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Seventh United Nations Congress
on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders

CRIME PREVENTION

Discussion Paper
SEVENTH UNITED NATIONS CONGRESS ON
THE PREVENTION OF CRIME AND THE
TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

DISCUSSION PAPER ON TOPIC 1

NEW DIMENSIONS OF CRIMINALITY AND CRIME PREVENTION
IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT:
CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

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AUGUST 1985
This discussion paper was prepared
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It does not necessarily represent the views of
the Ministry of the Solicitor General
nor of the Government of Canada.
Its sole purpose is to provide a basis for discussion
on the 7th United Nations Congress Agenda Items.
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CRIME PREVENTION

I INTRODUCTION

1. An understanding of crime and the response to crime in Canada requires some appreciation for Canada's federal system and the shared responsibility for Canadian Criminal Justice and for social development services.

2. Canada's Constitution Act sets out the respective jurisdictions of the Federal Government and the Provinces in criminal justice and in social development. Generally speaking, authority is shared as described in the Discussion Papers for Topic 2 and 5.

3. This shared responsibility for criminal justice and for social development has meant that national policies and programs are developed through intergovernmental co-operation and negotiation. The issue of crime prevention has been very much a shared federal/provincial concern.

4. In Canada, a fundamental goal uniting the various components and levels of the Criminal Justice System has always been the prevention of crime. In the past, crime prevention has meant an emphasis on deterrence and individual treatment - the sureness of detection, the swiftness of apprehension, the justness and strength of sanctions, and the disuasive and rehabilitative effects of official responses. More recently, a body of empirical evidence and practical experience has led to the development of innovative approaches to crime prevention focussed primarily on opportunity reduction and on community. More broadly, Canada's extensive network of social, educational, and welfare programs, while not developed for the express purpose of preventing crime, no doubt have a profound influence on reducing crime and its impact. In this context, Canadian governments and non-governmental organizations are examining the effectiveness of specific targetted social programs for preventing crime among those at greatest risk.
II GENERAL CRIME TRENDS

5. Virtually all accounts of Canadian crime trends begin with the now mandatory caution about the dangers in relying on questionable and, too often, non-existent official crime statistics. In Canada, the problem is aggravated by the lack, since 1973, of national courts data. This has meant the almost complete reliance on official police statistics - i.e. crimes reported to and recorded by the police. Although Canada conducted its first victimization survey in 1982, the survey has not been replicated and therefore obviously cannot provide trend data. The committee of federal and provincial Ministers responsible for criminal justice has taken steps to improve national justice statistics through the establishment of the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics but the organization is still relatively young and we are some way from having conviction data.

6. Nevertheless, and given these cautions, Canadian crime statistics can be said to illustrate the two general crime trends associated with modernization in developed societies:

a) large increases in the level of official recorded crime;

b) a relatively small proportion of violent crimes against persons.

7. The Canadian sociologist, L. McDonald, recently compared international crime data for about 40 countries with different levels of economic development. She concluded that the highest rates of official crime were found in those countries which were "highly urbanized, rich, had many schools, a modern and efficient central bureaucracy and police force, and extensive reliance on impersonal mass media for communication." Murder rates, on the other hand, were highest in countries with low GNP, widespread income inequality, rapid population increase, and linguistic heterogeneity.
8. Postwar Canada has witnessed rather dramatic increases in the number and rate of both violent and non violent categories of crime. Since 1962, the first year of Canada's current system of crime recording (UCR), the rate of major violent and property offences increased over 200%. Violent crime comprises about 6% of total offences. Particularly over the last few years, there has been a levelling and even some decline in officially recorded crime. Within Canada, however, there are substantial regional and local variations in crime trends.

**Violent Crimes**

9. According to official statistics, violent crime against the person increased once though recently at a decelerating rate of growth. Some particular offences have defied this pattern. Rape, robbery, wounding and assault have reached their highest levels, no doubt feeding much of the growing concern about the crime problem. Homicide, the offence for which Canada has the best data, is relatively rare. In 1977, for example, 711 homicides were recorded by the police for a rate of 3.1 per 100,000 population. Canadian homicide rates peaked in 1975, and since have remained relatively stable.

**Property Crimes**

10. Officially reported property crimes have shown even more striking and persistent increases. For example, the official rate of break and entry tripled between 1962 and 1980. These increases have not been perfectly linear, the sharpest increases occurring in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and again the late 1970s and early 1980s.

**Increases in Crime: Real or Apparent**

11. Because of the limits of the statistical data available, criminological research has been characterized by constant debates about whether the increases in officially recorded crime reflect real increases in criminal activity. Increases could be, and no doubt are, at least partly attributable to changes in criminal justice, the expansion of the criminal law, increases in
police manpower, improvements in policing techniques and record keeping and the growing public intolerance in Canada of certain forms of behaviour. At the same time, the Canadian victimization data indicate that well over half of the crimes experienced by Canadians are never reported to the police, making up the so-called "dark figure" of officially unrecorded crimes. While the survey has shown that the bulk of unreported crimes are relatively minor property offences, some very serious crimes such as sexual assault are also very much under-reported.

12. Canadian criminologists have, for the most part, concluded that crime in Canada has increased significantly, that the great majority of offences are property crimes and that we cannot be confident about the magnitude of these changes without conviction data and further victimization surveys.

III EXPLAINING CRIME TRENDS

13. Criminological theory and research in Canada have undergone a major transformation in the past thirty years from a focus on root causes to more limited situational approaches to crime. The changes in theoretical direction have shaped and have been shaped by changes in practical approaches to crime prevention and crime control. Postwar criminology sought the root causes of increased criminality. The approaches to Crime Prevention which flowed from this work emphasized the importance of altering social institutions and rehabilitating individual offenders. There was, during this period, a good deal more theory than research. Most of the work might be characterized as attempts to link increases in crime to some aspect of modernization, but generally without an explicit model of development. One might broadly distinguish three major types of explanation which have dominated the field: strain theories, control theories and learning theories.

14. Strain theories focus largely on economic factors. Long-term studies of crime trends, for example, have tried to link increases in crime to business cycles or economic dislocation; however, empirical findings on the relationship between crime and the economy have been mixed. At the individual level, strain theory has focused on how economic pressures or strains are
disproportionately experienced in the population and therefore on how economic inequality creates a disproportionate propensity to criminal activity in some segments of the population. With massive economic growth and the introduction of major social welfare programs in industrial countries such as Canada, the focus has shifted away from crimes of economic necessity; post-World War II, attention has been on relative deprivation, the gap between aspirations and economic attainment. Summarizing the little empirical work that has been done in Canada, Brantingham and Brantingham have concluded that: "The economy and crime are not yet definitely linked for the Post-World War II, but employment rates, economic levels and labour-force participation rates seem to matter".

15. Control theories, on the other hand, have looked for explanations in the breakdown of traditional social controls. Particular emphasis has been given to the process of urbanization and the consequent depersonalization of interaction, formalization of institutions, social diversity and population density. In this context, anomie at the social level and alienation at the individual level have been thought to be two of the major factors in increases in criminality. Empirical work in this area has shown some link between city size and criminality but has failed to show a very strong relationship between urbanization and crime rates.

16. Social learning approaches have focused on the role of the family, school, neighbourhood and peer groups in exposing individuals to criminal patterns of behaviour and criminal attitudes and definitions. Again these theories have viewed the process of urbanization as contributing to the likelihood that individuals will be exposed to such patterns and attitude. The role of mass media, particularly television, in contributing to such social learning has received increasing attention. Empirical data however are sparse and weak.

17. One of the greatest difficulties in attempts to link crime trends to social and economic development is the absence of an accepted model of the link between crime and development.
Demographic Approaches

18. A number of criminologists have eschewed the search for root causes in favour of descriptive/predictive approaches to crime analysis. One of the most successful of these approaches has been the examination of demographic factors, particularly the analysis of age structure. In Canada, for example, the sharp increase in crime rates in the sixties has been attributed in large part to the Post-War baby boom and the consequent large proportion of 14 to 20 year old males in the Canadian population in this period. While such approaches do not provide an explanation for the high criminal participation rates of males between 14 and 20 years of age, they have proven very successful in predicting variations of crime trends. The recent levelling off in the growth of crime in Canada has been attributed in large part to changes in the age structure of the Canadian population.

Recent Approaches

19. Most recently criminologists have increasingly focused on specific policy related issues and away from the root causes of crime. There have been a number of reasons for this shift: changing perceptions about the possibility of altering the root causes of crime; the greater pressure on resources and trends for accountability in the expenditure of resources; and commitment to focusing on the limited range of actions that government can do reasonably well. For example, crime prevention increasingly focussed on:

- standards of environmental design and urban planning that would reduce opportunities for crime generated by residential and commercial design, materials and technology, and neighbourhood planning and community structure;
- better public education, especially about such things as drug abuse, abuse of alcohol, and the improper use of motor vehicles;
- amending certain regulatory statutes and procedures to increase the security of automated systems, and decrease the susceptibility of such systems to misuse and fraudulent use; and
more specialized training of regulatory and law enforcement personnel in the detection and handling of complex or sophisticated forms of social harm, and better research on effective sanctions against these offenders.

20. In the 1960s and 1970s North American criminologists seriously questioned offender treatment programs and the possibilities of offender rehabilitation. With the growing belief that "nothing works" came a growing reluctance to increase expenditures in the area of rehabilitation. More recently, Canadian criminologists have shown that programs can work for some categories of offenders and that rehabilitation remains a worthy goal of criminal justice. Nevertheless, the doubts raised about such programs have encouraged an emphasis on alternative means for preventing crime and treating offenders.

21. The increasing cost of criminal justice in Canada over the past twenty years has been striking. Absolute expenditures, especially in labour-intensive policing, have increased exponentially - over 1200% from 1961 to 1980 and over 300% when the effects of inflation are controlled. At the same time, there has been a growing realization of the limits of traditional criminal justice approaches for preventing certain kinds of crimes. The public is therefore demanding increasing accountability from its criminal justice system. This, in turn, has led to criminological and policy attention to rationalizing criminal law and criminal justice, to improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the criminal justice system, and to developing innovative and cost-effective ways of reducing crime.

22. In Canada, this has meant a greater emphasis on community crime prevention programs and on community participation in criminal justice. It has also meant increased attention to social development programs targeted on high-risk, and typically disadvantaged, groups.
IV ISSUES IN CANADIAN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

23. A number of issues are central to an understanding of the relationship in Canadian society between crime and social and economic development.

Aboriginal Peoples

24. Aboriginal Peoples represent approximately two percent of the overall Canadian population. Within the general category of "Aboriginal Peoples", are included status/treaty Indians, non-Status Indians, Metis, and Inuit Peoples. In all categories of Aboriginal Peoples, with the possible exception of the Inuit, there are further sub-elements. For example, Status Indians are represented by over 100 Tribal Nations situated on approximately 600 reserves across Canada. The Metis may also be separated into those with a land-base and those without separate territories.

25. Fifty percent of the Aboriginal population in Western Canada is under 15 years of age. By comparison, only 25 percent of the non-Aboriginal population is under 15 years of age. This trend towards a younger population is expected to be maintained for the foreseeable future.

26. Migration from Indian reserves to urban areas has been increasing over the past several years and it is estimated that approximately 30 to 35 percent of all Status Indians reside off-reserve. For some Indian reserves, the percentage of off-reserve members exceeds 70 percent.

27. The impact on its Aboriginal Peoples of Canadian economic and social development and development policies is manifested in many ways, not least in the Aboriginal Peoples contact with the criminal justice system. While Aboriginal Peoples comprise only 2 percent of the Canadian population, they represent an estimated 9 to 10 percent of the inmate population in Canada. In several Western Canadian institutions, Aboriginal Peoples comprise over 50 percent of the institutional population. Of that inmate population, approximately 70 percent of those inmates committed their offences off-reserve.
Canadian governments have recognized the problem of Aboriginal over-representation and have undertaken a number of experimental/demonstration projects with Aboriginal communities and organizations to respond to this concern. In 1975, the Canadian government sponsored a major Conference on Native People and the Criminal Justice System (commonly called the Edmonton Conference) from which more than 100 recommendations were made. Following the Edmonton Conference, a Federal/Provincial Ministers' Conference on Native Justice adopted the following principles:

i) Native persons should be closely involved in the planning and delivery of services associated with criminal justice and Native Peoples;

ii) all non-Native staff in the criminal justice system engaged in providing services to Native Peoples should be required to participate in some form of orientation training designed to familiarize them with the special needs and aspirations of Native persons;

iii) more Native persons must be recruited and trained for service functions throughout the criminal justice system;

iv) the use of Native para-professionals must be encouraged throughout the criminal justice system; and

v) in policy planning and program development, emphasis should be placed upon prevention, diversion from the criminal justice system to community resources, the search for further alternatives to imprisonment and the protection of young persons.

Since the Edmonton Conference, the interest among Aboriginal Peoples in the administration of justice has increased significantly. A number of Aboriginal-controlled, justice-related organizations have evolved across Canada providing direct services to their constituents. Many of these organizations have, however, primarily focussed their attention towards off-reserve Aboriginal Peoples. Some reserve-based services have been developed, primarily in the area of policing,
but many Bands still consider the administration of justice as a low priority for the present. A growing number of Bands and their representative organizations, however, are demonstrating the desire to develop a more culturally sensitive justice system for their constituents which would reflect more customary approaches to the resolution of conflicts and reflect greater control over the justice system by their communities. A government-funded Native courtworkers program has been working to mediate language and cultural differences.

30. Any response to the needs of Aboriginal Peoples will be framed by the changing environment between Aboriginal Peoples (primary Indian Nations) and the Federal Government due to recent developments such as the Constitution Act, 1982, the First Ministers' Conference process, and the move towards Indian Self-Government.

31. The three primary purposes of criminal justice initiatives for Aboriginal Peoples are:

i) to reduce the scope of Aboriginal over-representation in the criminal and juvenile justice systems;

ii) to increase the participation of Aboriginal Peoples in the delivery of culturally sensitive criminal and juvenile justice services to their communities and constituencies; and

iii) to increase the participation of Aboriginal Peoples within the criminal and juvenile justice systems.

Northern Justice

32. In Canada, rates of crime, particularly of violent crime, have consistently been highest in Canada's northern frontier, including the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Canadian economic development has depended in large part on the creation of northern resource-based industrial communities, single industry towns. These new and relatively unstable communities have contributed to the unique crime problems of Canada's north.
33. During the past two decades, the Canadian north has seen a great increase in economic development primarily as a result of oil, gas and mine exploration activities and related projects. It is apparent that this rapid economic development, particularly amongst an indigenous people who are not familiar with the wage economy structure, has led to a general breakdown of traditional culture and of the existing social structure, and a concomitant increase in crime and other social problems. The population in the north is small and isolated; therefore, it would be costly to provide traditional criminal justice programs to these communities. These communities have particular problems in finding, maintaining and training criminal justice professionals, who, in such small communities, are often called upon to perform a wide range of roles and functions. Thus far no fully-satisfactory solutions have been developed for the unique criminal justice problems in the north.

34. Government resources are being devoted to gaining a better understanding of the unique needs of these communities and to developing programs to meet these needs. Furthermore, there is a growing awareness of the need for a shift in emphasis in social and economic policy. For example, a federal/provincial task force on mining communities proposed alternative models of community development, discouraging the development of communities based solely on a single mining industry. More generally, governments no longer encourage the development of single industry communities, seeking instead more socially and economically diversified and therefore permanent community structures. It is becoming increasingly apparent that meeting the needs of northern communities and their indigenous populations, including their criminal justice needs, is a matter of social and economic planning.

**Women in Conflict with the Law**

35. With the changing perceptions and attitudes about women's role in society and the changing activities of women, we can expect changes in the level and nature of female criminality and in the demands for criminal justice services for women. New initiatives, in cooperation with the voluntary and private
sectors, will examine the causes of crime committed by women, establish community-based programs for women with problems such as drug or alcohol dependence, family conflict and family abuse, and produce institutional and community programs for female offenders.

Victims of Crime

36. Over the past decade there has been a growing awareness in Canada that the victim of crime is the "forgotten person" in the criminal justice system. As a result, many of the financial, practical, emotional and legal needs of victims have often not been met. In addition, victims have often been frustrated by the criminal justice system itself. For some this can result in feelings of alienation, injustice, and disrespect for the legal system. Canadian responses to victims of crime have been careful to assure that new policies and programs are not created at the expense of the rights of offenders.

37. The needs of particular categories of victims have emerged more clearly through this victims' movement. For example, domestic violence, particularly assault committed against wives and children, is increasingly viewed as a public problem rather than as a personal or family matter. The incidents of such offences are increasingly coming to the attention of the criminal justice system as victims become more willing and able to make their victimization known and the growing awareness of the public to the abuse of children coupled with legislation making it every citizen's duty to report cases of child abuse. Policy initiatives have been undertaken regarding the need for police charging policies in wife and child assault.

38. Similarly the suffering of victims and their families as a result of traffic offences has led to greater attention to these offences by the criminal justice system. Legislative amendments and proposals promise stricter enforcement of alcohol-related traffic offences.
39. A recent amendment to the Criminal Code replacing the offence of rape with three degrees of sexual assault based on the extent of harm or injury to the victim provides another example. Whereas in the past, by definition, charges of rape could be laid only if the victim was a female, with the new amendment the victim's gender is not at issue. Further, under the new definition husbands have no immunity from prosecution. The new laws of evidence severely restrict the types of questions which may be put to a complainant and the requirements to corroborate victims' evidence have been sharply limited.

40. The Badgley Committee report on Sexual Offences Against Children and the Fraser Committee report on Prostitution and Pornography have given additional impetus to the review of the prostitution and pornography sections of the Criminal Code.

41. Following the work of the Federal/Provincial Task Force on Justice for Victims, the Federal/Provincial Working Group on Victims is developing a comprehensive national policy on how best to meet the needs of victims in the context of offenders' rights and in the context of fiscal restraint.

V. TRENDS IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Technology and Crime

42. Rapid technological advances have created new opportunities for crime such as credit card theft and fraud and computer crime, and including illegal access to and modification of confidential data banks. Of particular importance has been how technological advances in telecommunications, increased use of off-shore banking, the introduction of new financial instruments have transformed enterprise crime. Enterprise crime is becoming increasingly sophisticated in terms of both criminal activities, and the capacity to avoid detection and apprehension. Profitability has likewise increased. The true extent of profits from large-scale enterprise crime is not known, but, on the basis of recent police estimates, the annual profit in Canada is
billion of dollars, much of it derived from illicit drug traffic. Such crime has become increasingly sophisticated and transnational in character.

43. Legislative amendments and proposals are being prepared on computer related criminality and legislation has been passed on such issues as access to and use of confidential data banks.

44. A number of recent initiatives are directed toward taking the profit out of enterprise crime. After a comprehensive analysis of international legislation and the Canadian situation, the Canadian Federal/Provincial Task Force on Enterprise Crime recommended consideration of the creation of a new offence of laundering, and an amendment to the code to deal with the problems involved with identification, tracking, and seizure of criminal proceeds. To continue the work of the Task Force on Enterprise Crime the Department of Justice and the Ministry of the Solicitor General have been working with the provinces on National Initiatives on Drug Trafficking Enforcement, which involves a wide range of operational and administrative enforcement strategies, including prosecutorial and legislative initiatives. Investigative techniques under consideration would involve the issuance of search warrants and the making of freeze orders to seize and detain property that may be subject to forfeiture.

Legislative Trends

45. A central aspect of the Canadian criminal justice response to changing circumstances is the review and modification, where necessary, of criminal legislation. The Criminal Code of Canada was approved by our Parliament of 1892. Since then, the Code and other federal criminal legislation have been subject to continual review and amendment, without corresponding attention to review of the purposes of the criminal law. In 1970, Parliament established the Law Reform Commission of Canada to identify anachronisms and anomalies in existing law and to recommend new law to meet changing needs and to ensure that the law is comprehensible and accessible. In 1979, the federal and provincial governments agreed to a comprehensive review of the
substantive criminal law and criminal procedures. The Law Reform Commission, the Department of Justice and the Ministry of the Solicitor General, in cooperation with the Provincial Governments, are examining all aspects of the criminal law. One of the first achievements of this process has been the production and publication of a statement of the scope, purposes and principles of the criminal law. This document emphasizes the following principles:

a) the use of criminal law only for conduct for which other means of social control are inappropriate;
b) proportionality of penalties to gravity of offence and degree of responsibility of offender;
c) redress to victims;
d) lay and community involvement in criminal justice;
e) equality of treatment; and
f) international obligations to maintain certain standards with respect to criminal justice.

46. The Criminal Law Review projects all seek to define the appropriate balance between individual liberties and effective crime prevention and control, to maximize criminal justice accountability and to make the criminal law more accessible to the community and reflective of its changing needs. The new Young Offenders legislation offers a recent example of the application of these principles with regard to youthful offenders.

47. As part of the comprehensive review, a Sentencing Commission has been established to examine the efficiency of various possible approaches to sentencing guidelines and review current sentence maxima and minima.

48. With increasing demands for police accountability and the development of standards for the exercise of police discretion and with police concerns about protecting their ability to provide effective law enforcement, the review of police powers has taken on particular importance. The review of legislation and policy pertaining to police powers is focusing on search and seizure, disposition of things seized, arrest, use of force,
eyewitness identification, electronic surveillance, questioning of suspects, and investigative tests. Related legislative proposals are being developed.

49. A comprehensive review of the laws governing the management of both federal and provincial correctional responsibilities is also underway. It will undertake an extensive number of consultations with both private and public agents involved in corrections, such as the John Howard Society and provincial Heads of Corrections. This review will define the purpose of federal corrections and examine existing laws to determine how they might be changed to reflect changing needs and circumstances.

50. A Federal Statutes Compliance Project is currently examining the adequacy of the criminal law and related provisions in ensuring compliance with the array of criminal and regulatory law. Using restraint in the use of the criminal law, the basic principle is to ensure openness, fairness and consistent treatment, given the variety of legislative provisions, procedures and mechanisms of enforcement and accountability.

**Law Enforcement Trends**

51. After a substantial increase during the last two decades in police manpower (from 32,560 to 68,500 personnel) and budgets (from $184 million to $3,929 million) at the federal, provincial and municipal levels, the emphasis in the '80's is on the optimum use of existing police resources and on the need to involve volunteers and the community in areas such as crime prevention. (The federal police force alone increased from 8538 personnel -- 6812 officers and 2039 other staff -- to 21,236 personnel -- 13,589 officers and 7647 staff during this 20 year period.)

52. About 40 to 60 percent of total police personnel have traditionally been committed to routine preventive patrol. A good deal of attention has been focussed recently on the development of innovative programs to enhance the role of patrol officers and to develop approaches to team policing and family crisis intervention. There is also growing interest in increasing police productivity by using automated criminal
intelligence information systems. Canadian police forces are increasingly recognizing crime analysis as one of the most important applications of automated information systems, and the RCMP and major municipal forces are actively developing these capabilities.

53. Canadian police forces also show increased interest in greater community contact and increased community involvement in criminal justice, particularly in relation to crime prevention and the provision of services to the victims of crime. All levels of government are encouraging greater community involvement with and support of the police. For example, there are many experimental programs which involve ongoing police-community consultations to ensure that citizens help to identify the major crime concerns of the community, contribute to the planning of police service delivery, and thus foster community involvement in crime prevention programs and the provision of victim services. This emphasis on community based policing approaches has produced a number of local programs with demonstrated effectiveness in reducing particular types of crime, particularly property crime.

**Correctional Trends**

54. The Canadian Justice System has relied on the use of imprisonment in its response to crime much more than have the justice systems of many similar countries. Recent increases in inmate populations, most particularly in those for which the federal government is responsible, pose major problems for correctional management, especially given the increasing numbers of long-term and dangerous offenders and increasing public pressures on government to reduce or restrict the use of the various early release and conditional release mechanisms.

55. There has been a recent and striking crystallization of public concerns regarding crime and punishment, fueled, in no small measure, by killings of police officers. For the most serious and heinous of crimes, many members of the public appear willing to support the use of extreme measures, including the possible reintroduction of capital punishment. For violent crimes in general, the public exhibits increasing concern and a willingness
to support the use of harsh measures, particularly longer terms of imprisonment. At the same time, Canadians tend seriously to underestimate the incidence of carceral sentences actually awarded while overestimating the use made of parole. For property-related offences, the public is apparently willing to support the use of non-custodial alternatives, for "repeat" as well as for first-time offenders.

56. Both in the federal government, and in the governments of a number of provinces, the current economic climate is one of restraint. This period of restraint coincides with sudden and dramatic increases in the numbers of offenders in custody and increasing public demands to strengthen traditional approaches to law enforcement, incarceration and other aspects of the administration of justice. At the same time, increasing pressure is being exerted to introduce new services in some areas, particularly to expand community-based services.

57. The conflicting forces may require a realignment of fundamental approaches to solving criminal justice problems, and particularly, the development of innovative, cost/effective approaches. The increasing public support for the use of non-custodial punishments for crimes seen as less serious has the potential to assist in controlling criminal justice costs while being, at the same time, no less effective in dealing with offenders and offering more benefits to both victims and society.

**Crime Prevention Trends**

58. Crime prevention has always been central to the criminal justice system response to crime. In the past this has largely been seen in terms of controlling actual offenders through incapacitation and supervision and in terms of controlling the motivation of actual and potential offenders through the deterrent effects of apprehension and punishment and through rehabilitation. From the early 1970's, Canada has been engaged in a programme of research and development in search of innovative approaches to crime prevention. Out of this research and international exchanges of information, and through the co-operation of various federal departments, the Canadian police community, provincial and
municipal governments and community representatives, there emerged a new and extremely promising approach to crime prevention, what might be termed 'community crime prevention'. What is "new" in this approach is the recognition that the responsibility for crime prevention must be shared, that collective or community actions are often more effective than individual actions, that the police, despite their central role in crime prevention, cannot do it alone, and that scientific knowledge must play a central role in program development.

59. This community approach distinguishes between individual victimization prevention and community crime prevention. Canadians individually have no doubt always taken steps, however modest, to prevent their own victimization. And, given evidence of the efficacy of some simple target hardening and risk avoidance measures, the criminal justice system has provided information to support and encourage such measures. But some individual measures taken by those most fearful can be detrimental in the long run, especially if they take the form of extreme withdrawal from the community in the effort to minimize risk. Such withdrawal diminishes social support systems which can help reduce both fear of crime and the risk of victimization, and which can contribute, more generally, to the quality of one's life.

60. In contrast, community crime prevention programs involve close cooperation among Criminal Justice System professionals and agencies, other professionals, business people, and ordinary citizens. The police have supplemented their enforcement, control and education activities by working with specific community organizations and professional associations in initiating or supporting crime prevention programs based on citizen and community involvement. Business and professional organizations, as well as lending support to these programs, are undertaking their own measures to reduce opportunities for theft, robbery and new forms of crime.

61. Major research and demonstration programs have been carried out on convenience store and pharmacy robbery prevention, property marking and watch programs in urban and rural settings, crime prevention through public awareness and information and media
campaigns and, more generally, in police and community co-operation in problem identification and in the development of local solutions. Evaluations of these crime prevention programs have shown that they can work to reduce specific crimes and to reduce fear of crime, if they have the committed and informed participation of criminal justice professionals, particularly the police, if they are based on careful analysis of local conditions and resources (are community and crime specific) and if they are carefully planned and have widespread and informed community participation. Evaluation of experimental and demonstration programs has played a central role in the development of this approach to crime prevention.

62. Federal and provincial governments have promoted such community involvement for example through an expanded role for Voluntary Organizations (VOs) in Criminal Justice. Federal policies and programs are now being implemented to support VOs in a variety of criminal justice activities - diversion, community service, restitution, dispute reduction, victim/offender reconciliation, aid to special groups such as female offenders, and community crime prevention. Federal and provincial governments have also supported the development of local crime prevention planning groups and have supported the evaluation of their programs.

63. Successful crime prevention requires broad-based planning at both the national and local levels. An example of the kind of local committees developing in Canada is the Coordinating Committee on Family Violence, London, Ontario. This committee, formed of representatives from the criminal justice system, social service agencies, and other professional groups likely to be called upon by battered women, has used federal funding to gather information on wife battering in London. Because of the need for a coordinated effort, the Committee has involved the local police, Provincial Crown prosecutors, Justices of the Peace, Judges, Probation Officers, representatives from the local transition house and mental health and social services.

64. As a result primarily of the work done by the Coordinating Committee and the Senate Investigation into Family Violence, the London Police Department has implemented a policy in which police
officers must charge spouses in those cases where there is evidence of physical abuse. The Committee has also lent its support to a number of other initiatives:

- better information to women about their rights and the services available to them
- better information to physicians and other professionals, to improve their responses in cases of wife battering
- the establishment of a treatment centre for men who beat their wives.

Similar policy developments are occurring in communities and police departments across Canada.

65. A number of interdisciplinary and interjurisdictional committees have also formed to develop integrated approaches to the prevention of crime by youths. Almost all data sources have consistently shown that a disproportionate amount of crime is committed by young people. Crime prevention initiatives designed for them have included:

a) special programs developed by police departments to prevent youth from coming into conflict with the law, to facilitate police liaison with social agencies dealing with juveniles, and to promote participation in the prevention of juvenile crime;

b) youth employment opportunities created and funded by private enterprise and the public sector;

c) existing programs extended to special needs groups (eg. Natives and persons in remote, northern areas);

d) community-based projects such as counselling, supervised recreational activities, and social support networks offering help and guidance to young people.
66. The federal government has played a central role in research and evaluation to assure that crime prevention knowledge is cumulative and nationally accessible. The Ministry of the Solicitor General has developed crime prevention information kits and pamphlets and detailed handbooks for professionals, community leaders, and the general public on many aspects of crime prevention programming. In 1982, a broad-based coalition called Canadians for Crime Prevention was formed, with representatives from government, the police, the bar, education, business and professional and voluntary organizations. Through the coalition, and with the active cooperation of provincial governments, two major public campaigns were initiated in 1983: National Crime Prevention Week promoted increased public awareness and understanding of crime prevention and encouraged citizens and organizations to become active partners with the police and others already engaged in crime control; the Solicitor General's Awards for Crime Prevention recognized innovative community-based crime prevention programs undertaken by individuals or organizations outside of professional criminal justice. Through these activities, through a strong program of research and evaluation, the Ministry provides a central source of information for local, provincial and national crime prevention groups.

67. These new approaches, delivered by the provinces and expanded when demonstrated to be effective, have been designed to be responsive to the particular needs of communities. Nevertheless, we have less experience with and information on the kinds of programs necessary for some communities with arguably the greatest need:

a) Native communities;
b) disorganized city core communities; and
c) northern, isolated communities.

These communities are now the focus of special initiatives in crime prevention and in social development.
VI FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN CRIME PREVENTION

68. Research and development over the next few years will focus on bringing community approaches to high crime areas which lack the features of community. Crime prevention may prove to be a constructive focus for creating a sense of community and thereby enhancing the general quality of life. Innovative approaches are being developed for communities with special and distinct needs such as Native communities, northern communities and inner cities. The crime prevention literature, while largely pessimistic about global approaches, holds much greater promise for social development targeted at high-risk - less developed - communities.

69. Recent research on the relationship between development and crime also emphasizes the importance of promoting inter-agency and interdisciplinary crime prevention planning. The Department of Health and Welfare, for example, has played a central role in the development of major programs for the prevention and aid to victims of sexual assault, domestic assault and drug and alcohol abuse - through education campaigns, the maintenance of a central information clearinghouse and the support of local centres and programmes. Generally, the development of policies and programs to assist victims of crime has involved the participation and co-operation of various government departments, and agencies as well as voluntary and community groups. Similarly, several departments working with provincial governments are developing and reviewing innovative preventive approaches to drug offences and to alcohol-related traffic offences and alternative approaches for treating young offenders.

70. Canada has had a number of recent successes with such inter-agency, interdisciplinary planning. The need for such an approach to policy and program planning has become particularly pressing in the general area of the treatment of the mentally disordered and disabled. For example, it has become apparent that policy decisions about the treatment of those diagnosed as 'mentally ill' have profound consequences for the criminal justice system and the demands placed on it. The Canadian
government has been examining the problem of the mentally disordered offender but a good deal more work is needed to sort out the conceptual, definitional, ethical and practical issues in this very important area.

71. It is clearly important that crime prevention concerns be reflected in the planning of all sectors of social and economic policy and programs. At this point, crime concerns are not typically considered in global social and economic planning in part because of the absence of a model of the relationship between development and crime. The approach of crime prevention through targetted social development programs is itself under development and thus will emphasize evaluation of experimental programs and community involvement and participation in defining needs and priorities.

72. Finally, because of the need for international cooperation, Canada has been increasingly involved in bilateral and multilateral treaties, covenants and cooperative endeavours with other countries and has participated in and hosted international conferences on various aspects of crime and criminal justice. Canada continues to provide information and technical assistance in a wide variety of criminal justice areas. For example, the RCMP role in assisting in the training of foreign police forces is becoming increasingly important as concern rises in developing nations over the new forms of criminal activity that accompany industrial development.

73. More generally, Canada strongly supports the United Nations' continuing role in encouraging and supporting international cooperation and the international exchange of information.