

POLICY REVIEW: CRIME, JUSTICE AND COHESION

January 2007

This paper is based on documents prepared by the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit to facilitate discussion in the Policy Review. The paper is not a statement of policy.





Crime

Progress since 1997

Domestic crime

International crime

Cohesion



Domestic crime summary

Overall crime is down with some particular successes. However the perception gap between crime trends and perceived trends remains. Some issues, like anti-social behaviour, are still causing concern.

Given this, the outstanding question is how to maintain the crime reduction trend. The trade-offs and questions we must weigh up include:

- Early interventions to prevent crime
- The role of prisons and other punishments
- Police reform, and the role of citizens
- Reforms to courts and legal processes
- Technology, profiling, drugs and trade-offs between liberty and security

The Government has taken a new approach to crime and committed significant resources to it

The Government brought a new approach to crime in 1997

A focus on crime prevention alongside enforcement was summed up by “Tough on crime, tough on causes of crime” approach

Responsibilities have been stressed alongside rights

There has been a differentiated approach to different crime types:

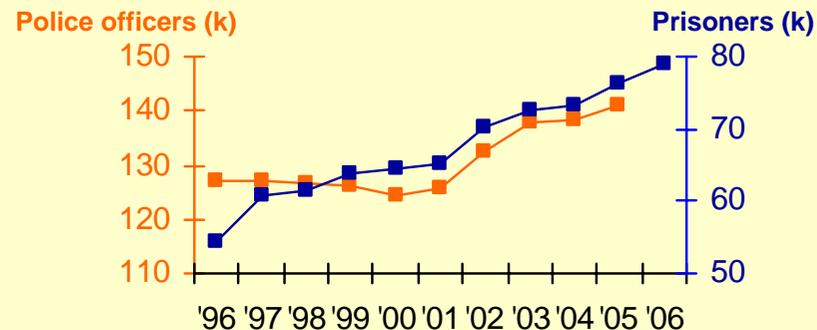
- **ASB:** Community Support Officers and neighbourhood policing plus new powers to tackle Anti Social Behaviour
- **Volume crime:** Large increase in police officer numbers plus a new performance management regime designed to reduce volume crime
- **Serious and organised crime:** Establishment of the Serious and Organised Crime Agency (SOCA), and increased effort on security since 2001

...and supported this approach with greater resources

There have been unprecedented increases in Criminal Justice System spending, averaging 5% per year in real terms since 2001

- UK spends more on public order and safety than any other OECD nation

Police and prisoner numbers have risen sharply⁽¹⁾



The Home Office budget will not rise in real terms up to 2012 – though resources can be re-prioritised from within the budget

(1) RDS NOMS, Offender Management Caseload Statistics, 2004, Prison population Projections, 2006; Home Office RDS Findings 229



The focus has been on enforcement and punishment, with broader work addressing the causes of crime

Many reforms have aimed to increase the powers available to catch and punish offenders

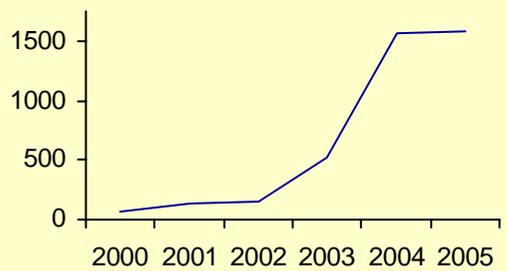
There has been increased investment in enforcement

- Neighbourhood wardens, Community Support Officers, police

There has been a stream of tough new legislation

- New powers, including ASBOs and new summary measures to enable police and others to tackle anti-social behaviour
- Tougher punishment, including mandatory minimum sentences and indefinite sentences

The number of ASBOs has risen sharply



There has also been a focus on the causes of crime

Drug treatment programmes and action on alcohol through the Licensing Act

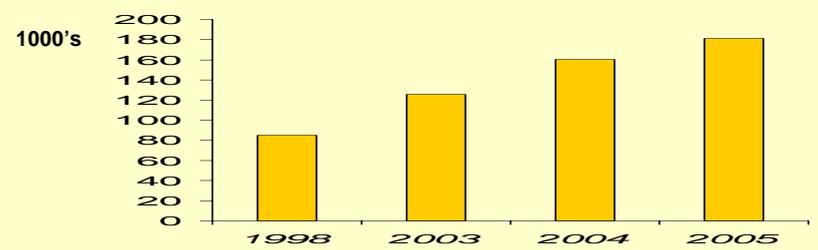
Increased spend on probation and Youth Justice Board

Recent measures on parenting in the Social Exclusion Taskforce

There have also been a range of wider social welfare reforms since 1997 that may have impacted on crime

- New Deal
- Tax credits
- Sure Start
- Significant work on urban regeneration

Numbers in structured drug treatment

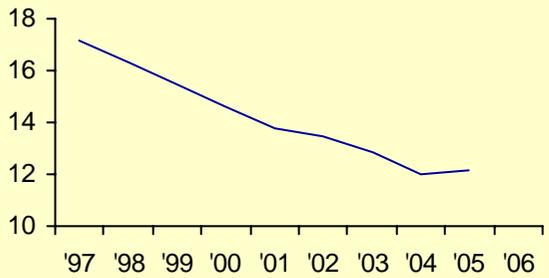


This new approach to crime has delivered some impressive improvements

Crime and fear of crime is down

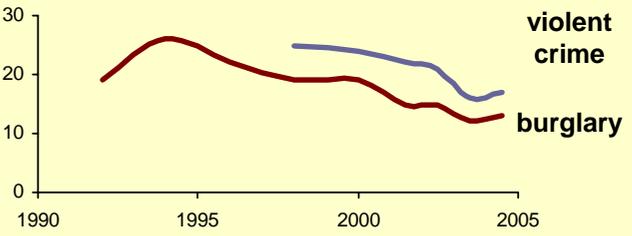
Crime has fallen:

Crimes (m)



Fear of crime has fallen

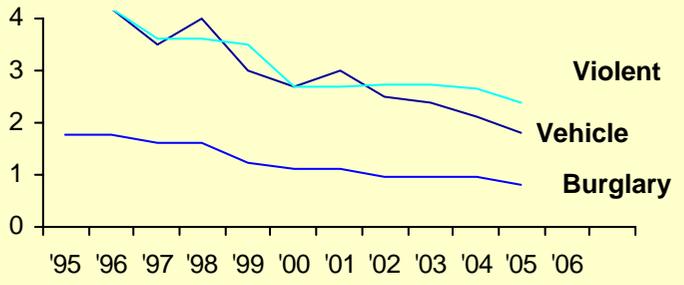
% very worried about



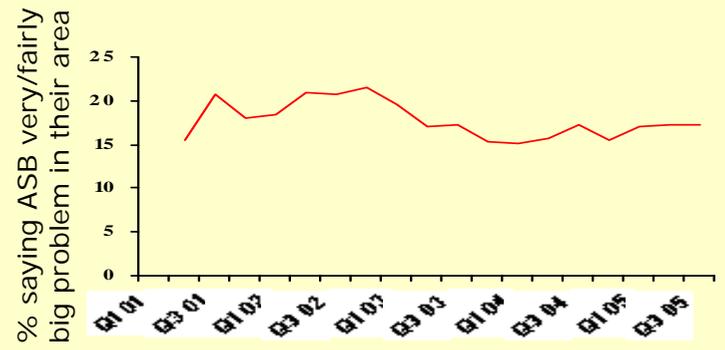
There has been particular success on volume crime and anti-social behaviour

Volume crime has fallen:

Crimes (m)



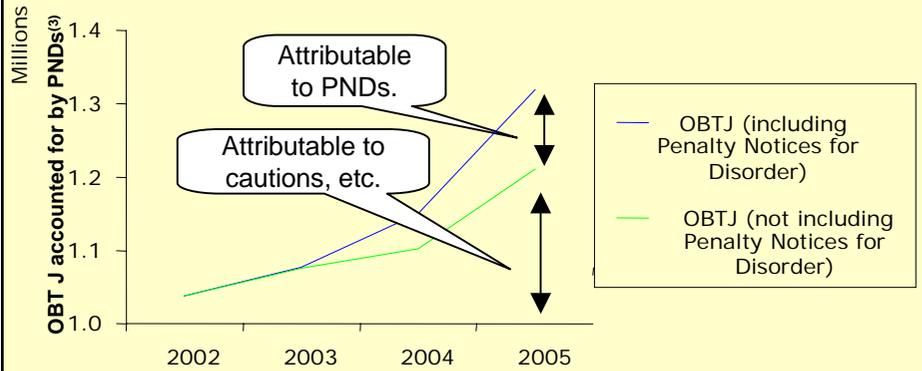
Perceptions of ASB have fallen since 2001:



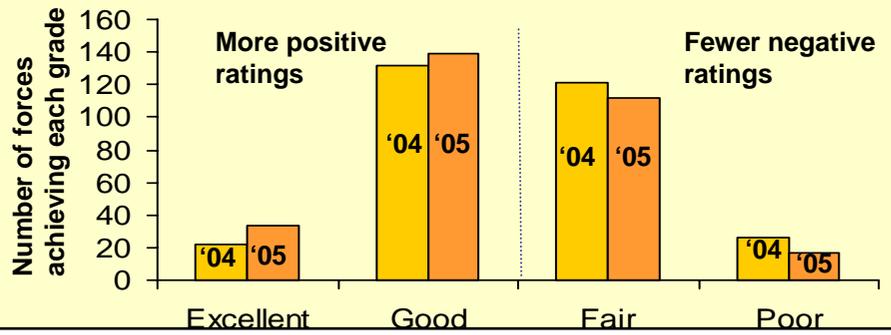
There have been notable improvements in Criminal Justice System performance and efficiency

There has been increased CJS performance

Increased Offences Brought to Justice (OBTJ), largely as a result of summary powers and cautions

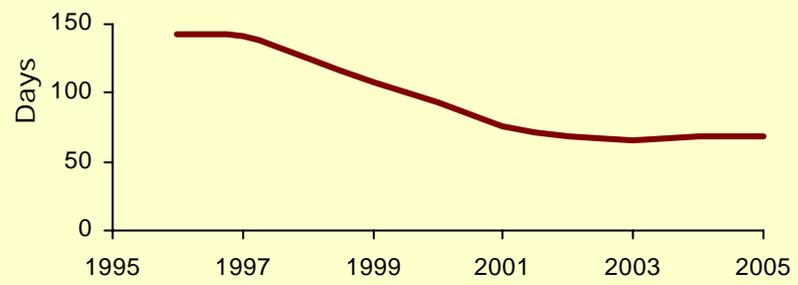


The last police force performance assessments have migrated towards Excellent and Good

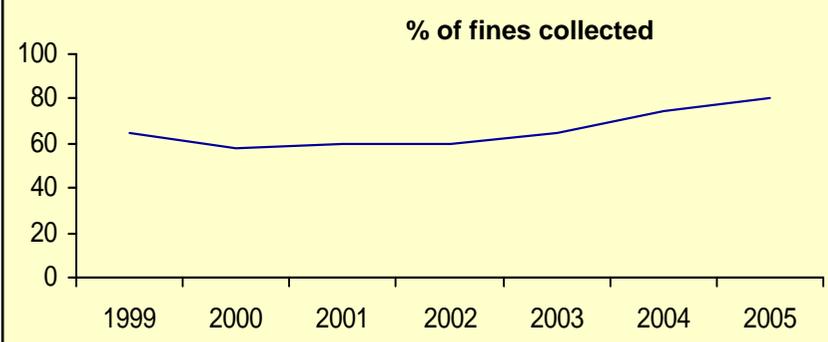


Aspects of the CJS are becoming more efficient

Time from arrest to sentence has fallen:



The percentage of fines collected has increased since 2000



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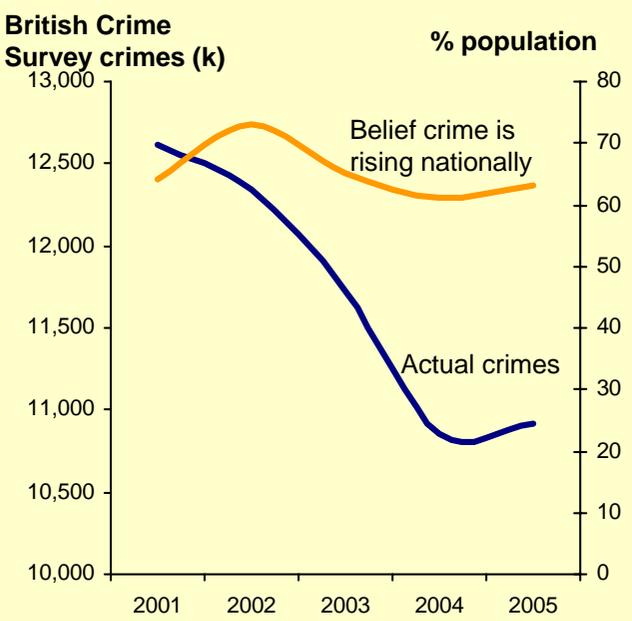
Cohesion



The perception gap will continue to be a significant challenge going forward

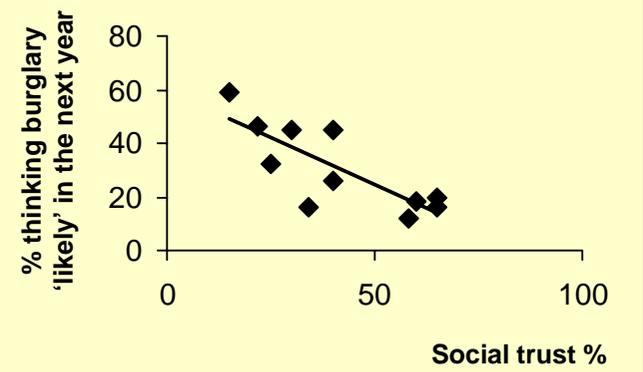
There is a marked perception gap on crime...

Despite significant falls in crime, around two-thirds of citizens believe it is rising⁽¹⁾



...in part driven by low levels of social trust and visible anti-social behaviour...

Fear of crime is likely to be related to levels of social trust *not* actual crime ⁽²⁾

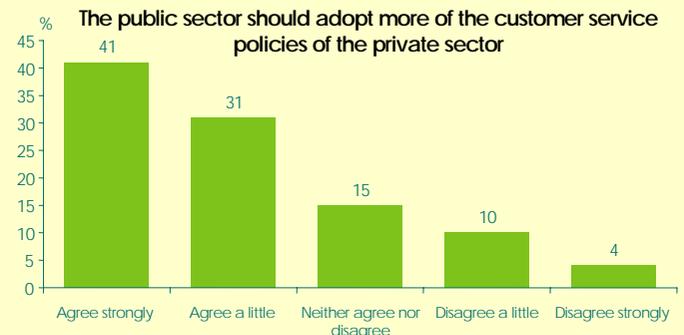


And strong concern about anti-social behaviours that are highly visible (eg vandalism) and can sometimes give a misleading impression about local crime rates

...but also by media pressure and rising citizen demands

There is intensive media interest in crime

Citizen pressure on service quality is increasing, informed by private sector experience



(1) British Crime Survey, 2001-6 (2) D. Halpern 'Social Capital' 2005

Technological and social trends will bring crime challenges as well as solutions



Technology means more opportunities for crime alongside opportunities for detection

Technological advance has implications for crime type/prevalence

- E.g. burglary fell and mugging rose with rise of portable hi-tech gadgets and fall in value of domestic technologies, e.g. TVs

New crime opportunities are emerging

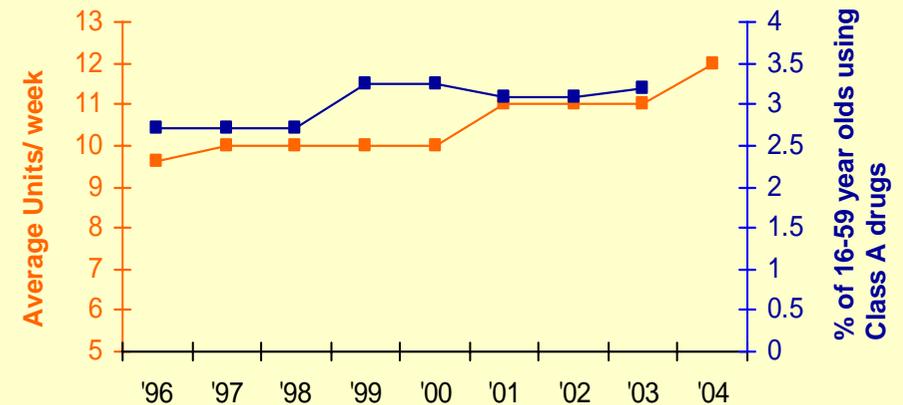
- Identity theft, internet crime, high-value portable gadgets

But also new solutions from public and private sectors

- Property protection: face recognition, voice recognition, electronic locking
- Detection aids: DNA database, ID cards, face recognition, microchip monitoring, satellite surveillance

Social trends are likely to ensure that the challenges of drugs, alcohol and gangs remain

There is no indication that drug and alcohol use are decreasing⁽¹⁾



Challenge of gangs likely to remain

- Gang culture and associated disorder is strongly linked to continued high drug consumption

(1) BCS; likely to be underestimates as survey under-represents hard to reach groups, e.g. homeless, who are more likely to be drug users



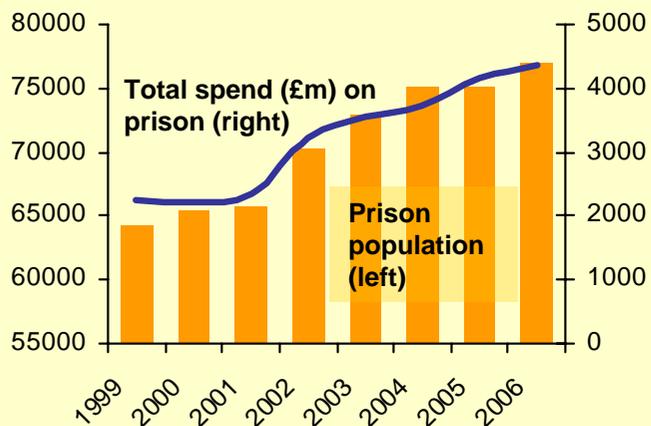
Questions regarding sentencing policy will remain

Prison population and costs have risen steeply...

Tougher sentencing since 1997

- Average custodial sentence from Crown Court rose from 20 to 30 months from 1994-2004

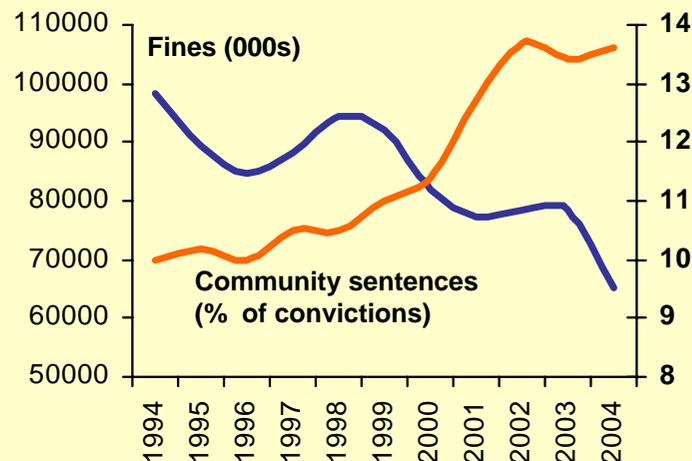
Continuing trend towards increased prison population



Each 1,000 additional prison places costs an around £100m in capital and £20m per year

...and pressure to punish offenders more harshly is likely to remain

Sentencers have increased use of community punishments, but only for those who would previously have got fines

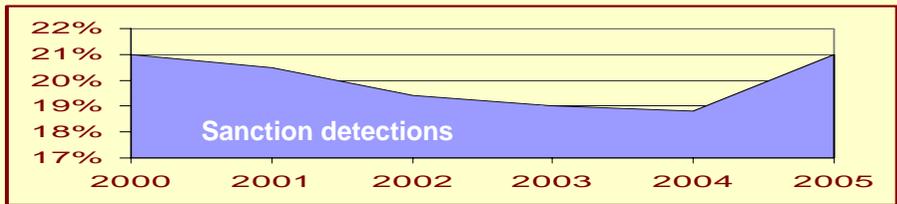




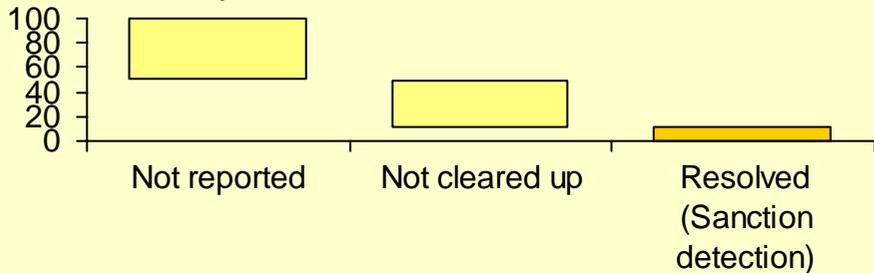
There are also significant challenges remaining in the Criminal Justice System

Despite progress, there are still gaps in the efficiency of the CJS

The number of crimes that are resolved has increased, but there is still more to do⁽¹⁾



% British Crime Survey Crimes

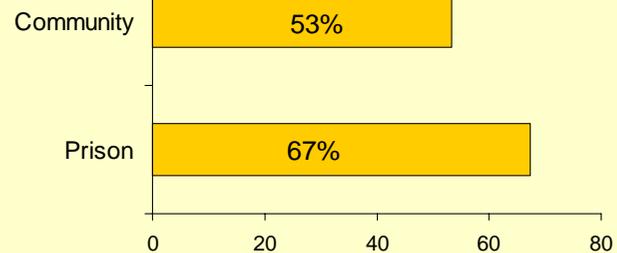


Police resource increases appear unrelated to changes in productivity

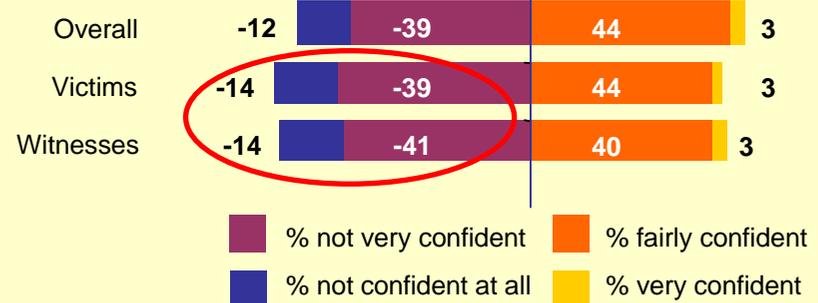
Both recidivism rates and customer service could be improved

Reoffending rates have improved and are similar to other countries but remain stubbornly high⁽²⁾

Reconviction rate within two years of release (%)



People are less confident in the CJS after experiencing it than before⁽³⁾



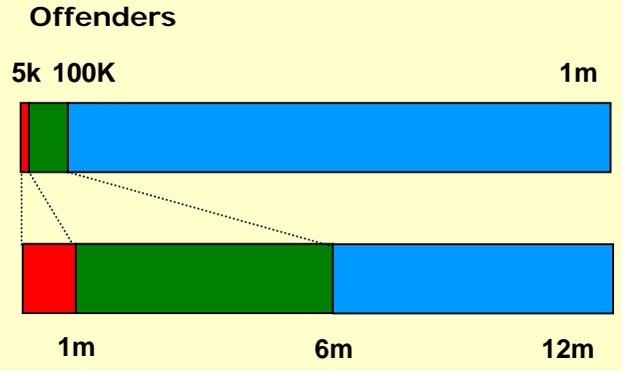
(1)Home Office data 2006 (2) Offender Management Caseload Statistics (3) Public confidence in the criminal justice system, MORI Survey conducted for Home Office, 2003



While further action on targeting prolific offenders in particular could pay dividends

A relatively small group of offenders is responsible for a disproportionate number of crimes

For example, in England and Wales it is estimated that 100,000 offenders are responsible for half of all crimes



Prolific offenders typically commit a range of crimes rather than specialising in one type

Policies such as PPO and DIP aim to target interventions at high harm individuals – but more could be done

The Prolific and Priority Offenders scheme allows police forces to target offenders who commit the most crime and those who cause the most harm to the local community

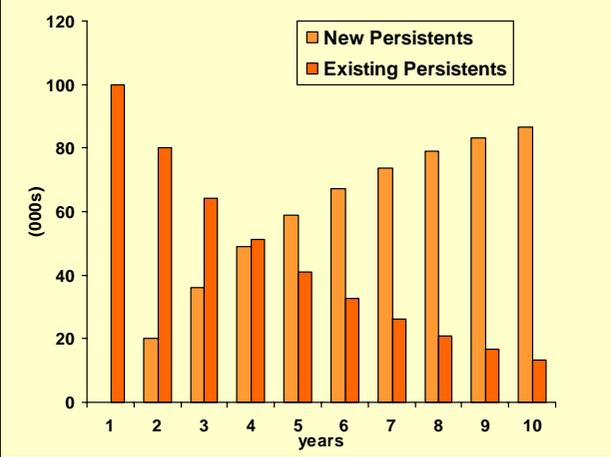
The Drug Interventions Programme addresses crime caused by drug misusing offenders, by helping adult offenders who take Class A drugs (heroin, cocaine and crack-cocaine) out of crime and into treatment

But still fewer than 50,000 people are gripped by these two programmes

However, identifying prolific and priority offenders is more difficult than it seems

For example 40% of offenders with three previous convictions will stop offending without further interventions

The population of prolific offenders is not static, a fifth change every year



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The following slides give some examples of the sorts of reform other countries have pursued. They are not presently policies under consideration by the UK government.

Different countries have intervened in radically different ways to tackle crimes more effectively



Norway has maintained historically low levels of crime by concentrating on early interventions – but cultural factors are also important

Norway has persistently low crime rates relative to other European countries

- Low conviction rates and stable incarceration rates since 1950 (54% convicted punished with fines)

Its approach focuses on prevention not enforcement

- It has few police (less than half the number per capita than EU average), and limited use of prison (abolished life imprisonment in 1981)⁽¹⁾
- It has a strong welfare state; an active Crime Prevention Council; prison is focused on 'normalisation' in prison communities; there is extensive rehabilitative work; and a strong emphasis on civil liberties

Cultural factors are key

- Very high levels of social trust are correlated with low levels of fear of crime
- Public support limits to use of prison

New York achieved crime reduction through strengthened enforcement – but falls in crime also a consequence of demographic and social trends

There have been dramatic crime reductions from high levels: a fall of over 60% in New York since 1990

Results have been ascribed to the adoption of zero-tolerance enforcement tactics in the 1990s, but the tactic has had mixed success in other cities

A number of enforcement tactics may have contributed to positive outcomes

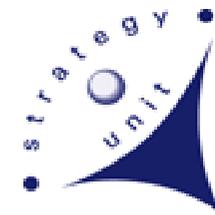
- 39% rise in police numbers 1990-2002
- Improved police training
- Implementation of Compstat performance management tool

However, there were also some crucial social and demographic trends

- An influx of immigrants who committed less crime
- Investment in education and urban renewal
- High death rates for high-crime groups and high incarceration rates

(1) In Scandinavia, incarceration is used far less although increasingly in Denmark – in 2002 there were only 16 'lifers' in Denmark

Approaches to drug-related crime appear also to be diverging into two camps, as shown by Swiss and U.S. approaches



Countries such as Switzerland focus on harm reduction by supplying drug addicts

Switzerland rehabilitates heroin addicts using Heroin Assisted Treatment (HAT).

Countries like the U.S. focus on reducing supply and enforcing social norms through harsh sanctions

Heavy investment in border controls/ drugs enforcement but with limited impact on supply

- E.g. \$1.3bn military assistance programme to help Columbian government to restrict drug supply

Punitive sentences for drug offences but high re-offending

- 700,000 arrests for possession of marijuana each year
- In New York, the minimum sentence for class A drugs supply is 10-12 years in prison

Some rehabilitative interventions but usually alongside punishment

However, U.S. is favourably disposed towards prevention through heroin and cocaine vaccination

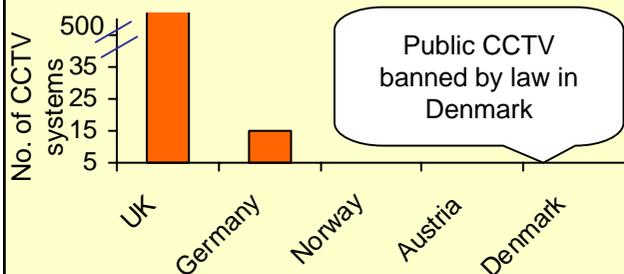
- Raises potential not just for more effective treatment but also preventative intervention for at risk groups
- Although substitute drugs may be used to replace the drugs to which users would become immune

Some countries have reached limits in terms of how far they are willing to restrict liberties in the interest of security: others are seeking to go further



Surveillance and monitoring has advanced but some countries are refusing to go as far as others

Use of open street CCTV systems in public space by country



More sophisticated monitoring techniques also in place

- E.g. Trial of Radio Frequency Identification chips for mentally ill in the U.S., 2006

U.S.-led drive for biometric passports which include fingerprints/ scanned iris

- But a court order is required to hold DNA on record in Norway

Regulating behaviours can be effective: some countries go further than others

Alcohol controls abroad (tax, rationing, regulation) proven to reduce consumption and alcohol-related harms

- E.g. rationing in Greenland in 1980s reduced call-outs for domestic violence by over 50%

However, trend has been towards liberalisation/ increased consumption

- Extended opening hours
- End of Swedish limit on amount of alcohol people can purchase
- Partial decriminalisation of cannabis in Germany and Holland

However, controls will continue

- E.g. legal restrictions to TV beer adverts in over half of Europe
- U.S. keen to trial drug vaccination

Most countries are working out the balance between liberty and security

Early interventions, e.g. enforced parenting programmes in Holland and UK and compulsory anti-aggression programmes during school hours in Austria

Situational interventions, e.g. in UK, mobile phone industry improved locking security after government and consumer pressure

Enforcement, e.g. in England all those arrested must submit DNA and these are kept on permanent record whereas in Sweden only those who spend two years in prison are recorded

Punishment, e.g. in Denmark, hormone injections for sex offenders

Many countries focus on managing public perceptions as well as crime outcomes, principally by strengthening the local accountability of CJS agencies



Countries are becoming more sophisticated at managing public perceptions of crime

Most countries have experimented with strategies that both reduce crime and increase public feelings of security

- E.g. better street-lighting and increased police presence, even in low crime areas

However, some have gone further in actively managing citizen perceptions

- In Chicago, weekly “Street Beat” meetings, where officers explain their recent enforcement achievements/ actions
- Florida has a University of Central Florida Police Department which routinely publishes information on crime prevention and awareness
- Dutch police recently sent SMS messages to warn citizens of an escaped paedophile

Different structural reforms have been used to deliver results

Organisational structures have evolved to tackle specific crime types

- E.g. in response to cross-border crime, a joint police/ customs co-operation centre was established at Offenburg combining French and German customs and police agencies under one roof

Local accountability is strongest in the U.S:

- Strategic (and occasionally operational) direction from mayor, city council or an elected sheriff
- Local budgetary decisions and ability to hire and fire police chief
- Reports suggest this system improves responsiveness although measures also need to be taken to minimise the risks of corruption⁽¹⁾

(1) Policy Exchange, 2004

Some countries are willing to increase the role of the private and voluntary sector



A large/ increasing role for private and voluntary sector service provision, led by the U.S....

In Canada and Australia, the private security workforce outnumbers the police by 2 to 1, in South Africa by 3 to 1 and in the US by 8 to 1

In U.S. security officers are invested with arrest powers like those of a county sheriff and armed security is used to protect government and military buildings

U.S. bail bondsmen provide bonds which are not returned if their defendant does not appear in court and employ bounty hunters to ensure defendants do appear

- There are currently 14,000 bail bondsmen in the US and thousands of bounty hunters

....And a move towards sharing responsibilities for crime with the public and with commercial enterprises

Through reducing propensity to offend e.g.:

- Shared parental, teacher and child responsibility in US Fast Track program

Situational interventions:

- Across the U.S., measures to encourage community cohesion through collective ownership of public space
- In Boston, 1996, police worked alongside the Azuza Christian faith community to tackle a serious youth homicide problem, to considerable effect

Enforcement:

- Different citizen rights in terms of arrest and protection of property (e.g. right to shoot in the U.S.)

Punishment and rehabilitation

- Public shaming punishments to engage communities, e.g. pink prisons (all the inmates wear pink and the building is pink) in Texas



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International Crime summary

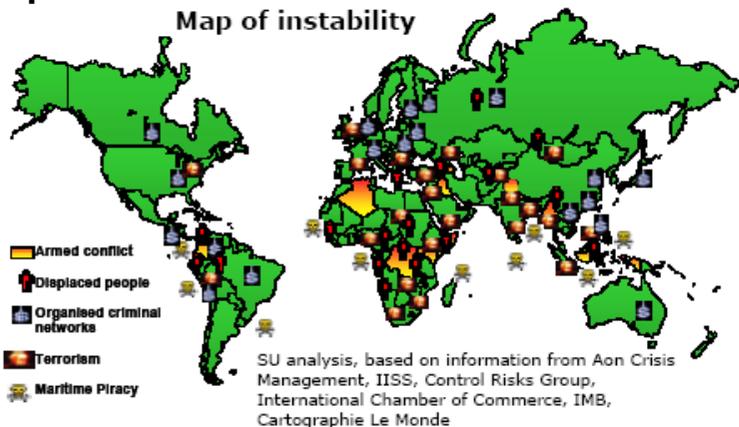


International crime is increasingly global. The Serious Organised Crime Agency will provide an increased capability to deal with the increasingly global threat.

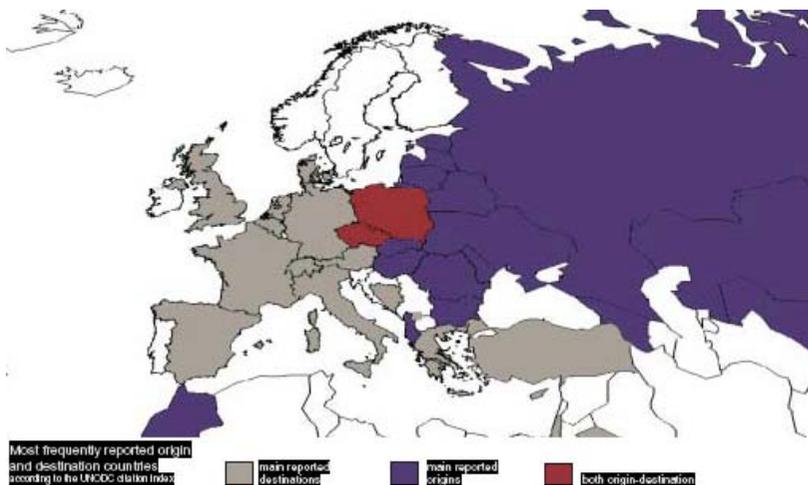
International efforts could be strengthened to reduce the gaps exploited by international crime. The question facing the UK is what is the most effective balance of resourcing and effort domestically and internationally to best counter harms to the UK.

Crime is increasingly a global phenomenon

International crime is in part driven from a group of unstable states



People trafficking is a key risk

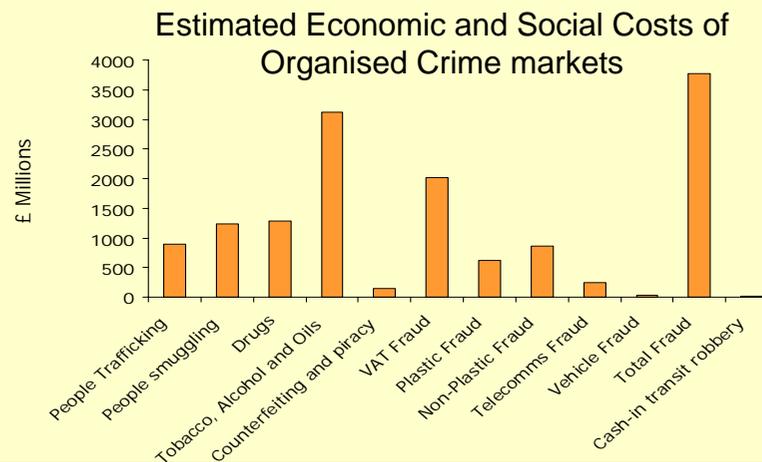


There has been a steady rise in criminal activity with an international dimension

There has been growth in internationally linked crime which is largely economically motivated:

- drugs, tobacco and alcohol smuggling
- people trafficking, child abuse and prostitution
- money laundering and financial crime
- counterfeiting and identity crime

ACPO's National Strategic Assessment outlined 14 key issues, of which 6 had an international dimension



The establishment of SOCA should help to tackle organised international crime

Organised criminals operate throughout the UK

International crime is largely driven by economic motives

Drug trafficking is the main source of serious organised crime in the UK, driven by high demand

Supply routes for Class A drugs vary but c.90% of the UK's identified heroin supply originates in Afghanistan with Turkey a key staging post for supply

Major cities e.g. London and Birmingham are major centres for distribution

Criminal networks tend to operate very flexibly

Criminal networks are increasingly **fluid, extended and flexible** with faster response times than enforcement efforts e.g. switch from Caribbean to West Africa routes for cocaine

This is largely due to use of **criminal specialists** who can broker deals

Such organisations act as rational actors, driven by money whilst also looking to **manage risk** by using violence and transferring 'hands-on' risks to lower level criminals

Future trends are likely to make this a growing problem

Increased use of **IT** has facilitated and generated new criminal activity e.g. internet crime

Free movement of goods and capital can be exploited by criminal networks, particularly in the absence of robust agencies to deal with the problem

There have, in a few instances, been links between **organised crime and terrorism**

The establishment of SOCA should help address the issue

The Serious Organised Crime Agency is an intelligence led law enforcement agency created to **reduce the harms caused by organised crime**

SOCA takes over the functions of 4 agencies, creating a unified organisation

Its top priorities are drug trafficking, organised immigration crime and fraud

The agency has a range of new powers and is consulting on more

There are international structures acting against organised crime but institutions are relatively weak and criminals can exploit gaps between states



There are a number of international bodies acting against international crime

Europol: aims to improve effectiveness and co-operation between member states in addressing serious organised crime

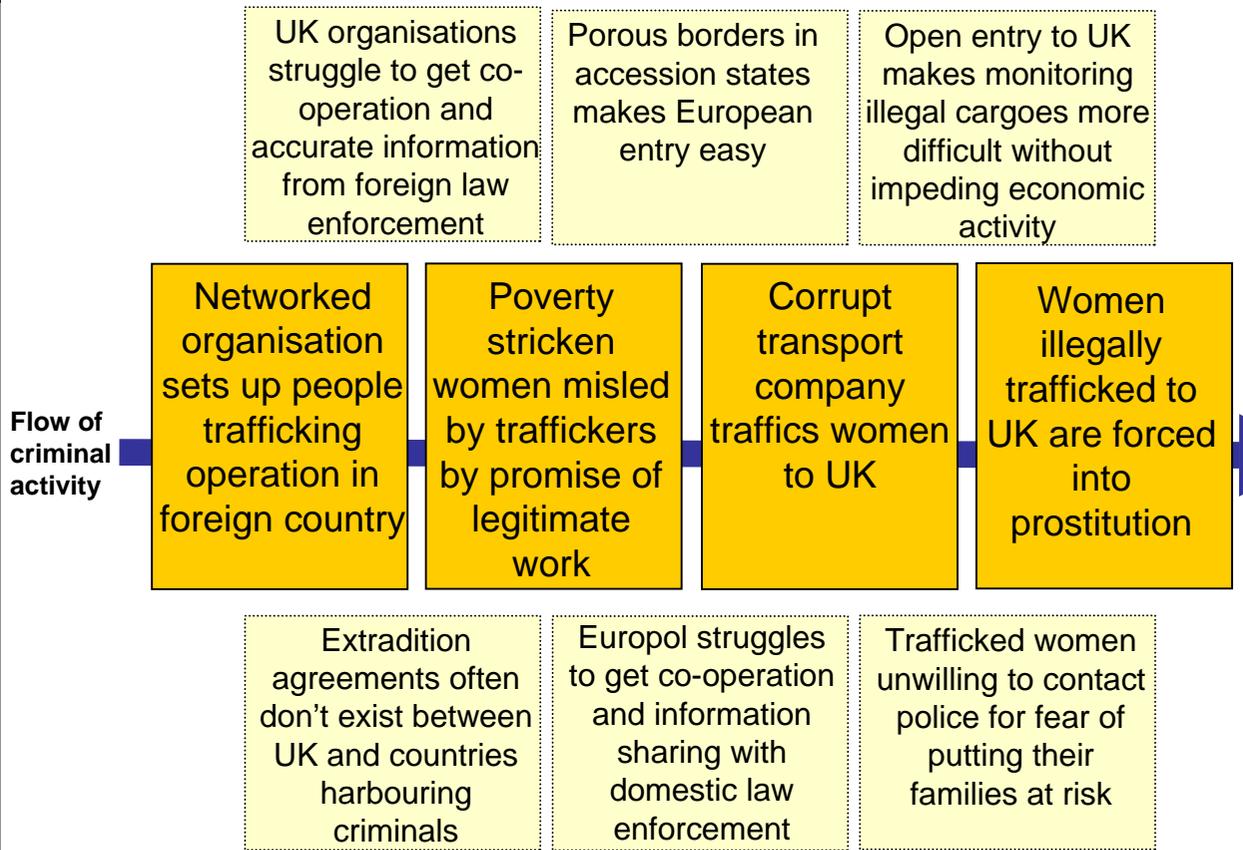
Interpol: aims to facilitate international police co-operation between countries

Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, UNODC: formulates international policies and provides a forum for exchanging information and fighting crime at a global level

Financial Action Task Force: aims to combat money laundering and terrorist financing through policy development

Eurojust: aims to enhance effectiveness of member states to investigate and prosecute serious and organised crime

Criminals can exploit gaps between states to aid their exploits





Crime

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How other countries are responding

Cohesion summary

Cohesion affects more areas than crime, including social justice and life satisfaction. Economic, ethnic and religious differences can affect cohesion. In addition, new migration may present cohesion challenges.

However, there are limits to the ability of the state to intervene and improve cohesion. These limits are currently being tested and questioned.

There are a range of approaches to developing cohesion, as demonstrated by France and the US. We face a series of trade-offs and questions in relation to cohesion, including:

- Integration of migrant communities
- Improving social trust

The level of social cohesion is affected by a wide range of causal drivers

Many factors affecting cohesion

- Poverty and exclusion
- Ethnicity, religion and migration
- Social capital, values and social norms

It becomes a worry where these issues grow especially strong, or impact together

When these factors coincide there can be an explosive mix, likely to ferment **disorder** and **hate crimes**

Though most communities integrate well, there can be concern when **non-mainstream values** e.g. racism, or anti-Western sentiment, become strong enough to provoke criminal acts or extreme acts of violence (cf terrorism, not addressed in this report)

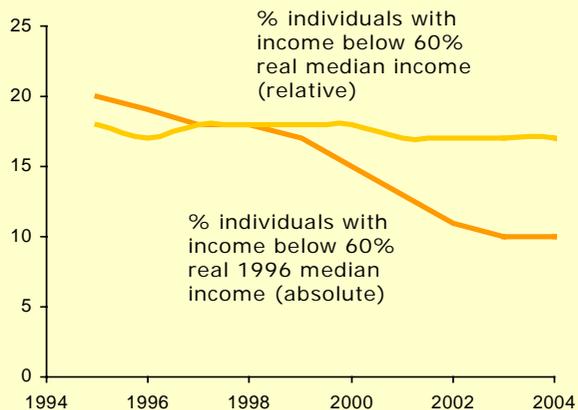
Although severe problems are experienced by many ethnic groups in the UK, in general these factors have not coincided to a level that has caused significant unrest.

- However, there is concern about multiple deprivations for particular groups e.g. Afro Caribbean boys
- More recently, there has been concern about Pakistani youths, who suffer disproportionately high unemployment, and some of whom feel increasingly discriminated against and disconnected from their parents

Economic issues affect cohesion...

Poverty has fallen...

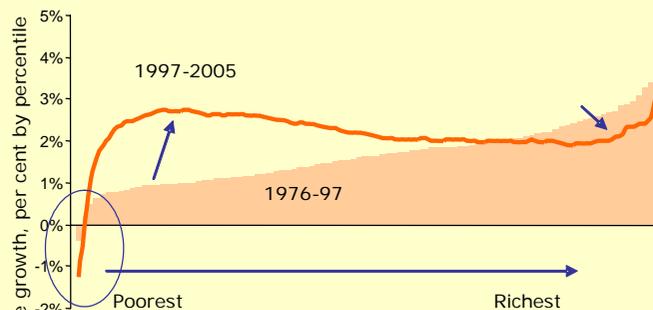
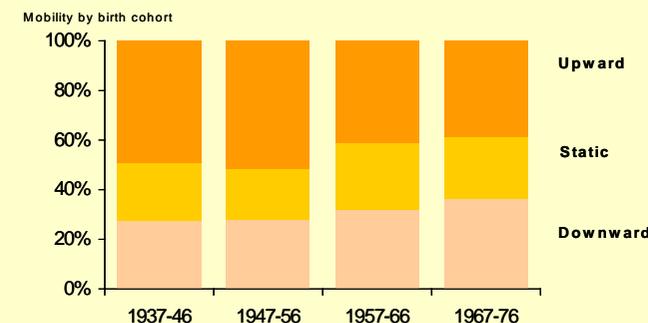
Relative and absolute poverty, per cent below 60% median income



- There has also been a huge amount of spending on **urban regeneration** and **neighbourhood renewal**

...But social mobility slowed in the 1980s and the majority but not all the poor have seen improved incomes

Relative upward mobility slowed in the 1980s

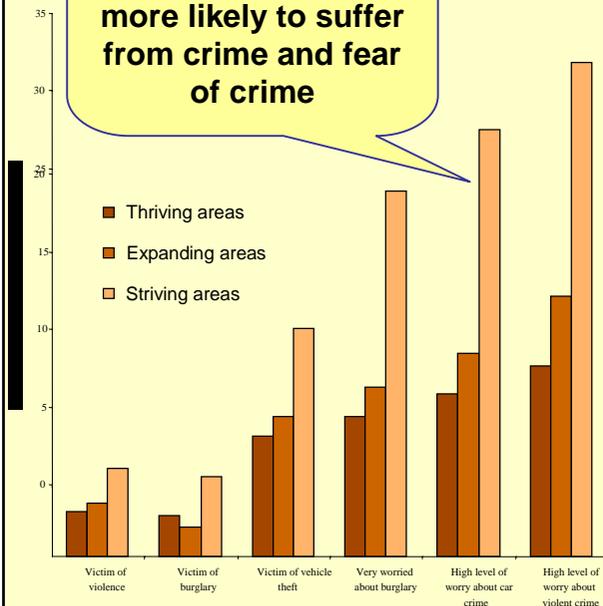


The small group of the very poorest have not shared the improvement in incomes experienced by the majority of the poor since 1997

Deprivation remains a risk for crime

There is a correlation between deprivation and crime

Those living in 'striving' areas are more likely to suffer from crime and fear of crime



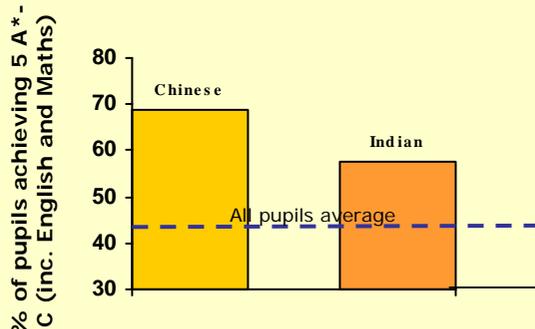
...as do ethnic and religious differences...

Over time migrant communities tend to integrate via marriage / culture / identity...

There are no systematic differences in social values between ethnic minorities and the White majority

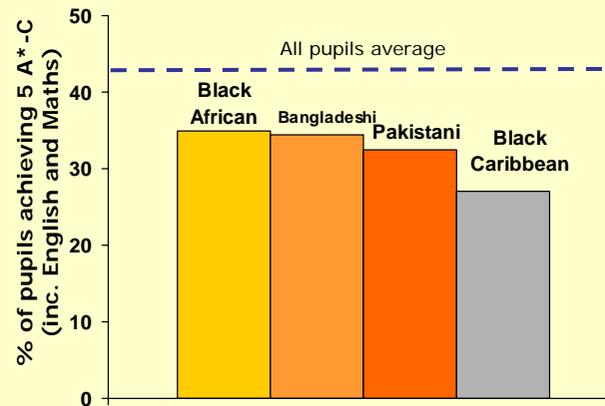
In London, where there is the greatest diversity, there is also high tolerance

A number of ethnic groups have actually outperformed the White majority in terms of educational achievement e.g. Indians and Chinese



...But some groups continue to be left behind...

Afro-Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups still under-perform at school and suffer disproportionately high unemployment



White communities can remain isolated and separate from others

Government already intervenes in a number of ways...

Although the UK has in the past been slow to promote Britishness, there has been an increasing policy focus on cohesion, particularly since 2001 e.g. through the establishment of a 'Community Cohesion Unit'

Other recent policy changes include:

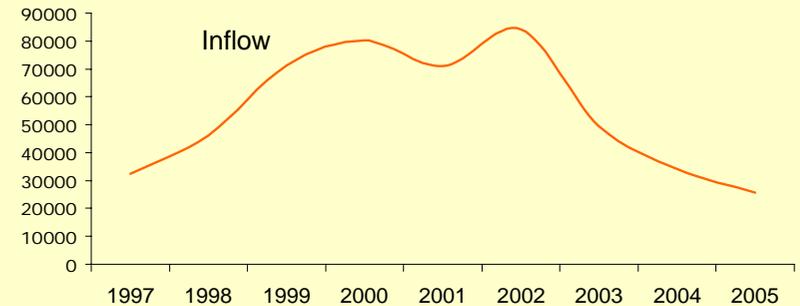
- Citizenship ceremonies for those seeking permanent settlement in the UK
- Citizenship education in schools
- Robust laws for outlawing discrimination by race and religion

Some migrant groups integrate more easily than others

- **Managed economic migration** presents the UK with many opportunities
 - Work permit schemes have allowed more *high-skilled workers* into the UK
 - Following *EU expansion* most areas have successfully managed large scale migration
- However, in contrast new groups with **different social mores** can generate challenges
 - *Asylum*: some new groups have significant differences from the established population (e.g. 55% of Somali women have no formal education)
 - *Illegal immigration*: clandestine entrants tend to pose greater challenges than illegal overstayers (e.g. students staying on after their courses)

But new migrants are increasingly coming from groups that are easier to integrate

For example, we are successfully reducing **asylum claims**...



...while expanding managed opportunities with work permits



Cohesion can also be a protective factor – of self-policing communities, and also preventing fear of being attacked



Cohesion can improve the outcomes of citizens and communities and drive down crime...

Government has traditionally attempted to improve the lives of citizens and communities either through direct redistribution, or through public spending e.g. on schools, hospitals and the police

However, there is a further factor – often described as ‘social capital’ – which can improve outcomes and specifically drive down crime. In these communities this protective factor can improve outcomes relative to those with similar levels of disadvantage

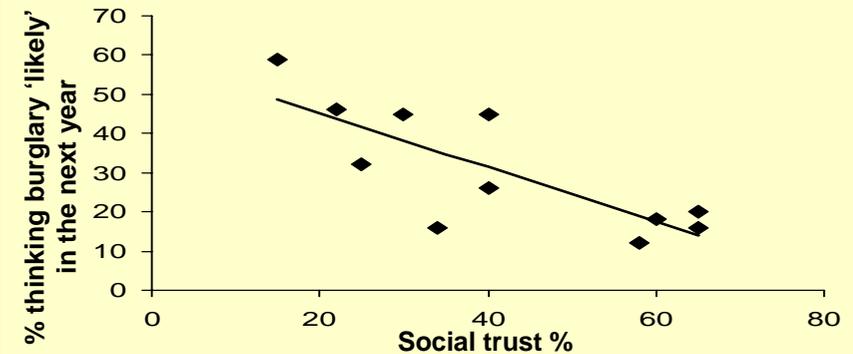
Case study

The residents of Basall Health have demonstrated a commitment to social capital through:

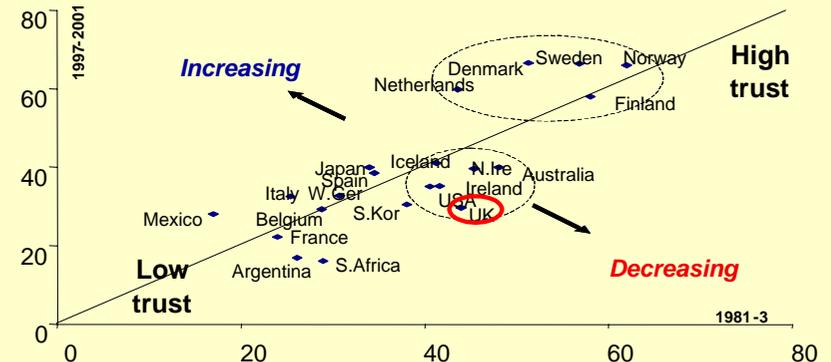
- Management of community assets
- Strong community governance structures
- Informal social control e.g. local residents wrote down the number plates of kerb crawlers

It can also reduce fear of crime, but the trends on social trust are deteriorating

Fear of crime is strongly correlated with social trust...



And compared to other countries, the UK is experiencing declining social trust...



Crime

Cohesion

Progress and challenges

How other countries are responding

The following slides give some examples of the sorts of reform other countries have pursued. They are not presently policies under consideration by the UK government.

The US and France have taken very different approaches to issues of ethnic and religious cohesion



France has taken a more rigid approach than the UK to engaging with religious minorities

The banning of openly religious symbols in schools

Engagement with only state-approved religious groups e.g. the Government meets with officially appointed Mosque representatives, unlike the UK, where there are a diverse range of organisations and groups with whom the Government meets

No data collected on the basis of ethnicity or faith – ‘religious communities’ are not officially recognised

Illiberal ‘hate speech’ is dealt with very robustly e.g. through deportations and administrative harassment

There is a spectrum of possible approaches to citizenship

French citizenship is based on strongly held secular values – with minorities expected to assimilate to the ideals of the Republic

In America, national, ethnic and religious differences are celebrated but all immigrants are expected to demonstrate allegiance to the state through the use of symbols and ceremonies

In Canada a combination of formal citizenship training and “high-touch” extensive mentoring forms part of a system that values diversity but also creates a Canadian identity: it is claimed this more quickly leads to a convergence in trust/social capital between groups

There are a range of approaches to tackling social exclusion...



The extent to which we tackle social exclusion could in part be a choice of how much state support is desired...

If we assume that transfer payments can successfully tackle social exclusion, then it is well known that different countries vary in the extent to which welfare is applied

Some countries such as the **US** have lots of conditionalities attached to welfare, other systems such as that in **Germany** are fundamentally different and more generous

...However, it is possible that tackling income poverty alone may not solve all “deep exclusion”

The most excluded may have qualitatively different characteristics which mean other vectors of deprivation need to be tackled (e.g. access to work, education, social and financial capital)

Tackling all these may require the state to be more actively involved in areas it has traditionally not entered (see below)

There are some examples of early intervention:

- early intervention through Nurse Family Partnerships has been successful in the **US**
- In **Denmark**, looked-after children are staffed by professionally qualified pedagogues using an holistic approach cutting across UK definitions of teaching, health care and social work

...and social capital, whilst very difficult to “pin down”, is being invested in by various countries



Building both formal institutions and more informal methods can increase social capital

A useful distinction is to consider ways to improve *institutional capital*—structural elements such as roles, rules, procedures and organisations; and *relational capital*—values, attitudes, norms and beliefs

There is a long history of relating the quality of institutions (which set formal rules and influence informal ones) with greater economic growth

- National service exists in many continental European countries; many of which offer non-military or civilian alternatives for conscientious objectors
- Scandinavian countries have broad support for their relatively high-tax systems because the middle classes are recipients of considerable benefits, rather than there just being a safety net

The US has taken action at a range of levels to stimulate social capital

Mentoring programmes

- The ‘I have a dream’ mentoring programme has given over 10,000 high school students personal mentoring from business and community volunteers with positive educational benefits

Volunteering programmes

- Americorps volunteers leverage human, financial, and material resources to increase the capacity of low-income communities across the country to solve their own problems
- Seniorcorps provides volunteer opportunities for those over 55
- Community Service Dollars accrued by volunteers are accepted by businesses as part payment for goods