



SEEKING NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CRIME PREVENTION

A Mohonk Consultations Conference





For the harm done by the offender, he is accountable.

For the harm done by not pursuing the best methods to prevent crime, when those are known to us, all of us are accountable.

Henry Brooke
 British Home Secretary, 1963
 from Seeking Justice by William DiMascio

SEEKING NEW DIRECTIONS FOR CRIME PREVENTION

A Mohonk Consultations Conference

prepared by Helen L. Vukasin

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Helen L. Vukasin, Chair

The mission of Mohonk Consultations is to bring about a clearer understanding of the interrelationships of all life on earth, to emphasize the need for sustainable use of the earth's resources and to develop practical means to do so.

CRIME PREVENTION AND THE MOHONK CONSULTATIONS MISSION

People are one of the most important natural resources on the earth. Yet we often tend to limit our concept of natural resources to trees, plants and animals. Mohonk Consultations' mission to create dialogue about the preservation of the earth's ecosystems speaks directly to such issues as the impact of people-made environment on people themselves.

Thus, crime and violence prevention methods as they are fostered and as they impact back on people and their environment are an integral part of conservation and preservation of the natural resource systems.

BACKGROUND

There is a mystique on Mohonk Mountain that creates a sense of cooperation rather than confrontation. This has provided an ambience for the discussion of controversial topics of social significance that have taken place there since the 1890s. These discussions have often influenced policy and led to action.

"Let's talk it over at Mohonk" began with significant meetings between US Government officials and Native American leaders that were initiated in 1893 and continued until 1923. Since that time, there have been any number of important topics explored on the Mountain.

In November 1996 Mohonk Consultations sponsored a Conference on New Directions for Crime Prevention at the Mountain House. The Conference provided a forum for professionals, policy makers and the community to dialogue about the factors that cause crime and what can be done to prevent crime. It was intended to promote the prevention model as the most effective method of dealing with the problem of crime.

Below is a summary of conclusions, based on the discussions, about the bases for action and some suggestions for programs. Following this summary is a review of the information presented at the Conference.

BASES FOR ACTION AND SOME RECOMMENDATIONS

In the course of presentations, panel discussions and general discussion, several points stand out that need to influence action plans. These can be divided into priority areas and other ideas.

Priority Considerations for Effective Action

- A critical consideration in planning effective programs of action is to work with children before the age of eight. For pre-school children, programs must also work with the parents.
- There is a need to advocate for discretionary regulations for judicial decisions. Present mandates do not differentiate between various kinds of violence. Limitations on parole reinforce this. Emphasis currently is on punishment rather than prevention. The definition of violence needs to be refined. Currently violence as a felony falls within a range from taking another person's jacket or snatching a purse to assault and murder. Violence is treated as a moral issue rather than a public health issue.
- It is essential that justice system officials be concerned with human beings not merely budgets. Too often decisions are based on availability of resources. Some potentially effective

A MANDATORY SENTENCING

- All 50 states have mandatory sentencing laws (from violent gun related crimes to non-violent property theft)
- 34 states have habitual offender laws requiring enhanced prison terms for repeat offenders regardless of seriousness
- Bureau of Justice Statistics

△ ECONOMICS OF CRIME PREVENTION

\$1 million: invested in graduation incentives could prevent 258 serious crimes

\$1 million: invested in California's 3 strikes sanctions

could prevent 61 serious crimes

-RAND Study

programs are not considered because short-term dollar costs are high while in fact they may be less costly and more effective in the long run.

Other Ideas for Effective Action:

- Promote collaboration among agencies, schools and doctors with the participation of the community.
- · Listen to solutions suggested by prisoners.
- Contrast prevention and punishment in the public dialogue.
- · Involve legislators in any plans for reform.
- Organize a grass roots constituency that knows and understands the at-risk population.

Recommendations for Action Programs

From the illustrations presented during the Conference and the above bases for action, the following kinds of programs need to be initiated and/or strengthened:

- · Early intervention
- Providing families of at-risk populations with prenatal, neonatal and parenting help
- Assistance with reading problems and increasing reading and verbal skills
- Providing male and female role models for difficult-tosocialize children
- Comprehensive strategies that include Federal, State, and local government and public involvement

க் EDUCATION AND RECIDIVISM

Overall recidivism 40%

Recidivism of prisoners with

Associate in Arts degree 18%

-Ohio Dept. of Rehab. and Correct. Study

Young lawbreakers (15 and 16 years of age) prosecuted as adults are re-arrested nearly twice as often and re-incarcerated nearly 30% more often, than those prosecuted as juveniles for the same crime.

-Columbia University Study

- Linking those at-risk for incarceration as well as those formerly incarcerated with those who create jobs
- Creating jobs, perhaps using the model of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) or the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) of the 30s.
- · Providing on-the-job training for freed prisoners

Examples of Local Programs Already in Place

There are already some programs organized in the Hudson Valley. Following are just a few examples:

- Programs for young people, such as the Teen Scene in New Paltz.
- Early intervention programs, such as that of The Mid Hudson Health Services Institute and the Ulster County Mental Health Department.
- Conflict resolution training for young people, such as that provided by the Ulster-Sullivan Mediation Institute.
- Healthy activities and on-the-job training for young people such as that provided by the Mohonk Preserve, the Phillies Bridge Farm Project and Four Winds Farm.

INFORMATION PRESENTED DURING THE CONFERENCE

The Conference began by identifying the origins of violence and how we can address pre-disposing factors. This was the basis for a discussion of innovative models for prevention in the afternoon.

Origins of Violence

Dr. Robert Phillips, the morning speaker, has done important research into the origins of violence. There are a large number of incarcerated persons who are damaged and need to remain behind bars, he said. And we need to identify those at-risk children that might benefit from early intervention.

Predictability

Dr. Phillips holds that you can assess children as early as infancy. Certain infants who are bold, fearless and may turn out to be difficult to socialize are potential perpetrators. Those who are quiet and easily upset may have mental health problems. While this view may be controversial, it remains true that parenting in the early years is a critical part of prevention.

Interventions are possible in the parenting process at various stages:

- Prenatal care of the mother is important. She needs a safe and supportive environment. Drugs and alcohol interfere with prenatal development.
- Bonding with parents is a critical deterrent to violence. This
 works best where the temperament of parent and child are
 matched.
- Physical handling including stroking and holding creates a neurological programming that is critical. A lack of this physical contact in infancy can create a craving that lasts throughout one's life.



- The demonstration of how parents socialize influences the child's socializing patterns.
- Corporal punishment has a negative impact, creating a reckless, careless child—violence begets violence. The child tries to influence change by violent means.

Indicators for Possible Intervention

According to Dr. Phillips, the need for early intervention can sometimes be suggested by:

- · feed back from peer interaction
- · observation of deviant behavior
- pregnancy/birth complications
- particular behavior patterns in the structured school situation, e.g., irritability restlessness, misbehavior, aggressiveness, changes in attendance, grades and attitudes.

- problems with reading at appropriate grade level.
- lead poisoning (although signs of this may appear too late for intervention).
- broken homes, where there is no positive role model, tend to encourage choosing an older teenager who may also be anti-social as a role model.
- level of verbal IQ may be an indicator although a high IQ may not counteract poor family background.
- alcohol or marijuana abuse. Alcohol elevates the serotonin level then deflates it and stimulates the testosterone level.
 Marijuana mellows one out and reduces aggression. Risk of substance abuse is highest with anti-social persons.

The optimal age to influence socialization is before the age of

eight. There tends to be some acting out of aggressive anti-social behavior in most children after age eight. This is sometimes difficult to differentiate from the seeds of sociopathy (clinical anti-social behavior) and normal teenage rebellion.

There is a need to discriminate between children who are acting out teenage rebellion and those who are already damaged. One keystone is physical aggression combined with lying and stealing. You cannot rely on assessing behavior at 18 or 19. At that stage it is too late for prevention.



Interventions that May Make a Difference

Dr. Phillips suggested the following interventions:

- offering the family parenting help
- increasing reading and verbal skills and assistance with reading problems
- providing male and female role models for difficult to socialize children

Contributions from the Panel and Participants

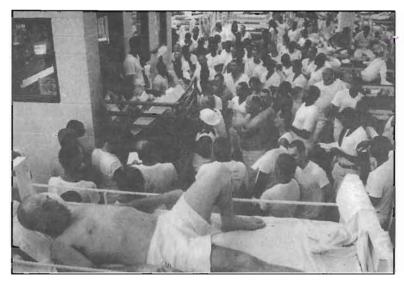
Based on their expertise, members of the panel were able to add to the discussion. Ms. Renate Wack suggested that there are specific needs to be addressed in seeking solutions. For example, at-risk children:

- · feel ashamed
- do not have language skills to express their feelings and needs
- often have experienced horrors they are unable to deal with
- · may have suffered abuse from parents

Addressing these issues is at the heart of crime prevention.

Mr. Joel Copperman discussed the implications of identifying atrisk youth for the criminal justice system. Only one-half of those he deals with are violent felons. In his work he tries to divert those who are not necessarily violent but just getting into trouble.

	ರು ECONOMICS OF CORRECTION (billions of dollars)		
	<u>Year</u>	Cost of Incarceration	
	1971	\$ 2.3	
11111	1976	3.8	
- 11111	1979	6.0	- 1
	1985	13.0	
	1990	20.9	
	—Bureau of Justice Statistics		



Limestone Correctional Facility, Alabama:

With another 200 beds soon to be added, all bunks will be three beds high., bringing the number of men in the already crowded dorm to 630.

It is difficult to initiate programs for the latter group because the criminal justice system is concerned with saving money. However, they do not realize they could reduce costs and reduce the incarcerated population by diverting this group that may not inevitably be felons.

Dr. Karen Meissler suggested that it takes at least 15 years to evaluate programs that are trying to reduce the number of at-risk children. In working with the Head Start Program for early intervention, the stress is on re-attachment in the process of parenting. This involves re-introducing parents to touching safely and to being non-judgmental. Then encouraging them to use these skills with the child. It is important to bring them together in a comfortable, safe place outside the house in the course of training.

The general discussion elicited the following points. The definition of violence differs in law and among promoters of social justice. Under the law it is mandated to define robbery as a violent felony.

This includes taking another child's jacket or snatching a purse. Of those admitted to state prisons for legally defined violent crimes in 1992, using the definition of the promoters of social justice, only 25% were imprisoned for physically violent crimes, such as murder and assault. The remaining 75% were incarcerated for less violent crimes.

This leads to incarcerating many people for insignificant crimes. These mandates mean that judges have lost the ability to discriminate among perpetrators by looking at their age, their history and any other mitigating factors. New parole regulations reinforce this limit on a judge's power to make an effective assessment of the perpetrator.

Violence is treated in society as a moral issue instead of what it is: a public health issue. We need to define what is criminal behavior. Two ends of the spectrum of criminal justice are the conservative idea of threatening punishment to reduce crime and the liberal idea of addressing measures that will lead to prevention of crime. We need to bring them closer together.

New Models for Prevention

Mr. Brandon Welsh reported on innovations for crime prevention around the world. He emphasized the need for a greater investment in crime prevention. Steps to move away from the punishment approach to crime prevention are suggested on three levels:

- Primary—directed at general populations
- Secondary—targeting persons or situations identified as at-risk
- Tertiary—intervening with the offender after a crime is committed

Crime prevention that works is grounded in scientific research not intuition or guess work. Research on criminal justice agencies has helped to inform more effective crime reduction policy and practice. It has largely exposed what does not work in reducing crime and contributed to an appreciation of the need to strike a



"I think it is time for everything to be rethought. We're filling the prisons, not winning the war."

—Justin Jones, former warden and current assistant regional director for the Oklahoma Department of Corrections

balance between repression and prevention, moving away from reliance on the criminal justice approach.

Research has identified the root development causes of crime as the effect on persistent offending of:

- · inconsistent parenting
- parental conflict
- · broken families
- · growing up in poverty
- · living in poor housing

Five to ten per cent of the group in the sample account for 50 - 70% of the offenses. This group was impacted by the above list of environmental conditions.

Other conditions that lead to opportunities for crime are the increase in valuable consumer goods that are easy to steal or carry, changes in family conditions (more private space and less supervision) and the increase in the number of residences where no one is home because all adults in the family are at work. The increased availability of firearms and alcohol are contributing factors.

Research has shown that police visibility does not deter offenders or reduce the public's fear of crime. Incarceration, it has been shown, serves to delay offenders only by reason of their unavailability. Studies confirm that within 3-5 years of release 40-60% of men have been re-convicted.

Prevention versus Repression

There is ample evidence that there is public support for prevention as an effective reducer of crime. There is also evidence that the public does not support heavy sentencing of young early offenders.

Most successful crime prevention programs can be classified under four main areas:

- · social development
- situational policing
- · city wide policing
- · problem oriented policing

Following are descriptions and evaluations of some of the programs in the US and abroad that address these areas.

Programs in the United States

▶ Crime prevention through social development

Programs that improve generation of social development can positively affect delinquency and later offending. Areas that need improvement are for example, child poverty, blocked opportunities to education and social functioning, poor parental supervision, inconsistent and harsh discipline and broken families. Work in these areas has proven to be an effective crime reduction strategy.

- Yale Child Welfare Research Program—A program
 focusing on support to parents through provision of medical
 and social services and parenting education. An evaluation
 showed that the control group exhibited more aggression,
 acting out, and serious pre-delinquent behavior than the
 program group. They also had a higher absentee rate and
 a greater need for remedial and supportive school services.
 Program families also did better in school.
- Syracuse University Family Development Research Program—The program bolsters family and child functioning through parental contactual child-care services.

Weekly home visits in the third trimester by paraprofessionals and child care for 5 half days a week from 6 months to 15 months and 5 full days until age 60 months. An evaluation ten years later indicated that program group children (ages 13-16) were almost four times less likely to have been processed as probation cases. The severity of offenses was much higher amongst the control group children.

- High\Scope Perry Preschool Program—This program is well known for having vigorously charted the effects of early intervention since 1962. Directed at ages 3 and 4, it was involved in high quality pre-school programming plus weekly home visits. The evaluation at age 27, showed significant impact of the intervention for 95% of both program and control groups.
- Seattle Social Development Project—A school-based prevention program (combining parent-teacher training and cognitive and social skills training for low-income students) for academic failure, delinquency and substance abuse. The evaluation at year six found that children in the intervention group compared to a control group had enhanced school commitment and class participation.
- Job Corps—A US Government program established in the 1970s to improve the employability of disadvantaged, unemployed youths. The Program offers vocational skills training, basic education and health care, as well as Graduate Equivalent Degrees, counselling and hands-on job training. An evaluation of the program for 5,100 youths found that Job Corps members were found to be one-third less likely to be arrested than nonparticipants and 75% moved on to full-time study or stable jobs at 15% higher wages than non-participants. A cost benefit analysis showed that for every dollar invested in Job Corps, the public received \$1.45 in return including \$0.42 because of reduced crime and substance abuse.

▶ Situational Crime Prevention (SCP)

This is a preventive approach that relies, not upon improving

society or its institutions, but upon reducing opportunities for crime. The range of measures that can be used include: increasing the effort (target hardening, access control, deflecting offenders, controlling facilitators); increasing the risks ((entry/exit screening, formal surveillance, surveillance by employees, natural surveillance); reducing the rewards (target removal, identifying property, removing inducements, rule setting).

• Firearms Control Legislation—The District of Columbia passed legislation (the Firearms Control Regulations Act) in 1976 banning the purchase, sale, transfer or possession of handguns by civilians. A study in 1991 revealed that there was a significant reduction in both homicides (25%) and suicides (23%) over the 9 year period 1968-87. On the average 47 deaths per year were prevented.

Preventing crime through city action

In recent years, crime prevention through city action has gained international attention and recognition. Cities are strategically placed to positively influence the socio-economic factors leading to later criminality, reduce the opportunities for crime; and promote social responsibility and accountability. In many countries, positive results are beginning to show from the combination of city-driven, comprehensive crime prevention initiatives and national government funding and leadership.

Texas City Action Plan to Prevent Crime—The program, called T-CAP, was initiated in 1991 in a comprehensive, city-wide crime-prevention planning process designed to foster coordination and participation throughout each of the cities of Arlington, Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio. Planning coalitions were formed from diverse sectors. From 1992 to 1994, according to police reported crime, all seven of the T-CAP cities have experienced reductions in property and violent crimes.

▶ Problem-Oriented Policing

Problem oriented policing (POP) focuses on tackling the underlying problems that create repeated demands for service, and its adherence to a process of problem solving: identification, analysis,

response and evaluation. This allows the police to respond adequately to a variety of problems affecting the quality of life of the community and promotes trust and useful ties between police and the community.

- Newport News—The experiment in Newport News, Virginia chose three test problems: inner-city prostitution-related robberies, burglaries at a housing complex and thefts from parked vehicles in a shipyard. In each case, positive results were found through the implementation of problem-solving tactics carried out in partnership with the community.
- San Diego—A number of problem-oriented policing approaches were adopted by San Diego in 1988 to deal with specific drug offenses and associated violence and public disorder. Two of the techniques used were increased surveillance and enhanced foot patrols. Researchers reported large decreases in the rates of reported crimes (45%) and calls for service (63%) in the target areas after 9 and 12 months, respectively.

Programs Abroad

Following are some examples from other countries in each of the areas defined above.

- ▶ Crime prevention through social development
 - National Anti-bullying Program (Norway)—A program emphasizing involvement of teachers and parents revealed a 50% decrease in bullying over 2 years and reduced rates of theft, vandalism and truancy.
- ▶ Situational crime prevention
 - Kirkholt Burglary Prevention Project (England)—This
 program is a major success for situational crime prevention.
 A 75% reduction in burglaries was achieved over a 4 year
 period in a very high risk local authority estate. This was
 achieved by target hardening, target removal, property
 marking and improved surveillance.
 - Anti-Burglary Premiums (Belgium)—An innovative scheme in Belgium was set up to reduce the risk of

- residential burglary through the use of anti-burglary premiums paid by the government to help with the cost of security measures. Victims of break-ins, low income people and elderly are given priority. Residential burglaries were reduced by 5%. The scheme is operating in 50 cities.
- VIC Project (The Netherlands)—Unemployed young people have been hired to act as ticket inspectors to counter the increase in fare-dodging, vandalism and aggression in the Dutch public transport system. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague were sites for VIC. The results were an across-the-board reduction in fare-dodging and a reduction of attacks against passengers from 5% to 2%.
- Betting Shop Robbery Prevention Program (Australia)—
 Introduction of cash reduction measures (e.g.,time-lock cash box, cash limit, time-lock safes) along with displayed notices of the security measures reduced the number of robberies from 40 in 1979 to 14 in 1988.

ம் International Comparisons		
Incarceration per 100,000 Population	<u>1995</u>	L _S
Russia United States Canada Spain China England/Wales France Germany Switzerland Netherlands/Sweden Norway Japan	690 600 115 105 103 100 95 85 80 65 55 37	
—from Americans Behind Bars, June 1999 Published by the Sentencing Project	97	

▶ Preventing crime through city action

- Municipal Crime Prevention Councils (France)—The French Federal Government funds Municipal Crime Prevention Councils that are composed of elected city officials, employees and representatives of appropriate ministries. The Councils are mandated to carry out a detailed crime analysis, a review of current strategies to prevent crime and a systematic plan for future action.
- Safer Cities Programmes (England and Wales)—The program has established over 3,600 crime prevention projects in 20 inner-city and urban areas. The funding exceeded \$48 million. The action covers the entire range of methods, with situational crime prevention techniques being used in three quarters of all local schemes.
- An evaluation of the domestic burglary reduction efforts (300 in total) was found to have reduced the risk of burglary by a minimum of 10%. This more than paid for itself through reduced costs to victims and the state. The latest phase calls for 32 projects in new areas and a total of 4,400 crime prevention schemes.
- City of Delft (The Netherlands)—This city program designed for a public housing project was one of 200 local crime prevention projects in the early 1980s. The strategy emphasized consultation with the residents and included new recreational facilities, caretakers, redesigning the layout with security in mind, varying the size of units to reduce the disproportionate number of young people in a neighborhood. The evaluation of the project was extremely positive. Over the course of 3 years, the number of offenses per 100 housing units were halved bringing the number close to that of the entire municipality.
- DESEPAS (City of Cali, Colombia)—DESEPAS views violence as a preventable social and public health problem. The three main areas for action are: social development, education for peace and police accountability. Social development stresses such areas as primary health care, education, and self-built housing achieved through microenterprise development.

Early evaluation in a violent commune shows promising reductions in crime rates and a greater responsibility on the part of the residents for peace in their community.

Problem-oriented policing

 Sydney (New South Wales, Australia)—Car theft has been cut by 25% with this program. After a systematic analysis, the police partnered with key stakeholders (motorists, car manufacturers, insurance companies, repair shops, local government) to implement a wide array of public education and situational based preventive programs.

The International Centre for Crime Prevention

Many federal or central governments have established national crime prevention structures. Much of the initial work of governments has been stimulated by nongovernmental organizations. The United Nations formulated a call for active prevention policies. The International Centre for Prevention of Crime was established to share knowledge about how to prevent crime. There have been calls for more effective prevention from international meetings in Strasbourg 1986, Barcelona 1988, Montreal 1989, Paris 1991 and Vancouver 1996.

The 1996 Vancouver International Conference for Crime Prevention Practitioners suggested the following actions:

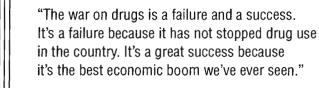
- 1. Strengthening the international network of practitioners
- 2. Exchanging promising practices
- 3. Training guidelines and evaluation
- Encouraging action and providing information for national agencies, funders, the private sector for the media
- A second international conference for crime prevention practitioners

Crime prevention has achieved a prominent position in thinking about crime reduction practices. Emphasis on prevention has had some notable success. It is however still more rhetoric than action. Reactive approaches continue to dominate and government

investment is extremely low. It is time to invest in a comprehensive action plan.

A solid plan of action needs to address the following:

- 1. Support for national crime prevention structures that promote collaboration among those agencies that influence the factors that generate crime.
- 2. Provide financial and technical support to cities.
- 3. Be rigorous in implementing prevention.
- 4. Seek the support of policing and justice agencies for prevention.



—Jack Cowley, former warden at Oklahoma State Reformatory

Contributions from the Panel and Participants

The panel in the afternoon added the following helpful information:

Mr. Richard Stratton, representing the publication *Prison Life*, said that prisons are a business, an industry. Building prisons provides jobs. Prisoners are a product. Eighty seven out of 100 prisoners do not need to be there. Prisons convince people they are no good. Most of those incarcerated are sucked into the criminal substructure and will never get out.

Federal guidelines now in place take all power and flexibility from judges. The nature of prison life invites power relationships.

Superintendent Leonard Portuondo puts a heavy emphasis on the need to invest in youth. This has to start in the community.

Mr. Robert Gangi said that the present criminal justice system cannot solve the problem for the following reasons:

· court calendars are overcrowded

- · jails are overcrowded
- the system diverts energy and resources that could be reallocated to prevention

The system can make some useful contribution. For example, introducing problem-solving policies has had an impact in New York City. Day treatment for drugs and methadone programs have statistically proven to be effective in keeping people from returning to prison. Mandatory laws for drug treatment help to motivate success (Drug Treatment Alternative Programs, DTAP).

The larger social and economic causes for crime have increased incarceration. For example in 1990, 40% of NYC children were in extreme poverty level (that is 3/4 of poverty level) resulting in higher rates of incarceration.

Following are some ad hoc comments from the floor:

- . The key word is justice.
- · Poverty breeds crime.
- Look at the medical model: don't make people worse off.
- What prisoners want is education. The death of the Federal college program is counterproductive. Tuition waivers for credit for college courses could help reinstate opportunities for higher education among those incarcerated.
- It is politicians that make the changes. Prisoners need to become a political force for change.
- · Restorative is a key to justice.
- Teaching trades to delinquents contributes to prevention.
- Education alone will not solve the problem.

₼ MANDATORY DRUG SENTENCING

1/3 of those under mandatory incarceration for drug offenses are considered low level offenders

These constitute 21% of the total overall federal prison population.

 Sister Cities is an example of successful programs in existence.

The plenary broke into small groups for discussion of action programs. Following is some feedback from the group discussions:

- No need to talk about jobs when they don't exist. What jobs do we want to create? The answer is to look to the model of WPA and CCC in the 30s.
- What can really be done is to link those incarcerated with those who can provide jobs. Need not-for-profits to provide on-the-job training.
- In order to reach pre-school children, must reach parents.
 Learning and reading has to be reinforced in the home.
- · Need a grass roots constituency.
- · Need a group to teach parenting.
- · Need to have politicians involved.
- · Reduce racism among the working class.
- Importance of spotting problems at a young age.

CONCLUSION

There is clearly a need for effective action programs to bring about a change of emphasis from punishment to crime prevention. The Conference demonstrates that much research has been done, many models have been tried and evaluated. The basis for action by the community has been laid. It is time now for policy makers, practitioners and the community collaboratively to act.



APPENDIX A

List of Conference Participants

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