



Future perspectives regarding crime and criminal justice

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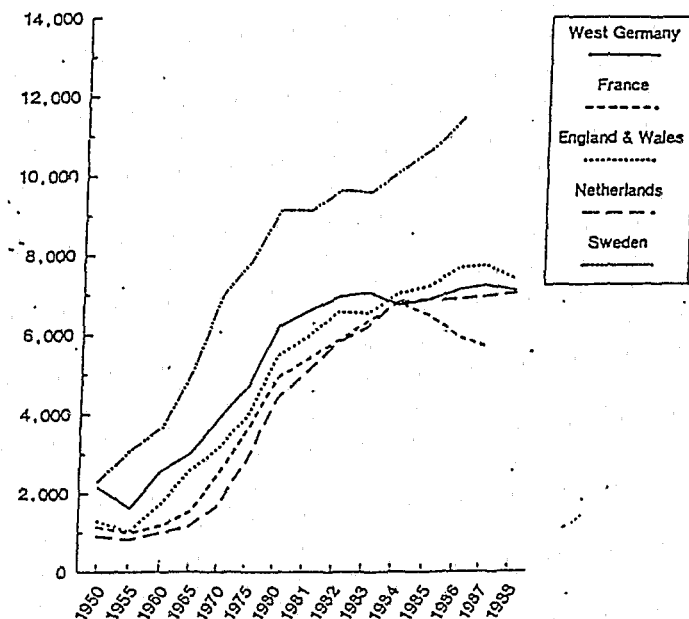
Future perspectives regarding crime and criminal justice

In this paper I will first present some data about the development, size and nature of the crime problem in some European countries. We will look at trends in rates of registered crime and at the results of an international victimization survey. Next we will discuss some trends in the crime policies of European countries. My main thesis is that the nineties will see the continuation of situational or victim-oriented crime prevention policies, emphasizing improved security and surveillance. In addition the nineties may also see a renaissance of offender-oriented strategies, including new types of programmes to reintegrate ex-offenders into society. In the final paragraph a comprehensive typology of methods to control crime will be presented.

Crime and victimization rates

In order to put the crime policies in Europe in a proper perspective, it is essential to look at national crime figures first. Many inhabitants of European countries tend to see rising crime rates as a sort of national curse. This opinion is not born out by the facts, as can readily be seen from a survey of the statistics on recorded crime of five European countries since 1950 (see figure 1).

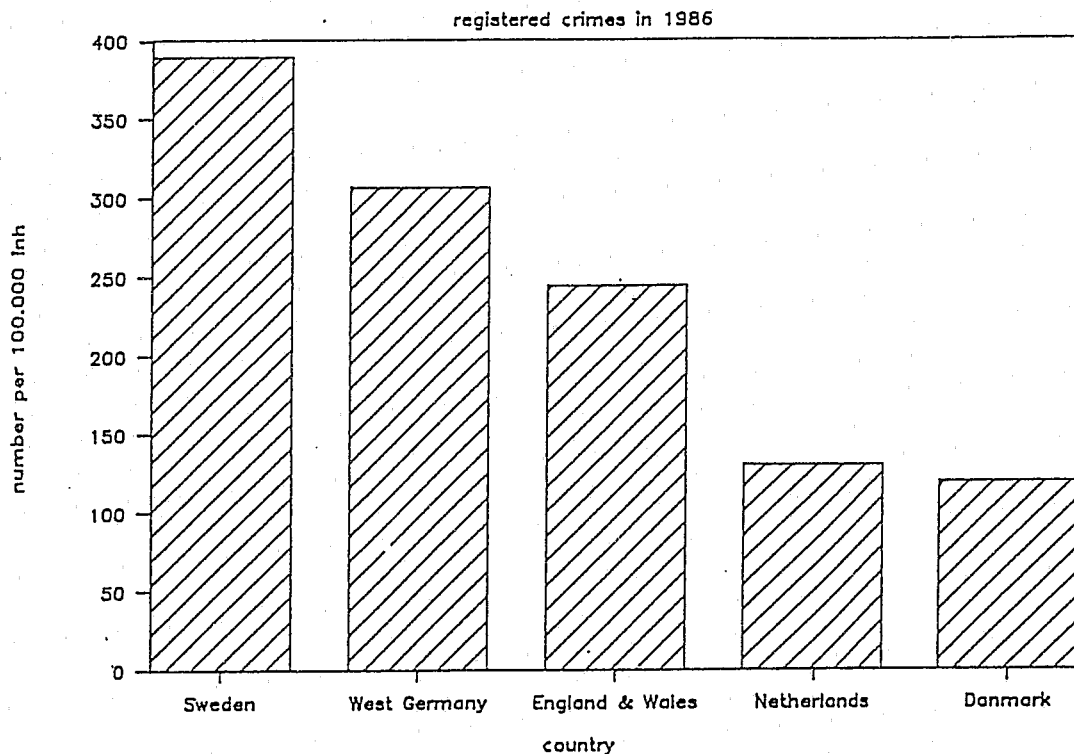
Figure 1: Registered crime in five European countries per 100,000 inhabitants



Sources: official police statistics; Polizeiliche Kriminalstatistik, 1988. Wiesbaden: Bundeskriminalamt, 1989; Aspects de la criminalité et de la délinquance en France en 1988. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1989; Criminal statistics England and Wales 1988: statistics relating to crime and criminal proceedings for the year 1988. London: HMSO, 1989; Crimes known to the police in the Netherlands 1988. The Hague: Ministry of Justice, Research and Documentation Centre, 1989; Kriminalstatistik, Brott, 1988. Orebro: Statistika Centralbyran, 1989.

Most European nations have experienced sharp rises in registered crime over the past three decades. Around 1985 registered crime in France, England and Wales, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands seems to have reached a ceiling around the rate of 7,000 registered crimes per 100,000 inhabitants. In Sweden and Denmark, the registered crime rate is even higher. A closer analysis of the police figures shows that property crimes are particularly high in Sweden and the Netherlands. Crimes of violence, though, are significantly more registered by the police in Sweden, the FRG and England and Wales.

Figure 2: Violence against the person



Compared to the homicide rate of 10 per 100,000 inhabitants in the USA, the number of homicides in Western European countries is still very low (between 0.5 and 1.5 percent; World Health Organization, 1984).

In England and Wales and the Netherlands the rates for crimes of violence have continued to rise in the past three years. The rate for crimes of violence went up from 133 to 148 in 1988 in the Netherlands and from 282 to 315 in England and Wales. This recent trend may forebode a gradual change in the crime pattern in Europe. A somewhat larger proportion of registered crime in Europe may consist of violent crime in the nineties.

It goes without saying that police statistics do not reflect the true volume of crime. A large proportion of crime is never reported or recorded. These dark numbers may differ considerably across countries. For this reason, no firm conclusions can be drawn from these figures concerning the crime situation in the various countries. The only way to find out what is really going on in terms of crime in Scandinavia and other countries is by mounting a fully standardized victimization survey amongst cross sections of the populations of all European countries.

In the beginning of 1989 such a survey has actually been conducted in fifteen different countries nationwide and in two other countries locally (Warsaw and Surabaya) (Van Dijk, Mayhew, Killias, 1990). Unfortunately, not all member states of the Council of Europe accepted the invitation to take part in this venture. In figure 3 and 4 we present the key findings of the survey.

Figure 3: Percentages of the population victimized by any crime in 1988, in fifteen countries

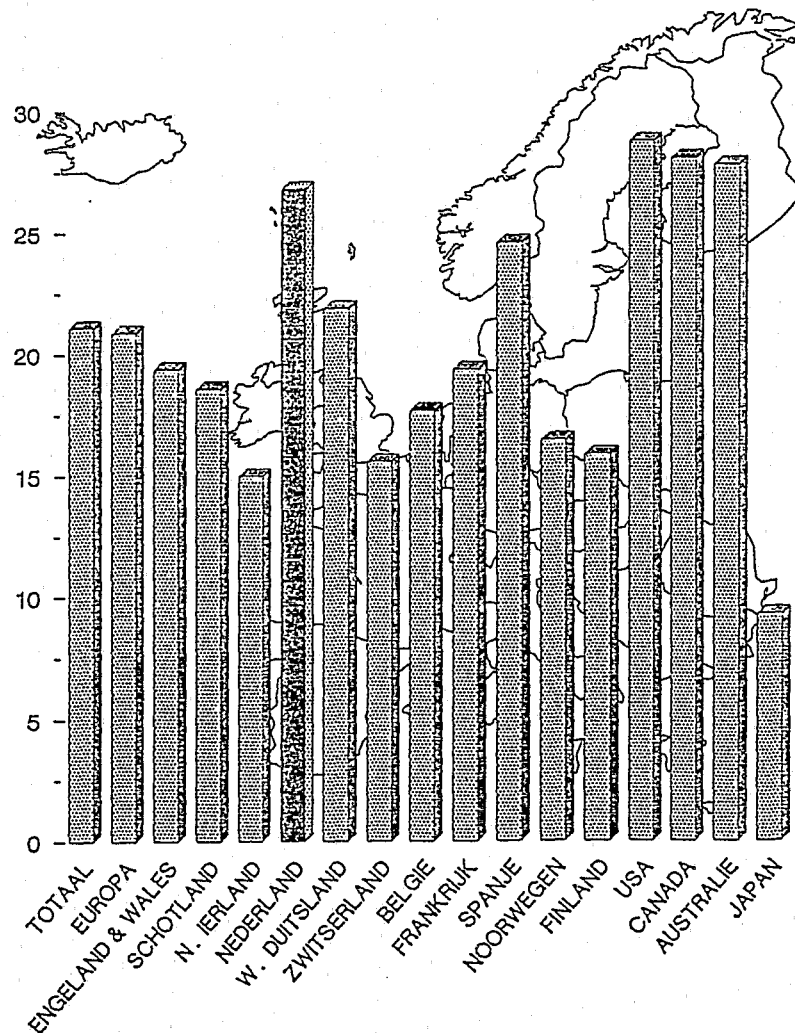


Figure 4: Victimization rates for fourteen different types of crime in seventeen countries

	Total ¹	Europe ²	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	Nether- lands	West Germany	Switzer- land	Belgium	France	Spain	Norway	Finland	USA	Canada	Australia	Warsaw	Surabaya	Japan
Theft of car	1.2	1.3	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.8	2.3	1.3	1.1	0.4	2.1	0.8	2.3	2.2	0.2	0.2
Theft from car	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3	4.0	5.3	4.7	1.9	2.7	6.0	9.9	2.8	2.7	9.3	7.2	6.9	10.2	4.7	0.7
Car vandalism	6.7	7.0	6.8	6.5	4.5	8.2	8.7	4.1	6.6	6.5	6.3	4.6	4.0	8.9	9.8	8.7	7.6	2.7	2.7
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.8	0.4
Theft of bicycle	2.6	2.2	1.0	1.0	1.6	7.6	3.3	3.2	2.7	1.4	1.0	2.8	3.1	3.1	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.7	3.7
Burglary with entry	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.4	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.4	1.7	0.8	0.6	3.8	3.0	4.4	2.6	3.8	0.7
Attempted burglary	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.1	0.9	2.6	1.8	0.2	2.3	2.3	1.9	0.4	0.4	5.4	2.7	3.8	2.8	1.7	0.2
Robbery	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.4	2.8	0.5	0.8	1.9	1.1	0.9	1.2	0.5	0
Personal theft	4.0	3.9	3.1	2.6	2.2	4.5	3.9	4.5	4.0	3.6	5.0	3.2	4.3	4.5	5.4	5.0	13.4	5.2	0.2
- pickpocketing	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.8	0.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.0	13.0	3.3	0
Sexual incidents ⁴	2.5	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.8	2.6	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.2	2.4	2.1	0.6	4.5	4.0	7.3	3.6	6.3	1.0
- sexual assault	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.2	2.3	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.7	
Assault/threat	2.9	2.5	1.9	1.8	1.8	3.4	3.1	1.2	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.9	5.4	4.0	5.2	3.0	0.8	0.5
- with force	1.5	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1	2.0	1.5	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.4	2.0	2.3	1.5	3.0	1.4	0.3	0.2
All crimes ⁵	21.1	20.9	19.4	18.6	15.0	26.8	21.9	15.6	17.7	19.4	24.6	16.5	15.9	28.8	28.1	27.8	34.4	20.0	9.3

1. Total figure treats each country as of equal statistical importance, with an assumed sample of 2000 (excl. Japan)

2. European totals have been calculated by weighting individual country results by population size (excl. Warsaw/Surabaya)

3. 'Motorcycles' include mopeds and scooters

4. Asked of women only

5. Percentage of sample victimized by at least one crime of any type

Source: Van Dijk, Mayhew, Killias, Experiences of Crime across the World, Kluwer, Deventer, 1990

The percentage of persons 16 years and over who had been victimized in 1988 at least once by one of the eleven types of crime covered by the study was the highest in the USA, Canada and Australia (app. 30%).

Countries with overall victimization rates of about 25% were The Netherlands, Spain and the FRG. A victimization rate of about 20% was found in Scotland, England and Wales, France and Belgium. Rates in the neighbourhood of 15% were found amongst the public of Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Norway and Finland. Japan has a rate below ten percent. The rates in Warsaw (Poland) resemble West-European city rates, although thefts of personal property - in particular pickpocketing - seem more common.

With the exception of Japan, countries with the lowest rates are characterized by a relatively low level of urbanization, e.g. many of their inhabitants live in small villages and few in cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more. Crimes of violence appeared to be the highest in Australia and the USA. Moderately high victimization rates for violence were found in Finland, the Netherlands, the FRG, Canada and Scotland. In England and Wales the rates were significantly lower than elsewhere.

Survey estimates and police figures

We have compared the present estimates of national victimization risks with the conventional measure of offences recorded by the police per 100,000 inhabitants ("police figures") as compiled by Interpol. The amount of crime as indicated by the survey will of course be higher than the official police figure, since in all countries less than half of victimizations were reported to the

police (e.g. in Japan the overall reporting rate was 46.5% in 1988/89). Our comparisons focused on how far the survey and police measures show similar *relative rankings* of countries with regard to crime levels.

For car theft the ranking of countries on the basis of victimization rates is quite similar to the picture shown by police figures (rank order correlation was 0.83). For instance Australia, England and Wales and France feature at the top and Japan, Finland and the Netherlands at the bottom in both rankings. For burglary there is a moderately strong positive correlation between the two sources of information (0.53). The relationship between survey and police figures is also moderately strong for robbery (0.49). Japan, for example, is at the bottom of both the survey and Interpol list. The rankings for assault and sexual incidents, however, are dissimilar (0.22 and 0.29). The reporting rates for these two categories of crime vary greatly across countries. When the Interpol ranking is compared with the ranking of reported offenses, there were much stronger relationships between survey and police figures for robbery (0.73), assault (0.72) and sexual incidents (0.81).

The most important result of the analysis is that there is a much closer correspondence between survey and police figures when account is taken of differences in reporting to the police. After adjusting for national reporting rates, the associations between survey measures and police figures were statistically robust for all five crime types. This result confirms our belief that for many types of crime, police figures as compiled by Interpol cannot be used for comparative purposes, simply on account of different reporting rates in various countries.

This overview of registered crime rates and victimization rates leads to the conclusion that crime has gone up starkly from 1955 onwards across Western-Europe. In the seventies, victimizations by crime reached a level where crime became an important political issue in most European countries.

Responding to the growth of crime

The governmental policies in response to the rapid growth of crime, have been shaped by a variety of ideological currents and incurrents. Perhaps unlike its equivalent in the USA, European crime policies were not at any time dominated by a clearly articulated and generally accepted criminological or penal philosophy. Some general developments can yet be indicated.

In the sixties and early seventies, many governments were committed to the cause of the rehabilitation of offenders. Experimental treatment programmes in prisons, developed by psychiatrists and social psychologists, were widely regarded as successful and as holding a great promise for the future. In that period, crime prevention outside the criminal justice system was

commonly equated with programmes of social reform. The fashionable notion was that crime and juvenile delinquency could be cured by better housing, schooling, social welfare and employment policies and in particular by streetcorner work among vulnerable youth.

In the course of the seventies this package of criminological inspired ideas about crime control seems gradually to have lost its credibility. Several factors seem to have collided in the erosion of the "enlightened crime policies" of the seventies.

First, the European crime boom ran parallel to a gradual rise in affluence, social security, quality of housing, level of education and health services across Western Europe. This obvious positive correlation between levels of prosperity and levels of crime could not be reconciled easily with the conventional criminology wisdom that poverty breeds crime. On the contrary, the every day Western European experience suggested that crime rates go up jointly with the Gross National Product.

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to explain the social mechanisms behind this correlation. Three factors seem to be important. In a more affluent and democratic society, those who are lesser off may resent the factual inequality more vehemently. Also, affluence and social security makes young people less dependent upon their families and state-run institutions. This may lessen the possibilities for social control. Finally, affluence simply creates greater opportunities for property crimes for the simple reason that there are more suitable targets available.

Whatever may be the determining factors, surely the experience of Western Europe since the mid-fifties undermined the belief that crime would dwindle automatically if only more affluent and equal societies were established. If social justice was indeed the cure to crime, this seemed to be a long term option only.

Secondly, penological research gradually undermined the belief in the rehabilitative powers of treatment programs in prisons with its famous slogan: "nothing works". As a substitute for the goal of rehabilitation, some penal lawyers - especially in the USA - started to advocate the adoption of post-modern doctrines as retributivism ("just deserts"), selective incapacitation or even capital punishment (Von Hirsch, 1983). These doctrines left little scope for new experiments with treatment or training programmes. In the absence of reliable prediction techniques, the idea of selective incapacitation - that is of imposing long prison sentences upon "dangerous offenders" - often resulted into the imposition of longer prison sentences across the board (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1986; Moriarty, 1987). The philosophy of just deserts may have been a useful reaction against indeterminate sentences in some countries, but it was misinterpreted as a justification of harsher punishment across the board with an appeal to public opinion. It was also used as an argument against the introduction of new sanctions with rehabilitative (or restitutive) goals since the latter reintroduces personal characteristics of the offender as a legitimate sentencing factor.

Thirdly, influential criminologists of the left did not come to the defense of conventional, reform-oriented, criminological thinking either (Van Dijk, 1989). In fact, they have undermined the theoretical foundations of the prison reform movement as fiercely as their more conservative contemporaries. From the theoretical point of view of non-interventionism or abolitionism all efforts to reform prisons were seen as counterproductive. Such efforts were explained as services rendered to the oppressive criminal justice system.

On a conference on prison abolition held in 1985 in Amsterdam, one of the keynote speakers explained why prison reform was not the issue: *"Abolitionists do not set much store by attempts to humanize prisons or improve prisoners' rights. Prisons can no more be humanized than can slavery or war; these institutions are an evil in themselves, just like torture, indeed they are torture!"* (Bianchi, 1985). In the same vein, Hulsman (1986) taught that by the very use of the word crime conventional criminologists were paying lip service to the oppressive criminal justice system. According to Christie, the interventions of the criminal-justice system constituted, in his famous dictum, a theft of the conflict between citizens by the state.

One would expect such abolitionists to be in favour of introducing alternatives to imprisonment. Surprisingly, however, the search for alternative sanctions or preventive measures, was often met with hostile scepticism. Due to the fierce opposition by Hulsman, Bianchi and their associates, the introduction of community service orders in the Netherlands was delayed for many years. In line with this extreme point of view the International Conference on Prison Abolition has recently renamed itself the International Conference on Penal Abolition.

Obviously, abolitionists are not advocating the expansion of the prison. However, to reject the possibility or desirability of penal reform is not to adopt a position of neutrality. As Matthews (1987) has pointed out, such "impossibilism" rather gives support - albeit by default - to the notion of politicians that the re-expansion of the prison is the only viable strategy to confront crime.

Expansions and innovations in the eighties: victim policies and crime prevention
 Since the related concepts of rehabilitation and crime prevention through social reform had lost their credibility, the activities for the criminal justice system were gradually expanded in many countries (Young, 1988). Police forces and prison systems were expanded across Western Europe in the late seventies and early eighties. The eighties, however, were not an era of criminological restoration only. An important innovation was the rediscovery of the victim as a (neglected) client of the criminal justice system and of the welfare state generally. In the eighties the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers passed a convention on financial compensation for victims of violent crime and adopted two detailed resolutions about victim policies. In almost all member

countries the treatment of victims by the police, the prosecutors and the courts was subsequently improved. Such services are presently seen as an essential part of the activities of the criminal justice system which can help to prevent alienation of the public from state institutions like the police and the courts. Also, voluntary associations were set up to provide emotional and practical support in large parts of Europe, notably the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and West-Germany.

In the same period, several governments established committees of experts to reassess their policies of crime control. Examples of such committees are the Peyrefitte committee of 1977 and the Bonnemaïson committee of 1982 in France and the Roethof committee of 1983 in the Netherlands. Although each of these committees worked in splendid isolation, their recommendations were nevertheless very much alike. Each recommended a strengthening of the national governments' commitment to crime prevention, interagency cooperation at the local level and a greater involvement of private citizens and businesses.

As a follow-up to these recommendations, Sweden, Denmark, France and, more recently, Belgium, have set up national crime prevention councils with representatives from various ministries. In both the United Kingdom and the Netherlands interdepartmental groups were set up to steer the new crime prevention policies. West-Germany seems to be the exception to the rule that new national bodies for the promotion of crime prevention policies were set up between 1975 and 1985.

At the advice of these various committees a new, more specific kind of crime prevention policies evolved. Crime prevention was no longer viewed as just one of the positive side effects of the welfare state but acquired a separate identity. Under the banner of crime prevention, activities became fashionable which didn't aim at (pre)delinquents but at those at risk to be *victimized* by crime. Crime prevention became victim-oriented.

The new buzz words were: target hardening, crime prevention through environmental design, defensible space, situational crime prevention and opportunity reduction (Newman, 1972, Mayhew et al., 1976; Brantingham and Brantingham, 1981; Kube, 1986). A second wave of crime prevention initiatives in the eighties aimed to strengthen informal social control within communities by means of neighbourhood watch, caretakers etc. (Hope, Shaw, 1988). In this decade private security firms became a growth service industry as well.

Trends in security in the nineties

In the area of crime prevention, a trend towards *integrated* or *comprehensive security* is to be expected for the next decade. A major breakthrough will be the introduction of integrated electronic systems which combine a wide range of functions, such as fire alarms, access control and

burglary alarm as well as the control of systems governing lighting, heating, ventilation, elevators etc. The same systems will also provide new possibilities for surveillance (through infrared, videomotion, magnetic fields, ultrasonic or microwave devices). Advancements in microprocessors, computers, fibre optics and microwave will lead to a replacement of vulnerable radio or telephone transmission by satellite data transmission (Kaye, 1987).

The new integrated control systems will be equipped with so-called "artificial intelligence": they will be capable of analysing data, initiating responses, and learning from past experiences. Doors will be opened and closed by voice activation with identification of authorized visitors. Alternatively an optical readout will identify the thump print of every person who pushes a door button.

There seems little reason to doubt the improved effectiveness of such advanced systems in preventing many types of crime. The level of security which is now available for special sites, like nuclear power plants, will become the standard for all buildings in the beginning of the next century, I surmise.

The cars of the future, whose designs are now on the drawing boards, will be equipped with systems which combine advanced communication and navigation technologies. Computers will not only be used for "check control" (checking technical functions) and "cruise control" (checking speed). They will also act as automatic pilots for driving and as navigators. In addition, up market cars will be equipped with integrated telecommunication systems and with devices for the instantaneous decoding of spoken language into written text. Automatic breath checks will analyse the blood alcohol level of the driver. According to the experts, such "car equipment" will make up more than half of the total costs of expensive cars before the end of the century.

These new cars will have many advantages for their users. Their value will make them into highly attractive targets of theft. For this reason car security will become extremely important. Most cars will be equipped with sophisticated alarms and with access control systems (demanding pass words from the driver). Somewhere in the car, microscopic surveillance tags will be hidden which can be triggered and subsequently traced with the help of satellites in the case of theft (Amlaner, MacDonald, 1980).

The use of cash will become less common in the nineties. It will mainly be used by children and as a special currency for the black market economy. In Western Europe most commercial transactions between bonafide companies are already done electronically. Individual citizens too are increasingly using bank credit cards with magnetic codes to pay in shops or at petrol stations. In the near future individual citizens will be given bank cards with micro-chips. Such personal chips will store information about the available budget, but also about the electronic spending patterns of the owner. Each chip will to a certain extent, tell the intimate life story of its owner.

The opportunities for the theft of cash will be diminished. The opportunities for fraud will be enhanced.

Prospects of victim-oriented crime prevention

Crime prevention in Western Europe, just as in Northern America, has been dominated since the seventies by the idea of protecting citizens against criminal threats.

Although expenditures on crime prevention by both the private and public sector have gone up in the eighties, there is still ample scope for further growth. Insurance companies seem ready to promote secondary crime prevention more actively. Marketing research predicts a continuous annual growth of 10 percent in household security equipment. Similar growth rates are expected by private security firms. Plant managers are becoming increasingly aware of the economic importance of crime prevention as a part of a wider risk control policy, also covering the protection of computerized data (Van Soomeren, 1989). Local governments have likewise been sensitized to the importance of crime prevention as part of their efforts to improve the quality of life in urban areas. The number of neighbourhood schemes is rapidly expanding in the United Kingdom. On the continent surveillance is strengthened by the employment of more caretakers, busconductors, city wardens etc.

Victim-oriented crime prevention seems not yet to have reached its full practical potential. New developments in communication and telecommunication technologies will greatly enhance the opportunities for crime prevention. Illegal access to business premises and the houses of the rich will become increasingly difficult. Cars will become extremely valuable commodities and therefore also highly protected. Joyriding or non-professional thieving will be made very difficult. Finally, the rise of electronic banking will decrease the opportunities for many of the conventional crimes, such as pickpocketing, bag snatching, mugging, simple theft etc. Many governments are still hesitant to invest serious money in crime prevention. Field and Hope (1989) have persuasively argued on economic grounds for government subsidies in the market for protective crime prevention. Individuals tend to underinvest in such measures since some of its benefits accrue to the community at large. Another argument for government interventions in this market is the unequal distribution of both sophisticated protection measures and insurance. If no action is undertaken by governments, the poor will be made poorer by criminals preying upon their unprotected and under-insured cars and houses. Other important priorities for the government are research and development, the development of European standards for crime prevention products and a better regulation of the activities of private security firms.

Reintegrating offenders

Although both victim-oriented prevention and victim assistance are likely to remain major concerns for governments in the nineties, there are several reasons to predict a gradual renaissance of offender oriented policies.

The first factor behind this renaissance will probably be a growing awareness that those forms of crime which are usually committed by career criminals are not greatly affected by improved protection. Rather, it must be feared that the increased protection of valuable commodities and the limited availability of cash, may to a certain extent bring about a brutalization of property crimes. Some frustrated career criminals may resort to the use of instrumental violence to reach their goals. Thefts and burglaries may partly be replaced by nastier types of crime, such as armed robbery, extortion and kidnapping. The majority of citizens will perhaps become more disciplined and rule abiding, under the influence of modern surveillance systems and a growing number of elderly in most countries. New surveillance techniques may bring back measures of control which once commonly operated socially in the rural communities of previous times. Opportunistic thieving may no longer be a mass-phenomenon. However, urban societies in Western Europe, with their persistent class divisions, will continue to breed a sizeable minority of citizens who cannot conform or refuse to do so. This minority will cause a crime problem which contrasts starkly with the newly acquired civility of the majority.

The growing awareness of the core problem caused by career criminals, might lead to a belated adoption by European governments of the concept of selective incapacitation or of other postmodern ideas. The other option is a renewed attempt to tackle the root causes of crime and drug addiction.

There are signs that in at least some European societies, governments will indeed make a renewed effort to tackle the social problems, constituting the background of (serious) crime. The Dutch government, for instance, takes the view that drug abuse is not primarily a problem for the police and the courts, but a matter of health and social well-being. This policy appears to be fairly successful. The prevalence of cannabis use in the Netherlands has decreased, and is at present rather low. Only a percentage of below 5 of young people below the age of 19 have ever used cannabis. The number of daily users appears to be one in a thousand. The number of heroin addicts has stabilized since the early eighties at between 15,000 and 20,000 out of a population of 14,7 million. Cocaine use has grown since the South American drugs mafia began to conquer the European market, but so far the rise has not been dramatic. "Crack" is a rarity. The use of amphetamines and LSD has dropped almost to zero. In 1987 only 64 people died in the Netherlands as a result of drug abuse. Recent statistics indicate a downward trend. Cases of drug-related homicides are few, at most 10 to 20 a year. On the positive side, one of the unexpected side effects of the policy is the low prevalence of AIDS among Dutch drug users. Drug addicts

account for only 8 percent of AIDS patients in the Netherlands, as against 23 percent in Europe and 26 percent in the USA. Recently governments from other countries, e.g. from neighbouring German states, have become interested in the Dutch drugs policy.

In France, and locally in Italy, crime prevention of the social reform type seems always to have retained its appeal (Waller, 1989). In France, the United Kingdom and The Netherlands the concept of crime prevention is now relaunched in many cities as part of integrated urban renewal projects tackling both unemployment, housing problems and crime in deteriorated city areas. In this new stage, some of the older preventive solutions may be given a better - and perhaps fairer - chance. More emphasis will probably be put on the importance of adequate socialization processes and social control than in the freedom-loving "anarchistic" sixties (Currie, 1988). Future buzz words may be normative training, parental guiding, and intensive surveillance of youth at risk.

Interestingly, similar ideas are floating around in the world of business security managers and consultants. Recent publications in The Netherlands and the United Kingdom about business security focus upon *the internal sources of crime*: theft and fraud by employees has become a new priority (Shapland and Wiles, 1989). Crime prevention is consequently redefined as a part of broader social policies of companies covering the use of computers and safety measures and not as a specialized response to threats from the outside. In fact in some companies security, data security and safety are now presented as elements of a general quality control drive.

In the literature about prisons and probation, the current mood of pessimism is occasionally broken by reports on successful new programs. In many European countries, for example, community service orders have rapidly become a commonly used sanction, partly or wholly replacing brief custodial sentences and/or the detention for fine defaulters. Evaluation studies have consistently found lower recidivism rates amongst young offenders who had been given a community service order than amongst control groups (Bol, 1989; Kruissink, 1989; Van der Laan, 1988). Similar promising results have been found by researchers evaluating training programs for drunken drivers both inside and outside prison (in the latter case participations in the course replaced a brief custodial sentence) (Bovens, 1987). In the Netherlands pilot projects were recently started with community service orders for offenders who committed serious crimes. Offenders who would otherwise have been given long term prison sentences are offered full time employment at a specially organized work stations. In the United Kingdom, the Home Office has recently announced plans for various forms of "punishment in the community" (Home Office, 1990). In France, programs for the social reintegration of ex-offenders have for many years been part and parcel of the local crime prevention initiatives triggered by the Bonnemaison committee and the National Council of Crime Prevention (Waller, 1989).

In short, several European governments seem ready to give the ideal of reintegrating offenders a second chance. To the extent that such programs are unfeasible within a prison setting, combinations of surveillance and training outside the prison are introduced. The successful training programs for drunken drivers, intermediate treatment programs for juvenile delinquents, training oriented forms of "intensive probation supervision", or the extended family schemes sponsored by the Eisenhower foundation in the USA may well be the first of a new generation of socialization programs (Milton S. Eisenhower, 1989; Morris, Tonry, 1990). Developments in East European countries may also give a new impetus to innovations in prison programs, as was already evident at a recent seminar in Moscow on New Strategies in the Prevention of Crime, organized by the Ministry of Interior of the USSR, where a paper was read about rehabilitation programs in youth prisons in Armenia.

A typology

In (preventive) medicine a distinction is often made between primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention involves attempts to lower rates of new cases by initiating some measures directed at the general public to counteract perceived harmful circumstances before the onset of the illness (e.g. the introduction of a sewage system). Secondary prevention involves some form of intervention directed at groups or individuals diagnosed as having early symptoms of the illness (e.g. prescribing vitamins to persons with minor complaints). Diagnostic techniques are supposed to discover the risk groups. Tertiary prevention is directed at those suffering from a disease. It consists of both curing the illness and of preventing complications and/or reoccurrences.

This qualification has been applied to drugs policies and to crime prevention (Lab, 1988; Brantingham, Faust, 1976). Primary prevention, according to Brantingham and Lab *"identifies conditions of the physical and social environment that provide opportunities for or precipitate criminal acts"*. Examples of primary prevention projects are crime-proof designs of cars or houses, neighbourhood watch programs and mass media campaigns about crime prevention. Secondary crime prevention, according to the authors just mentioned, *"engages in early identification of potential offenders and seeks to intervene"*. This category includes projects aimed at high crime areas and work with potential problem youth. Finally, tertiary prevention *"deals with actual offenders and involves intervention in such a fashion that they will not commit further offenses"*. Within the realm of tertiary prevention fall rehabilitation and treatment programs for offenders and ex-offenders.

We agree with the authors, cited above, that crime prevention projects attack the problems of crime at different stages of development and can be usefully classified on that basis. We are not satisfied, however, with the lumping together of, for instance, the installation of high quality locks

in buildings and courses on "social responsibility" in primary schools. Both are examples of primary prevention but otherwise seem to have little in common. Locks offer protection against acts by others. Training courses about social responsibility are aimed at the potential offenders themselves. Likewise, in the area of secondary prevention, we feel the need to distinguish between projects targeted at high crime areas and projects directed at potential problem youth. Finally, the present model does not give a proper place to activities specifically directed at potential and actual victims (e.g. victim assistance schemes). We want to include such programs in our typology.

These considerations have brought us to the conclusion that crime prevention projects can best be classified on the basis of two defining characteristics. The first dimension is the conventional distinction between primary, secondary and tertiary types of prevention (directed at the public at large, risk groups and core groups respectively). The newly proposed second dimension distinguishes between offender-oriented, situation-oriented and victim-oriented activities. The combination of these two dimensions leads to a subdivision of crime prevention into nine different types, as shown in figure 1.

Figure 5: A two-dimensional typology of crime prevention

target groups	developmental stage of the crime problem		
	primary	secondary	tertiary
offenders	1	2	3
situations	4	5	6
victims	7	8	9

According to our model, crime prevention can be targeted at the public at large as potential offenders (e.g. normative training of schoolchildren), at problem youth (e.g. through streetcorner work), and at actual offenders (rehabilitation programs). This is primary, secondary and tertiary offender-oriented crime prevention (categories 1, 2 and 3).

Crime prevention can also be targeted at the security provisions in all houses and buildings in a town, at the provisions in high crime areas and at so called "hot spots" (areas which are the place of many actual crimes). This is primary, secondary and tertiary situational crime prevention (categories 4, 5 and 6).

Crime prevention can, finally, be targeted at the public at large as potential victims (e.g. advice about standard safety precautions), at high risk groups (e.g. training of bank clerks or captains of industry), and at actual victims (e.g. financial support and counselling). This is primary, secondary and tertiary victim-oriented prevention.

In the following paragraph we will briefly discuss each of the nine different types of crime prevention distinguished by our model.

A brief discussion of nine types of crime prevention

Offender-oriented prevention

Primary offender-oriented prevention

In theory all citizens of a society are potential offenders. In practice, a large part of the population does indeed offend against criminal rules in certain phases of their life (e.g. drunken driving, tax evasion). Prevention programs, subsumed under this heading, are aimed at the strengthening of inhibitions to commit crimes in all citizens. Such projects seek, for example, to facilitate effective socialization processes in the family and the education system. Concrete examples are courses in parental skills (Graham, 1989), and normative training in primary schools (Donahue, 1989) (lessons in "good citizenship"). Other programs of this type are truancy prevention projects, projects against school yard bullying and after school programs for "latchkey children" (Junger-Tas, 1988). General information campaigns about vandalism, tax evasion, domestic violence or drugs and alcohol abuse are also directed at the public at large as potential offenders.

Secondary offender-oriented prevention

Secondary offender-oriented prevention is based upon early identification and prediction of problem individuals. Special programs seek to prevent the development of criminal lifestyles among problem youth through basic education, job training, employment strategies, survival camps to improve self esteem and social competence, foster parenting and out-of-home placements (child protection measures) (Farrington, 1989; Morash, Rucker, 1990; Scholte, Smit, 1988). Most of these programs try to (re)integrate youngsters at risk into mainstream society. In many countries some of these programs are targeted at youngsters from ethnic minority groups or other socially marginalized groups.

Tertiary offender-oriented prevention

The prevention of recidivism among ex-offenders is the traditional goal of probation or rehabilitation services across the world. Conventional programs consist of counselling, psychiatric treatment (including clinics for drug addicts and alcoholics), job mediation and supervision. In recent years new punishments aimed at rehabilitation have been introduced which try to avoid the harmful side effects of custodial sentences (so-called punishment in the community). Innovations in this area are intensive probation supervision, electronically monitored house arrest, victim-

offender mediation, training courses for drunken drivers, intermediate treatment for juvenile delinquents (obligatory training in social skills) and community service orders (Ball, 1988; Tonry, 1990; Lattimore, 1990).

Situational prevention

Primary situational prevention

The approaches subsumed here seek to make crime more difficult for the offender and feelings of safety more widespread through environmental and architectural design. Individual houses and buildings are protected against crime through locks, bars, lights and electronic equipment (e.g. burglar alarms, closed circuit television, access control). Residential security can be promoted through statutory building regulations, security surveys (visits to individual households by crime prevention specialists) and through pressure, exerted by insurance companies. Cars and lorries are of course protected by steering columns locks and alarms. All these technical measures are also known as "target hardening" (Bone, 1989; Gabor, 1990; Geason, Wilson, 1989).

Situational prevention at the level of residential or commercial areas takes a variety of forms. Several checklists for criminologically sound designs have been made. Important concepts are visibility, restricted access, limitation of mass transit and the placement of discos and bars in non-residential areas (with nearby stops of public transport). In some towns no licenses for the construction of new residential, commercial or industrial areas are issued without a proper assessment of the design's criminological soundness (a so-called mandatory *crime impact statement*).

Secondary situational prevention

Some neighbourhoods, towerblocks, commercial areas, schools, hospitals and shopping malls are heavily afflicted by crime, vandalism or disturbances of the peace. Measures aimed to remedy the special problems of such high crime areas, can be labelled as secondary situational prevention. Examples are the redesigning of buildings through the closure of access points and the limitation of semi-public space. In most cases such changes in the design are combined with increased surveillance by private security guards, caretakers or voluntary groups (e.g. neighbourhood watch or block watch) who collaborate with local police (Colder, Nuijten-Edelbroek, 1990; Painter, 1989; Walker, 1990).

Tertiary situational crime prevention

In many towns a disproportional part of all local crimes are committed in small parts of the town's territory. Such "hot spots" can be identified through detailed analyses of computerized data systems of the police (crime mapping). In many cases such high concentration of crime is caused by the presence of criminogenic functions such as casinos, pornshops, houses of prostitution,

betting houses, discos, etc. Sometimes such locations are also the market place for drugs or stolen goods. The methods to control such criminal zones are mainly in the domain of law enforcement. However, licensing policies and changes in the design can play a part as well. An important consideration is whether a crack down on crime in such "hot spots" may lead to its displacement to other, residential or commercial areas. For this reason tertiary situational crime prevention methods are sometimes deliberately avoided as part of a policy of containment (e.g. the zoning of redlight districts) (Sherman et.al., 1989; Hakim, Buck, 1989; Wilson, Kelling, 1982).

Victim-oriented prevention

Primary victim-oriented prevention

In many countries media campaigns are launched periodically to inform the public about the most common precautions against crime, such as the purchase and systematic use of sophisticated locks, not leaving valuables in unguarded cars, not opening the door for strangers etc. Such campaigns are usually backed up by the distribution of leaflets and public conferences. Special information campaigns are designed about conmen for the elderly and about sexual abuse for children. The goal of such activities is to help the public at large to protect itself better against crime by increasing its awareness of victimization risks and its knowledge of simple techniques to avoid crime (Home Office, 1989; Sacco, Trotman, 1990; Laycock, 1989).

Secondary victim-oriented prevention

Some groups of the population are for various reasons particularly vulnerable of criminal victimizations. Young women who work late at night, such as nurses, run high risks to be attacked in the streets. They are sometimes invited to take a course in self defense techniques. Other special high risk groups are high level politicians and captains of industry. To ensure their personal safety special VIP-protection methods are applied (Malcher, 1989). A much larger risk group is constituted by the inhabitants of high crime areas. As we mentioned during our discussion of secondary situational crime prevention, design changes in such areas are often part of more comprehensive crime prevention programs. In many cases groups of citizens take the initiative to improve the safety in their crime-ridden neighbourhoods by forming neighbourhood watch programs. The main goal of such programs is a better cooperation with the local police by alerting the police about suspicious incidents (Lavrakas, Bennett, 1989). Special programs also subsumed under this category are escort services for single women or the elderly, safe houses to which any child can go for help (block houses) and whistle STOP-projects (citizens using whistle chains to alert the police to trouble) (Canadian Criminal Justice Association, 1989).

Tertiary victim-oriented prevention

In most criminal law systems the victim has a marginal role in criminal procedure and stands little chance to receive compensation from the offender for his/her damages. In recent years new provisions for crime victims have been created both inside and outside the criminal justice system. The most common provisions outside the system are state compensation schemes, victim assistance or support schemes (offering emotional support, practical and legal advice), rape crisis centres, shelter homes for battered wives and self-help groups for victims or family members of the victims of homicide. The aim of these programs is to help victims to overcome their emotional and practical problems. Such help aims to prevent secondary hardship and suffering as well as further victimizations. We define such activities as tertiary forms of prevention (Penders, 1989; Sampson, Farrell, 1990; HEUNI, 1989).

In figure 6 we present an overview of the examples given of each of the nine types of crime prevention.

Figure 6: An overview of nine types of crime prevention according to a two-dimensional model

target groups	developmental stage of the crime problem		
	primary	secondary	tertiary
offenders	responsible parenting school classes on civil duties truancy prevention information campaigns about drinking/drugs	streetcorner work youth clubs training/employment foster parents	rehabilitation intensive probation supervision training/employment
situations	target hardening C.P. through environm. design lighting	redesigning high crime areas private security caretakers	ident. of hot spots zones of prostitution etc.
victims	information campaigns special advice for children	VIP-protection neighbourhood watch block parents	state compensation victim assistance rape crisis centres shelter homes

To conclude

In many countries the police forces and prison systems have been expanded in the eighties. Policy innovations were a better deal for crime victims and crime prevention projects. Crime prevention policies in the period 1975 till 1985 were largely of the situational or victim-oriented type (locks and bolts, neighbourhood watch). In this stage, responsibility for crime prevention was largely put in the hands of the police as part of their public relations policies. Within an overall crime policy such activities were of marginal importance. A new situation arises if, as is to be expected in the nineties, offender-oriented prevention policies become additional priorities. These new activities

need to be coordinated with various activities of the criminal justice system (with the uniformed police, CID, prosecutions, after care et al.). The concept of an integrated crime policy, the dream of 19th century positivist criminology, may become topical again. So becomes the question of organizational "ownership", or control over such a policy. Ministries of Justice will have to defend, and expand, their "turf".

In my view, an integrated crime policy needs to be based upon a partnership between local government and the police. In many countries, the prosecution office may be the third party. At the national or federal level an agency with close ties with the Ministry of Justice should be made responsible for the overall planning and financial support of local crime prevention policies, in order to ensure coordination with complementary penal policies.

At all levels, concrete policies should start with an empirical assessment of the crime problem at issue. Victimization surveys and self-report delinquency studies are indispensable tools for such an assessment. Subsequently, a typology like the one proposed above, could be used as a checklist for the formation of a policy plan to tackle the existing crime problems.

Each crime problem requires an unique mixture of the various types of interventions set out in the model. For instance, in the case of a high rate of armed robbery, the optimal mix may consist of a. secondary situational prevention (sophisticated protection of local banks) and secondary victim-oriented prevention (training of bank personnel in coping with a robbery); b. tertiary victim prevention (victim support to actual victims); and c. tertiary offender-oriented prevention (intensive probation supervision for bankrobbers released from prison). A well chosen combination of such strategies will often be much more effective than isolated measures. In the case of a high rate of vandalism against public property the optimal mix will of course be quite different. It may consist of special courses in primary schools (primary offender-oriented prevention), target hardening of public buildings at vulnerable spots (secondary situational prevention) and community service orders for young vandals (tertiary offender-oriented prevention). In most instances the optimal mix of preventive measures must be supplemented by targeted law enforcement efforts.

Crime control policies can only be radically reformed if credible alternative methods of crime control are offered. In the near future, offender-oriented crime prevention programs will partly replace some conventional criminal justice interventions, just as prisons replaced capital punishment in the past and fines and other alternative sanctions are currently replacing prisons. The outcome of these transformations must be assessed qualitatively by asking whether the responses to crime become less harmful for all parties involved, in other words for the victim, the offender and society at large. The crucial standard seems to be whether new policies seek to

strengthen the social integration of risk groups, including ex-offenders. Criminal policies which are directed towards integrating instead of segregating risk groups seem to be more in tune with the new movement towards social justice in West and Eastern Europe than those consisting of a further expansion of conventional criminal justice interventions only.

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