programs under the slogan of "Working Together to Prevent Crime." As few resources have been committed to these programs, success has been limited to certain areas.

Comprehensive neighbourhood projects that are city-wide, such as "Tandem" in Montreal, expect to reduce residential burglary and other crimes by 20% or more within one year. After undertaking systematic crime analysis, the exemplary Community Crime Prevention Project in Seattle used community organizers to involve residents in successfully reducing residential break-ins by more than 40% within one year

These programs may eliminate the temptation for many of the young persons who commit isolated criminal acts. However, the persistent delinquents involved in several criminal acts may only be displaced to another location, type of offence, or victim.

POTENTIAL OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR CRIME PREVENTION

Social development activities in a general way support the family, school and community experiences of the disadvantaged. If these activities could be strengthened and focused more closely on those most at risk of becoming delinquent, then crime might be reduced.

In the past, some advocates of the social approach to crime prevention have argued that general social development programs directed to the disadvantaged would reduce crime. However, these expectations have not been fulfilled. Further, when the unemployment rate rose from around 5% to more than 10% in Canada recently, there was no immediate rise in crime.

In sum, for social development to be effective in preventing crime, its activities must be focused.

Upbringing, school, employment and community experiences differentiate persistent offenders from other disadvantaged persons.

Recent scientific studies of economically disadvantaged children from infancy to age 30 have focused on those experiences that predispose persons to engage in persistent crime (see "Social Intervention into Causes of Crime"). The conclusions confirm the findings of numerous clinical studies that persistent delinquents differ from other persons in terms of their social upbringing and living experiences.

The most significant of these studies have been done in England and the United States. However, Canadian studies of the history and development of teenage crime support the relevant findings from abroad. Canadian studies of men released from prison further reinforce these conclusions.

The social development service system in Canada offers many opportunities to deal with the fundamental causes of crime.

Many programs deal directly with the behavioural concerns which provoke delinquent behaviour.

Social Services. A range of personal, social and physical-support services offered to individuals and families. While an objective of most social development activity, these services are the primary interest of organizations dealing with children and families with emotional and social difficulties.

Housing. Social ("subsidized") housing, provided through various government-sponsored tax, subsidy and loan initiatives, is generally directed to those with limited income. Social housing developments are usually highly concentrated.

Few housing developments include provision of multi-service centres, day-care services and other social and recreational needs.

Income Security. Programs provide direct financial support to individuals/families often confronted with economic need. Programs vary according to eligibility criteria and amounts of financial support available. Many also provide supportive social services.

Education. While primarily concerned with services directed to mainstream education, many school systems are now providing individualized educational opportunities, enrichment programs and social/ psychological support for disadvantaged children and youth.

Employment. These include job creation initiatives, job preparation, training and placement. Programs targeted to disadvantaged youth are becoming more common.

Health Care. Those involved in public and community health programs are often involved in the identification of difficulties, prevention of illness and promotion of health. Increasingly, these centres are responsible for, or involved in, comprehensive social/ health programs targeted to disadvantaged or multi-problem families.

Social development in Canada is supported in a variety of ways:

∃   The service field is generally supported by governments, although services may be provided by organizations within the public, private or voluntary sectors.
∃   While most programs receive some form of federal government support, they are primarily the responsibility of the provinces.
∃   Social development is provided by a variety of agencies and programs. For example, services such as financial assistance and counselling can be available through various social agencies, or through both education and social security programs.

Considerable unused potential exists to deal with those situations most likely to precipitate crime.

While Canada has developed a selectively comprehensive social development service system, there is little commitment to prevention. There are a limited number of activities specifically designed to deal with those groups at risk and the related social factors which appear to influence chronic adolescent criminal behaviour.

In fact, some evidence suggests that recent budget cuts in the social development field will most heavily affect the various initiatives required to diminish criminal behaviour, e.g., family support programs.

SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS INTO CAUSES OF CRIME

There are a variety of scientific studies which have examined the social causes of crime. These include analyses of demographic factors as well as clinical and experimental studies. The most reliable conclusions can be drawn from longitudinal studies, those which examine the correlation between social development and delinquency, from birth to adulthood.

THE GENERAL PATTERN

Occasional delinquents differ from persistent delinquents.

Many people commit one or two delinquent acts in their lifetimes, typically during adolescence. Individuals persistently involved in serious offences, however, differ from the average person in specific ways, and they may be more disadvantaged in several areas of their lives.

The following factors differentiate the infrequent offender from the persistent and serious offender, and they are important in assessing the potential impact of social development actions.

Crime Location. Crime rates are highest in poor, disadvantaged areas where access to recreational, health and educational services may be lacking, where poor quality and crowded housing conditions exist, and where there are many single young males.

Age. Fifteen to 18 years of age is the peak period for delinquent acts. With persistent and serious delinquents, these acts are likely to start at an earlier age and continue later. Data from England and Wales (only partial data exist for Canada) further illustrate this age variation: the rates for males guilty of indictable offences ranged from eight per 1,000 for those aged 14 to 16, to six per 1,000 in the 17 to 20 age group, and three per 1,000 among the 10- to 14-year-olds.

Children identified as daring and troublesome by parents and teachers by the age of 10 are more likely than other disadvantaged children to be convicted of a crime at every age up to 25. In one of the most systematic studies, one in four such children were persistent offenders by age 17, compared to one in 150 of the least troublesome.

Sex. Crime usually involves aggression, risk-taking, and predatory behaviour. Although there is some overlap between the sexes on aggressivity, research indicates that males are more aggressive than females due to both biological differences and the influences of social learning.

Males are much more likely than females to engage in stranger-to-stranger offences involving property and violence. In 1982, although the rates of conviction for females were increasing, there were nine male juveniles charged for every one female.

Personality. Persistent delinquents commonly exhibit personality traits such as cognitive and educational retardation, hyperactivity and attentional deficits.

These terms describe individuals who have a lower than average IQ, they may have a learning disability or be hyperactive, they are easily bored and frustrated, and they seek out risky, unconventional pursuits. They react emotionally – often inappropriately so – when angry or upset, and often find it difficult to solve problems in a logical, step-by-step manner.

Not surprisingly, such individuals experience greater difficulties in their home, school and work environments.

FAMILY

Research. In their 1983 book, *Juvenile Delinquency – Trends and Perspectives*, Rutter and Giller note that: "The family characteristics most strongly associated with delinquency are: parental criminality, ineffective supervision and discipline, familial discord and disharmony, weak parent-child relationships, large family size, and psycho-social disadvantage." The following observations are also significant.

Parental discipline. Parents of delinquent children are often too authoritarian, neglectful or inconsistent in disciplining their children. Physical punishment rather than a logical discussion of consequences is frequently and inappropriately employed.

Attachment to parents. When the emotional bond between child and parent is weak, delinquency is likely to be more frequent. If the message conveyed to the child in their early years is one of being unloved or unwanted, the emotional attachment will be very weak.

Violence in the family. There is clinical evidence that children of mothers who have been assaulted by their husbands are likely to be in trouble with the law and they are more likely to batter their own partner when they are older.

Marriage. Some evidence suggests that stable family relationships are associated with lower involvement in crime.

Examples of Social Intervention. Specific program initiatives, which address the above problems, are evident in the activities directed towards supporting families, developing positive parenting skills, providing respite care and preventing family violence. Family support services include education, parent-effectiveness training and family stress management techniques aimed at providing assistance in dealing with family relations.

Home support services are directed to assisting families in developing their basic home management skills. Services include visiting home-makers, debt-credit counselling, parental modelling programs, and visits by community health nurses to new mothers.

These emotional and social support services directed to alleviating a wide variety of stressful situations, such as

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alcohol or drug abuse by a family member, single parenthood, unemployment, child abuse, and other forms of domestic violence. The relevance of these initiatives is evident in activities of the YWCA and Jessie's in Toronto, both of which help young mothers improve their self-esteem and manage their lives.

Professionally trained leaders meet with groups of young mothers twice a week to provide information on social assistance, housing, legal rights, community resources, and educational and vocational resources. Opportunities for developing problem-solving skills exist. Through the use of guest speakers and presentations by public health nurses, the concept of positive parenting skills is incorporated into the programs in a non-threatening manner. In addition, activities of interest to young teens, such as make-up and hair-care sessions or craft work, make the groups fun and provide peer-group support and interaction.

Positive parenting programs are offered through many social service, educational and religious organizations. For example, individual support training programs in parenting are often provided by family and children's agencies, some income security programs, and public health nurses as well as through projects similar to the Toronto YWCA and Jessie's. Such services are also provided through other agencies.

One outstanding example is the work of the Academy on Parenting, a component of TV Ontario, which provides an informal learning opportunity which combines television programs, reading materials and discussion groups. The Academy was developed to assist parents in:

∃   Acquiring greater understanding of discipline and communication.
∃   Recognizing family behaviours which may affect children negatively, and proposing means of changing those patterns.

The program stresses six key concerns: children and television, communications in the family, discipline, parenting styles, problem behaviours, and seeking advice.

Respite care services provide a family with temporary relief directed to at least two types of need. First, the family's principal need may be for emergency relief. Second, the family may need to be relieved from the stress of long-term responsibility for a family member with special needs.

Respite services may last a few hours or several months, and may be in response to crisis situations or provided on a regular basis. They include:

∃   Assistance, such as babysitting brought directly to the home;
∃   Support out of the home where parents or children are able to take "a break" from the home environment.

Camp Otoreki in Québec provides vacation options for single parents and families on welfare. This respite care effort provides a relief from the often stressful situations confronting these individuals.

Services directed to preventing or responding to family violence have been increasing across Canada in recent years. Apart from the traditional responsibilities assumed by child protection agencies, there has been considerable development of transition programs, family-based crisis intervention programs, and services directed to the treatment of the family abuser. Services often reflect co-ordinated efforts among law enforcement, social and health professionals, and volunteers. Two recent well-known projects in this field are the Restigouche Family Crisis Interveners and the Family Consultant Service in London, Ontario. While in large part supported by criminal justice organizations, their emphasis on social development activity is noteworthy.

The Restigouche Family Crisis Interveners, located in a rural area of northern New Brunswick, includes professional staff and teams of volunteer interveners trained in crisis strategies. They provide support to police on domestic violence calls. The teams are available on a 24-hour basis seven days a week to respond to requests for assistance from officers regarding crisis situations. Their services include: face-to-face crisis intervention, referrals to other community services for longer-term counselling, assistance in locating safe accommodation

and acquiring emergency financial aid, transportation to safe housing, acquiring information about legal courses of action, and follow-up. This program has reduced the rate of recidivism in family violence cases.

The London Family Consultant Service differs from the Restigouche program in that it is located in an urban setting and relies on the services of paid professionals. The five mental health personnel work within the police department. They respond to family-related crises, normally at the request of a police officer. Family consultants provide the counselling necessary to bring the family or individual through the immediate crisis situation. Referrals to a local service agency are made if on-going support is necessary. The most frequent cases handled through Family Consultant Service involve marital disputes or assaults, behaviour management difficulties with juveniles, child neglect, alcohol or drug abuse, and suicide.

Suggestions for Action

∃   Governments should initiate a review of the impact of policies and programs on disadvantaged families.
∃   Social intervention initiatives, especially those dealing with families and children, should be supported and developed when not available.
∃   Family crisis intervention services should be expanded to areas where they do not currently exist.
∃   "Positive parenting" programs should be developed.

FRIENDS, COMMUNITY AND HOUSING

Research. Increased friendship with delinquent peers is associated with more frequent delinquency. It provides the offender with "permission" to offend.

Low income, in itself, is not necessarily a cause of delinquency. However, when multiple disadvantages in health care, education, family life and leisure activities accompany poverty, the possibility of persistent and serious delinquency increases.

Large public housing projects can amplify the effects by concentrating families with multiple problems into one area. The concentration in high-density housing of large numbers of single-parent families, unemployed individuals, and physically or psychiatrically disabled citizens tends to overburden available community resources and compound feelings of isolation and deprivation. The concentration of potential delinquents can result in increased delinquency due to mutual reinforcement.

Examples of Social Intervention. While not widespread, some initiatives in Canada focus on defusing the potential criminal behaviour of young persons through social and recreational strategies.

One such initiative, the Kelowna Youth and Family Services agency, accepts referrals from the police and the community of young delinquents and/or potential delinquents.

Through the support of the RCMP and various social agencies, the organization provides a focused preventive counselling service. It has authority to intervene in juvenile delinquent cases and deal with problem families when referred by the police, schools, social agencies or private sources such as stores, parents, doctors, etc. The agency also assumes extensive responsibility for community education.

Another interesting service model is offered by the Youth Services Bureau, a private, non-profit agency in Ottawa. The service varies according to the age of the child and the severity of the problem. For young children, play-groups of up to 10 children are used. Concerns of relationships with both family members and peers are

addressed. Staff maintain regular contact with the families to discuss problems within the group and offer practical suggestions for dealing with the child's behaviour.

> Adolescents with more serious problems of persistent delinquency, including truancy and alcohol or drug abuse, are candidates for the agency's "Detached Worker" (street work) one-to-one program. Referrals come from many sources including social workers, Children's Aid Society workers, the courts, doctors, hospitals and schools. Each case worker is assigned a maximum of four clients and works in a very intensive, individualized and closely supervised manner with both the client and their family. Interventions usually involve counselling within the family directed to improving communications skills and problem management.

There are also various recreational programs, such as Ottawa's Overbrook Community Intervention Program, directed specifically to disadvantaged young persons. This initiative, developed with the support of education, law enforcement and social agencies, provides a range of recreational opportunities, including alternative lifestyles counselling and "rap sessions."

Suggestions for Action

∃   Programs should be developed which are accessible and acceptable to disadvantaged young persons with personal and social difficulties.

∃   Public housing programs should continue to emphasize increased integration of public and non-public housing, thereby diminishing the high concentration of disadvantaged young persons in one area.

∃   More challenging and relevant recreational programs should be created for disadvantaged young persons, particularly those at high risk of committing crime.

SCHOOL

Research. Schools are major proponents of a society's norms and values. When the standards being taught are perceived as being too impersonal and irrelevant to one's life experience, or beyond a person's capabilities, the student can quickly become frustrated and bored.

There is a consistent association between lower IQ and increased risk of delinquency. At age 10, persistent delinquents are often more daring and aggressive than average, and as young teenagers, they are often under-achievers and truants. Educational failure often leads to low self-esteem, emotional disturbance and antagonism towards school. Those predisposed to delinquency are looking for excitement and challenge to gain self-esteem.

Examples of Social Intervention. Most educational systems attempt to assist students with special needs by providing remedial support for those with special learning disabilities and opportunities to develop self-esteem. There are a number of Canadian projects concerned with the special educational needs of youth. Initiatives undertaken by boards of education tend to focus on special adaptations within the mainstream education process.

Other initiatives focus on providing educational experiences in alternative environments. Operation Step-Up, a Vancouver program sponsored by the Ministry of the Attorney General and the Vancouver School Board, is directed at hard-core juvenile delinquents between the ages of 13 and 17. The key educational principle is individualized learning. Teaching networks are identified and courses are designed to overcome the fear of failure as well as to remedy various learning disabilities. The program offers instruction up to Grade 10, combined with job skills training and social learning provided by a multi-professional team. Students, parents and probation officers strongly support the initiative.

Another form of alternative education focusing more on personal development is evident in the Insight Theatre Company sponsored by the Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada. This program is intended to stimulate young people to think and talk about their concerns and problems, and to raise awareness among teenagers and adults about these issues.

The program includes intensive rehearsals where theatre skills are integrated with education. The actors themselves create skits based on their greatest concerns. Problems addressed include teen pregnancy, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, difficulties in communicating with parents and peers, homosexuality, sexual assault, and pressures to have sex. Various community groups have participated in workshops with the troupe.

Suggestions for Action

∃   Remedial support programs directed to socially and economically disadvantaged children and youth should continue to be developed.
∃   Curricula which focus on life skills, including parenting, sexual behaviour and other areas of social development, are necessary – especially for disadvantaged families.

EMPLOYMENT

Research. Work is one of the principal means of establishing self-esteem and acquiring material possessions. There is little evidence indicating a general cause-effect relationship between unemployment and crime. However, there is evidence that individuals confronted with failure in the school setting combined with an unstable job record are susceptible to continued involvement in crime.

Further, unemployment may lead to low self-esteem and to violence in the family, which in turn may lead to violent responses by the children when they grow older.

Examples of Social Intervention. The youth project concept is a highly successful employer initiative supported by government and the private sector. Secondary-school drop-outs are given the skills necessary to obtain and retain gainful employment. Model projects exist in Montreal, Halifax and Winnipeg.

These youth projects are designed to assist socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged youth in qualifying for continuing employment. Participants are under 25 years of age with less than Grade 10 education. They lack adequate reading, interpersonal, clerical and computational skills.

The three existing projects attempt to improve the participants' skills in these areas with a six-month integrated classroom and work-oriented training package. Approximately two-thirds of the period is devoted to classroom work in basic language, math and typing skills, and the development of basic social and work skills. The remaining time consists of on-the-job work experience.

Suggestions for Action

∃   Employment for disadvantaged youth, such as those in Montreal, Halifax and Winnipeg, should be developed through the cooperation of government and the private and voluntary sectors. Projects should emphasize the development of a young person's sense of involvement and participation in the work setting.
∃   General economic policies must be developed to reduce long-term unemployment and encourage fulfilling alternatives for those unemployed.

DRUGS AND ALCOHOL

Research. The specific role of alcohol and drugs in increasing delinquency and crime is not yet clear. While research confirms that alcohol and drug abuse is correlated with crime, this behaviour is also linked with other anti-social behaviours, thus limiting our understanding of its independent influence. Research does, however, indicate much higher rates of alcohol and drug abuse among convicted criminals. The high financial cost of drug abuse influences users to commit other crimes.

Examples of Social Intervention. Programs which address alcohol and drug abuse are provided by many social, health, and educational organizations. Self-help groups are also actively involved in this field.

One interesting initiative is the Alberta magazine, *Zoot Capri*. It is distributed free to teenagers in Alberta and represents an innovative approach to the difficult problem of trying to relay information about alcohol and other drugs in a way which is credible to young people.

The publication's style and approach ensure its interest to teenagers by highlighting music, entertainment, fashion, profiles of important young people, and discussions of the physical, emotional and social realities of adolescence. The messages contained within articles contribute to alcohol and drug abuse prevention.

Suggestions for Action

∃   Drug abuse programs directed at youth should be sensitive to their interests and lifestyles and emphasize prevention and treatment.

MASS MEDIA

Research. Studies suggest there is a correlation between televised violence and aggression. Research also suggests that prolonged viewing of violent programs by children already predisposed to violence can foster violent behaviour. However, viewing of television violence contributes less to crime than the factors considered thus far, e.g., family, school or housing.

Examples of Social Intervention. "La Prévention du développement de comportements anti-sociaux chez des jeunes garçons agressifs" located in Montreal attempts to reduce violence through early intervention. The negative effects of TV violence are reduced by limiting the amount of violence the children watch, and counsellors assist young persons in distinguishing real from imaginary experiences.

Suggestions for Action
∃   Continued efforts should be made to introduce positive parent roles in TV programming. Socially disadvantaged families should be featured in TV programs.
∃   Authorities responsible for regulating mass media should monitor the research on TV violence and crime, with a view to reducing the undesirable effects of programming on violence.

HEALTH

Research. There is some evidence that one's physical health can influence delinquent behaviour. In his 1981 book, *Diet, Crime and Delinquency*, Alexander Schauss shows, for example, that "diet, toxic metals, food additives, insufficient nutrients, food allergy and lack of exercise can contribute to criminal behaviour."

Examples of Social Intervention. Canada has extensively promoted good nutrition, mostly through programs directed to the population at large. Specific clinical intervention and various community health initiatives relate

nutrition concerns with the lifestyles and realities of the socially disadvantaged. Most are directed towards pregnant women.

Suggestions for Action
∃   Funded research must be undertaken to determine the effect of health factors such as diet and exercise in influencing criminal behaviour.

DEVELOPMENTAL GROWTH OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Research. While each of the factors discussed above has been considered independently, the research suggests that delinquency develops over time in the context of overlapping conditions and multi-problem situations. Historical patterns of family and child development often reflect parental mishandling, other criminals in the family, failure at school, and economic deprivation. Thus, the impact of each variable is often not understood. However, if a number of problems exist, they can provide a multiplier effect in influencing potential criminal behaviour.

Examples of Social Intervention. There are increased inter-professional and inter-organizational efforts directed to planning, conducting and providing services for disadvantaged youth and families in Canada. These initiatives reflect a commitment to serving families with multiple problems. They are often directed to a specific concern, e.g., child or spouse abuse.

Suggestions for Action
∃   Inter-professional and inter-agency collaborative efforts (similar to those undertaken for child abuse) should be directed to families confronted with multiple disadvantages.

COUNTRIES COMMITTED TO CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Canada has not set up any national approach to prevent crime. However, there are several concrete examples of national strategies to promote crime prevention – including social development initiatives – in other countries. These approaches involve both the private and public sectors and provide interesting models from which Canada might learn.

France. In 1982, a committee of mayors identified a list of specific activities required to reduce crime in France. In 1983, a national crime prevention council chaired by the prime minister was established. Already 18 cities have comprehensive projects underway, of which many are social development activities. These include courses to help with reading difficulties, inter-personal skills training, family counselling, and making sports facilities more attractive to youth.

United Kingdom. In England, following its study of crime prevention among young people, the parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group identified 18 specific recommendations focusing on the social approach to crime prevention. These included a detailed plan to strengthen the family and promote support for families in difficulty, through activities such as education on personal relationships, marriage and parenthood. Several recommendations focused on employment for youth, housing, drugs and schools.

USA. In the U.S., the Eisenhower Foundation, a private group, was established in Washington to implement the recommendations of the Eisenhower commission on the causes of violence. Its crime prevention activities have included the establishment of a hot-line to provide information on crime prevention, and opportunity reduction methods like neighbourhood watch programs. It has prepared a Crime Prevention Guide for Communities which includes crime prevention through social development techniques, such as stimulating youth employment.

The most comprehensive crime prevention program was launched by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1918. Entitled "The Inter-agency Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program," it targeted $41 million to 39 of the neediest public-housing projects to improve physical security, youth employment, programs for drug abuse and recreation. This project required the combined efforts of various levels of government as well as the co-operation of four major federal government agencies: Labor, Justice, Health and Human Resources, and the Interior.

CAUTIONS

A number of issues deserve further attention in determining the nature and commitment of those concerned with social development for crime prevention.

Crime Prevention Advocacy

Involvement in crime prevention activities is in part dependent on the attitudes and values of the participants. Many crime prevention action groups base their commitment primarily on the concern for protecting self and property. There is often little concern for, or interest in, society's responsibility to deal with the causes of crime or the needs of the offender.

Social policy in Canada, however, is based on fundamental principles related to the provision of basic maintenance, support and developmental services. It emphasizes support for individuals to maintain their full participation in society. Social policy objectives rarely identify the primary interests of crime prevention adherents.

This leads to a number of issues:
∃   How can organizations in the voluntary and public sectors ensure that commitment to crime prevention

goals will complement the principles underlying social development activity?
- ∃ To what extent should crime prevention interests influence the interests of the social development field?
- ∃ How can crime prevention interests be identified in the evaluation of social programs without distorting the significance of other relevant social objectives?

The Future of Voluntary Sector Support for Crime Prevention

Much effort is being directed to initiating and supporting the development of responsibility for crime prevention among voluntary organizations such as service clubs, community volunteer groups, and various self-help groups.

The most recent major crime prevention developments are directed to protecting self, home and community. They do not reflect a response to crime prevention as a social problem requiring initiatives directed to influencing potential offenders.

These trends raise a number of concerns regarding the extent and location of crime prevention activity.
- ∃ How does a community becoming actively involved in defensive crime prevention maintain a sensitive appreciation of and commitment to the social needs of its citizens, including offenders?
- ∃ To what extent should community volunteer capability be developed for crime prevention activity, as distinct from social development needs?
- ∃ To what extent can community groups primarily concerned with social development matters assume responsibility for crime prevention, and vice versa?

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

This booklet proposes the continuation and expansion of social development activities to reduce crime on the streets and in our homes.

Governments, voluntary agencies and the public all have a role to play in promoting and implementing this concept. Some of the programs advocated below already exist, but may be threatened by "fiscal restraint." Other programs require a redirection of present resources rather than the infusion of large amounts of new funding. However, a serious commitment to crime prevention will require either additional funds or a reallocation of funds in specific areas.

Cooperative working relationships are essential between agencies involved in the broad field of social development. Such relationships exist in many cases, but they need to be more closely focused on the problems of crime prevention. At the local level some coordination already exists, such as in the area of child abuse initiatives and, at a broader level, in terms of social planning councils. These agencies could be leaders in promoting interest in crime prevention through social development.

Special caution is needed in relation to child welfare legislation and programs, which would seem to fulfill many of the recommendations below. While most provinces have legislated preventive responsibilities, such services are increasingly being cut back in preference to protection, as are services to disadvantaged families.

Projects in the Family, Community and School

Maintain and expand social programs focused on children in disadvantaged families to:
∃   Improve child care services such as those aimed at preventing child abuse.
∃   Introduce respite care programs to single parents, where they are not available.
∃   Implement family violence intervention programs, such as those in Restigouche, N.B. or London, Ontario in every community.
∃   Encourage special programs to counteract the negative effects of family violence.
∃   Promote positive parenting programs in the schools and the community.
∃   Test family intervention projects that focus on mitigating the effects of media violence on predisposed youth.

Review community planning in relation to disadvantaged families to:
∃   Avoid concentration of disadvantaged families in one area.
∃   Develop challenging and relevant recreational programs.

Purpose of Project
∃   To ensure that prevention is not just in the law, but in practice.
∃   To reduce the frustration levels of single parents so that they are more likely to provide consistent and caring parenting.
∃   To refer families where violence is known to have occurred to those agencies that may be able to reduce that violence in the future.
∃   To prevent the cycle of violence on the child from leading to violence by the child when they become a parent.
∃   To encourage responsible and caring parenting.
∃   To reduce the risk of predisposed youth engaged in violence.
∃   To diminish the chances of youth in difficulties from getting involved with other youth with similar problems.
∃   To promote the development of self-esteem, by providing challenges for hyperactive and troublesome children.

Projects

Improve school programs that deal with disadvantaged and troublesome youth to:
∃   Continue to develop remedial support programs for children who are considered troublesome on entering school.
∃   Modify curricula to include information on such things as life skills, parenting, sexual behaviour and assertiveness, to meet the needs of children from disadvantaged families.

Develop employment projects that will involve youth from disadvantaged families by:
∃   Promoting projects that give youth a greater sense of participation.
∃   Continue and expand job preparation services and employment opportunities for disadvantaged youth.

Delivery Strategies
∃   Make social development programs more accessible to disadvantaged citizens, through out-reach initiatives, multi-service centres and detached-worker programs.
∃   Establish Youth Service Bureaus, similar to the one in Ottawa, in communities where they do not currently exist.
∃   Encourage citizen volunteers and self-help groups to provide infant stimulation and respite support to families, and to help get older children to participate in social and recreational activities.

Purpose of Project

- ∃ To enable children to develop self-esteem in school programs.
- ∃ To prepare young persons for responsible and caring parenting.
- ∃ To provide youth with self-esteem from employment.
- ∃ To give youth a better chance of getting a job.

Purpose of Delivery Strategies
- ∃ To enable those in need – disadvantaged mothers, their children and youth – to benefit from programs.
- ∃ To provide comprehensive counselling to children with difficulties.
- ∃ To channel community involvement in crime prevention into social development initiatives, and inform a wider public of the problems facing disadvantaged families.

Research and Development of Crime Prevention through Social Development
- ∃ Promote and use the present knowledge about social development and crime among persons directing social development agencies.
- ∃ Implement longitudinal research in Canada on the development of delinquency.
- ∃ Test and develop ways of delivering services to Canadians who may lack the motivation or knowledge about how to obtain these services on their own.
- ∃ Research the importance of diet and general health to violence.

Implementing Crime Prevention through Social Development
- ∃ Establish a National Committee with responsibility for crime prevention through social development.
- ∃ Institute a Crime Prevention Impact Analysis of social and economic policies.
- ∃ Promote and establish committees of relevant agencies to improve the delivery of services to multi-problem families.
- ∃ Develop community committees to coordinate and promote crime prevention through social development initiatives.

Purpose of Research and Development
- ∃ To provide key decision-makers with relevant knowledge.
- ∃ To provide Canadian data, similar to what has proven to be useful in other countries.
- ∃ To overcome the difficulties of getting those in need to use the available services.
- ∃ To identify the connections between general health and violence.
- ∃ To promote crime prevention through social development over extended periods of time.
- ∃ To clarify for decision-makers the potential effects of particular policy options on rates of crime.
- ∃ To focus energies on high-risk families.
- ∃ To promote local action on crime prevention through social development.

IN CONCLUSION

Effective crime prevention policies must address social causes of crime, because persistent and serious offenders have many similar disadvantages in their personal development. The recommendations above identify a list of areas where action could be taken to help modify and improve the experiences for young Canadians.

It is now up to for each reader – politicians, community workers, public servants or ordinary citizens – to ensure that crime prevention through social development becomes a more effective part of the Canadian response to crime. With concerted action, we can reduce the number of Canadians who suffer as victims of crime.

FURTHER RESOURCES

Crime Prevention Through Social Development: An Overview with Sources presents research material supporting the conclusions in this booklet. It includes citations referenced to a full bibliography.

Below are nine references which are particularly useful for understanding the potential of crime prevention through social development:

Canada, Ministry of Justice. *The Criminal Law in Canadian Society*. Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1982.
Sets out the policy of the Government of Canada with respect to the criminal law, including an appendix on trends in crime and criminal justice from 1890 to 1980 for Canada, Australia, England, France, Japan, Holland and the USA.

Eisenhower Foundation. *Neighbourhood Anti-Crime Self-Help Program Guide*. Washington, D.C.: Foundation, 1983.
Proposes indigenous, community-based solutions to crime focused on social causes and opportunity reduction. Includes a chapter discussing youth and crime, with examples of successful programs and employment and educational strategies.

England, Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group. *The Prevention of Crime Among Young People*. London: Barry Rose, 1981.
Provides detailed recommendations for social development to reduce crime in England, including special initiatives to improve the family.

Farrington, David P. *Further Analyses of a Longitudinal Survey of Crime and Delinquency*. Final Report to the National Institute of Justice. University of Cambridge: Institute of Criminology, 1983.
Analyzes the longitudinal studies of crime development, including several original analyses on prediction, sequences and crime after age 18.

France, Commission des maires sur la sécurité. *Face à la délinquance: Prévention, répression, solidarité*. Paris: Commission, 1982.
Specifies structures and specific initiatives to reduce crime in France. Social development recommendations focus on housing, leisure and schools. (available in French only)

Solicitor Genera Canada. "Crime and the Community," in *Impact*. Ottawa: Solicitor General, 1982.
Brings together short reviews on crime trends, public attitudes and crime prevention, with useful bibliographies.

Report of the Standing Senate Committee on Health, Welfare and Science. *Child at Risk*. Hull: Supply and Services Canada, 1980.
Discusses clinical views on how early childhood upbringing effects violence.

Rutter, Michael and H. Giller. *Juvenile Delinquency: Trends and Perspectives*. Markham: Penguin, 1983.
Provides a comprehensive assessment of what is known from research undertaken in Britain and North America about delinquency, including its origins, causation and relationship to other aspects of adolescent behaviour.

Waller, Irvin. *Men Released from Prison*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
Analyzes the social development of 400 Canadian penitentiary inmates before and after their release.