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CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

An Overview with Sources

Prepared by
Irvin Waller and Dick Weiler

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Canadian Council on Social Development

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ACQUISITIONS

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HOW TO OBTAIN COPIES

This report is available from the Canadian Council on Social Development, 55 Parkdale Avenue, Ottawa, K1Y 4G1, for \$4.95 plus 10% handling and postage (Orders under \$25.00 must be prepaid).

The booklet for which this report provides the background is available from the same address at no charge while quantities last. Ask for **Crime Prevention Through Social Development: A Discussion Paper for Social Policy Makers and Practitioners.**

LES VERSIONS FRANCAISES

La brochure et le Document de base et références sont disponibles en français sous les titres **La Prévention du crime par le développement social** et **La Prévention du crime par le développement social: Document de base et références.**

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

PURPOSE

The purpose of **An Overview with Sources** is to provide the evidence, theory and references, which support assertions and recommendations made in the booklet **Crime Prevention through Social Development: A Discussion Paper for Social Policy Makers and Practitioners**.

The purpose of the booklet is to show how crime could be prevented by targeted social development programs, such as those aimed at improving the family, housing, school or work experiences of disadvantaged Canadians.

CHAPTER ONE

CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: THE CONCEPT

What do we know about why people commit crime? Are there social intervention programs that reduce crime? In this overview, we will provide some insight into these questions. First, however, we must clarify what we mean by crime, prevention, and social development. We must also comment on the need for commitment to the concept.

Crime prevention through social development in this report refers to interventions targeted to certain Canadians who are not only socio-economically disadvantaged but are also living through experiences that make a career of persistent crime a probability. Their predisposition to crime starts with their early childhood upbringing and is enhanced by frustration in school, employment and the community.

Crime

Crime in this report is limited to certain offences against persons and property, such as theft, break-and-enter, robbery, sexual assault, murder and dangerous driving. These offences occupy much of the time of the police, courts and corrections. They have an identifiable victim whose personal security is threatened by direct physical force, violation of personal territory or theft of personal possessions.

In the next chapter, we will discuss trends in these crimes. We will describe some of the psychological, physical and financial effects of these crimes on their victims. We will also compare the damage done by these crimes to that of other intentional and accidental acts causing harm to others.

Prevention

Prevention of crime refers to certain actions which reduce the future risk of crime. It does not mean that all crime is eliminated. For example, an intervention in the life of an aggressive 10-year-old may be described as prevention, if the number of times that boy commits criminal offences by age 16 is less than the number of crimes committed by similar boys. Reduction in risk refers to categories of people. For example, if an intervention were made in the lives of 100 aggressive boys, it would have prevented crime if a smaller proportion of the boys committed crime than a similar group where there was no intervention.

There are three types of crime prevention strategies - primary, secondary and tertiary (Brantingham & Faust, 1976, p. 284; Edelman & Rowe, 1983, p. 391-392). Primary prevention focuses on influencing general conditions in our social life to reduce the incidence of undesired behaviour. These might include parenting courses in high schools or less violence on television. Secondary prevention relates to groups or individuals who have a high risk of developing some undesired behaviour. It

influences their lives through programs thought to prevent the risk from materializing or growing worse. These might include enriched care for the children of battered wives or remedial programs in schools for students identified as troublesome. Tertiary prevention, directed at preventing recidivism among identified offenders, is not discussed in this report.

Social development

Social development refers to activities which are intended to increase positive (reduce undesired) motivations, attitudes or behaviour in individuals by influencing their experiences in areas such as family life, education, employment, housing or recreation.

Sherlock Holmes once said that for a crime to occur there must be a **motive**, an **opportunity** and a **law** to sanction the act (Gladstone, 1980). The intent of crime prevention through social development is to foster interventions intended to reduce or eliminate the **motives** for crime before they arise. However, most Canadians associate crime prevention with opportunity reduction and law enforcement. The next chapter provides a summary of the scope of crime prevention approaches based on reduction of opportunity, such as Neighbourhood Watch or "environmental design." It also addresses the role of the police, courts and corrections.

In the 1960s social prevention was synonymous with creating a more equitable, less oppressive and more just society. It was thought that the introduction of extensive welfare and public-housing programs would reduce crime. Critics today have rejected these theories. Although universal social programs have been introduced, crime has still increased (Wilson, 1975). Others question whether poverty has really been reduced, particularly among native Canadians (Ross, 1983) and other disadvantaged citizens.

This report does not debate the effect of universal social programs on crime. Instead, it refers to the role of social development programs targeted to specific groups. These target groups are discussed in chapter three of this report. They are identified primarily through the results of longitudinal studies which examine the development of individuals from infancy to adulthood, noting the effects of specific problems associated with family upbringing, school, poverty and housing on the development of delinquency. The studies have been undertaken in England (e.g., West and Farrington, 1973) and in the USA (e.g., Robins, 1974; Wolfgang, Sellin and Figlio, 1972). They involve several hundred children from pre-school years to adulthood. Farrington (1983) gives an extensive analysis of the unique data available from this methodology. Rutter and Giller (1983) synthesize and combine the conclusions from these studies with findings from clinical, social and other studies of both development and crime.

Commitment to Crime Prevention through Social Development

The initiatives suggested in the booklet also require an element of faith, since results will not be instantaneous. The efforts are not

easily visible and their relation to crime are not immediately clear. It is well to keep in mind that most of what is known about crime points to social causes. More can be done to prevent crime by interceding in practical ways in those social situations.

The arguments for prevention are well known. Unfortunately, we have not always heeded them, even in areas such as health care or family life. However, efforts to reduce smoking, forest fires, traffic accidents, heart attacks and cancer are just a few examples of recent concerted efforts at prevention.

Prevention targeted to the social causes of crime requires a longer-term and less visible effort than does catching thieves or installing locks. It requires a new approach, where the belief that it can be done accompanies the commitment to make it happen.

Conclusion

Key findings on crime prevention through social development must be brought to the attention of legislators, policy makers, community workers, the media, students and concerned citizens. It is their responsibility to influence program development in areas such as the family, youth, housing, education and work, so that crime will be reduced.

Unfortunately some of the social service programs analysed in this report are being eliminated as governments trim their expenditures. This process must be reversed. While these programs may not generate profits, they make for better communities in which people can live and prosper. The elimination of effective family support programs in the mid-1980s may result in an increase of violent crime in the mid-1990s.

CHAPTER TWO

CRIME, CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY REDUCTION

There are many reasons for focusing on crime prevention through social development:

1. Reduction of crime diminishes the public's fear of crime and the number of crime victims;
2. While the police, courts and corrections attempt to control crime, their scope for further crime reduction, using their traditional methods, is limited;
3. While opportunity reduction can displace crime and reduce it in the short term, it may not reduce crime in the long term;
4. Many factors linked systematically to crime by longitudinal studies can be influenced by social development.

The first three assertions are discussed in this chapter. The fourth assertion is the subject of the remaining chapters.

1. Crime results in suffering and public fear

In 1983, 1.6 million violent and property offences were recorded by the police in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1983, p. 3-4) — the equivalent of one for every five Canadian households (8.6 million households; Statistics Canada, 1983). There were 170,624 violent and 1,419,653 property offences. These statistics include more than 216,000 residential break-ins, 80,000 common assaults, and 650 murders.

Approximately this number of offences has been recorded each year since 1980 (Statistics Canada 1983b, p. 5), as shown in the following table:

Year	Crimes of Violence	Property Crimes	Combined Total
1980	155,864	1,334,619	1,490,000
1981	162,000	1,429,000	1,591,000
1982	168,000	1,467,000	1,635,000
1983	171,000	1,420,000	1,591,000

Police records give a reliable minimal estimate of the numbers of crimes. Systematic surveys of Canadians show that there are many more common crimes that are not reported to the police, although these are often less serious (Solicitor General, 1983, p. 3 and 1984, p. 1-13; Waller and Okihiro, 1978, p. 20-22, 40-45, 70-72). For instance, relative

to those recorded by the police, there are twice as many thefts and 50 per cent more residential break-ins that are not reported to police. Estimates of the chances of a Canadian household member experiencing a victimization over a one-year period are set out in the table on page 9.

In sum, we are most likely to experience crime as a break-in or a common assault, but on average only once every 25 years (aside from minor thefts, many of which are against businesses). This average varies with many factors, such as the location of the household and life style. For instance, the break-in rate may average once every ten years in central-city areas (Waller and Okihiro, 1978, p. 16-18); males aged 16 - 20 may be involved in common assaults once every eight years (Solicitor General, 1983, p. 6). However, the more serious the offence, the less likely it is to occur.

These rates illustrate the need for action to prevent crime. It is not necessary to distort or manipulate data to create excessive anxiety about increases in crime. Unfortunately, media headlines based on the latest police statistics often create alarm which may not be justified. Designed to raise our concern about crime, numerical increases are presented as if they reflected an increasingly dangerous society.

A more responsible interpretation is much more cautious. Indeed, one indicator suggests no change in danger to Canadians: the percapita conviction rate for murder was as high in each of the decades before the Second World War as it was in the 1950s and 1970s (Canada, 1982, p. 94). Official surveys of crime victimization over a number of years do not exist for Canada; however, a comparable survey for England by the British Home Office showed a ten per cent increase in residential burglary during a period when police reports suggested a 100 per cent increase (British Crime Survey, 1983); and, regular surveys undertaken for the U.S. Department of Justice (1983, p. 8-9) have now supplanted police statistics in the Presidential addresses on the State of Nation. These surveys show only marginal increases or decreases in crime in the last decade, while police reports have shown increases of 40 per cent or more.

In all likelihood, the increase in crime **recorded** by the police is due primarily to the substantial increases in police manpower (Canada, 1982, p. 116). From 1971 to 1981, police manpower had increased by 74% and from 1961 to 1981 by 122%. These increases did not result in more detection of crime in the common categories, since these depend on reporting by the public. However, the additional manpower no doubt contributed to more accurate recording of crime.

In addition, the apparent increase in crime reflects other technical changes which are not associated with real changes in risk to Canadians. These are major changes in the way data are collected (Waller and Touchette, 1982, p. 2-4). While Statistics Canada reported 400,000 crimes against persons and property recorded by the police in 1962, versus 1.6 million in 1983, these figures do not in themselves confirm a real increase in the risk of being attacked or having property stolen. Police

ANNUAL RATE OF VICTIMIZATION PER HOUSEHOLD

	Crimes recorded by police (1)	Recorded crimes per household (2)	Proportion reported to police (3)	Approximate number of crimes (4)	Number of households per crime (5)
Violent Offences					
Murder	682	12651	100	682	12651
Death by an impaired driver	1679	5139	100	1679	5139
Sexual assault	11787	732	33	36268	238
Robbery	24199	357	56	43213	200
Assault	81465	106	31	262790	33
Property Offences					
Theft of a motor vehicle	75759	114	72	105221	82
Residential break-and- enter	209507	41	65	324817	27
Theft of more than \$200	292423	30	37	801159	11
Theft of less than \$200	547176	16	37	1499112	6

- (1) These data are taken from Statistics Canada (1983) with the exception of the estimate for death by an impaired driver, which is taken from Perspectives Canada (1980, p. 43).
- (2) This column is derived by dividing the figure for column (1) by the Statistics Canada estimate of Canadian "Households" for 1983 (8,628,000).
- (3) This column is estimated from Solicitor General (1983, p. 5) by taking the mid-point of the range. For theft, the estimate was the mid-point of the low for household theft, and the high for personal theft. For aggravated sexual assault a more valid estimate would have been obtained by using Briere & Brickman (1980) for reasons discussed in Waller (1982); the reporting rate would be lowered to 10%, thus increasing the estimate of risk substantially.
- (4) This estimate is derived by dividing column (1) by column (3) and multiplying by 100.
- (5) This column is derived by dividing the figure for column (4) by the Statistics Canada estimate of Households for 1983 (8,628,000).

methods of recording crime have become substantially more efficient with the increase in numbers of police and the introduction of various types of technology, from radios to computers. Secondly, the proportion of crime reported may well have increased as the public acquired easier access to the police -- particularly 911 numbers -- and with the increased use of insurance -- particularly in rental accommodation -- which has provided an incentive to report property crime.

Even today, only between one-third and two-thirds of common crime is reported. From systematic surveys of the general public carried out in the U.S.A., Australia, Holland, England and Canada (Hough and Mayhew, 1983; Block, 1984; Waller, 1982; Waller and Touchette, 1982), it is known that many victims do not report offences to the police. In Canada for instance, one-in-three offences that could be defined as break-and-enter are not reported to the police (Solicitor General, 1984).

There are a variety of reasons why persons do or do not report offences to the police (Solicitor General, 1983 and 1984; Waller and Okihiro, 1978). Most persons who report do so as an instinctive reaction. Some do it out of moral duty, or to recover insurance, or to protect themselves. Those who do not report cite reasons such as the minor nature of the offence, the inability of the police to do anything, fear of retaliation, and concern about the inconvenience it will cause them.

Crime victims suffer loss, injury and emotional distress which can leave victims, their families and survivors disabled financially, physically and emotionally (Waller, 1982b). While it is difficult to assess this impact quantitatively, Waller (1982b) estimates that 50,000 families suffer serious and persistent emotional difficulties, more than 500,000 lose more than \$250 in a common crime, and 100,000 persons are injured yearly. Also, many experience further hardship when co-operating with the efforts of the criminal justice system to convict the offenders.

If the effect of these crimes is difficult to measure, it is even more difficult to quantify the effects of crimes relating to the environment or the business community, crimes which may also influence a person's life expectations and employment. Whether such crimes contribute more or less in damage than the crimes covered in this report is not at issue (Reasons et al., 1980; Waller and Touchette, 1982, p. 11). Both need action. This paper is limited to those offences for which substantial knowledge is available.

The quality of life of the general public is also adversely affected by the fear of crimes which threaten personal security by direct physical force, violation of residences or threats to both (Solicitor General, 1983; British Crime Survey, 1983). It is difficult to obtain accurate estimates for Canada regarding the extent of fear of crime. The National Crime Surveys in the U.S. have shown how often citizens are worried about going out in their own neighbourhoods (U.S. Department of Justice, 1983, p. 18). In England, the British Crime Survey has shown the extent to which crime causes concern: the elderly are particularly concerned about

going out after dark; women and householders are concerned about break-ins. It is likely that surveys in Canada would show similar results.

Opinion polls suggest that Canadians are concerned about crime. In a 1976 survey, seven Canadians in ten listed crime as one of their top three social problems. In surveys by the "Centre de recherche sur l'opinion public" in 1977, and 1978, and by the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation in 1978, Canadians placed crime as their third priority after inflation and unemployment (Bertrand, 1982).

The results of public opinion surveys leave the impression that the public is very concerned about crime and wishes to see more punitive measures employed (Bertrand, 1982). However, more detailed surveys show that attitudes of both victims and the general public towards sentencing are close to what the courts are actually doing (Waller and Okihiro (1978); Doob and Roberts (1984). Nonetheless, organizations of persons who have lost family members to murderers and drunken drivers have formed groups to lobby for stronger penalties. There are also many persons who have organized community crime prevention programs, such as Neighbourhood Watch.

Conclusion: Crime creates serious suffering both for its immediate victims and for the community as a whole.

2. The scope for criminal justice to further reduce crime

Canada spends a small but growing proportion of its resources on criminal justice. In 1982, total expenditures exceeded \$4 billion (Statistics Division, Solicitor General). A major part of the increased expenditures went to more police and prisons, without any apparent reduction in crime. Because many offenders are never identified, it is difficult to reduce crime significantly by focusing exclusively on sanctioning known offenders.

Expenditures on the police, courts and corrections have grown from approximately \$250 million in 1962 to \$3 billion in 1980, which, discounting for inflation, represents an increase of more than 100 per cent. The bulk of this amount is used to pay police officers and correctional guards, whose numbers per capita have doubled since 1962 (Canada, 1982, p. 111-118).

In 1962, when Canadians numbered approximately 18.5 million, 30,000 persons were employed by police agencies; in 1980, 66,687 were employed for a population 24 million (Canada, 1982, p. 116). This represents an increase of 72 per cent, from 162 per 100,000 population to 278 per 100,000. During this time, rates of offences against persons and property recorded by the police grew by a factor of 300 and 290 per cent respectively (Solicitor General of Canada, 1984c, p. 2).

Studies of the effectiveness of police patrols and detective functions have placed in question their potential for reducing crime with

increased resources. Woods (1981) notes that between 40 and 60 per cent of a police officer's time is devoted to routine patrol. Yet the Kansas City Patrol Experiment (Kelling et al., 1974) showed that neither doubling nor eliminating routine preventive patrols made any difference to either the level of crime or the level of fear in that city. Woods notes that a further 10 to 15 per cent of the time of police departments is taken up by investigative functions. Yet the RAND study (Greenwood, 1975) showed that approximately 50 per cent of detective activity could be dropped without any change in overall effectiveness.

The most important limitation on the effectiveness of the police, the courts and corrections in reducing crime is the small proportion of crimes for which an offender is arrested and convicted. Only 20 per cent of offences known to police result in a conviction (Canada, 1982, p. 90 - 92). This proportion is no doubt smaller for property offences, in part because most victims are not able to identify an offender. The conviction rate becomes even smaller when we recall that between one-third and two-thirds of offences are not reported to the police (Solicitor General, 1984).

The costs for prisons have also gone up at a rate similar to that for police, mainly due to an increased number of employees in the system (Canada, 1982, p. 112-115) and major construction programs in most federal correctional systems since the 1960s. Excluding substantial capital costs, 1983 estimates are that it cost an average of \$40,000 a year to keep an inmate in a Canadian correctional facility.

Evaluations of correctional programs point to the failure of present approaches in reducing the likelihood of recidivism and reconviction. After tracing 423 inmates from federal penitentiaries in Ontario for three years following release, Waller (1974) concluded that prison programs did not contribute in any significant way to reducing recidivism.

While programs focused on rehabilitating offenders may have the potential to reduce crime (Ross and Gendreau, 1980), in Canada they have not received the required funding and commitment.

Conclusion: Reducing crime through the increased use of the criminal justice system seems difficult to achieve.

3. Opportunity reduction is prevention, but not a cure

Crime prevention has become synonymous with efforts to reduce the opportunity or temptation to commit crime. Most police agencies have set up crime prevention units which promote various community-based programs aimed at reducing opportunities for crime. These include programs such as Neighbourhood Watch, Stoplift and Block Parents. Store owners have organized programs to reduce shoplifting. Vandalism is reduced by using more resistant materials and through education and incentives aimed at reducing the motivation to wilfully damage. Residential burglaries are reduced by

neighbours grouping together to improve their residential security, making their homes seem occupied at all times, and calling police if they see anything suspicious. Further, crime prevention through environmental design is being promoted in various communities.

These programs are usually not expensive, and some suggest that an increased commitment could have even greater payoffs. Programs such as Neighbourhood Watch have demonstrated spectacular reductions in the number of residential burglaries, particularly when applied across a city in a pro-active manner (Waller, 1982; "Tandem" in *Liaison*, 1983).

Police crime prevention units: Police have established crime prevention units in many of their departments. These units produce leaflets on what is thought to prevent crime and provide speakers for schools and community groups interested in preventing crime. Some departments have supported the organization of Block Parent and Neighbourhood Watch programs. Recently, new programs have been introduced in schools to clarify what acts are prohibited by penal laws.

Although these programs receive substantial publicity, they have been supported by only a small proportion of total police budgets. The most successful Canadian programs build on volunteer organizations, often staffed by women and retired persons who are at home daytimes, and rarely exist in high crime rate areas.

Neighbourhood Watch: Neighbourhood Watch involves four key elements (Waller, 1982; Cirel et al., 1977). First, residential security improvements, such as locks on doors and windows, bars on basement windows, and outside lighting are made. Homes are made to appear "lived in" at all times, by ensuring newspapers are picked up, grass is cut, and snow is shovelled, as well as by installing light timers. Third, it involves "Operation Identification," which inscribes household property with a social security number or similar identifier. Fourth, neighbours are brought together to discuss the first three elements and to discuss how they can work together, by keeping an eye on other people's property and by calling police when they see something suspicious.

The city of Montreal has provided approximately \$1.5 million to Project Tandem to improve neighbourhood ties as a way of reducing crime. Its objective is to reduce residential burglary by 40 per cent within two years, which seems reasonable given the results of a similar project in Seattle. The central concept of Tandem is a well organized Neighbourhood Watch program (*Liaison*, 1983, p. 17).

Block Parents: Block Parents are adults who are available to assist children who need help away from home, either because of an emergency or a crime. Parents join the group after being screened by police and learning what to do to help children. They then post a sign in their window whenever they are available to help children.

Crime prevention through environmental design: Crime prevention through environmental design grew out of the work of Jacobs (1961), Jeffery

(1972), and Newman (1972), which suggested that urban and architectural design influenced interactions between people, which in turn influenced crime. It is promoted by some police departments, which together with city planners modify traffic flow and the design of parks and buildings. They promote the use of materials that are hard to damage. They also encourage designs of outside spaces which residents feel are their territory and responsibility, and which can be more easily supervised.

Tumbler Ridge, in north-eastern British Columbia, has received considerable attention as an example of a city where crime prevention through environmental design concepts were used to reduce shoplifting. Criminologist Patricia Brantingham worked with architects, planners and the police in the design of the community to reduce several types of crimes, including shoplifting, vandalism, theft and breaking-and-entry, as well as nuisance behaviour (Brantingham and Brantingham, 1984).

Manageable space: More recently, the concept of defensible space has been modified to "manageable space," which downplays the architectural determinism in earlier versions (Perlgut in Schneider, 1982). In this concept, stress is placed on spaces that can be managed by a professional superintendent.

Crime Prevention Week/Month: National Crime Prevention Week, initiated by the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada in 1983, hoped to encourage both opportunity reduction and social development interventions. However, once again the most visible products tend to be opportunity reduction, particularly since the published leaflets focus on those issues (Solicitor General, 1983a and b).

Crime Prevention Month in Manitoba is another example of a project aimed at reducing opportunities for crime. Although it was largely inspired by a national crime prevention conference that discussed social interventions, the project has tended to support opportunity reduction programs. It is difficult to develop projects focused on crime prevention through social development in a short time, so weeks or months devoted to crime prevention tend at least initially to be limited to opportunity reduction measures.

Conclusion: Opportunity-reduction approaches have considerable potential for reducing crime in Canada. The commitment of further resources and the organization of affirmative programs, similar to Project Tandem in Montreal, could result in a significant reduction of property crimes, such as residential break-and-enter.

However, such programs have limits. Many have met with only short-term success when offenders are displaced to other areas or commit other types of crime. Others have dissipated as citizens lost interest. In addition, these approaches require that potential victims modify their life-style to reduce the opportunity for crime. For some persons, this is seen as an inconvenience or an undue interference in personal freedoms.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL FACTORS LINKED TO CRIME

In this chapter we identify the major social factors linked to crime. The central question is what do people who commit crime have in common? First, we will describe the sources of information. Then we will discuss some key concepts, such as the difference between occasional and persistent delinquents. Next, we will examine socio-demographic factors, such as age and sex, which cannot be influenced by social development initiatives but help to pinpoint what groups in the population are most at risk. We will then examine factors such as family upbringing, housing, community ties and school experiences, which can be influenced through social development. Finally we will look at areas that are difficult to influence through social development, such as television and health, and which have not been the subject of major longitudinal research.

1. The sources

A useful source of information on social factors linked to crime is Rutter and Giller's 1983 synthesis of the clinical, experimental and longitudinal studies of juvenile delinquency.

The studies have been conducted using a variety of methods. Some examine the personal characteristics of convicted offenders, such as their relationship with their mothers, intelligence, or use of drugs. Some use "self-reporting" techniques, where students or military recruits report anonymously on their involvement with delinquency. Others concentrate on biological differences. Some measure neighbourhood characteristics to see how crime varies from one area to another.

The most important contributions to our present knowledge have come from long-term, follow-up studies done in the U.S.A., England and France. In these studies, a representative sample of children of a specific age were selected and followed from early infancy to adulthood. Data were collected on early childhood experiences, including the birth itself, accidents, diseases, relationship with parents, early experience at school, and so on. In addition, data were taken from the subjects on their "self-reported" delinquency, which is measured confidentially. Data was also collected on official delinquency known to police and the courts. (See for instance: Glueck and Glueck, 1970; Robins, 1974; Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin, 1972; West and Farrington, 1973 and 1977).

These studies have many features that make them powerful sources of information about crime (Farrington, 1984, p. 33-34):

- o Criminal involvement is related to personal development over ten to twenty years or more;
- o Many variables are measured before subjects are arrested by the police;

- o Data are collected on a broad range of social and economic areas.

Canada has done little research on the development of delinquency, with the notable exception of the "Groupe de recherche sur l'inadaptation juvénile" at the University of Montréal (Leblanc et al., 1979). Their conclusions on limited samples of adolescents between the ages of 12 and 16 generally confirm those from abroad. Secondly, Waller analysed the history and post-release experiences of a sample of several hundred prisoners, which also confirms the findings from abroad (Waller, 1974). Key points in these findings will be raised in the following sections.

2. Key concepts

Criminogenic areas: Researchers point out that the crime rate per capita differs markedly among different segments of communities. These variations tend to follow a pattern closely associated with the socio-demographic characteristics of different areas, such as the proportion of single people and owner-occupied dwellings. There is a tendency for high crime rates to be found in central-city areas and those characterized by high rates of social problems, such as alcoholism, unemployment and psychiatric disorder (Rutter and Giller, 1983, p. 204-210). In Canada for instance, there is likely to be more crime in poor and disadvantaged areas with many single young males (Waller and Okihiro, 1978).

Occasional delinquents differ from persistent delinquents: Scientists also point to the difference between persons who commit one or two delinquent acts and those who engage persistently in delinquent acts, many of which are serious. Occasional delinquency appears to be a relatively common trait of adolescence. One major Canadian study reports that "eighty-one per cent of adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 committed a criminal infraction at least once during a year; however, only nine per cent of the youngsters revealed serious criminal acts." (Leblanc, 1983, p. 35.)

Persistent and serious offenders tend to differ from other persons in many ways, including care and consistency in upbringing, or involvement in school (Leblanc, et al., 1979; Rutter and Giller, 1983). These differences are the subject of the second and third parts of this chapter.

The criminal justice system overselects: Although there are differences between occasional and persistent offenders, these differences are amplified by the criminal justice system. Some offences are never reported to the police. Of those reported, many do not result in a charge; where charges are laid, many are dismissed. In the case of Canadian Natives, their socio-economic situation leads to a disproportionate involvement in crime, which is further compounded as the police concentrate on questioning those likely to be involved in crimes. Thus, they will be more likely to arrest Natives, which in turn means that a higher disproportionate percentage of Natives are being identified as offenders (Solicitor General of Canada, 1984c, p. 77).

Laws draw our attention to certain types of violence more than others. Thus for example, persons who kill with a gun are treated much more harshly than persons who kill with a motor vehicle when drunk (Reiman, 1980).

3. Demographic differences

Male aggression, hyperactivity and upbringing: A clear and well established fact in criminology is that males are much more likely to be involved in crime than females. In 1981, 92,000 juveniles were charged with criminal-code and federal offences, 83,000 of whom were male. This represents nine males charged for every one female, but this ratio varies with the offence category. For break-and-enter, there were 23 males charged for every female, and for violent offences there were six males to every female (Juvenile Delinquents, 1981).

Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 126) stress that most juvenile crime involves aggression, risk-taking and predatory behaviour, and their research findings show greater aggressivity in boys. They point out that the sex difference is apparent: (i) from early childhood; (ii) in different cultures; (iii) in sub-human primates; (iv) from pre-natal androgens influencing later aggressivity; and (v) from the effects of testosterone on aggressivity. They acknowledge that there are major differences among boys and girls, that an overlap exists between the two sexes on aggressivity, and that social learning influences aggression, which in turn can influence testosterone production.

While females engage less in delinquent behaviour than males, the ratio is changing. In the U.S.A. and England, the ratio of males to females convicted in the 14 to 17 year-old age range dropped from 11 to 1 in 1957 to 5 to 1 in 1977. Little is known about the reasons for the increase in female delinquents, though speculation points to changes in the status and upbringing of girls.

Age: A second well established fact is that more offences are committed at particular ages. The peak period of delinquency is the 15 - 18 year-old period, with persistent and serious delinquents likely to have started at an earlier age and to go on beyond 18. "Although self-reported delinquency increases progressively until the age of 16 or 17, it then decreases." (Leblanc, 1983, p. 37).

In Canada the rate of young males charged per 1,000 in their age category rises steadily from 10 at age 11, to 80 at age 14, to 165 at age 16. The equivalent rates for females are 1, 12 and 14 respectively, with the peak occurring at age 15. Canadian data are not available for rates after age 17. However, using a different indicator of criminal involvement for males in England and Wales, those aged 14 to 16 have a rate of 80 per 1,000 compared to 60 per 1,000 for ages 17 to 20, and 10 per 1,000 for ages 21 and over (Rutter and Giller, 1983, p. 69).

Delinquency at 16 often develops out of experiences at earlier ages. For instance, 27 per cent of children rated by teachers and peers as most

troublesome when aged 10 were convicted more than once by the age of 17. This compares to only 0.7 per cent of those rated least troublesome (West and Farrington, 1973 p. 102-103). Stated differently, of those originally rated as most troublesome at age 10, 68 per cent were persistent delinquents by age 17 compared to only 12 per cent who were non-delinquents (Rutter and Giller, 1983, p. 57).

There is also a close relationship between juvenile and adult crime. Farrington (1984, p. 127) notes a "developmental sequence between troublesome behaviour at age eight and criminal behaviour at age 21-24." He points to persistent factors, some of which are present before the teenage years, such as "economic deprivation, family criminality, parental mis-handling and school failure," and some of which occur later, such as "truancy, delinquent friends, anti-establishment attitudes and an unstable job record" (Farrington, 1984 p. 127). These factors are examined in the next section.

Although most criminal careers start early, some begin during early work experiences and with the formation of adult friends and marriages (West and Farrington, p. 11). One study of Canadian penitentiary inmates found many who had experienced these same persistent characteristics in their upbringing, and few persons who started their delinquent involvement after adulthood (Waller, 1974).

4. Factors amenable to social development

This section examines those factors linked to crime that are amenable to social development interventions. The subheadings used are those that appear consistently in the studies -- family experience, poverty, housing and friends, school, marriage, and drugs and alcohol, as well as the integrated developmental sequence.

Each of the factors is here dealt with separately for ease of communication, although they are often closely interlinked, not only with the other factors in this section, but with those such as gender or the area of residence.

Family: "The family characteristics most strongly associated with delinquency are: parental criminality, ineffective supervision and discipline, familial discord and disharmony, weak parent-child relationships, large family size, and psycho-social disadvantage." (Rutter and Giller, 1983, p. 219.)

Also, we must note the effect of family income on these variables. West and Farrington (1973, p. 192) conclude that low family income is strongly correlated to unsatisfactory child rearing.

Since the original work by McCord (1959), Fischer (1980) reviewed a number of studies on the effect of parental discipline on delinquency. He concluded that parents of delinquent children more often use either an authoritarian or a neglectful approach when disciplining their children,

and they tend to use physical punishment rather than logic. Further, discipline is associated with delinquency.

Robins (1983) confirms these well-replicated findings, and stresses that children are more likely to be "conduct disordered" -- aggressive, troublesome and delinquency prone -- in situations where the mother had an unwanted pregnancy, inadequate income, and a lifestyle that inhibited child care. Robins also points out that "learning disabilities are a frequent concomitant of conduct disorder," and that "anti-social children have a low tolerance for boredom and are strongly attracted to risk-taking."

Several studies show that delinquents more often come from single-parent families than non-delinquents (Fisher, 1980). The general conclusion is that the prolonged absence of one parent has negative consequences on the psychological functioning of the child, particularly in terms of sexual adjustment and identity. The studies disagree on the differential effect of the father's absence rather than the mother's.

Another major conclusion from these studies is that the development of children depends more on the quality of the care than on the amount of time spent with the child. Thus, a mother working outside the home was not, in itself, deemed to be a major factor in influencing children's behavioural development.

The studies show a strong relationship between the parental attachment of children, and delinquency. Attachment is defined as an emotional relationship established in a reciprocal manner between child and parent. Leblanc and Biron (1978) show that when attachment to parents is lower for teen-age boys, delinquency is likely to be more frequent.

The effect on the child of family violence directed against the mother is not known from the available studies. However, there is growing clinical evidence that children of assaulted mothers are more likely to be in trouble with the law and, in turn, more likely to batter their partner when they are older (Farrell, 1977; Barker, 1983).

Poverty, housing and friends: Low family income and poor housing tend to go together as an important predisposing factor to delinquency. How these factors contribute to crime is harder to determine. West and Farrington (1973, p. 191) reject lack of money per se, pointing instead to its close correlation with "poor parental supervision, marital disharmony and mothers with an unstable personality."

Increased friendship with delinquent peers is associated with more frequent delinquency (Leblanc and Biron, 1978; Cusson, 1981). This interaction gives the offender "permission" to offend (Matza, 1964) and acts as an instigator for the offence (Cusson, 1981).

Public housing tends to concentrate families with multiple problems in one area (Rouse and Rubinstein, 1979, vol 1., p. 35). The problems

include the presence of many single-parent families and unemployed individuals, combined with alcoholism and general feelings of frustration. Concentrated public housing also increases the chances that youth already prone to delinquency will meet other youth similarly predisposed, amplifying the potential to delinquency.

There are no Canadian studies of these phenomena. However, strong indirect support is provided by a study of the general public which compared residences that were victims of residential burglary with those that were not. Results showed that residences near concentrated public-housing areas were substantially more likely to be victims than those in other areas. (Waller and Okihiro, 1978).

School: Some authors believe that the school often replaces the family as the source of a stable framework for the child. It may even compensate for inadequacies of home. More recent research, however, emphasizes that success at school is dependent, at least in part, on the family situation (Cusson, 1981; Johnson, 1979).

Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 163) stress that "there is now a very substantial body of empirical research that shows a consistent association between lower IQ and an increased risk of delinquency. ... This association applies to self-report data, to teacher ratings of disruptive behaviour, to convictions and to clinical assessments of conduct disturbance." They go on to stress that "educational failure leads to low self-esteem, emotional disturbance and to antagonism to school," (p. 166) and that "delinquent activities of drop-outs markedly diminished after they left school" (p. 166).

Cusson stresses that school is the complete opposite of what the delinquent is normally looking for in his delinquent behaviour. The student who does not work, and therefore does not succeed, quickly gets frustrated and bored. Vandalism, theft and fights with classmates provide more stimulating rewards (Cusson, 1981).

Barker (1983) stresses the importance of children engaging in activities that provide self-esteem. For some children, this can come through academic activities, but for others, physical and non-competitive exercise may be more important.

Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 199) cite the number of studies that have documented large differences in delinquency rates between schools serving similar areas. In part this is ascribed to selective intake, but Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 329-330) stress that the atmosphere in the school may also influence delinquency rates.

"The surest way to prevent maladjustment from arising in children is to encourage in every possible way their healthy development, particularly on the emotional side." (U.K. Ministry of Education quoted in Rutter and Giller, 1983, p. 324.)

Work: A major consequence of failure in school is the difficulty of succeeding in the work-place. Work provides the principal means for most individuals to establish their self-esteem. Further, it is primarily through work that access to material possessions can be maintained. Cloward and Ohlin (1960, p. 86) suggest that "Faced with limitations on legitimate avenues of access to these goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downward, they experience intense frustrations. The exploration of non-conformist alternatives may be the result."

Studies on the importance of work to offenders are still very limited, in that most of the research has been concentrated on juveniles. However, researchers such as Farrington and West, and Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin, are now studying their "cohorts" as adults, and some preliminary evidence is available. For example, an "unstable job record" at age 18 is linked to continued involvement with crime from ages 21 to 24 (Farrington, 1984, p. 73).

In Canada, a follow-up study of men released from federal penitentiaries confirms the effects of an unstable job record on continued involvement in crime. Twelve months after release, 29 per cent of men who were employed had been re-arrested, compared to 42 per cent of those unemployed (Waller, 1984, p. 86).

While an unstable work record for people at risk of delinquency predisposes that person to crime, the general relationship between national levels of crime and unemployment is not so clear (Grainger, 1978). Brenner (1976) suggests that the unemployment rate is linked to the crime rate. However, the recent substantial increase in the rates of unemployment in Canada do not appear to have contributed to significant increases in crime.

Marriage: While marriage is thought to contribute to a reduced involvement in crime, its independent effect has not been clearly established since longitudinal studies have not reached this period in the study groups' development. Farrington (1983, p. 79) notes that delinquency may decrease after age 20 due to disapproval from wives and girlfriends. In Canada, the likelihood of recidivism among penitentiary inmates is reduced by a stable relationship, independent of other life experiences (Waller, 1974, p. 179).

Drugs and alcohol: There are no clear conclusions on the importance of alcohol in explaining delinquency or crime since it is associated with many of the same problems that precipitate delinquency. Farrington's developmental explanation of crime found a correlation between heavy drinking at age 18 and drinking and driving, and crime at ages 18-21 and 21-25. However, alcohol made no independent contribution to crime at these ages, because it was highly correlated with other "anti-social tendencies," including heavy gambling and smoking, aggression, prohibited drug use and involvement with anti-social groups (Farrington, 1983, p. 55-69).

Certainly, alcohol may facilitate the crime, and the incidence of alcoholic problems among persistent criminals in Canada is high. In 1969, nine per cent of male penitentiary inmates were alcoholics and 20 per cent were problem drinkers -- substantially higher percentages than in the general population. These made up 33 per cent of persons convicted of murder, 39 per cent of rapes and 61 per cent of assaults (Waller, 1974, p. 113-115). In another Canadian study, half of the victims of murder were found to have more than .15 per cent blood alcohol levels (Ledain, 1973, p. 403). At least 40 per cent of fatal driving accidents involve a drunken driver (Perspectives Canada, p. 43).

The use and possession of various drugs is an offence in its own right in Canada. Most of the convictions are associated with various derivatives of cannabis, though some are associated with heroin and cocaine. Drug use is believed to cause other offences when the user needs to obtain cash to pay for the illegal drugs. Gandossy et al. (1978) estimates that a 10 per cent increase in the price of heroin leads to a one per cent increase in crime.

Integrated development: Each of the above variables has been considered independently of the others. However, for particular individuals, there will be a series of overlapping problems and advantages.

Delinquency and crime seem to develop in a sequence over time. A history of parental mishandling, family crime, school failure and economic deprivation makes delinquency in the next three years probable. Truancy, economic deprivation, and delinquent friends in the early teen-age years combine to make delinquency from ages 17 to 20 more likely. Any unstable job record and anti-establishment attitudes, combined with delinquency by age 20, makes criminal behaviour from ages 21 to 24 more likely. Indeed, a 10-year-old identified by teachers as "daring and troublesome" is likely to be convicted by age 13, which makes him more likely to be convicted by age 16, and so on until age 25. "It seems clear that the causes of adult criminal convictions can be traced back to childhood." (Farrington, 1983, p. 70.)

The possible effects of gender, age, and race on criminal behaviour dominate the literature, although they tend to be overlooked in the explanations. After these variables, the research findings confirm that there are cycles of disadvantage where multiple problems create pressures for delinquency. However, no one variable should be considered in isolation as there is substantial overlap or mutual re-inforcement in effects.

5. Challenges to social development

Mass media: The causal link between televised violence and **aggressive behaviour** now seems "obvious" (NIMH, 1983, p. 6). After an exhaustive ten-year review of research on the effects of television on violence and aggressive behaviour, the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health concluded that "televised violence and aggression are positively correlated" (NIMH, 1982, p. 38). However, while Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 196)

agree that films and television "may have some impact on attitudes and behaviour," the effect on **crime** is likely to be "quite small when considered in relation to other causal factors." They believe that prolonged viewing of violent programs may increase violence in children who are already predisposed to violent behaviour.

Despite these conclusions, there were still an average of "eight violent incidents per hour" shown on entertainment television in the 1970s -- no decrease from the 1960s (NIMH, 1982 p. 1.6). Some individual acts of aggression have been precipitated by, and patterned after, televised incidents.

Research over the last ten years has also pointed out negative effects of television other than increased aggression. For example, those who view a lot of television tend to have poorer nutritional habits, lower IQs, and tend to think of the world as a frightening place. Each of these factors may be related to crime. Television may also promote particular attitudes to family roles, though the research is not conclusive.

Personality: We do not focus on personality in this report, because it develops as a natural consequence of family, community, school and work experiences. Rutter and Giller (1983, p. 179) conclude that the literature on personality is inconclusive, although persistent delinquents tend to have more "cognitive and educational retardation, hyperactivity and attentional deficits, autonomic reactivity, stimulus seeking and passive avoidance learning."

Health: The studies cited in this report do not include discussion of biological variables or the effect of physical health on delinquency, even though these factors are increasingly thought to be important. One author, Schauss (1981), presents evidence that "diet, toxic metals, food additives, insufficient nutrients, food allergy, lack of exercise and malillumination (sic) can all contribute to criminal behaviour" (p. 95). While his evidence is plausible and consistent with other clinical evidence, its contribution to crime like that of other health-related factors, has not been compared with the variables measured in the longitudinal studies.

Prediction: It was hoped that longitudinal studies would make it possible to identify some potential delinquents at an early age, so they could then become the subjects of special programs. After an exhaustive review of other studies and tests on his own data, Farrington concludes (1983, p. 98) that it is difficult to identify a group where the expectation of delinquency in later years is more than 50 per cent.

The usefulness of this predictive efficiency depends on what measures are being entertained. For example, Farrington reviews the possibilities of reducing crime through the selective incapacitation of chronic offenders, but concludes that doubling the incarceration might have prevented less than two per cent of burglaries (1983, p. 105).

However, intervention may be justified for the total group if it does not constitute a serious interference with individual liberty. Benign programs could be developed to focus on groups composed of individuals with a 50 per cent likelihood or greater of becoming delinquent, such as children identified as troublesome and daring who come from families demonstrating parental mishandling. Thus, "scarce welfare resources should be concentrated on ... educationally retarded children from poor, socially handicapped, criminal families" (Farrington, 1983, p. 129).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Internationally, crime prevention through social development is not a new idea. In 1967, the United States Presidential Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice concluded that "a dollar for housing, a dollar for schools ... were dollars for crime prevention." Earlier, the work of criminologists such as the Gluecks (1962) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) inspired special programs of opportunities for youth. However, these programs often failed either because they did not do what the studies suggested, or because they were not targeted to the most appropriate groups.

In the last ten years, there has been a renewed interest in crime prevention through social development in France, Britain and the U.S.A. Interest has also been shown in international comparisons aimed at understanding questions such as why Japan has such a low official crime rate, while the U.S.A.'s rate is so high. Generally, however, social and economic policy have not been concerned with crime prevention, and crime prevention has not been concerned with social and economic policy.

This chapter provides an overview of the main conclusions stemming from international comparisons and examines the types of strategies being followed in other countries to increase crime prevention through social development.

1. International comparisons

As far back as 1900, but particularly since 1960, industrialized countries such as Australia, Britain, France, Holland, the U.S.A. and Canada have experienced an increase in the number of court convictions, crimes known to the police, and the size of their criminal justice systems (Waller and Touchette, 1982). When these trends are compared to socio-economic developments in these countries, they lead to the conclusion that while increases are due in part to better methods of collecting data, they are the result of significant social changes, including:

- o Increases in the population of young males aged 15 - 25;
- o Blocked life opportunities in employment and school for the young and minorities;
- o Increases in family breakdown, alcohol use, and drugs;
- o Greater opportunities for crime due to the increased availability of firearms, more easily transportable products, more unoccupied residences, and less interpersonal surveillance;

- o Television programing showing violence and the happiness that accompanies the acquisition of goods.

The above conclusions are reinforced by the analysis of Japan's low crime rate, where many of these social changes have not taken place.

It is difficult to suggest specific remedial action based on these conclusions. However, they do highlight areas that longitudinal studies have also identified. Perhaps they suggest areas for further investigation, particularly since crime rates between different countries vary a great deal. For example, the apparent variations in crime rates between Canadian provinces and contiguous U.S. states provide investigative opportunities of these and other factors associated with differences in government policy.

Studies have not examined the effect on crime of specific social development programs in these different countries, although some of the variations in social trends may be ascribed to differences in social development policies. For instance, it is generally believed that the U.S.A. has fewer social development programs than Canada in areas such as generic social services or specialized youth service bureaus. However, research has not demonstrated whether or not this is the case, or if it is related to crime. On the other hand, the fact that the U.S.A. has a higher divorce rate and more television sets at least correlates with higher rates of robbery and burglary.

2. International strategies for crime prevention through social development

Some countries have instituted special programs to promote crime prevention through social development. We will describe two from the U.S.A., as well as the national strategies developed in Britain and France. While the success of these programs is unknown, they do provide useful examples of what might be attempted in Canada.

Inter-agency Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program: This program is probably the largest crime prevention program ever mounted. It involved \$41 million targeted to 39 of the neediest public-housing projects in the U.S. It required the combined efforts of various levels of government, as well as the co-operation of four major agencies including the departments of Labor, Justice, Health and Human Resources, and the Interior. Use of the money was determined on the basis of consultations with citizen groups and experts. Objectives of the program were (U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, 1980):

- o Improved management of public safety;
- o Rehabilitated anti-crime facilities and better physical security design;
- o Increased involvement of tenants in fighting crime;
- o More employment for youths at high risk of a criminal life-style;

- o Improved anti-crime services for elderly residents, drug abusers, housing-project youth, and victims, among others;
- o Additional and more sensitive police and law enforcement;
- o Area-wide public/private partnerships targeted to improving public housing sites, as well as surrounding neighbourhoods.

The program is the subject of a detailed evaluation by the Police Foundation, Harvard University and others. Preliminary indications suggest that it will not have reduced crime in a major way in most of the cities, **not** because the target projects were inappropriate, but because the projects were not implemented. If this conclusion is confirmed by the final results, the procedures for implementing the projects will have to be re-assessed in light of the difficulties encountered in a collaborative effort involving such disparate areas of interest as crime and urban housing.

Eisenhower Foundation: The Eisenhower Foundation was set up in Washington in 1982 to implement the recommendations of the Eisenhower Commission established in the late 1960s to investigate the causes of violence in the U.S.A. Its crime prevention activities have included the establishment of a national hot line to provide information on crime prevention.

Much of the initial work was focused on opportunity reduction such as Neighbourhood Watch, although its **Neighborhood Anti-crime Self-Help Guide** includes strategies to deal with unemployment and school programs among disadvantaged youth.

The Foundation expects to publish a report each year on the state of crime and justice. This report will attempt to give a realistic understanding of the dangers crime presents to the U.S.A. It will also examine the effect of social and economic changes on crime.

France: In 1982, France (1982) established a committee of mayors to identify the actions needed to prevent crime. This led to the establishment of a "Conseil national de la prévention de la délinquance." Eighteen cities are involved in a pilot comprehensive approach. Planned projects include courses aimed at reading difficulties, skills training, family counselling and many improvements in the attractiveness of sporting facilities for youth.

Referring to intolerable levels of crime, the committee stated that "reform, by increasing only the numbers of police officers and cells in prison, will be neither enough, relevant or effective..." (Translation from France, 1982, p. 103.)

Established as a laboratory for ideas on crime the "Conseil" is to be responsive to factors such as aggression, urbanization, unemployment, schooling and anonymity. However, the "Conseil" must also ensure that the

local voluntary and administrative structures are animated by its efforts (p. 104).

Citing difficulties in getting local agencies to co-operate in solving social development problems relating to crime, it recommended the creation of local crime prevention committees. Specifically, it mentions social assistance, children in danger, single mothers, and training as areas which were not well co-ordinated in dealing with specific human cases. The recommended solution is the creation of local committees, supported by social scientists and accountants, which would examine local crime problems with a view to recommending solutions. The committee would bring together welfare services, preventive medical services, and school, work and justice officials.

England: In England, the Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group (1983) made 18 specific recommendations for social crime prevention. These included a detailed approach to strengthen the family and promote support for families in difficulty, through activities such as education for personal relationships, marriage, and parenthood. Several focused on employment for youth, housing, drugs, and schools.

Conclusion

An international perspective on Canada's crime problem emphasizes the relationship between social factors and crime. It also shows examples of countries with decreasing crime rates, e.g., Japan, and countries which are addressing crime prevention directly through social development. France provides the most recent and most comprehensive example of a national strategy aimed at reducing crime to influence social development programs at the local level.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FIELD

Social development in Canada is composed of a wide range of programs, many of which are intended to have some impact on the behaviours often present in delinquents. This chapter provides a summary of these programs and their relevance to conditions influencing delinquent behaviour.

Social development programs are delivered through a wide range of approaches involving the public, and the voluntary and private sectors. Increasingly, consumers are involved in the provision of services.

Most social service responsibilities, e.g., health, recreation, income security and social services, are within the jurisdiction of the provinces. However, the growing limitations on provincial tax revenues and the recognition of the difficulty of separating interdependent functions of government has resulted in a significant federal role. There are several cost-shared programs, some of which designate a general area, such as post-secondary education, while others involve federal support based on specific provincial expenditures for designated program areas, e.g., Canada Assistance Plan. Other programs are directly funded by the federal government, e.g., employment support and training initiatives.

Employment: Governments in Canada, at all levels, have increasingly become involved in employment-related responsibilities. This is reflected in direct job creation initiatives, stimulation of the private sector to create employment, and through job-preparation efforts intended to minimize the barriers and increase the employment capabilities of job seekers. Services in this field include direct training/skills efforts, provision of wage subsidies to employers for on-the-job training and experience, and consultative assistance to employers. Government employment initiatives have largely focused on assisting Canadians facing the greatest difficulties in entering the job market, i.e., the disabled, women, natives, and youth, with the latter group receiving considerable attention in the past few years.

Social housing: This term usually refers to publically supported initiatives provided to groups and individuals, and primarily directed to purchasing or renting adequate housing. Funding is made available in various forms by all three levels of government, e.g., grants, underwriting of loans, providing interest-free loans to developers, and so on.

Social housing is usually directed to low or moderate income families, the elderly and the disabled. It is generally provided through non-profit housing organizations such as municipalities and community-sponsored groups. It is also available through co-operative housing organizations involving associations of incorporated citizens seeking direct ownership in the property.

Some social housing initiatives include activities which support a social/recreation infrastructure providing social opportunities as well as basic accommodation. This type of programing, generally directed to multi-problem families, has become less prominent in recent years due to a lack of resources and a trend for local organizations to take responsibility, e.g., recreational authorities. While there is much support for integrating public and non-public housing, limited space coupled with demand continue to be reflected in the emphasis on high-concentration housing for the socially and economically disadvantaged.

Social services: Social services include social and psychological assessment, counselling, information, service advocacy, and various family supports, such as homemaker services, respite care, parenting support and life-skills training. Service design varies considerably, often according to the purpose of the service, client group of concern, and extent and quality of resources available.

There is no clear "system" of social services in Canada. Some are comprehensive service systems designed for special interest groups, such as new Canadians or the disabled. Some support other service systems, such as income security directly focused on the socially and/or economically disadvantaged, troubled youth, or families at risk. Various groups have increasingly become involved in the identification of difficulties, prevention of illness, and promotion of social, psychological and physical health matters. Professionals are often vital in multi-service organizational efforts directed at family violence and child violence concerns. They are increasingly expected to play key roles in the various infant-stimulation and early childhood development initiatives which are often required in socially and economically disadvantaged communities. These professionals are also often very active in alcohol and drug dependency programs.

Social security: Canadians are provided with a complex network of income-support programs which, depending on the program, may be financed by all government levels. These programs vary in design, e.g., pensions, direct income subsidies and allowances. They also vary in terms of amounts available, and eligibility criteria. Eligibility in some cases is based on one's situation, regardless of economic status; for example, family allowances and old age security. Others depend on one's circumstances, irrespective of financial needs; for example, Canada Pension Plan payments for the disabled, and unemployment insurance for the unemployed. Still others are specifically directed to assisting individuals whose income and financial situation defines them as being in "need." These programs, targeted to the economically disadvantaged, are delivered as direct income, subsidies, or tax credits. Most Canadians receive some form of such support, though few of these programs provide amounts which, in themselves, allow persons to live at or above the poverty line. Various income-security programs also provide social support services, e.g., counselling, homemaker services, etc., intended to assist recipients in maintaining a stable home situation and, where appropriate, seek employment.

Education: This is primarily a public responsibility under provincial jurisdiction. While the school system's primary concern is to provide basic education to all citizens, there has been a growing trend to provide enrichment support services. Specialized assessments and counselling for both students and parents, specialized classroom programs for those with learning difficulties or disabilities, specific learning enrichment support and other services are all increasingly available through local school boards. There are also projects developed by some school boards, often in conjunction with other community service agencies, intended to provide specialized support to multi-problem families and disadvantage young persons.

Health care: The health-care system is almost totally supported through public financing. The majority of resources are directed to institutions and health professionals primarily concerned with illness and treatment. There is however, a public-health system across Canada concerned with personal and community health prevention and related matters. There is also an emergence of community health clinics, often located in areas where citizens are socially and economically disadvantaged.

The above summarizes the major components of the social development service system in Canada. It suggests general service areas where more focused efforts might be deployed to deal with situations and behaviours which can lead to criminal activity.

Illustrative projects

The booklet refers to a number of specific initiatives which are illustrative of the specific types of targeted programs needed to deal directly with those social factors believed to foster chronic delinquent behaviour. These examples were selected on the basis of a limited "search" within Canada. They do not represent a full inventory of such projects. Indeed, they may not be the most representative illustrations. A more detailed description of those selected is included in Appendix III (p. 42).

CONCLUSION

This **Overview** provided the evidence, theory and sources to clarify the value of targeted social development action in preventing crime. It summarizes the risks and effects of crime. It offers information on behaviour and social factors which are now considered to influence criminal behaviour among young people. It suggests areas of social intervention which might offset chronic criminal behaviour among juveniles. It refers to specific relevant international experiences. Finally, general as well as specific areas of relevant social development are described.

This report was written as a back-up document for the booklet **Crime Prevention Through Social Development: A Discussion Paper for Social Policy Analysts and Practitioners**. The booklet highlights the limits of traditional criminal justice and defensive crime prevention measures; it briefly describes the potential of targeted social development initiatives for reducing crime, and presents 23 specific recommendations.

We hope that these two publications provide the basis for each reader -- whether politician, community worker, public servant or concerned citizen -- to ensure that prevention focused on the social causes of crime becomes a more effective part of the Canadian response to crime. With concerted action, we can reduce crime on our streets and in our homes, and eliminate the suffering of many victims of crime.

FURTHER RESOURCES

Set out below are nine references included in the booklet as particularly useful for understanding the potential of crime prevention through social development.

Canada (1982), **The Criminal Law in Canadian Society**. Ministry of Justice, Ottawa: Supply and Services.

Sets out the policy of the Government of Canada with respect to the criminal law, including an appendix on trends in crime and criminal justice from 1890 to 1980 for Canada, Australia, England, France, Japan, Holland and the U.S.A.

Eisenhower Foundation (1983), **Neighborhood Anti-Crime Self-Help Program Guide**. Washington, D.C.

Proposes indigenous, community-based solutions to crime focused on social causes and opportunity reduction; it includes a chapter discussing youth and crime with examples of successful programs and employment and educational strategies.

England - Parliamentary All-Party Penal Affairs Group (1983), **The Prevention of Crime among Young People**. London: Barry Rose.

Provides detailed recommendations for social development to reduce crime in England, including special initiatives to improve the family.

Farrington, David P. (1983), **Further Analyses of a Longitudinal Survey of Crime and Delinquency**. Final Report to the National Institute of Justice. University of Cambridge: Institute of Criminology.

Analyses the longitudinal studies of crime development, including several original analyses on prediction, sequences and crime after age 18.

France - Commission des maires sur la sécurité (1982), **Face à la délinquance: Prévention, répression, solidarité**.

Specifies structures and specific initiatives to reduce crime in France; the social development recommendations focus on housing, leisure and schools. (French only)

Impact. (1982) "Crime and the Community." Ottawa: Solicitor General.

Brings together short reviews on crime trends, public attitudes and crime prevention, with useful bibliographies.

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SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS RELEVANT TO CRIME PREVENTION

Social development programs address the needs of the family, the community, the educational systems and the employment opportunities of Canadians. They represent a wide range of policies and initiatives sponsored by both government and the private sector. Many have an impact on the conditions which influence delinquent behaviour.

The following inventory is a summary of those specific initiatives selected for consideration in the booklet. The summary highlights their significance to crime prevention.

Programs which provide support to families:

- | | |
|------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1) Teen Mothers' Programs | - Toronto, Ontario |
| 2) Jessie's Centre for Teenagers | - Toronto, Ontario |
| 3) Academy on Parenting | - TV Ontario |
| 4) Camp Otoreki | - Québec (to be completed) |
| 5) Restigouche Family Crisis Interveners | - New Brunswick |
| 6) Family Consultant Service | - London, Ontario |

Community and recreation-based programs for adolescents:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Detached Worker Program | - Ottawa, Ontario |
| 2) Kelowna Youth and Family Services | - Kelowna, B.C. |
| 3) Overbrook Community Intervention Program | - Ottawa, Ontario |

Educational initiatives:

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1) Step-Up School | - Vancouver |
| 2) Insight Theatre Company | - Planned Parenthood, Ottawa |

Employment initiatives for adolescents:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1) Youth Training Programs | - Montréal, Halifax, Winnipeg |
| 2) Kensington Youth Theatre Ensemble | - Toronto |

Alcohol and drug programs:

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| 1) Zoot Capri | - Calgary, Alberta |
|---------------|--------------------|

TEEN MOTHERS' PROGRAM

JESSIE'S CENTRE FOR TEENAGERS

Address: YWCA of Toronto
80 Woodlawn Avenue East
Toronto, Ontario
M4T 1C1

152 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ontario
M5V 2R1

Telephone: (416) 961-8100

(416) 365-1888

Contact: Mary Campbell

Anna Lyons

The Toronto YWCA and Jessie's offer innovative family support activities by providing practical information, counselling, and peer-group activities for young teenage mothers.

Recognizing that teen mothers often see themselves as young women with critical needs for new information and support, rather than as mothers needing parenting skills, both programs work toward increasing the participants' feelings of positive self-esteem and their ability to manage their lives.

Professionally trained leaders meet with groups of young mothers twice a week to provide information on social assistance, housing, legal rights and community resources, including educational and vocational services. Opportunities exist to develop future goals and problem-solving skills. Through the use of guest speakers and presentations by public health nurses, the concept of positive parenting skills is incorporated in the programs in a non-threatening manner. In addition, activities of interest to young teens -- make-up and hair-care sessions, craft work, etc -- are presented so that the groups are enjoyable and allow for peer-group support and interaction.

Referrals to both programs come from public health nurses, children's aid workers, social workers and the clients themselves.

While there is widespread public recognition of the many and varied needs of teenage mothers, few programs have been established which directly address these needs -- usually because of funding constraints. The two preceding programs specifically address the teenage mother's needs for support, information, parenting skills, etc., and appear to be successful.

ACADEMY ON PARENTING

Address: TV Ontario
P.O. Box 200, Station Q
Toronto, Ontario
M4T 2T1

Telephone: (416) 484-2608

Contact: Customer Service

The Academy on Parenting is a television-based project designed to help parents increase their knowledge and understanding of some of the most important issues in child-rearing.

Through the use of television dramas, reading materials, and discussion groups, the Academy deals with two major parental concerns: discipline and communications. Included are discussions of the causes of children's misbehaviour, permissive and protective parenting, the case for discipline, children's need for unconditional love, parents' need to trust their own knowledge of their children, and the impact of television on families. While the Academy focuses on issues of major concern, its underlying message is that of joy and wonder at the process of growing up with children so that parenting can be a fruitful experience.

The Academy on Parenting consists of four components: six one-hour television programs; a viewer's guide called Perspectives; a Guide to Self-Directed Study; and a follow-up newsletter. Each program includes a brief introduction to the topic by an expert in the field of parenting, a 20-minute drama from the celebrated series "Footsteps," and a short discussion by a group of parents in the studio. Used together, these components allow viewers to hear what experts and parents think of each topic, and they provide some basic background material.

The Academy is not like other parent-training courses. It offers no magic formula that suddenly allows bringing up children to become a simple, follow-the-rules exercise. It recognizes that each child, like each family, is unique and, as a result, no single child-rearing formula can be suitable for all.

It also recognizes that while parents need information and support, they often do not have the time or the possibility to obtain either. Instead, the Academy offers parents the opportunity to meet with other parents, either through the dramatized situations or the on-air discussions, and to share information on raising children. It allows parents to challenge their own beliefs, to discover how others are coping with similar problems and to learn how to find the support that most parents need.

RESTIGOUCHE FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENERS

Address: P.O. Box 5001, Local 307
City Centre
Campbellton, New Brunswick
E3N 3H5

Telephone: (506) 753-6769

Contact: Gérald Daigle, Project Co-ordinator

In rural northern New Brunswick, teams of volunteer interveners trained in crisis strategies are providing support to police forces for domestic violence calls.

These trained volunteer teams are attached to each of the County's five police detachments, and are on call at all times to respond to requests for assistance from officers involved in crisis situations.

Their services include: face-to-face crisis intervention, referrals to other community services for longer-term counselling, assistance in locating safe accommodations and acquiring emergency financial aid, transportation to safe accommodation, providing information on legal courses of action, and follow-up.

The project involves a Citizens' Committee of 24 persons representing various agencies. It also includes a smaller Steering Committee of five persons selected from the Citizens' Committee. Staff include a program consultant, a research coordinator, regional representatives in each of four regions, and volunteer interveners.

This project represents an important innovation which has dramatically reduced recidivism in family violence cases. Moreover, it has demonstrated that community members do care about their neighbours and have a capacity to help them. A training manual is now being prepared and will be available later this year.

FAMILY CONSULTANT SERVICE

Address: Box 3415
London, Ontario
N6A 4K9

Telephone: (519) 438-3291

Contact: Rosemary Broemling, Service Co-ordinator

The Family Consultant Service in London, Ontario, established as part of the police department, is a crisis intervention program which meets the needs of families experiencing domestic stress. The Service recognizes the extent to which police are called upon to mediate in domestic disputes and the need for skilled back-up support in such circumstances.

Five mental-health professionals are employed as civilians within the police force. They respond to family-related crises, normally at the request of a police officer and often when social service agencies are closed.

On the scene, the family consultant provides the counselling necessary to bring the family or individual through the immediate crisis situation. Referrals to local service agencies are made if ongoing support is necessary. The most frequent types of cases handled are those involving marital disputes, inter-spousal assaults, runaway juveniles, behaviour management difficulties with juveniles, child abuse or neglect, depression, alcohol abuse, senility, suicide threats and sexual deviation. The family consultants are also involved in the training of police officers at both formal and informal levels and provide education to community and local agencies.

The Family Consultant Service is supported by both a management committee and a professional advisory committee which provide the service with professional consultation and liaison with other community social development agencies.

DETACHED WORKER PROGRAM

Address: Youth Services Bureau
1400 Clyde Avenue
Nepean, Ontario
K2G 3J2

Telephone: (613) 727-1000

Contact: Dave Calvert

The Detached Worker Program is one of three programs offered by the Youth Services Bureau, a private, non-profit agency serving the needs of problem adolescents and their families in the Ottawa area. In 1983, this involved work with 305 clients and their families.

Twenty-one full-time and 34 part-time employees are assigned to the Detached Worker Program. They emphasize practical and consistent approaches for dealing with problem behaviour, and provide appropriate role models for adolescents.

For children six-to-ten years of age exhibiting behaviour problems in the home or school, small recreational style groups of up to ten children are used during the summer months. These groups focus on socialization problems with both family members and peers. Workers maintain regular contact with the families to discuss any problems that may arise within the groups and offer practical suggestions to deal with the child's behaviour.

Adolescents 11-to-15 years of age with more serious problems, involving persistent delinquency, truancy, and alcohol and/or drug abuse, are candidates for the Detached Worker One-to-One Program. The approach used in this program is described as "behaviour modification with a reality-based overlay." In practical terms, this means that the positive and negative consequences of an action are clearly explained to the youth, and the behaviour that is expected from him/her is defined. With the parents' involvement, possible solutions are offered and evaluated, and a plan is implemented, always recognizing the capabilities of the participants. Typically, the plan involves counselling work within the family, emphasizing consistency, improving and strengthening communication skills, and problem management.

Each case worker is assigned a maximum of four clients and works in a very intensive, specific and closely supervised manner with both the client and his/her family. Work with a particular youth often lasts six to eight months and telephone follow-up can continue for up to three years after the youth has left the program.

Referrals to the Detached Worker Program come from many sources, including social workers, Children's Aid Society workers (CAS), the courts, doctors, hospitals and schools.

Funding for the Detached Worker Program, as well as the Post - 15 (adolescents 15-years-and-older living on their own) and residential programs of the Youth Services Bureau comes mainly from the Ontario Government. The municipal and federal governments and the United Way also contribute additional funds, and the CAS pays a fee-for-service.

KELOWNA YOUTH AND FAMILY SERVICES

Address: 36-436 Bernard Avenue
Kelowna, British Columbia
V1Y 6N7

Telephone: (604) 763-2405

Contact: Terry Dunn

Kelowna Youth and Family Services is a preventive counselling service organized under a division of the RCMP detachment. It has authority to

intervene in cases involving juvenile delinquents and pre-delinquents with family problems.

The basic objective of the service is to reduce juvenile crime, and to reduce the number of youths who come in repeated contact with the police. In a formalized system with the RCMP, all youths 12-years-and-under who commit an offence within the city are referred directly to the Kelowna Youth and Family Services. Upon referral, staff members provide immediate counselling to both the youth and his/her family to prevent a re-occurrence of the problem. Staff are also involved in many different community committees and make presentations to local schools and organizations.

The staff presently consists of one full-time counsellor, two part-time counsellors and a secretary. A family therapist provides regular consultation and a mature social work student has been placed with the agency under funding provided by the Ministry of Human Resources.

Since July 1979, the Kelowna Youth and Family Services has accepted 807 referrals. The RCMP accounted for 47%, parents and friends or self-referrals 20%, schools 10%, other statutory social agencies like Probation and Ministry of Human Resources 10%, and community businesses, stores, doctors, etc., 13%.

The main reason for referrals was problem behaviour in the home, school and community (49%). Other reasons included shoplifting and theft under \$200 (29%), and the remainder were break-and-enter, runaway, arson, vandalism, and alcohol and drug offenses.

Most of the youths referred to the service were 12 years of age and under (37%), followed closely by those 15 years and over (33%), and youths 13 and 14 years of age (30%).

Since its inception, statistics on the number of juveniles arrested, charged or informally dealt with by the Service indicate a 30% reduction in the juvenile crime rate in Kelowna. This occurred despite a population increase of 9,000 persons over the same period.

Effective collaboration between the police, social development agencies and the community at large are part of the reasons for its apparent success.

OVERBROOK COMMUNITY INTERVENTION PROGRAM

Address: 149 King George Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1K 1V2

Telephone: (613) 741-1904

Contact: Natalie Flynn

The Overbrook Community Intervention Program, in operation since 1978, is a recreation-based project for youths 9 to 17 years of age. It has been credited with helping to reduce crime and vandalism in the Overbrook area of Ottawa, despite a high proportion of adolescents in that community and an increased number of offenses in other areas of the city.

With moral and financial support from the local school board, the police and community development agencies, the program offers a variety of activities each summer from July to August, for 12 hours a day. At the present time, there are 100 to 200 youths registered in the program.

The athletic programs and sport facilities are of great interest to the juveniles and are usually responsible for their initial contact with the project. Special weekly outings to museums and theatres are also popular with the youths. They are seen as fun activities, yet they provide cultural-enrichment experiences and an introduction to alternative lifestyles and interests. Integration with the larger community is emphasized, and some early vocational training (e.g., a babysitting course) and co-ordination of local job opportunities are provided. Group counselling and discussions on "hot" youth-relevant topics are held three times a week and are followed-up by in-home family visits. In this way, problems or concerns raised by a group member can be communicated clearly and constructively to parents, and the issues can be dealt with and resolved.

If problems such as theft or vandalism do occur, young offenders are helped to arrange compensation for their victims and to recognize the consequences of their action.

Referrals to the program come mainly from the schools. Youths often enter into contact with the program after learning about it from a friend or other source in the community. The work of the 13 staff members is supplemented by dedicated police involvement in the athletic programs and in "rap sessions" with the youths.

The program offers a non-threatening recreational service which facilitates a young person's opportunity to participate in the "larger" community.

STEP-UP SCHOOL

Address: 550 West 10th Avenue
Vancouver, British Columbia
V5Z 1L2

Telephone: (604) 874-2411

Contact: Nona Thompson, Director

Step-Up, a program developed in 1969, is designed to provide Vancouver youths who have been adjudged delinquent with basic academic skills.

When training schools were discontinued in British Columbia, Step-Up was designed by community members unable to find a school hard-core juvenile delinquents would regularly and willingly attend.

Today, Step-Up is attended by Vancouver youths on probation who are referred by their Probation Officers. They are generally between the ages of 13 and 17.

The staff consists of two teachers, one secretary, two probation assistants, two term staff assistants. Approximately 50 people volunteer each year. Students of Social Work, Education, Psychology, Criminology, and Child Care Programs, also work at Step-Up as part of their practicums, as well as placements from the Justice Institute, Elizabeth Fry Society and Staff Assistant programs.

Teaching methods are eclectic, drawing from many different educational principles. However, the basic principle of the Step-Up program is individualized instruction. Each student is accepted and receives instruction at his/her level of emotional, mental and physical functioning.

The school day comprises two, two-hour sessions, with a maximum of 20 students in each. The program runs five days a week. The core program of math, language and reading is entirely individualized. When the student is capable of working beyond the core program, science and social studies topics are included. One day per week (usually Friday) students do probes, review quizzes and some core course work during the first hour of the session; the remaining hour is devoted to board or athletic games. These activities help develop gross and fine motor coordination, enhance conceptualization, aid visual-auditory sequencing and closure, increase vocabulary skills and foster personal interaction.

Special activities include Step-Up Sports Day, the city-wide Alternate Schools Sports Day, bowling, volleyball and floor hockey tournaments, ski trips and day trips to museums, a Christmas celebration, a graduation dinner and a formal graduation ceremony.

Each day, progress is measured and explained to the student as a further impetus to learning. In this way, motivation is developed to learn, to find suitable work, and to remain employed.

A survey of the Step-Up program indicates a positive response from parents, probation officers, social workers and the students themselves. The majority of parents reported academic improvement in their children, as well as positive changes in attitude and behaviour.

Probation officers felt that Step-Up offered students an opportunity for success in the areas of academics, social skills and employable vocational skills. Some emphasized the role Step-Up has played in providing students with confidence and self-esteem.

Social workers rated extra-curricular events an important aspect of the program. These events "normalized" the youths, providing them with an opportunity for recognition and allowing them to channel their energies into areas of recreational and social experiences.

INSIGHT THEATRE COMPANY

Address: Planned Parenthood of Ottawa-Carleton
384 Bank Street, No. 202
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 1Y4

Telephone: (613) 230-7797

Contact: Leslie McDiarmid-Scharf, Insight Theatre Company Coordinator

Insight Theatre Company is a theatre troupe for teenagers. Its goal is to raise the awareness of adults and teens on issues affecting adolescence, including sexuality, health, divorce, interpersonal relationships and alcohol and drug abuse.

Sponsored by Planned Parenthood Ottawa, a community-based non-profit organization, Insight Theatre began as a pilot project in June 1981. Due to its popularity, it has since become a core program of the agency.

The young people in Insight Theatre range in age from 13 to 19, and vary in interests and background. They are recruited through high schools, community centres and public-service announcements.

The troupe trains for six hours a week during July and August, in a program which consists of:

- o workshops and discussions on social issues and related community resources, led by adult professionals;

- o films and other teaching material;
- o individual research in selected areas; and
- o theatre workshops using improvisational techniques, movement and voice.

At the end of the training, the selection of a team is made.

Theatre production takes place in September, when troupe members develop, consolidate and rehearse numerous vignettes. The troupe not only performs in the vignette but also develops the content and style of the performance.

Performances are held approximately once a week and are followed by a discussion period. This provides the audience with an opportunity to react to the presentation. The actors answer questions "in character," exploring their character's motivation, the outcome of the scenes and where they turned for assistance. The discussion period is an integral and well-used part of each performance, involving both the teens and the audience on an emotional and intellectual level.

In its last complete season (1982-83) Insight Theatre performed 28 times to a total of 2600 teens and adults. Audiences included high-school students, community youth groups, professionals (Children's Aid Society, teachers, medical students) and the public.

Insight Theatre has been praised as one of the most effective communication tools for working with teenagers in the Ottawa-Carleton region. Vignettes portray realistic situations, and the open-ended format stimulates thought and debate.

Teens are provided with relevant, honest information on the issues that affect them, and they are made aware of the resources and alternatives available to help them.

YOUTH ECLECTIC EMPLOYMENT TRAINING

The youth project concept is a highly successful employer initiative, partly supported by government, where secondary school drop-outs are given the skills necessary to obtain and retain gainful employment.

It is designed to assist socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged youth to qualify for continuing employment. Potential trainees must have no deep-rooted psychiatric problems, nor serious criminal records. They are secondary school drop-outs, under age 25, with less than Grade-10 level education, and deficiencies in the areas of basic reading, interpersonal, clerical and computational skills.

The first project of this type was initiated in Montreal by the Bank of Montreal. Additional projects were subsequently established by the bank in Halifax and Winnipeg.

The approach in the three projects is to improve the participants' academic, social and business skills by means of a six-month integrated classroom and work-oriented training package. Approximately two-thirds of the period is devoted to classroom work in mathematics, communication, typing, business practice, basic blue-collar skills, and human relations; the remaining third consists of on-the-job work experience. The training is structured to produce a young person with the skills, knowledge and motivation to succeed in today's labour market.

Evidence to date indicates that of the over 1,500 participants in the projects, approximately 75% have completed the training and entered into full-time employment.

Following are the three projects:

EPOC - MONTREAL

Address: 1441 Fort Street
Montreal, Québec
H3H 2N6

Telephone: (514) 877-7810

Contact: Ivan Eaton, Executive Director

EPOC is an acronym for Education, Placement, Orientation and Communication. EPOC Montreal operates as a private, non-profit corporation with a Board of Directors made up of representatives of member-firms and selected community leaders.

Each of the 50-plus consortium member companies participate in three ways: sharing in the operating costs, assisting with both work experience modules and permanent placement, and helping formulate policy and program direction through service on the Board of Directors.

Among the current corporate members forming the consortium are the major Canadian banks, brewers and gas companies.

THE HALIFAX BOARD OF TRADE YOUTH PROJECT

Address: 1809 Barrington Street
Halifax, Nova Scotia
B3J 3K8

Telephone: (902) 422-8396

Contact: Randy Skaling, Executive Director

In 1976, the Halifax Board of Trade was approached to sponsor the Halifax Bank of Montreal Youth Project.

Because of the branch-plant economy of the Halifax Region, the absence of a broad industrial base, and the preponderance of government employers, the Board was given special concessions in the funding of the project. For instance, the Board pays only 15% of trainee wages, while the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) bears the remainder of the costs, including an administration fee charged by the Board.

Among the major corporate financial contributors to the project are: insurance companies, retail stores, banks, and communication firms.

The project's Executive Director reports directly to the Manager of the Halifax Board of Trade. A youth-project committee of nine representatives of leading employers forms the management board of the youth project, and is responsible for policy and financial control. The CEIC is represented on this management committee.

YOUTH BUSINESS LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE INC. (WINNIPEG)

Address: 1317 Portage Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R36 0V3

Telephone: (204) 775-8711

Contact: Warren Gander, Executive Director

This organization, established in 1977 to operate the youth project, is a private, non-profit corporation with a Board of Directors made up of representatives of member firms.

Each consortium member shares in the operating costs, assists with job-experience stages, and permanent placement of the trainees.

Current consortium corporate members include, among others, representatives from banks, retail stores, telecommunication firms and oil/gas companies.

KENSINGTON YOUTH THEATRE ENSEMBLE OF ST. STEPHEN'S (KYTES)

Address: St. Stephen's Community House
91 Belleview Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
M5T 2N8

Telephone: (416) 925-2103

Contact: Kevin Lee, Youth Program Co-ordinator

The Kensington Youth Theatre Ensemble of St. Stephen's (KYTES), which began in January 1984, is an employment project designed to reach and help those youths not served by traditional youth-employment programs.

The two project directors are professional actors who have worked in theatre projects involving persons in prisons, psychiatric hospitals and drug rehabilitation centres. Many other theatre professionals have also joined the project.

There are nine core members of the Ensemble, ranging in age from 17 to 23 years. The group consists of young people who haven't finished school, can't retain a job, have drifted from place to place or from home to foster home, from begging to welfare, from feeling alienated to losing hope. Interest in the project, not acting ability, is the criterion for getting involved. Their goal is to write, stage and perform a play.

Through acting exercises and improvisations, each person creates his or her character in the play. This allows the participants to act out roles they might otherwise never try. Often, the scenes make the young Ensemble members relive painful events from their past, and bring out feelings they have carefully hidden away. When scenes become too painful, or when someone loses confidence to the point of wanting to quit, troupe members provide support and encouragement.

Money for production and wages has come from the Canada Council's explorations program, Theatre Ontario, Metro Youth Job Corps, the City of Toronto, Variety Club, private donations, the Canada Works Program and the Ontario Career Action Program (OCAP). Seven of the nine core members get \$150 a week, while two others get OCAP's weekly training allowance of \$100.

The project means much more to the Ensemble members than simply having a job. It allows them the opportunity to meet new challenges, to experience success and to receive emotional support and encouragement. Their ability to relate to and deal effectively with others has been improved by working with the troupe.

The design of this innovative project allows disadvantaged youth to learn important life and job skills in a non-threatening and creative manner.

ZOOT CAPRI, THE MAGAZINE

Address: No. 501, 525 - 11th Avenue South West
Calgary, Alberta
T2R 0C9

Telephone: 1-800-372-9578

Contact: David Jacox, Editor

Zoot Capri is a magazine published by the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC). It provides Alberta youths aged 13 to 17 with information on alcohol and other drugs, personal and social development, and related topics such as family communication, recreational opportunities, diet, money management, and fitness.

It is distributed by mail free of charge to Alberta youths three-to-four times a year. In some parts of the province the magazine is available through local AADAC offices, community organizations and at special events.

Zoot Capri has two major goals. The first is to establish itself as a readable, attractive and relevant publication young people will enjoy reading. In this vein, the magazine includes coverage on music, entertainment activities, fashion, and the lives of other young people. It discusses the physical, emotional and social realities of adolescence.

The second goal is to be an instrument for alcohol and drug abuse prevention. The magazine promotes the development of a positive approach to life, characterized by responsible independence, self-care, and a sense of personal effectiveness.

The basic philosophy of the magazine is that the development of thoughtful, informed and well-rounded young people will lead to fewer and more manageable problems. The publication's style and approach ensures its readability, while the underlying messages in the articles contribute to alcohol and drug abuse prevention.

The format lends itself to dealing with a greater variety of subjects, at greater length, and in more depth than other forms of media. From one issue to the next, similar subjects can be dealt with from various points of view, and complex topics can be developed over time by

progressively adding on information. Adolescent response to **Zoot Capri** has been encouraging. Less than three per cent of the magazine's mail from teens has been negative. Most teens surveyed felt that **Zoot Capri** contained truthful information and indicated they would recommend it to a friend. Most felt they had learned something new from **Zoot Capri** and wanted to receive future issues.

In general, female readers preferred the underlying message, the articles on drugs, and the cartoons. Male readers were more attracted by the colour, layout and pictures, and the fact that **Zoot Capri** is a magazine for teenagers. Response from parents, teachers and health professionals has also been encouragingly positive.

Zoot Capri represents a unique and innovative approach to the difficult problem of trying to relay information about alcohol and other drugs which is credible to young people.