

CRIME PREVENTION IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

Rick Linden
University of Manitoba

The purpose of this report is to provide information to help the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry Implementation Commission make recommendations concerning ways of reducing crime rates in Aboriginal communities in Manitoba. Both the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry and the Implementation Commission have received ample evidence that crime rates are very high in many Aboriginal communities and among Aboriginal people living outside of these communities. Victimization among Aboriginal people is also disproportionately high. While there is evidence that this over-representation is partly due to systemic discrimination by the justice system, it is also clear that some Aboriginal communities do have very high crime rates. The cost of this crime to communities, victims, and offenders is so high that there must be more emphasis on prevention.

The first section of the report will provide a definition of crime prevention and briefly discuss how programs should be planned and implemented. The second section will provide an analysis of what works in crime prevention. Very little evaluation has been done concerning crime prevention in an Aboriginal context, so I will review current knowledge of what works in the broader society as many of the lessons learned will also apply to Aboriginal communities. The third section will describe some of the more promising crime prevention programs that are being used within Aboriginal communities. It will also look at some of the issues involved in developing effective programs in Manitoba and make some recommendations for the Commission.

PLANNING FOR CRIME PREVENTION

THE NEED FOR CRIME PREVENTION

For much of this century, citizens have placed the primary responsibility for crime prevention in the hands of the formal system of criminal justice. However, in recent years the limitations of this approach have been recognized. Criminal justice professionals, politicians, and members of the community have realized that the patrol and investigative resources of the police are limited in preventing many types of crime and that the courts and prisons also have only a small impact on crime rates. Because of this there has been a greater emphasis on crime prevention programs that involve close cooperation between those working in the criminal justice system, other professionals, business people, and community residents.

The direct costs of crime to the justice system are nearly \$10 billion a year. To this we can add the financial costs of medical care, property loss, community decay, private security, and the human costs of the pain and suffering and psychological damage resulting from victimization. Because of high crime rates, the cost to Aboriginal communities is disproportionately high. There is ample evidence that a significant amount of this loss could be avoided if we made more of an effort to develop crime prevention programs targeted at the most serious crime problems.

In response to the need for a more effective approach to crime, the federal government has advocated the **safer communities** approach to crime prevention. The 1993 Report of the Standing Committee on Justice and the Solicitor General has stated the four principles of this approach:

- * the community is the focal point of effective crime prevention
- * the community needs to identify and respond to both short and long term needs
- * crime prevention efforts should bring together individuals from a range of sectors to tackle crime
- * strategies for preventing crime should be supported by the whole community

The federal government responded to this report by establishing the National Strategy on Crime Prevention and Community Safety. A major part of the Strategy was the funding of the National Crime Prevention Centre which has supported hundreds of crime prevention programs across the country. Part of the mandate of the Centre is to support community-based solutions to problems that contribute to the victimization of Aboriginal persons.

THE PROACTIVE NATURE OF CRIME PREVENTION

Crime prevention, according to one commonly accepted definition, is *"the anticipation, recognition and appraisal of a crime risk and the initiation of some action to reduce that risk"* (National Crime Prevention Institute, 1978:1-2). This clearly indicates that crime prevention techniques involve a proactive rather than a reactive response to crime and safety. Proactive responses attempt to reduce the possibilities of criminal victimization before it occurs rather than responding after the crime has taken place.

THE BASIS OF CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Each criminal act is the product of two things - a motivated offender and a suitable target. To prevent crime the community can reduce the number of potential offenders or reduce the opportunities for crime by making targets less vulnerable. Programs aimed at reducing the number of potential offenders by addressing the social and economic factors which cause crime are called **social development** programs. These include measures like early childhood education, parental skills training, and youth employment. In contrast to these programs are those like Neighbourhood Watch, installing burglar alarms in cars, and engraving social insurance numbers on property, which are aimed at **reducing opportunity** by improving the guardianship of potential crime targets or by making these targets less vulnerable.

PLANNING CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAMS.

How do communities decide upon the best way to prevent crime? The answer to this question depends upon the nature of a community's problems and on the human and

financial resources available to deal with these problems. People need the skills and resources to analyze their communities and their problems and to design, carry out, and evaluate programs that address the circumstances underlying these problems. This approach means that programs are tailored to each community's unique problems.

The key to successful crime prevention is planning. Planners must approach their community's problems logically and systematically. They must develop programs that address their community's needs and evaluate these programs to ensure they are effective.

Focusing prevention efforts where they are most needed has several positive consequences. First, limited resources can be directed towards the most serious problems. Second, the activities of different agencies can be coordinated. Third, it is easier to assess the results when the community focuses activities on carefully-defined problems.

Planning and implementing crime prevention programs should follow four steps¹:

Step 1: Identifying and Describing a Community's Problems

This is the research stage. Crime statistics and community consultation are used to define crime problems in their community context, to establish priorities, and to describe the key aspects of these priority problems through detailed crime analysis. The result is a precise statement of the problem or problems that should be addressed. Ideally, problem analysis will consist of two steps. First, planners will describe a broad range of crime problems in sufficient detail that they can assess their relative seriousness. Second, planners should analyze these priority problems in detail before beginning to work on solutions. The final product of this stage is a statement describing the problem in as much detail as possible.

Step 2: Developing an Action Plan

This is the strategic planning stage. The planning group will develop a set of approaches most likely to be successful, including selecting potential participants, setting goals, establishing indicators of success, and choosing between alternate crime prevention strategies. The product of this stage is an action plan detailing the strategies that will be used along with a statement of goals and objectives and a detailed work plan.

Step 3: Carrying out the Action Plan

¹A detailed discussion of the crime prevention evaluation process can be found in Linden (1996).

This is the action stage. The planning group will decide roles of participants, obtain necessary support from agencies that are to be involved, decide how to maintain the program, and implement the program.

Step 4: Monitoring and Evaluating the Program

This is the assessment stage. As you carry out each step of the program is carried out, implementation must be monitored to ensure that it is being done correctly and on-time. This is called **process** evaluation. An **impact evaluation** should also be done in order to determine whether conditions have changed because of the program. The degree of success of the initial strategy will help to determine the approach that will be used in subsequent attempts to resolve the same or similar problems. Impact evaluation also introduces an element of accountability into the process, as those involved know the results of their efforts will be measured.

Many -perhaps most- crime prevention initiatives do not succeed because they do not follow these simple planning steps. It is rare for communities to conduct a detailed analysis of their problems before moving ahead with prevention programs. Consequently, programs often have no relationship to a community's problems, but are chosen because someone assumes they will be useful. Because of this, there are thousands of programs operating in Canada that will have absolutely no impact on crime. Further, implementation is often poorly done, as people frequently assume that things will simply happen the way they are planned and fail to keep track of what is being done. Finally, evaluation is rarely done, so we don't know which programs are working and don't know why they have succeeded or failed.

CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES: WHAT WORKS IN CRIME PREVENTION

There are thousands of different ways of trying to prevent crime, so it would be impossible to list them all. The important question about each of them is "Does it work?" The answer is that many of them do, but unfortunately most do not. As noted, most of our crime prevention efforts are unsuccessful because of a lack of planning, poor implementation, and an absence of evaluation. However, the good news is that slowly we have been building up a large inventory of successful programs, so those who are prepared to do the work can be confident that their efforts will be productive.

A longstanding debate in the field of crime prevention has been whether prevention programs should focus on immediate local problems or if the root causes of crime should be addressed. Unfortunately, this debate has often been framed in "either/or" terms when in reality a multi-faceted approach is necessary. Dealing with the root causes of crime takes time and often depends on actions such as dealing with unemployment and education which can be difficult (and at times impossible) to achieve. To wait for these changes to take place means that nothing would be done to prevent victimization in the meantime. Also, even if all the changes proposed in a social development "wish list" could be implemented, the pool of motivated offenders would only be reduced, not eliminated.

On the other hand, many of the defensive strategies, particularly those involving target hardening, may isolate members of a community from one another, as those who can afford it barricade themselves in locked apartments with security systems in buildings guarded by doormen and policed by private security guards. The streets will be left to the poor, some of whom will prey upon the others. There are several other reasons why strategies must deal with the underlying causes of crime. First, even when opportunity reduction strategies are effective, they often result in some displacement to other parts of the community. Second, most crime prevention programs are targeted at property crimes and do not address the serious problem of interpersonal violence². Third, in some high-crime areas there is little reason to trust one's fellow residents since they may be the very people causing part of the crime problem. Increasing your neighbour's ability to watch your property is a dubious achievement if you feel your neighbour is likely to steal your possessions. Finally, crime prevention can be very difficult - programs are often hard to implement and even harder to maintain. This is particularly the case in disorganized communities with high crime rates. It is by no means a sure thing that organizing neighbours, or marking property, or altering housing design will be successful, so there is a need for means of reducing the number of potential offenders.

²Although Clarke (1995) has suggested a number of situational prevention programs targeted at violence crimes. These include preventing the congregation of people in small areas at pub closing time; controlling items such as guns and knives and substances such as alcohol which facilitate crime; using Caller-ID to reduce obscene phone calls; and providing personal alarms to domestic violence victims.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

While other programs focus on reducing the opportunity to commit crime, social development programs seek to reduce the number of motivated offenders by dealing with the root causes of crime through "activities which are intended to increase positive...motivations, attitudes or behaviour in individuals by influencing their experiences in areas such as family life, education, employment, housing or recreation" (Waller and Weiler, 1984:4). Social development strategies are often targeted at children and youth at risk. Youth programs are particularly important because:

- 1.Many researchers have pointed out the importance of early childhood experience as a factor in behaviour in later life
- 2.Young people 15-19 are the group at greatest risk for committing crime
- 3.Most adult criminals began their criminal careers as youth
- 4.Young people may be most amenable to intervention

While almost all of us are guilty of committing some offenses during our youth, Wolfgang, Figlio, and Sellin (1972) first showed that a small proportion of offenders committed large numbers of offenses. Six percent of the males in their Philadelphia birth cohort committed 52 percent of all recorded juvenile offenses. They contributed to an even greater proportion of serious crimes including 71 percent of homicides, 82 percent of robberies, and 73 percent of rapes. This finding has been replicated in a number of studies using both official and self-reported occurrence data (Farrington, 1987). A Montreal study has concluded that 6% of people born in any given year will account for 20% of delinquents and will commit 50% of offences. These data lead to the obvious conclusion that if prevention programs can target youth who have a high risk of serious criminality, there can be a great payoff in crime reduction.

Risk Factors

Many of the risk factors correlated with high rate offending are those associated with deprivation and disadvantage. Among these were poor child-rearing and supervision; antisocial parents and siblings; low family income; and school failure (Farrington, 1987). Thus children who come from homes where discipline is inconsistent and erratic; where parents do not care for them; where parents themselves may have problems with drugs and crime; where parents are poor and unemployed; who do not achieve at school; and who do not make a successful transition to the labour market make up the group of individuals who are most likely to be potential offenders. The United States Surgeon General (2001) has recently reported that these risk factors are most important during childhood, while during adolescence peer-related risk factors become more important. These factors include weak ties to conventional peers, ties to antisocial or delinquent

peers, and belonging to a gang. Protective factors include being tolerant of deviance and being committed to school (Surgeon General, 2001).

To be successful, social development programs must change some of all of these factors that put youth at risk of behavioural problems. However, while programs must address these risk factors, program planners must always remember that not all children who are at risk will become serious offenders. Thus it is important that programs do not make the situation worse by singling some children out and consequently stigmatizing them. Further, Greenwood and his colleagues (1998) have shown that interventions targeted at high-risk youth are more cost-effective than programs aimed at all youth.

The basic premise of the social development approach is that crime will be minimized where we have healthy individuals living in healthy communities. As long as care is taken to ensure that programs are properly planned and implemented, the money invested in crime prevention through social development goes to the social institutions that are the building blocks of a cohesive society: families, schools, recreation and jobs.

While evidence on the effectiveness of the social development approach is rather limited, it has grown over the past decade. In this section we will look at several types of social development programs including those focusing on parenting, education, employment and recreation. While the lack of research on the effectiveness of the social development approach means that many of our conclusions are speculative, the importance of trying to deal with crime and delinquency at its source justifies the efforts which can be made in this direction.

One caution that should be noted is that only substantial social development interventions will have an impact on criminality. High-delinquency young people often live in situations where their entire environments - including family, schools, community, and peer groups - contribute to their problems. Often they have lifestyles in which they are at risk of many things such as illness, accidental death, suicide, substance abuse, and sexually transmitted diseases. In these circumstances, modest (or what one observer has called 'puny') interventions have little chance of making a difference. This conclusion is reinforced by a recent report on youth violence by the United States Surgeon General (2001) who concluded that the most effective prevention programs addressed both individual risks (by building individual skills and competencies) and environmental conditions (by working on parents' skills, improving the social climate of schools, or changing peer groups). Similarly, programs that last for a limited time may make a temporary difference that will disappear when the program ends. Interventions must lead to significant changes in the lives of at-risk children and youth and must be sustained over a long period of time or they will not work.

Parenting

Many studies have shown the importance of the family in the causation and prevention of crime and delinquency. For example, in their review of research on predictors of male delinquency, Loeber and Dishion (1983) found that parental family management techniques was the best predictor of the onset delinquency involvement. Other research shows that the strength of family ties, parental supervision and discipline, and the role model provided by parents are all related to delinquency (Linden, 2000). Recent research has focused on the impact of prenatal and perinatal experience on subsequent health and social behaviour.

The Social Context of Parenting

Before looking at some of the programs that have addressed the problems caused by poor family relationships, it must be remembered that this is not a problem which can be considered apart from other social ills. One cannot separate parenting from other issues related to resources and skills. For example, many persistent delinquents come from single-parent families typically headed by females. Even if parenting skills could be taught it would be extremely difficult for a poor parent, acting on her own, to effectively manage a household consisting of several children without outside help. Some recent work has suggested that it is important to rebuild the neighbourhood supports that assist parents raising their children.

Elliott Currie (1985) has pointed out that the relationship between broken homes and crime is due to the history of conflict prior to the break, and to the fact that the parent with custody of the children may lack the financial resources and support systems to do an adequate job of child rearing. Thus family problems may be caused by factors outside the family and may be amenable to change if support programs are provided. In a similar vein, Harriet Wilson (1980) has concluded that poor supervision on the part of parents is a result of chronic stress, unemployment, disabilities, and poverty. Thus the laxness of parents who do not properly supervise their children can itself be a result of the parents' social situation.

The answers to these problems lie in first strengthening the family economically. Employment and upgrading training for those who are unemployed or underemployed is a necessary step. Single parent families and those where both parents work require adequate day care and flexible work schedules. Single mothers, whether employed or at home, may benefit from support programs where they can get child care and counseling. Programs which simply offer contacts outside the home can help to break down the isolation which is often a problem for poor single parents. Economic problems can also be alleviated if provinces more aggressively pursue maintenance and child support orders against husbands who attempt to avoid paying.

Improving Parenting Skills

Unfortunately, there are few evaluations of programs directed at improving parenting. One promising start was made by Gerald Patterson and his colleagues at the Oregon Learning Center. Based on his experiences treating several hundred families of antisocial children and on very detailed observation of interaction patterns within these families Patterson (1980) concluded that "since antisocial acts that are not punished tend to persist" the key to changing the behaviour of these troublesome children was to teach their parents how to discipline them. This process consisted of teaching parents to 1) monitor the child's behaviour; 2) recognize deviance; and 3) punish such behaviour.

In a properly functioning family, parents understand this process and the system is activated by the bonds of affection and caring which exist between the parent and the child. The key is not just punishment - it was found that many parents of problem children punished them more often and more harshly than did the parents of normal children. However, the parents of problem children did not know how to punish their children, and punishment actually made things worse.

Working with the families of preadolescent problem children, Patterson developed a program in which parents are taught how to shape their children's behaviour by using nonphysical punishments, by rewarding good conduct, and by interacting more positively as a family. The results suggest the program has potential. One evaluation showed that stealing was reduced from an average of 0.83 incidents per week to 0.07 incidents per week. The treatment effects persisted for six months, but by one year stealing rates had gone back to pretreatment levels (Moore, et al., 1979). This finding suggests that parental retraining may be necessary.

Patterson's methods were tested among French-speaking Montreal youth by Tremblay *et al* (1992) . All kindergarten teachers in fifty-three low income Montreal schools were asked to rate the disruptive behaviour of their male students. The 30 percent most disruptive were randomly assigned to a treatment group, a no-contact control group, and an attention-control group. When the boys were entering their second year of elementary school intervention was provided with parents and in school. Over a two year period, parents were given an average of 15 parenting training sessions based on Patterson's work. Social skills training was given to the boys in school in small groups__f prosocial peers who met 19 times over the two years.

An evaluation of the program was conducted when the boys were fifteen years of age. The treated boys showed less self-reported delinquency involvement from ages ten to fifteen. While the number of boys charged under the Young Offenders Act was very low (8 percent) there were no significant differences between treatment and control groups. The program appeared to have other positive effects which diminished over time. Teacher-rated disruptive behaviour was less from ages ten to thirteen, but the difference disappeared at fourteen. School adjustment was also better for the treatment

group from ages ten to twelve, but this difference also disappeared. As with Patterson's work, this study suggests that ongoing or repeated training may be needed in order to maintain program effects.

A recent development in the treatment of high-risk youth is Multisystemic Therapy (MST). MST is an intensive home-based service that involves the family as well as the other groups such as the school, the peer group, and neighbourhood that have an influence on the young person. MST therapists are available 24 hours a day and work very intensively with the youth and his/her family as well as with the other groups. The ultimate goal of MST is to “empower the family to take responsibility for making and maintaining gains.... parents are encouraged to develop the requisite skills to solve their own problems rather than rely on professionals” (Leschied and Cunningham, 2001: 9). Experimental evaluations of MST intervention including a program in London, Ontario (Leschied and Cunningham, 2001) by have shown reduced rates of criminality, institutionalization, and drug abuse. The program has involved families in the treatment process and has improved family functioning and cohesion. Positive results have also been obtained in for a similar program called Functional Family Therapy that also includes a variety of interventions with youth and their families (Surgeon General, 2001).

Another set of studies reviewed by Tremblay and Craig is of interest; these are studies dealing with prenatal and perinatal parenting. Although delinquency was not used as an outcome measure, the potential impact of these interventions on delinquency is quite clear. Most of these studies were successful in changing parental behaviour. For example, Olds and colleagues (1986) studied the effect of a home visiting program in Rochester, New York. Nurses made home visits every two weeks to a treatment group of mothers who had one or more of the following problems: young age, single-parent status, or low socioeconomic status. Families were randomly assigned to treatment or control groups. One treatment group received prenatal care home visits and postnatal transportation for care; a second treatment group received bi-weekly visits until the child was two years of age. A 46-month follow-up demonstrated that the home visits had an impact on a wide range of outcomes. The visited mothers were less likely to punish their children, had fewer hospital emergency visits, and had fewer episodes of child maltreatment than the control mothers. The visited mothers also had better employment records and fewer subsequent pregnancies.

Other types of programs targeted at parents of high-risk young children have had positive impacts on risk factors for youth violence including antisocial behaviours, fighting, and mother-child relationships. These programs include Parent Child Development Programs and Parent-Child Interaction Training (Surgeon General, 2001). Mentoring programs for new mothers seem to have strong potential. Hawaii's Healthy Start program involving home visits by mentors, has dramatically reduced rates of child abuse and has the potential to reduce delinquency and crime from children who have received better levels of care. The Yale Child Welfare Project provided many of these services and also added early childhood education in its 30-month program. A ten-year follow up showed that the program had positive effects on antisocial behaviour,

academic achievement, and parental involvement in the childrens' education (Surgeon General, 2001).

While long-term follow-up studies have been done on some of these programs, further research is necessary to see what types of programs have the greatest impact on delinquency and other misbehaviour. However, many seem promising and the risk of implementing such programs is low. The costs are relatively modest, the short-term effects are healthier (and presumably happier) children, and the potential for significant long-term payback is high.

Recently a pre- and postnatal program was developed for women with serious substance abuse problems who live in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver (B.C. Centre for Excellence in Women's Health, 2001). The Sheway Project for High-Risk Pregnant and Parenting Women provided medical care and nursing services; nutritional support; support/counselling for substance abuse; support on HIV, Hepatitis C, and STD issues; support in reducing exposure to violence and building supportive relationships; advocacy and support on housing and parenting issues; advocacy and support on access, custody and other legal issues; training and support in ensuring healthy babies and infant/child development; and support to build friendship and service support networks. The program accomplished many of its service-delivery goals. Some of the positive outcomes were improving the women's housing and nutrition, reducing the need for specialized nursery care for the babies, and reducing the number of cases in which Social Services took custody of high-risk mothers. The impact of the program on the incidence of FAS/FAE and on the reduction of risky behaviours could not be assessed.

The evidence suggests that may be possible to improve parenting skills and to support parents who may be having a difficult time coping with the simultaneous demands of poverty, isolation, and child-rearing. Unfortunately, the research supporting most social development programs, including parenting programs is not strong. However, the research does tell us clearly that unless these interventions are substantial in nature and continued over time there is no chance they will be effective.

EDUCATION

Like the family, the school plays a major role in socializing young people and is an important predictor of delinquency. For most of the year, children spend all day in classes and return to the school after classes to participate in sports and social activities. More important, the school is an arena in which a child's performance is constantly being judged. Those who are successful are given prestige by teachers, parents, and other adults, as well as by many of their classmates. For those who succeed in school and who enjoy their educational experience, the school reduces the chance of delinquency. However, those who fail are more likely to be involved in delinquency. The correlation between school failure and delinquency is relatively strong

and has been replicated in Canada (Gomme, 1985;), Britain (Hargreaves, 1967) and the US (Hirschi, 1969).

The school has an impact on delinquency in two distinct, but related ways. First, the school is one of the major factors which determines an individual's future social and economic position. Second, the school has an impact on the daily life of the child. For some, the school experience is interesting, pleasant, and enriching. For others, it is irrelevant, degrading and humiliating.

There are a number of ways in which the school can play a role in reducing delinquency. There is some evidence that teacher style can play a role in provoking deviance or obtaining cooperation and that schools which allow pupils to participate in decision-making will be more successful (Rutter and Giller, 1984). The curriculum and the way it is taught may also make a difference in school performance and delinquency. Weis and Hawkins (1979) have recommended that schools make greater use of programs such as performance-based education, which involves establishing learning goals for each student and developing individually-based programs with rewards for improvement. They also suggest the use of cross-age tutoring and other ways of involving students in the operation of the school, thus enhancing their level of commitment.

Mechanisms should also be established to assist students with the transition from school to work. Schools must also be relevant to the lives of the students. With a society which has an increasing proportion of minority students, curricula must be developed which meet their needs as well as those of the majority.

Pre-school Programs

Pre-school programs for children from deprived backgrounds have been shown to have considerable potential for reducing crime and delinquency. Recent research tracking subjects from childhood to adolescence has shown the importance of early childhood intervention. Richard Tremblay has summarized these findings:

Children who fail to learn alternatives to physical aggression during the preschool years are at very high risk of a huge number of problems. They tend to be hyperactive, inattentive, anxious, and fail to help when others are in need; they are rejected by the majority of their classmates, they get poor grades, and their behaviour disrupts school activities. They are thus swiftly taken out of their 'natural' peer group and placed in special classes, special schools and institutions with other 'deviants', the ideal situation to reinforce marginal behaviour. They are among the most delinquent from pre-adolescence onward, the most at risk of dropping out of school being violent offenders [and] being charged under the Young Offenders' Act" (Tremblay, 2001: 23).

One of the few early childhood education programs which has undergone a long-term evaluation is a Michigan program called the Perry Preschool Project. The students were 123 black children from poor families. At ages 3 and 4 the children in the program

attended a preschool with an active learning curriculum five mornings a week. In addition, teachers visited the children's homes once a week. The program lasted thirty weeks each year. A control group did not receive these services. Like the earlier Head Start program, this project was intended to remedy the impact of the children's impoverished backgrounds on their later school success. The Perry Preschool program was more highly structured than Head Start and had the home visit component which was not part of Head Start. These differences are important, because Head Start had no impact on delinquency, while the Perry Preschool Project was remarkably successful.

The most recent follow-up of the Perry Preschool Project (Schweinhart *et al*, 1993) looked at the participants at age 27. Only one-fifth as many program group members as controls were arrested 5 or more times (7% vs. 35%) and only one-third as many were ever arrested for drug dealing (7% vs. 25%). The program group had higher incomes, were more likely to own their own homes, and were less likely to have been on welfare. They had greater educational achievement and lower rates of illiteracy. Program group members were more likely to have had stable marriages and females had lower rates of out-of-wedlock births. The costs of the program were more than recovered because of gains in reduced welfare costs and increased earnings of the graduates. Schweinhart *et al* estimate that the saving was over \$7 for every dollar invested in the program. Those responsible for this program strongly suggest that the intervention must be made while the children are young, and must be thorough enough to overcome the range of disadvantages faced by the participants.

Tremblay and Craig reviewed the results of 13 educational prevention experiments with delinquency outcomes (including the Perry Preschool study). While most were school or day care based, they typically also involved intervention with parents outside the school setting. They found that half the studies showed a beneficial impact on delinquency. The success rate was highest for programs for pre-adolescents, with five of the seven programs having lower delinquency rates for program youth than for controls. The successful programs were of long duration - from six months to five years - and involved intense interventions aimed at children, parents, and teachers³.

There is much less positive news about programs for older children, but there is some evidence that alternative classes or schools might be better for high-risk children. A major review of crime prevention programs conducted for the United States Congress (www.preventingcrime.org) concluded that programs that build school capacity to initiate and to sustain innovation; programs that effectively communicate appropriate behavioural norms; and programs that taught social competency skills such as problem-solving, communication skills, and decision-making had an impact on delinquency.

³The success of these programs is the reason why the federal government has strongly supported the Aboriginal Head Start program that will be discussed later in this report.

Outside the immediate school environment, mentoring programs have also shown some success⁴ (www.preventingcrime.org).

One of the most common responses to the problems of children and youth is to establish in-school programs to educate students about the nature and consequences of their problem behaviour. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that these educational programs have any positive impact. For example, DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) is the most widely-used drug prevention program in schools across North America. However, research has shown that DARE has had no impact on drug use (Surgeon General, 2001; www.preventingcrime.org). After several years of resisting these findings, the DARE organization has recently decided to make major changes in the program.

School-based peer programs such as peer counseling and peer mediation have also found to be ineffective at reducing youth violence and other risk factors. However, cross-age tutoring programs in which older children tutor younger ones has led to academic gains for both groups (Surgeon General, 2001).

EMPLOYMENT

While research clearly shows that positive experiences at home and in school reduce the likelihood of delinquency, the link between employment and crime is less clear. For example, while the debate is too complex to discuss in detail here, there is no consistent pattern in the relationship between employment rates and crime rates. That is, an increase in the rate of unemployment does not necessarily translate into a corresponding increase (or decrease) in the crime rate. Further, the evidence indicates that having a job does not constrain high risk offenders from committing criminal acts. In his review of the research concerning the relationship between crime and employment, Currie concludes that "it is not just the fact of having or not having a job that is most important, nor is the level of crime most strongly or consistently affected by fluctuations in the national unemployment rate. The more consistent influence is the quality of work - its stability, its level of pay, its capacity to give the worker a sense of dignity and participation..." (1985:116).

Even this conclusion is based on very limited research, as it is very difficult to isolate the effects of employment on behaviour. By the time they get to the age of employment, many high-risk youth have already had serious criminal involvement and behaviour patterns have been established which can be very difficult to end. If a youth has a lengthy record of serious offenses, a limited education, and poor work habits, it is difficult to find anyone willing to give him the kind of meaningful work described by

⁴In March, 2001 the Province of Manitoba announced the Ototema program which will provide mentoring for young female offenders on probation. The mentors will help the young women make better choices concerning family, school, employment and friends. The program will have an Aboriginal cultural component because about two-thirds of the female offenders are Aboriginal.

Currie. However, it does seem apparent that the short-run training and job placement programs which are most commonly used are ineffective (McGahey and Jeffries, 1985).

While the research correlating crime with unemployment rates and looking at the impact of jobs on an individual's involvement in crime are not conclusive, there is substantial evidence that inequality is related to crime. A number of researchers have documented the fact that serious violent crime is correlated with the inequality of income in a city. Further, there is also evidence that serious crime is most likely to be committed by those at the bottom of the social class ladder and that crime rates are highest in neighbourhoods with high unemployment (McGahey, 1986). Economic inequality is also linked with racial inequality - the over-representation of Aboriginal people in the Canadian criminal justice system is due both to their position at the bottom of the class system and to the racism which is a major cause of their poverty.

The policy implications of the research on economic correlates of crime are simple to state, but difficult to implement. The research tells us to reduce inequality of incomes, to minimize the effects of racism, and to provide meaningful and stable jobs for as many people as possible. These are difficult tasks in a world where most new jobs are in the service industry and where global competition puts pressure on companies to reduce wages and to keep the labour force as small as possible. They are particularly difficult for Aboriginal communities which are often very isolated and have few prospects for viable economic bases.

RECREATION

While many people assume that recreation programs will prevent crime, there is surprisingly little evidence supporting this belief. In fact the Congressional review pointed out that recreation programs may actually increase criminality if high-risk youth are allowed to mix with low-risk youth without a strong intervention to establish positive group norms (www.preventingcrime.org). Regular supervision may help some high-risk young people, but children most in need of help are also the most unlikely to choose to participate in these programs.

The research that is available does suggest that recreational programs will not be effective unless they are very intensive. That is, a program that involves young people for an hour or two a week will not be effective. There is some evidence that programs such as Outward Bound, which allow youth to test themselves against the harsh natural environment may help⁵. In Manitoba, the summer fly-in sports camps run by University of Manitoba physical education students on reserves in Northern Manitoba showed significant declines in crime rates compared with reserves that did not have the programs. This program involved very intensive recreation activities that were run over an entire summer. Finally, the Congressional review found that after-school recreation programs operating in high-crime areas by community-based organizations such as

⁵In Aboriginal communities these programs can be greatly strengthened by putting them into their cultural context.

Boys and Girls Clubs may have a positive impact on crime, but here again the intervention must be substantial if it to have any effect (www.preventingcrime.org).

An Ottawa study provides strong evidence that properly-run recreation program can have an impact. For almost 3 years, low income children 5-15 years of age living in a public housing project took part in an intensive after-school program that offered sports, music, dancing and scouting. The children were compared with young people in another public housing project with minimal services. Most children in the project participated in the project. Arrests in the program site declined by 75 percent compared with the two years prior to the program while they rose by 67 percent in the comparison site. However, within sixteen months after the program ended these positive effects had worn off (Jones and Offord 1989, as cited in Howell, 1995:95).

COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

Neighbourhood Watch programs are probably the most common community crime prevention measure in North America. Virtually all cities have established programs and there are millions of households involved. Despite their popularity, the evidence concerning the success of these programs is rather mixed. You might be surprised to learn that the Congressional review concluded that “One of the most consistent findings in the literature is also the least well-known to policymakers and the public. The oldest and best known community policing program, Neighbourhood Watch, is ineffective at preventing crime” (www.preventingcrime.org) . This conclusion is both true and highly misleading.

How did the review reach the conclusion it did, and why is the conclusion partially wrong? First, we can look at one of the main evaluations the researchers used to conclude that Neighbourhood Watch did not work.

London: An Unsuccessful Program

Trevor Bennett (1988) evaluated two Neighbourhood Watch programs in London. He found that the programs had no impact on property crime rates, on the public's rate of reporting crime, or on police success in solving property offenses. Bennett concluded these results were due to a lack of involvement by community members. For example, other than attending the initial meeting and displaying a Neighbourhood Watch sticker, most residents did not actively participate in the program. Less than half the residents said that they had ever looked for anything suspicious, and less than 10 percent had actually reported something suspicious to the police during the past year. The programs also involved property marking and home security surveys, but only a small minority of residents had marked their property or had the survey conducted.

Clearly, the failure of this program to reduce crime was due to a failure to properly implement the program. In the unsuccessful U.S. programs, the participation rate was only 15-20% again showing an implementation failure rather than a program failure.

Unfortunately, there is a large body of research showing that this situation is typical and it is likely that most Neighbourhood Watch programs have no impact on crime (Rosenbaum, 1988b).

In many cases participation rates are too low to accomplish much more than moving crime from one house in a neighbourhood to another. In high-crime neighbourhoods the task of increasing informal social control by increasing social interaction through watch programs is very difficult. This difficulty is illustrated by a study conducted in Minneapolis by Silloway and McPherson (cited in Rosenbaum, 1988a) which found that even with an average of 25 hours of organizing per block, only one-fifth of households became involved. While organizers spent much more effort in lower-class areas, they had less success getting citizens involved than in other parts of the community. This reflects the unfortunate fact that Neighbourhood Watch is most difficult to implement in areas where it is most needed, and easiest to implement in communities which already have a high degree of informal social control. Residents in high-crime neighbourhoods are often fearful, wary of strangers, and reluctant to get involved with community programs. They are also affected by many other social problems including poverty, poor housing, unemployment, and addiction which make participation in Neighbourhood Watch seem less meaningful than in communities where small amounts of crime are the major social concern. The evaluations discussed by Rosenbaum did not typically show an increase in the intervening factors such as social interaction, surveillance, and stranger recognition which are necessary to make watch programs effective. In these neighbourhoods, watch programs must be combined with other initiatives if they are to have an impact on crime.

Even in communities which are less troubled by crime and other social problems, Neighbourhood Watch programs are largely ineffective because they are not properly organized or maintained. Without a significant level of effort, Neighbourhood Watch may be little more than a public relations exercise.

Kirkholt: An Example of Successful Crime Prevention

In contrast to the London programs, a prevention program in Kirkholt was highly successful in reducing burglaries (Forrester, et al, 1988). This program illustrates the steps in the planning model, including the proper way to monitor implementation and to evaluate results. It also illustrates how you can use social development programs along with more traditional crime prevention techniques.

Kirkholt is a public housing area in northern England that had twice the burglary rate of other public housing projects. Analysis of these burglaries brought to light several interesting patterns that were crucial to planning an effective prevention program. First, analysts found that once a home had been victimized, the probability of a second burglary was over four times as high as the chance of a first burglary elsewhere in the project. Nearly half of those burglarized had been previously victimized in the same year. This finding led to a program whose goal was to reduce repeat victimization.

Analysis of methods of entry suggested that household security had to be upgraded. After talking with victims and burglars and doing an analysis of victimized households, planners identified points of vulnerability which they dealt with by a security upgrade. An important feature of program monitoring was that project staff continued to track methods of entry throughout the program so that changes in the practices of burglars could be countered.

Analysts also found that the most common target of the burglars was money from electricity and gas prepayment meters. It is common in British homes for residents to prepay their fuel by putting money in a meter located in their homes. This money is collected every month or every third month, so a significant amount of money can accumulate in the meters. As part of the prevention program, the utilities agreed to provide victims with more secure meters.

Perhaps the most interesting innovation resulting from this analysis was the establishment of a "cocoon" Neighbourhood Watch program based on the analysis showing repeat victimization. The participants in each cocoon included recent burglary victims and their nearest neighbours. Each of these neighbours was specifically asked to report anything suspicious near the victimized home. Those who agreed to participate received an upgrading of their home security. This program created numerous pockets or cocoons of supportive community members around the places most likely to be victimized.

The program had dramatic results. Within five months the rate of burglary fell by 60 percent. Repeat victimizations - which the program specifically targeted because of research showing that burglarized homes were likely to be targeted again - were almost non-existent. The provision of services immediately following victimization not only serves a prevention function, but it is also an extension of existing victim services programs. Moving prevention measures quickly into place following victimization may be an effective and efficient means of preventing crime and will also be a good means of minimizing some of the psychological damage resulting from the initial victimization. It may also enable the police to apprehend offenders as they return to repeat an earlier offence.

Building on this success, planners broadened the program to include several new components. Recognizing the need for longer-term measures to deal with the underlying causes of crime in Kirkholt, planners introduced several social development strategies such as a school-based prevention program and a savings and loan program for the low-income residents. Support groups were set up to assist offenders with their rehabilitation.

Operation of the Kirkholt program was turned over to a community group made up of residents of the housing project. The community group has ensured that crime analysis is still at the core of the program. For example, newcomers to the housing project were found to have a high likelihood of victimization so they are established in cocoons as

soon as they move in. This continual monitoring by program staff ensures that changes can be made quickly. Along with the introduction of strategies aimed at helping offenders and potential offenders, this helps explain the fact that after three years of operation, burglary rates have been reduced by 75 percent. This is far greater than the decline reported in the rest of the community. This very successful program illustrates the importance of careful planning, innovative strategy development, continuous implementation monitoring, and impact evaluation.

However, the program didn't count as a success for Neighbourhood Watch in the Congressional review because evaluators couldn't separate the impact of that component from the others.

Other studies have also shown that when properly implemented and maintained, Neighbourhood Watch programs can be effective. Among these were programs in Seattle (Lindsay and McGillis, 1986), Winnipeg (Roy, 1985a), and Thunder Bay (Worrell, 1985). However, these successful programs should not cause us to reject the conclusion of most of those who have assessed Neighbourhood Watch programs - that most have little or no impact on crime rates.

Watch programs have also been adapted for rural use and Rural Crime Watch and Range Patrols are very common in Western Canada. An evaluation in Manitoba by Roy (1985b) found that these programs resulted in significant reductions in crime.

SITUATIONAL PREVENTION AND CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

In their routine activities theory of crime, Cohen and Felson (1979) observed that three factors must be present for a crime to occur: a motivated offender, a suitable target, and a lack of effective guardianship of the target. **Situational prevention** of crime involves two of these three elements; improving the guardianship of potential targets and making these targets less attractive to potential criminals. Situational prevention simply means reducing opportunities for crime, or to use the somewhat more formal definition of one of its major proponents "situational prevention seeks to reduce opportunities for specific categories of crime by increasing the associated risks and difficulties and reducing the rewards" (Clarke, 1995: 91).

While notions of crime prevention through environmental design or CPTED (Jeffery, 1971) and "defensible space" (Newman, 1972) are more familiar to most people than situational prevention, they can be considered part of the situational approach. Ronald Clarke has noted that both the CPTED and defensible space approaches are "more narrowly focused on the design of buildings and places, whereas situational prevention seeks to reduce opportunities for crime in all behavioural contexts" (1995:96). All three will be discussed in this section. The important thing to understand about situational crime prevention is that solutions will be specific to particular situations. By reducing the

attractiveness of a potential target or increasing guardianship of that target, crime rates can be dramatically reduced.

Situational Crime Prevention

The situational approach to crime prevention was developed in Britain, where researchers from the Home Office concluded that little could be done to prevent crime through conventional justice system responses including arrest and imprisonment. The catalyst for the British research was a study which showed that misbehaviour in juvenile institutions seemed to depend more on the way the institution was run - particularly the opportunities for misbehaviour in the institution - than on the personality or background of the juvenile inmates (Clarke, 1995). If opportunities were a function of the institutional regime, perhaps they could be "designed out". Research such as an Edmonton study by Engstad (1975) which showed that geographical factors such as the location of bars could be used to explain patterns of crime gave further support to the situational approach. Burglars themselves told researchers that they selected targets based on their perception of risk and reward (Waller and Okihiro, 1978), again suggesting the possibility of reducing crime by changing those perceptions.

Techniques of Situational Crime Prevention

In his attempt to put situational crime prevention on a more rigorous footing, Clarke has developed twelve different categories of situational crime prevention techniques. Figure 1 presents these categories, along with examples of strategies which have been used in each category. Most of the strategies suggested by Clarke have been evaluated and have been found to be effective in the specific circumstances under which they have been applied. Several examples of successful situational programs will be presented. We will not attempt to describe all the situational programs which have resulted in published evaluations. There have been a wide variety of these evaluations, many of which are described by Clarke (1992,1995). While this report will not review these in detail, consider the impact of Caller-ID and call screening on obscene phone calls, exact fare systems on bus robberies, and the well-known success of the New York transit system in dramatically reducing graffiti by ensuring that no graffiti remained on their trains or cars for longer than 24 hours.

THE TWELVE TECHNIQUES OF SITUATIONAL PREVENTION		
INCREASING THE EFFORT	INCREASING THE RISKS	REDUCING THE REWARDS
Target Hardening	Entry/Exit Screening	Target Removal
Steering locks	Border searches	Removable car radio
Bandit screens	Baggage screening	Exact change fares
Slug rejector device	Automatic ticket gates	Cash reduction
Vandal-proofing	Merchandise tags	Remove coin meters
Toughened glass	Library tags	Phonecard
Tamper-proof seals	EPoS	Pay be check
Access Control	Formal Surveillance	Identifying Property
Locked gates	Police patrols	Cattle branding
Fenced yards	Security guards	Property marking
Parking lot barriers	Informant hotlines	Vehicle licensing
Entry phones	Burglar alarms	Vehicle parts marking
ID badges	Red light cameras	PIN for car radios
PIN numbers	Curfew decals	
Deflecting Offenders	Surveillance by Employees	Removing Inducements
Bus stop placement	Bus conductors	"Weapons effect"
Tavern location	Park attendants	Graffiti cleaning
Street closures	Concierges	Rapid repair
Graffiti board	Pay phone location	Plywood road signs
Litter bins	Incentive schemes	Gender-neutral phone lists
Spittoons	CCTV systems	Park car off street
Controlling Facilitators	Natural Surveillance	Rule Setting
Spray-can sales	Pruning hedges	Drug-free school zone
Gun control	"Eyes on the street"	Public park regulations
Credit card photo	Lighting bank interiors	Customs declaration
Ignition interlock	Street lighting	Income tax returns
Server intervention	Defensible space	Hotel registration
Caller-ID	Neighbourhood Watch	Library check-out
Source: Clarke, 1992:13		

FIGURE 2

CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

The use of physical and environmental design to control crime is not new. Fences, locks and surveillance have always been used to protect people and property. There have been very few evaluations of these simple measures, though it does seem obvious that major security improvements will reduce the likelihood of crime. However programs like Hamilton's Shield of Confidence program have put together a package of household security improvements in a voluntary building code that appears to have reduced crime in Canada, Britain and the Netherlands. Unfortunately, builders have strongly resisted attempts to have these standards put into the national building code.

Environmental design programs have evolved into more sophisticated efforts at creating defensible space - design that encourages people to exert control over their physical

environment. While early evaluations of this approach did not show positive results, planners kept working as it was much more congenial to building strong communities than turning households into fortresses isolated from their neighbours. Finally, two after decades of work by people like architect Oscar Newman, environmental design proponents recognized that design changes were not enough - these changes had to be integrated into broader programs. This integration is exemplified by Newman's latest project.

Newman Revisited: Five Oaks

Crime had increased dramatically during the 1980s in the Dayton, Ohio neighbourhood of Five Oaks. Five Oaks is a formerly middle-class neighbourhood which had become a favourite commercial location for drug dealers and prostitutes (Newman, 1992). A planning team involving Newman working in consultation with the community and with civic officials, came up with the idea of using street closures and other design changes to divide the area into 10 mini-neighbourhoods. Each had 3 to 6 streets which could only be accessed through one entry portal. Other entrances were blocked by iron gates which could be unlocked for emergency access. Pedestrian access was not affected. Internal streets were redesigned into culs de sac. This redesign was intended to make access more difficult for criminals and also to encourage residents to make more use of the area. Other elements involved police cooperation with the community and aggressive action against the prostitutes and dealers, better enforcement of building code regulations (because many houses had been illegally converted to multi-family rental units), and a city program to encourage residents to own their own homes.

The impact of these changes was dramatic: over a one-year period violent crime dropped by 50 percent, non-violent crime dropped by 24 percent, traffic accidents dropped by 40 percent, and house prices increased by 15 percent. Residents liked the changes and many noted that resident involvement in the community had increased.

We should not see redesign as a panacea, particularly for very deteriorated, high-crime areas. It is most useful in neighbourhoods such as Five Oaks which still have some sense of community, high percentages of strong families and home ownership higher than in the city core, and which have the potential to be turned around relatively quickly. Projects such as Five Oaks involve a rapid and major change which can help convince residents that their efforts to improve their neighbourhoods are supported and which can help motivate their further efforts

Closed Circuit Television (CCTV)

In Britain closed circuit television has become a major crime prevention tool. While use of CCTV on the scale it is being used in some communities raises serious privacy concerns, there is strong evidence that it is effective in reducing crime. The first use was in parking garages. CCTV reduced car crime in all locations; the most dramatic results were in a car park in Hull where damage to vehicles dropped by 45 percent, theft of vehicle by 89 percent, and theft *from* vehicle by 76 percent (Tilley, 1993).

Many British communities have now established town centre CCTV networks. Shaftoe and Osborn (1996) have evaluated the network in King's Lynn, a town of 33,000 people in the east of England. Initial experience using video cameras on a housing estate led to dramatic reductions in crime, and the program was extended to other parts of the town including the central shopping area and car parks. Sixty video cameras are used, which send signals to a control room where they are monitored on 14 split screen television sets. Cameras are monitored 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The cameras have a zoom capability and can be moved. The largest impact has been on theft of and from cars in the central business areas. These incidents dropped from 207 in the year prior to CCTV installation to only 10 the year after.

Given the success of CCTV, we can expect to see its use continue to increase. Sudbury and Regina are using CCTV and a bar in the West Edmonton Mall has begun videotaping all activities. A Winnipeg business association had hoped to use CCTV for a downtown neighbourhood, but found that the program would have been too costly. The issue of privacy violation has also impeded its adoption in many areas as many citizens object to being under constant surveillance.

POLICE PROGRAMS

Changing Styles of Policing

Research in the 1960s and 1970s challenged traditional police practices such as preventive patrol and rapid response to calls (Kelling et al, 1974;Van Kirk: 1978). This research suggested that these practices were very costly and contributed little to the reduction of crime. What have the police done in response to this research? Some departments experimented with innovative patrol tactics such as address-oriented patrol which focused on locations with a pattern of repeated complaints. This was based on crime analysis, a process of looking for patterns which might provide clues for solving crime and preventing future occurrences. While these programs did show that patrol activities could be directed more efficiently, the results showed no substantial improvement in controlling crime (Gay, Beall, and Bowers, 1984).

Crime analysis has also led to other programs including offender-oriented strategies such as VICAP (Violent Criminal Apprehension Program) and SHOCAP (Serious Habitual Offender Comprehensive Action Program). The latter program identifies and targets juveniles with lengthy records of serious crime. Again, these programs have been effective in targeting specific offenders, but no research has assessed their impact on overall crime rates. The Congressional review had some encouraging findings regarding these types of police crime reduction strategies (www.preventingcrime.org). One of their general conclusions is that the more focused the police strategy, the more likely it is to prevent crime. This applies to strategies such as directed patrols to crime hot spots and proactive arrests of serious repeat offenders. By extending this logic, problem-oriented policing, which involves trying to resolve crime and disorder problems

by dealing with the causes of these problems, should be a more successful strategy than merely responding to calls for service.

Other innovations such as call screening and differential response, which involve delaying dispatch to calls which are not urgent or even taking reports over the phone rather than in person, are directed toward efficiency rather than toward control of crime. The same is true of case screening procedures which enable detectives to concentrate their efforts on cases which have a high likelihood of being solved.

These innovations have been necessary in order to free up police resources to implement programs which more directly address the prevention of crime and the reduction of the fear of crime. The most important of these involve strategies to get more closer to the community. During the 1960's and 70's some attempts were made in this direction as it became apparent that in order to improve their effectiveness the police had to use the resources which were available in the community. However, this involvement was typically limited to the establishment of community relations units and to the inclusion of sensitizing material dealing with racial and ethnic minorities on training courses. While these programs were a start, they were not very successful because they did not address the underlying issue of the relationships between line officers and the community. Many community relations programs also involved "doing something to" the community, rather than "working with" the community in any meaningful sense. In order to really develop police-community relations it is necessary to make fundamental changes in the way in which the police are trained and organized, and in the strategies and tactics which they use.

The Newark Foot Patrol Experiment

The beginning of a transition toward more meaningful community-oriented policing began with several evaluations of the impact of foot patrol in high-crime areas. The best-known of these was carried out in Newark, New Jersey, and involved a comparison of patrol areas in which officers were assigned to foot patrol with those where patrolling was done by automobile (Police Foundation, 1981; Pate, 1986). The two major findings of the study were rather interesting, as they were somewhat contradictory. Crime rates, as measured both by reported crimes and a victimization survey, did not differ by type of patrol. However, residents in beats where foot patrol was added felt that crime problems had been reduced and that neighbourhood safety had improved.

Some observers have suggested that this reduction in fear is due to the fact that foot patrol officers are able to deal with problems of order maintenance, such as young people hanging around the street or groups of men drinking in alleys and doorways. These signs of disorder are a major correlate of high levels of fear so clearing them up may reduce fear and concern, even though crime rates have not declined. According to Pate, the study also suggests the positive effects of foot patrol may decline over time. This may be due to the fact that as people realize that crime has not actually been reduced, their positive view of foot patrol declines. If this is the case then either foot patrol must be shifted from one area to another to take advantage of the initial positive

response, or better strategies for crime reduction by foot patrol officers must be developed, or the foot patrol officers must become involved in a broader range of activities than simply walking the streets of the community.

David Bayley has suggested one reason for the success of this, and other foot patrol experiments is the personal contact officers have with community members. He found that community police officers based in a Chicago neighbourhood behaved best toward residents, vehicle patrol officers were next best. Those who only came to the area to eat or to back up emergency calls behaved the worst as residents claimed that they were the most likely to accost local residents who appeared suspicious and to act harshly and intrusively (cited in Kelling and Coles, 1996).

Community Policing in Flint, Michigan

The foot patrol project which was implemented in Flint, Michigan represents a combination of the foot patrol and mini-station approaches. (Trojanowicz et al, 1983; Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990). With the assistance of a \$2.6-million grant from the Mott Foundation, the Flint Police Department put foot patrol officers in 14 neighbourhoods into local offices (many in schools) where they were accessible to the community. While the officers were called foot patrol officers, their mandate was not just to walk the streets hoping to deter crime through their presence, but rather to focus on crime prevention and the provision of services to community residents. As Trojanowicz has described the role of community officers, "Because foot patrol officers make face-to-face contact with the public, they are able to act as community organizers, dispute mediators, service brokers, and links between the community and local social service agencies" (1986:177). This program represented a large step toward a complete program of community-based policing.

The evaluation of the project showed that many of the program goals were met. Between 1978 and 1981 crime rates declined by 8.7% while they increased in the rest of the city. The real impact of the program may have been greater, as crime rates for the first two years of the program were around 20% lower. However, in the third year the size of the patrol areas was expanded and in one case an area was increased to 20 times its original size. Crime rates rose sharply following this increase.

Calls for service also declined dramatically as a result of the project, apparently because people took minor complaints to their community officer rather than phoning the police station. Citizen surveys indicated that residents felt foot patrol had reduced crime in their areas and they felt safer as a result. While this program was eventually terminated because of a lack of resources, in many respects it was highly successful and has been a model for a number of other programs including one in Edmonton⁶.

⁶Since the Winnipeg police adopted the Edmonton model of community policing, the Flint program has also had a major impact on Manitoba policing.

Edmonton Neighbourhood Foot Patrol

In 1987, the Edmonton Police Service implemented the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol Program in 21 neighbourhood beat areas. These areas were selected because they had the highest number of repeat calls for service. A neighbourhood constable was assigned to each area. These constables worked out of a storefront office staffed by volunteers, and each had a neighbourhood advisory committee. Their duties did not just include preventive work; they were also assigned to respond to calls within their foot patrol areas. Constables were trained in problem solving, and were encouraged to work with the community in identifying and solving local problems. Some of the problem solving strategies were very successful. For example, one constable encountered a problem with the availability of Chinese cooking wine, which had an alcohol content of 38% but which was not regulated by the Alberta Liquor Control Board. The constable worked at the issue until his efforts to have the product regulated were successful. Another constable found that a recurring problem in his area was a high school dropout rate among aboriginal youth. He initiated a Native Arts Program, funded by the provincial government, at a junior high school. Junior high students were able to make and sell crafts after school and on weekends if they maintain a satisfactory school record. The intent of the program is to provide an incentive to stay in school and continue on to high school (Koller, 1990).

The Edmonton program was successful in achieving its goals (Hornick et al, 1989). Fourteen of the 21 beats had fewer repeat addresses and the number of repeat calls per address declined significantly. A user survey showed that members of the public who had contact with the police had higher levels of satisfaction with the foot patrol officers than with motor patrol officers. While the respondents had a number of reasons for being more satisfied with their contact with the foot patrol officers, one set of findings is worthy of note. Foot patrol contacts were more likely than motor patrol contacts to report that the same officer returned to tell the citizen how the problem was resolved, were more satisfied with the follow-up contact provided, and reported that the follow-up helped them feel better about reporting the crime. Crime rates in Edmonton dropped following the implementation of community policing. From 1991 to 1995 total criminal code offences dropped by 41 percent and violent offences by 31 percent. Some of this was probably due to lower reporting of crime, but some is likely due to the community policing program.

In addition to Edmonton, many Canadian cities have implemented community policing programs. These include Halifax, Victoria, Calgary, Winnipeg, and Toronto. Unfortunately, evaluations of these programs have not been conducted, so their impact on crime cannot be determined. However, it does seem clear from the research which has been done that the public strongly supports building closer links between the police and the community.

Police in Public Housing

One rather interesting innovation in community policing has been to place a community office in a housing unit right in a public housing project. Traditional policing does not address the needs of public housing projects, which are often high crime areas. The police typically patrol in cars, which don't go into the high-rises and town house complexes that make up public housing. Most of what goes on in the housing projects is not visible from the streets. A police presence may be particularly critical in high-crime projects as residents may not be willing or able to get involved in community-based solutions because of their fear of crime. The police can help to stabilize crime so that other solutions can be implemented.

Several Canadian communities have established offices in housing projects. One of the five community offices in Victoria is in a housing unit. In Windsor, officers have also moved into a project which they patrol on bicycle. Unfortunately, the evaluation of the Victoria program is still in progress, and no evaluation has been done in Windsor. However, evaluations of similar programs have been carried out in Burlington, Ontario and in Fredericton, New Brunswick.

Burlington

In Burlington, the Halton Regional Force set up a mini-station in a low income residential apartment-townhouse complex (Mitzak, 1987). The project covers one square block where approximately 6000 residents live in six buildings. The mini-station was staffed by a sergeant and four constables. These officers carried out a community survey, implemented Neighbourhood Watch, and engaged in several community development projects. In addition to this proactive work, they also did reactive policing and patrolled both the interior and exterior of the complex on foot. Over a five-month period the project resulted in an increase in citizen satisfaction from 40% to 87%. The residents felt that public safety had increased and that crime had gone down. Calls for service increased 248% over a one-year period, though calls involving criminal occurrences declined. Unfortunately, the program was phased out after five months as the police department required the personnel elsewhere.

Fredericton

One of the most successful mini-station programs in Canada has been the Community Centre which was established in the Devon Family Housing Development in Fredericton, New Brunswick. The Fredericton City Police, working with the New Brunswick Housing Corporation and the Fredericton Housing Authority, opened the Centre in 1986 in one unit of a sixty-four unit housing project.

The Devon project has a high proportion of single parent families headed by females and a high percentage of children. There were problems with disturbances and vandalism, and there was a good deal of fear of crime and disorder both in the project and in the

surrounding community. Attempts to resolve the problems with private security and commissionaires were not successful, and the activities of social service agencies lacked coordination and continuity.

To address these problems the Community Centre was given a broad mandate which went far beyond law enforcement matters. While the Centre was staffed by a police officer, many other agencies were involved. The Centre's advisory council consisted of members from the Housing Authority, the clergy, the city recreation department, the tenants association, the Boys and Girls Club, the police, and the provincial Departments of Health and Community Services, Income Assistance, Education, and Labour. This enables a multi-faceted approach to problems which can include intensified police patrols, counselling, eviction of troublesome tenants, recreational activities, and so on.

The daily activities of the Centre are very diverse and are supported by people from many agencies as well as by volunteers. Effective parenting and teen support programs are run from the Centre and represent ways of dealing with the problems caused by teenagers in the project. Reading and creative arts programs are also held for pre-schoolers. Recreation programs include bingo, crafts, sports, and community activities such as barbecues and trips to the lake. Regular information sessions are held on topics such as welfare rights and child abuse. A representative of the New Brunswick Housing Authority comes once a week to deal with concerns and complaints of tenants.

The Centre was very successful. While official statistics for the area prior to the establishment of the Centre are not available, the Fredericton police report that the number of complaints received from residents of the project were down from several calls per day to several calls per month. Maintenance costs were also reduced (Touchborne, 1989). However, the greatest success may have been with the service-oriented programs. While no systematic evaluation has been done, there are many reports that residents were less isolated from one another and were much more involved in community activities. A number of the women active at the Centre have developed the self-confidence needed to go back to school to upgrade their skills. While the Centre is still staffed by a police officer, some consideration is being given to replacing the officer with a social worker, because the crime rate has gone down so much that the nature of the problems in the community have changed. One other indication of the success of the program is that Fredericton later established another mini-station.

THE NEED FOR A COORDINATED CRIME PREVENTION EFFORT

One of the keys to effective crime prevention is the involvement of many different agencies. This means that activities will have to be coordinated by a central agency. This task of coordination is often done by government, though in Britain several not-for-profit organizations have taken on this role. In addition to the need for coordination, there are many functions that can only be carried out by the federal and provincial governments. These include such things as economic development, making the educational system more responsive to the needs of the poor, setting minimum wage

levels, and providing safe, secure, and affordable housing. However, it is perhaps paradoxical that despite the need for government involvement and coordination, the involvement of the community is also crucial if prevention efforts are to be successful. This means that the role of government should be to coordinate rather than to control. Structures must be put in place which provide encouragement, resources and information to local groups which would be responsible for the planning and implementation of programs. Those who will be affected by programs must also be involved in the planning and implementation process. As in other types of crime prevention, the great diversity of problems and the uniqueness of each community means that "one size fits all" programs will not work. The need for a coordinated approach can be illustrated with an example of a project which is modest in scope, but which requires the coordinated efforts of a wide variety of difference agencies.

Cooperation in Calgary: Coping with Child Prostitution

Many Canadian cities have been troubled by the problem of child prostitution. Most of the young girls and boys involved in prostitution have run away from abusive homes and are selling themselves to survive on the streets. Many are involved in drugs and some have been exploited by pimps who actively recruit troubled youth into the sex trade. Our prostitution laws make it very difficult for the police to deal with the problem, and very few men are ever arrested for engaging in sex with child prostitutes.

Front-line agencies in Calgary recognized that a problem as complex as child prostitution requires the coordinated efforts of many different agencies (Teichroeb, 1995). Social agencies and community groups have established support programs for troubled children. The broad goal of these programs is to get girls and boys out of prostitution and to help them choose positive lifestyles. A shelter has been set up for prostitutes, an alternative school has been started for high-risk girls, and professionals and volunteers have begun a street outreach program. Support is given to parents who are trying to get their children off the streets, and the planning group is addressing the legal and political issues concerning the problem. A program called High Heels and Teddy Bears educates all those involved about the nature and causes of child prostitution.

According to the Calgary police, this program led to a 25 percent reduction in child prostitution over the previous year. This result shows the merits of a coordinated approach involving many segments of the community. One agency acting alone could not have had this much impact.

PREVENTING CRIME IN MANITOBA'S ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES

This report has shown how crime prevention programs can be systematically planned and evaluated and has reviewed the research that has been done on the effectiveness of different types of prevention programs. In this section, I will consider how this material can be applied to Aboriginal people in Manitoba.

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

In their discussion of causes of crime among Aboriginal people, Manitoba's Aboriginal Justice Inquiry concluded: "From our review of the information available to us, including the nature of the crimes committed by Aboriginal people, and after hearing the hundreds of submissions presented to us in the course of our hearings, we believe that the relatively high rates of crime among Aboriginal people are a result of the despair, dependency, anger, frustration, and sense of injustice prevalent in Aboriginal communities, stemming from the cultural and community breakdown that has occurred over the past century" (Hamilton and Sinclair, 1991:91). As the Commissioners recognized, crime should not be seen in isolation, but as something that is symptomatic of other problems.

The serious and deeply-rooted nature of this problem means that it will take a major effort to prevent crime in Aboriginal communities. It also means that the focus of crime prevention programming must be on social development. Unfortunately, many Aboriginal communities are so beset by problems such as poverty, unemployment, poor housing and substance abuse that some of the common short-term solutions to crime such as Neighbourhood Watch and situational methods of crime prevention will have little or no impact. For example, several years ago I conducted a 2-day crime prevention workshop with community leaders and the RCMP on a northern Manitoba reserve. Participants quickly came to the conclusion that the vast majority of crime was alcohol-related and that other programs would be ineffective unless this underlying problem was remedied. Since the alcohol abuse was itself a symptom of the other social problems that affected the community, it was apparent that effective crime prevention would have to involve major changes in the community.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM OFFENDER PROFILES

In 1995, the Ministry of the Solicitor General developed offender profiles of inmates in Canadian federal penitentiaries. The review found that although Aboriginal people comprised only 2.5 % of Canada's population, they made up approximately 9% of federally incarcerated males and 17% of federally-sentenced women. This over-representation of Aboriginal people is well-known and is quite similar to the picture presented by the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry. However, the review also looked at some of the characteristics of inmates. This analysis highlights the disadvantaged situation of inmates and particularly Aboriginal inmates.

The review found that inmates in general were very disadvantaged compared with the average Canadian. Almost ½ of the inmate files showed that the offender had been a victim of child abuse (physical, sexual, psychological, neglect) as children/adolescents, or had witnessed family violence. Most federal inmates are undereducated, although the I.Q. distribution among the inmate population is not significantly different from that of the general population. Approximately 65% of offenders test at lower than a Grade 8 completion level and 82% test lower than Grade 10. Inmates had much higher than average levels of unemployment. Approximately 50% of the federal offender population suffers from some type of substance abuse problem and 55% had used alcohol, drugs, or both on the day they committed the offences for which they were incarcerated. An earlier study of federal offenders showed that many inmates had used alcohol and/or drugs at an early age and that early use of alcohol was associated with early involvement in criminal behaviour. The inmates' physical and mental health was also below average.

While the overall picture for inmates is one of great disadvantage, Aboriginal inmates are the worst off. Alcohol abuse was a greater problem for Aboriginal offenders. They also had lower levels of education and much higher levels of unemployment than other inmates. For example, only 22.5% of Aboriginal offenders had any vocational training and about two-thirds had no previous skilled employment. These data show the great need for programs that will ensure this pattern is not repeated in future generations.

Ultimately the battle against crime and related problems such as suicide will not be won until Aboriginal communities have achieved a level of development that will provide meaningful employment for their members and until Aboriginal people have overcome the legacy of the Indian Act, residential schools, and other policies that led to cultural destruction. However, focussing on crime prevention can help communities to guide their social development activities. Also, some shorter-term crime prevention programs may help to give communities some relief from the immediate problems of crime.

If Manitoba is to make a serious effort to reduce crime among Aboriginal people, it will be necessary to use a broad range of strategies. There are two reasons for this.

First, communities that have high crime rates have a broad range of needs. A single strategy will almost always be swamped by the other things that are taking place in the community.

The different types of strategies operate over different time frames. While social development programs should be emphasized, they can take years to have an impact on crime rates. People who are afraid to go outside after dark are not going to be satisfied with a prenatal program that might make them safer in 14 years. On the other hand, short-term solutions are short-sighted if there will always be a supply of motivated offenders. Thus communities should try to use a combination of strategies that have both short-term and long-term outcomes. An example of this kind of programming is the U.S. Weed and Seed program that combines social

development programs with intensive, targeted work by the community and the police to deal with immediate problems.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN AN ABORIGINAL CONTEXT

While different types of crime prevention strategies should be used, social development programs will be essential if Aboriginal crime is to be reduced. In this section, some of the social development programs that have been used in Aboriginal communities will be reviewed.

Family Programs

For a variety of historical reasons the family structure in some Aboriginal communities is not strong. A major reason for this is the legacy of the residential school system which took young people away from their families for most of their childhoods. Many of those who have written about crime prevention in Aboriginal communities have suggested that one of the first steps should be to provide the tools, programs, and financing to the First Nations to help re-introduce traditional parenting skills back to the culture. People have also suggested a number of ways of improving parenting. For example, parenting courses should be compulsory in high school, proactive support should be available for parents who are having difficulty raising their children or adapting to their parenting role, and that early intervention should be taken with parents who are having difficulties controlling or dealing with their children.

Another important parenting issue concerns foster care, as there are relatively high numbers of Aboriginal children in care. One potential improvement would be to make foster care more stable. It is not uncommon to encounter young people who have lived in ten or more foster care homes. Foster parents need to be trained and monitored and support should be provided so that children can stay with the same foster parents until they can return to their natural parents, where appropriate, or live on their own. Several places in the United States have implemented a Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care program for chronic young offenders which is similar to the MST program discussed earlier in this report. Those responsible for this program work with foster parents, biological parents and with the young people themselves. An important component of this program is the role played by a community liaison worker who coordinates the different people and agencies who are involved with each young person (Surgeon General, 2001).

The Kwanlin Dun First Nations Healthy Families Program

One example of a parenting project is the Kwanlin Dun First Nations Healthy Families Program in the Yukon, which is funded by the National Crime Prevention Centre's Crime Prevention Investment Fund.

This project targets high-risk Aboriginal children aged 0-6 and their parents to reduce the multiple risk factors associated with anti-social behaviour, delinquency and criminal behaviour. These factors include young single parents, parental unemployment, inadequate family income, unstable housing, child abuse and neglect, parental substance abuse, marital or family problems, poor parenting skills, exposure to domestic violence and parental criminality. The Kwanlin Dun community is remote and has high needs and few resources. The community has identified needs in the areas relating to parental skills and child development training, high alcohol and drug abuse, high unemployment, population instability, cultural retention, and program and service integration.

The program is modelled after the Hawaii Healthy Start Program and the Healthy Families America Project. In addition to the traditional health care system-based assessment and referral process for at-risk children used in these U.S. programs, the Kwanlin Dun initiative will include referrals from police and federal/provincial correctional officials. Children who have witnessed violence in the home will be referred to the program by police investigating situations of domestic violence and children of adult offenders will be referred to the program by federal and provincial correctional officials.

Parents participating in the program will be provided with the culturally appropriate, integrated supports needed to reduce the incidence of child abuse/neglect and domestic violence. The focus of the intervention will be the development of practical skills for parents, including primary infant care, access to information, referral to existing programs and services, and strengthening the network of support around the infant and parents. Once initial health and support issues are addressed, the parents will be encouraged to participate in a career-planning program.

Participants in the program include several Kwanlin Dun First Nations program agencies including the Health Centre, the Community Wellness Program, the Ashea Day Care/Head Start Program, and the Child Development Center. There is also has representation from other internal and external service agencies. The goals of the program are to increase parental child-rearing skills, to reduce cases of abuse and neglect, to increase school readiness and to implement a system of integrated services and program support for at-risk parents and children.

The results of an evaluation of this program are not yet available, but it does seem very well-planned and might provide a model for other communities to follow.

The Andrews Street Family Centre

The Andrews Street Family Centre (ASFC) in Winnipeg represents another approach to improving parenting skills. The mission of the Andrews Street Family Centre is to create a supportive and nurturing setting that facilitates the development of children within their families and community. ASFC is founded on the belief that children are reliant on their parents and that all parents, regardless of their life situations, require help and support at times.

The ASFC program was designed by the community. The program consulted with the community in a variety of ways including surveys, large consultation meetings and "kitchen table" meetings. Many of those who were surveyed volunteered to help run the program and residents have also been hired as employees. Community members are active on the board and there is an advisory committee that includes schools, a health clinic and the health department, Native women's and other community development organizations, Native Addictions Council for Manitoba, Winnipeg Friendship Centre, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, Winnipeg Child and Family Services, Social Planning Council and Neechi Foods. Other organizations that are consulted regularly are family and children's services, schools, churches, United Way, employment training and educational institutions and Native organizations.

AFSC operates four main programs:

1. Andrews Street Family Centre is a family resource centre offering a parent-child drop-in and support groups; children's programs; prenatal, parenting, nutrition and health programs; fathers' night; food cooperative and community kitchen; washer and dryer and clothing exchange; literacy supports; work experience; workshops; and other community development projects.

2. Pritchard Place Drop-In is for children and youth 7 to 17 years of age. It emphasizes cultural and recreational activities and encourages parents to be involved along with their children.

3. Moms Helping Moms helps adolescent single parents make connections with each other and with needed services. The goal is to prevent crises and family breakdown by providing practical supports. Some young mothers have received training through the local community college and now support other mothers on a peer support basis. Three positions have been funded by the provincial family services department.

4. The Andrews Street Community Patrol Co-op grew out of the community's desire to improve safety in the neighbourhood. Residents are trained as volunteers who act as drivers, walkers and dispatchers to monitor activities. The goal is to reduce vandalism, break-ins and gang-related activities that kept many people from leaving their homes.

A final parenting issue that should be addressed is that of foster care. Aboriginal people have high rates of children in care and many of these children have family backgrounds and personal problems that place them at risk of delinquency involvement. Any concerted effort by the province to reduce Aboriginal crime rates should ensure that the system of foster care is as well-supported and effective as possible. A system in which children move from one foster home to another without any chance to establish some stability will be one in which does not help these children to live law-abiding lives.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

The first section of this report demonstrated the importance of education, particularly early childhood education, in helping to prevent crime. The role of education in preventing crime has been stressed by the National Crime Prevention Centre in its Policy Framework for Aboriginal People and by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). The RCAP recommended the development of innovative curricula that reflect Aboriginal cultures and lifestyles; the increased involvement of parents, elders, and families; the empowerment of young people; and the acknowledgement of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of learning. In its response to the RCAP, the federal government made a commitment to improving the quality of education for Aboriginal people and particularly to youth at-risk. The federal government has followed through on this commitment by funding several projects that are providing better educational programs and opportunities for Aboriginal youth. Two of these projects are discussed below.

Aboriginal Head Start

The federal government has made a major commitment to the Aboriginal Head Start program. The program was developed in 1995 by the Department of Health after extensive consultation with Aboriginal communities across Canada. Programs are operational in several Manitoba communities. Aboriginal Head Start programs are planned designed and operated by Aboriginal people and must include ways of involving parents or primary caregivers in all aspects of the project. The programs are designed for preschool children and also provide outreach support for their parents. The programs also provide access to other community health and social services and provide coordination of these services. Program officials have provided training across Canada in the High/Scope methods used in the Perry Preschool program. In addition to regular preschool program activities, this method emphasizes an active learning process, problem-solving skills and encourages staff to form relationships and to share control with the children and to act as facilitators rather than instructors. Since the Perry Preschool program was much more successful than the regular Head Start program, communities should be encouraged to adopt the High/Scope method.

Aboriginal Head Start may be particularly important for children with FAS/FAE as research has shown that early intervention and support in a structured environment can help children to cope with the effects of their problem (Aboriginal Head Start News, 97/98).

The Outdoor Classroom Program

One of the challenges to improving education for older children is to make school more relevant to the lives of Aboriginal children. The Gwich'in Tribal Council in the McKenzie Delta region of the NWT have received funding from the National Crime Prevention Centre to establish the Outdoor Classroom program. This project targets Aboriginal youth aged 6-12 from northern, remote, high needs communities who face multiple risk

factors such as lack of school attachment, lack of continuity of community role models, suicide, addictions, youth gangs and increased peer pressure to engage in these illegal activities, little programming interventions and lack of parental and community involvement in the lives of children in this age group. The Gwich'in communities face the problems of substance abuse, chronic unemployment, youth violence, suicide, and an increasing incidence of special needs children (FAS/FAE, Attention Deficit Disorder and other behavioural and developmental problems). Nearly half of the students had serious school problems and dropout rates were very high. Youth crime has been increasing and the community is concerned that children under 12 are becoming increasingly involved.

The program combines traditional Gwich'in values and teachings with effective "mainstream" crime prevention interventions. The program has 4 components:

5. The Traditional Outdoor Classroom. Throughout the school year there will be alternative teaching environment combining academics, traditional activities and effective crime prevention strategies. Some of the intended outcomes are building relationships with peers, improving self-expression and anger management, and exposure to old and new Gwich'in teachings. Each outdoor classroom session will last 10-15 days depending on the age of participants.

6. Orientation Program. The goal of this component is to provide an orientation and support program for teachers, parents and other resource people on the integration of crime prevention strategies at home, in the school and in the community.

7. Social Skill Development. Instruction and support for social skill development for children aged 6-12 will be provided. Education staff will be trained to identify pre-offending behaviours and appropriate early intervention strategies. Resource information on topics of relevance will be provided to educators, parents and community resource peoples. Community liaison will be undertaken with education staff, parents and caregivers. Art, drama and play therapy will be used with high-risk children for self-expression, anger management and safe play.

8. Program Integration. Crime prevention interventions for children and their families will be integrated into existing community programming.

The program has a wide variety of partners including tribal groups, NWT government, police, and the Board of Education. An evaluation of the program is being conducted for the National Crime Prevention Centre, but no results are available.

An important part of these educational programs is an emphasis on cultural values. In many of the crime prevention workshops that I have attended, participants have identified the issue of cultural values as an important factor for Aboriginal people. Cultural values are relevant to crime issues in two ways. First, some feel that differences in values and traditions between Aboriginal people and the larger society is

one reason for the high Aboriginal crime rates. A non-Aboriginal participant at the Federation of Canadian Municipalities/ National Crime Prevention Council meeting in 1996 reported on the results of his discussion group: "It seems that no matter what problem we talked about, the common ground seems to be the great difference in the Aboriginal belief, the culture differences, their traditions and their spirituality. We do not understand where they are coming from and it seems to be the common thread through all of the problems". Second, some also feel that strengthening Aboriginal values and traditions is an important step on the way to healthier communities. An example of this was provided by an Aboriginal participant at the same conference: "As everyone knows, our culture is important to each and everyone of us. Language, dance, song are important to a lot of the First Nations along with their culture. The sharing of our cultures is important to order for us to bridge the gaps. It alleviates ignorance which takes out a lot of racism within the municipalities and the country by sharing of our cultures and the First Nations must be given an opportunity to take their issues and to come up with their own solutions. The rest of us must have an understanding and help work with it in order to get it to work". These comments make it clear that educational programs should continue to emphasize cultural values.

RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS

The review of crime prevention programs in the first part of this report indicated that recreation programs do have the potential to reduce the delinquency involvement of at-risk youth. However, the evaluation literature also indicated that only intensive interventions would work. The literature also suggested that recreation programs could potentially increase delinquency rates if they brought non-delinquents into contact with serious delinquents in a situation where supervision was weak. The Fly-In Sports Camp Program in Manitoba showed one model of a successful program.

Another useful model is the Aboriginal Youth Cultural Camp and Leadership Training Program. The program was initiated by the Edmonton Social Planning Council's Aboriginal Initiatives Program, the Big Sisters and Big Brothers Society of Edmonton, the Ben Calf Robe Society and the Edmonton Young Offenders Centre who developed a summer youth camp for urban Aboriginal men aged 13-24 and another for Aboriginal women of the same age. The camp involved cultural and recreational activities in an outdoor setting with elders providing guidance and traditional knowledge.

As part of the cultural camp pilot project, an 8 week leadership training skills and outdoor education program supported by Edmonton Parks and Recreation as well as Alberta Community Development was offered to 25 Aboriginal youth 16-18 years of age. These youth were involved in the cultural camps as group leaders. They received a weekly stipend with a bonus upon completion of the project.

No evaluation of this project has been reported, but the activities are intensive enough that it has some prospect of success.

EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Economic factors, particularly those related to employment, have been identified as causes of crime among Aboriginal people. Children growing up in communities where there is little paid employment, few prospects for the future, and an absence of role models who demonstrate the value of work are more likely than other children to become involved in crime. Later in life, economic pressures may become causal factors in crime.

A wide variety of different programs have been designed to prepare young people for employment. Most youth employment programs provide work assessment and skills testing, practical life skills, job readiness training, vocational and support counselling and placement into employment or skills training. They typically involve classroom training, some work experience, a supervised job search, and a follow-up after the student has been placed in a job. Transportation and clothing may also be provided.

The Bent Arrow Program

An example of such a training program targeted toward Aboriginal youth is the Bent Arrow program which is operating in Edmonton. Bent Arrow is a 16 week program for First Nations people between the ages of 16 and 24. The program is intended for young people who are not working, in school or in a training situation. It is designed to develop the skills and knowledge necessary to make and maintain positive lifestyle changes using the guidance and teachings of Native Elders and The Medicine Wheel. Participants are eligible to receive a training allowance in order to help them participate in the program. The program is a recent one, and has not yet been evaluated.

The success of employment programs with high-risk young people has been limited and it is likely that more innovative programming must be developed for them. Also, employment programs will have very little value in many isolated Aboriginal communities with very high unemployment rates. A corresponding effort in community development will also be needed to create jobs for community members.

WHAT TO DO? CRIME PREVENTION IN MANITOBA

While the focus of the Implementation Commission is obviously on Aboriginal people, any recommendations about preventing crime must consider the broader provincial framework. One of the main tasks of participants at a provincial crime prevention training workshop held 2 years ago in Winnipeg was to identify the strengths and weaknesses of crime prevention programming in Manitoba⁷.

⁷This workshop included a diverse group of people with an interest in crime prevention including a number of Aboriginal people.

The participants identified a number of strengths. The federal government had taken a leadership role in the field of crime prevention by committing over \$150 million over five years. The National Crime Prevention Centre, which is responsible for this federal initiative, has worked closely with the province and has provided very useful funding and expertise. Some organizations had also received funding from HRDC. The province has also begun to place more of an emphasis on prevention and has appointed a provincial crime prevention coordinator. The Winnipeg Development Agreement, the Justice Initiatives Fund, and the Crime Prevention Fund also had provided program funding. Legislative changes have placed more of an emphasis on diversion and community involvement and there has been an integration of services through the Children and Youth Secretariat. There was a good volunteer recognition program and there were signs that there was a move toward more evidence-based decision making. Communication had improved and governments have recognized the diversity of communities, including the Aboriginal community.

Along with federal and provincial initiatives, there was also evidence of change in other parts of the community. The police have begun to focus on problem-oriented policing and Youth Justice Committees and Community Justice Forums have brought more community members into the justice system in a positive way. Rural municipalities have taken a sense of ownership over crime prevention programs. Portage la Prairie was specifically mentioned as one municipality that had done a good job. The strengths of the Aboriginal approach to solving crime problems in a restorative manner were also noted. There has also been positive support from the media and from some segments of the business community.

Finally, a number of specific programs were mentioned to support the view that crime prevention in Manitoba was moving in the right direction. These included: Aboriginal Headstart; Babyfirst; Inter Agency Committees; Neighbourhood Justice Committees; Andrews Street Family Centre; business groups such as the Downtown BIZ; Literacy Support Programs; Recreational Programs; and Alternative School Programs. Many of these programs were designed for Aboriginal people and all are accessible to Aboriginal Manitobans.

While the group was very positive about the current crime prevention climate in Manitoba, they also identified many areas where improvement was needed. Again, groups seeking to develop Aboriginal crime prevention programs can learn from these problems. The biggest problem was seen to be a lack of coordination. Funding and services were fragmented. As a result, community groups often lacked knowledge of different funding programs and sources of expertise and information. There was a lack of education and communication. Not all groups had equal access to information and to the funding approval process. One participant commented that there was a lack of an *infostructure* in crime prevention. Participants saw a need for 'one-stop shopping'.

There was a sense that different levels of government, agencies and groups had conflicting priorities, strategies, and philosophies and that these agencies did not communicate with each other very well and were often unaware of what other groups

were doing. Local initiatives were not linked to a broader strategy, so their impact was limited. While the federal and provincial governments and community groups had begun to deal seriously with crime prevention, municipal governments were not doing their part. This was a major weakness because many of the most important prevention programs were delivered (or at least coordinated) at the municipal level.

Other weaknesses mentioned included: a lack of training; a lack of evaluation and accountability; several policing issues including an over-reliance on the police for crime prevention and a lack of understanding of community policing (by both the police and by the public) a lack of business involvement; political agendas and political mistrust; negative press, overwork of volunteers or not giving volunteers a meaningful role, and a failure by communities to identify problems and to set priorities.

Another consistent theme was the issue of the sustainability of programs. Many community representatives were unhappy with the fact that it was difficult to obtain funding to sustain projects and some felt that funders lacked a long-term commitment to their communities. Most crime prevention initiatives are funded only on a project basis and it may be unrealistic to expect that projects will continue after funding is over unless they are connected with organizations or agencies that will be able to sustain them if they are successful. This is quite frustrating to those running the programs who do not wish to see their hard work wasted and it is also a waste of the resources invested in the program. Often programs are barely up and running before their funding runs out. It is very difficult to have an impact on crime under these circumstances.

This problem could be handled in several ways. The first would be to make sustainability an important funding criterion. However, this would likely result in poor and under-resourced communities being left out of the funding process. This would have a very negative impact on Aboriginal communities, which are typically poor and lack the community infrastructure that could sustain programs. Another would be to establish a two-stage process for some communities. The first stage would allow a community to develop a project; the second would provide implementation and sustainment funding covering a reasonable time period. For very high-needs communities, many of which are Aboriginal, it may be sensible to provide some means of long-term funding for programs that are providing a significant benefit to the community.

All those at the workshop realized that it was difficult to balance the need to sustain existing programs and the ability to fund new initiatives. Even though prevention programs will save money in the long run, it is hard to make the financial transition from a justice system based on responding after a crime has taken place to one that is focused on prevention. For example, resources can't simply be transferred from prisons to parenting programs that may take years to reduce the prison population.

Principles

A major task of the workshop was to identify the principles that should guide the development of a Manitoba crime prevention strategy. The principles identified by the workshop are all applicable to Aboriginal communities and form a sound basis for the Implementation Commission's recommendations:

Accessibility - to be effective, a crime prevention strategy must be user-friendly and facilitate outreach and networking.

Proactive - a strategy should ensure that crime prevention programs are available for vulnerable groups (either geographic communities or communities of interest). Often those most in need are groups that are the least able to seek advice and/or funding. Another dimension of being proactive is to help with needs assessments in Manitoba communities. This issue was a particular concern of Aboriginal participants who felt that with few resources and with community leaders who were busy dealing with a multitude of pressing issues, Aboriginal communities lacked the knowledge and expertise to prepare funding submissions and to provide the volunteer leadership that was often required to be successful in obtaining funding.

Social development focus - a strategy should entail a variety of different types of programs, but there should be a particular concern with social development programs that would reduce the number of potential offenders

Collaborative - participants recognized that all segments of the community had to work together to prevent crime. Thus an important part of a crime prevention strategy must be to find ways of facilitating partnerships. An important part of this collaboration is a communication process that enables the sharing of ideas and information. Mentoring was one form of collaboration that was mentioned by several participants.

Holistic - this principle has several dimensions. Participants wished to see agencies working together with multi sectoral funding. Programs should work at all levels - individual, family, neighbourhood, community. Also, crime prevention work should build on existing services.

Diversity - a provincial crime prevention strategy should recognize and reflect diversity. Programs should be culturally appropriate and should recognize other differences such as those of region,

community size, and demographic patterns. This principle even holds among different Aboriginal communities which vary widely in many respects.

Accountability - within government and by projects. Evaluation is an important component of crime prevention programming and must be encouraged in a provincial strategy. There must be ways of ensuring that dollars go to services. The strategy should demonstrate payback in terms of healthier communities and healthier families.

Long -term perspective -it is important to get away from a focus on **projects** and to work for structural change.

The participants concluded that the Province of Manitoba required a central office to coordinate crime prevention planning, funding, information and training. While most of the actual work in the area of crime prevention should be done by local communities, the central office should play a proactive role in assessing needs and in promoting an integrated approach to crime prevention among government and non-government partners. While these recommendations were based on the needs of the province, the lessons apply very well to the specific issue of the prevention of crime in Aboriginal communities and among Aboriginal people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the research done for this report:

9.The province take on a major role in coordinating crime prevention in Aboriginal communities. This should involve working with Aboriginal communities to identify the nature and extent of crime and disorder problems; helping to prepare applications for funding; providing training for community members; improving public awareness about the need for crime prevention programs; and establishing a network (using meetings, phone, Internet, and other means of communication) of those involved with this issue.

10.In Aboriginal communities a major emphasis should be placed on social development programs in order to help to create healthy individuals living in healthy communities. This will require coordination among several government departments, as the Justice Department will not be the major participant in many of these programs.

11.One problem raised by the previous recommendation is that the task of coordinating these programs is a difficult one. An important role for the coordinator will be to ensure that funding is allocated in a planned fashion and that projects will only be supported if they are directly related to a specific problem and

if they appear to have a realistic chance of reducing crime. There is no end of good things that can be done for deprived communities, so maintaining a focus on sound principles of crime prevention may prove to be a difficult task.

12. Related to the issue of coordination is the need for accountability. Strategies should not receive sustained funding unless they can demonstrate a payback in terms of healthier communities, families, and individuals. Monitoring and evaluation will help to build a knowledge base that can be used to ensure to improve future programs.

13. Strong program leadership is important if programs are to be effectively delivered at the community level. Leaders must be knowledgeable, committed to the program, flexible enough to respond to local needs, and be able to convince others in the community to support the programs.

14. Those who will be affected by programs must be involved in the planning and implementation process.

15. Interventions must be substantial enough that they have a reasonable chance of accomplishing the goal of preventing crime. "Puny" interventions should not be funded as they have little chance of success.

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