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REDUCING URBAN CRIME AND VIOLENCE: POLICY DIRECTIONS

ENHANCING **URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY**
GLOBAL REPORT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS 2007

ABRIDGED EDITION

VOLUME 1

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Reducing Urban Crime and Violence: Policy Directions

United Nations Human Settlements Programme

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This publication is the first of three volumes of the Abridged Edition of *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*, viz:
1   *Reducing Urban Crime and Violence: Policy Directions*
2   *Enhancing Security of Tenure: Policy Directions*
3   *Mitigating the Impacts of Disasters: Policy Directions*

An electronic version of this publication and of the full *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007* is available from http://www.unhabitat.org/grhs/2007

The list of selected references at the end of this volume contains only a few important publications on the subtheme of crime and violence, as well as sources of quotations, boxes, tables and figures included in this volume. A complete list of references may be found in the full *Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007*.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Enhancing Urban Safety and Security: Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 (Global Report 2007) addresses three threats to the safety and security of towns and cities, viz: crime and violence; security of tenure and forced evictions; and natural and human-made disasters. This publication, which focuses on crime and violence, is the first of three volumes of the Abridged Edition of the Global Report 2007. The main purpose of this volume is to present, in summary form, the main findings of the Global Report 2007 on crime and violence and, on the basis of this, to suggest policy directions for reducing crime and violence within urban settlements.

The problem of crime and violence in cities has been long recognized as a growing and serious challenge in all parts of the world. Safety from crime and violence — including the resulting fear and insecurity — is increasingly being acknowledged internationally as a public good, as well as a basic human right. Although crime and violence are found in all cities across the world, most places are safe and most citizens are neither perpetrators nor victims of crime and violence. Rather, crime tends to be concentrated in certain parts of the city and in neighbourhoods that are known to the police and citizens. Fear of crime, whether linked to these specific 'hotspots' or more general in nature, is often exacerbated by the media and may spread quickly as information is communicated by mobile phones, email and through the internet.
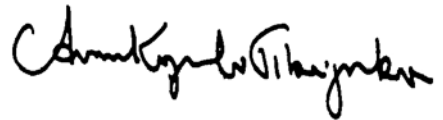
Studies of crime and violence have encompassed the following issues: distribution and incidence across countries and levels of development; distribution and incidence of the impact of crime and violence across different categories of people, specifically by gender, race and age; location of violence by city size; types of violence, perpetrators and victims; economic and financial costs of violence; and diverse theories of causation — from the ecological model of violence, through more psychocultural explanations, to broader macro-economic and developmental frameworks.

This report shows that the 'traditional' approach to problems of crime and violence, which is to see them as the primary responsibility of the police and the criminal justice system, is increasingly being replaced by an approach that recognizes that the complexity of the phenomena being addressed requires a broad-based response. Nonetheless, it is important that the police and the criminal justice system are 'fit for purpose' in a modern and rapidly urbanizing world, and are seen as key contributors to the fight against crime and violence. Improvements and reforms in these 'traditional' areas are essential and should be seen as complementary to the newer approaches being developed in 'non-traditional' fields.

The main 'non-traditional' or newer approaches explored in this report include enhancement of urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance; the development of community-based approaches to enhancing urban safety and security; reduction of key risk factors by focusing on groups most vulnerable to crime; and strengthening of social capital through initiatives that seek to develop the ability of individuals and communities themselves to respond to problems of crime and violence. The combination of several of these approaches — all of which are specially suitable for implementation at the local level — into a systematic programme, driven by a broad strategy and based upon a careful understanding of the local context, seems more likely to be successful than the *ad hoc* application of individual initiatives. International support of various kinds can help cities, particularly in developing and transitional countries, to improve their ability to effectively implement measures that address problems of crime and violence. Such direct assistance should be part of a package that also includes continuing and strengthening international cooperation in tackling various types of organized crime, such as trafficking of drugs, arms and people — all of which have international dimensions.

Chapter 1 provides a conceptual framework for understanding and addressing urban safety and security issues in general. Chapter 2 summarizes the main global conditions and trends in urban crime and violence, including the factors that determine the level of vulnerability to crime and violence, and the impacts of crime and violence on towns and cities. Chapter 3 examines policy responses designed to reduce the incidence of crime and violence so far adopted at the urban, national and international levels. Finally, Chapter 4 explores the most promising policy directions for reducing urban crime and violence. These include: effective urban planning, design and governance; community-based approaches in which communities take ownership of the various crime and violence prevention initiatives; and reduction of risk factors by focusing on groups that are likely to be perpetrators of crime, such as the youth.

It is my hope that policy makers at central and local government levels, civil society organizations and all those involved in the formulation of policies and strategies for reducing urban crime and violence will find this publication useful.

Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka
Under-Secretary-General and Executive Director
United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat)

KEY FINDINGS AND MESSAGES

KEY FINDINGS

Global trends indicate that crime rates have been on the increase. For instance, over the period of 1980 to 2000, total recorded crimes increased from 2300 to 3000 crimes for every 100,000 people. This trend is, however, not replicated in all regions of the world. In North America and Western Europe, total crime rates fell significantly over the two decades, whereas in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), Eastern Europe and Africa, total crime rates increased.

Regional variations in crime and violence are more pronounced when specific types of crime are examined. In the case of homicides, which are indicative of violent contact crimes, Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean report double-digit figures, while significantly lower rates are reported for Southeast Asia, Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean and the West Pacific region. At the national level, Colombia, South Africa, Jamaica, Guatemala and Venezuela have very high homicide rates, while Japan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Spain, Cyprus and Norway have considerably lower rates.

Crime and violence are typically more severe in urban areas and are compounded by their rapid growth. A recent study has shown that 60 per cent of urban dwellers in developing and transitional countries have been victims of crime over a five-year period, with victimization rates reaching 70 per cent in parts of LAC and Africa. In Latin America, where 80 per cent of the population is urban, the rapidly expanding metropolitan areas of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Mexico City and Caracas account for over half of the violent crimes in their respective countries. The homicide rate in Rio de Janeiro has tripled since the 1970s, while the rate in São Paulo has quadrupled. In the Caribbean, Kingston, Jamaica's capital, consistently accounts for the vast majority of the nation's murders.

In Africa, cities such as Lagos, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Nairobi account for a sizeable proportion of their nation's crime. Urban areas in Africa also have the highest reported levels of burglary, with victimization rates of over 8 per cent of the population. Although a non-violent crime, burglary is a serious offence in developing regions such as Africa. Here, burglary tends to be partly motivated by poverty, even though material possessions are fewer.

Robbery also poses a major threat to urban areas in many developing countries. This is because it not only results in injury and property loss, but also increases the general fear of crime and feeling of insecurity. In South Africa, the police in 2000 recorded 460 robberies for every 100,000 people, with 30 per cent of residents in Johannesburg reporting to have been victims of robbery. Regionally, the victimization rates for robbery are much higher in Latin America and Africa than in other regions of the world.

The fear of crime and violence is pervasive in both developed and developing countries. Public opinion surveys in the US and the UK repeatedly show that people rank crime among the top concerns they have in everyday life. In Nairobi, more than half of the citizens worry about crime all the time or very often. Likewise, in Lagos, 70 per cent of respondents in a city-wide survey were fearful of being victims of crime, with 90 per cent being fearful of the prospects of being killed in a criminal attack.

In addition to the above, residents of cities in developing, transitional and developed countries have to contend with increasing levels of domestic violence, child abuse, proliferation of youth gangs, corruption and various forms of organized crime.

Cities are increasingly becoming targets of terrorist attacks. Notable examples include the attack on the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001, the coordinated bombings of Madrid in March 2004, the London bombings of July 2005, and the bombing of commuter trains in Mumbai in July 2006. This Global Report notes that the incidence of terrorist attacks is significantly small in comparison to common crime and other types of violence. For example, the US National

Counterterrorism Center reported 13 terrorist incidents in the US between February 2004 and May 2005 and, for approximately the same period, the Federal Bureau of Investigation identified 10.32 million property crimes and over 1.36 million violent crimes. However, the impacts of terrorism on cities have been enormous. For example, the attack on New York left about 3500 people dead. It also resulted in the destruction or damage of about 2.8 million square metres of office space in Lower Manhattan and damaged the Port Authority Trans-Hudson train station at the World Trade Center.

A multiplicity of factors underlies the observed trends in crime and violence. These include social and cultural factors that might exacerbate or mediate crime. For instance, in cities such as Kabul, Karachi and Managua, violence is so interwoven into the fabric of daily life that it has become the norm for many slum dwellers. On the other hand, in Hong Kong and other parts of East and Southeast Asia, Confucianism-based family values and a generally compliant 'pro-social' population are major factors in keeping crime and violence low. Other factors associated with urban crime and violence include poverty; unemployment; inequality; intergenerational transmission of violence as reflected in the continuous witnessing of parental abuse during childhood; the rapid pace of urbanization; poor urban planning, design and management; growth in youthful population; and the concentration of political power, which facilitates corruption.

The impacts of crime and violence are multidimensional. Apart from injury and death, victims of crime and violence suffer long-lasting psychological trauma and continuously live with the fear of crime. At the national level, crime and violence are impediments to foreign investment, contribute to capital flight and brain drain, and hinder international tourism. In Jamaica, for instance, high levels of homicide have adversely affected tourism and contributed to brain drain. At the local level, crime and violence result in the stigmatization of neighbourhoods or even entire sections of the city. Such areas become 'no-go' zones and eventually lose out in terms of investment or provision of infrastructure and public services.

KEY MESSAGES

Policies designed to reduce crime and violence fall into several broad categories. At the local level, these include effective urban planning, design and governance; community-based approaches, in which communities take ownership of the various initiatives; reduction of risk factors by focusing on groups that are likely to be perpetrators and victims of crime; and strengthening of social capital through initiatives that seek to develop the ability of individuals and communities to respond to problems of crime and violence. The combination of several of these approaches — all of which are specially suitable for implementation at the local level into a systematic programme, driven by a broad strategy and based upon a careful understanding of the local context — seems more likely to succeed than the *ad hoc* application of individual initiatives.

The preferred mechanism for supporting such a broad-based approach is usually the partnership mechanism. Local authorities can play an important role in organizing such partnerships, while central governments provide the resources, enabling environment and necessary policy framework. The best institutional structures for implementing such programmes are likely to be those that succeed in getting the key players involved in ways that commit them to the programme. Local authorities will often be the most appropriate leaders of such structures. Local communities need to be as fully involved as possible in these processes, not only in terms of consultation, but also as generators and implementers of such initiatives.

At the local level and from a human settlements perspective, urban planning can make a difference in terms of crime prevention/reduction. The role of urban planning in diminishing opportunities for crime and violence is crucial, given that 10 to 15 per cent of crimes have environmental design and management components. This approach, known as *crime prevention through environmental design* (CPTED), focuses on the spatial setting of crime and links crime prevention and reduction to changes in physical design. It addresses a number of issues such as land-use juxtapositions, street layouts, building and site design, transportation system planning and infrastructure improvements — especially street and open space lighting, facility and landscape maintenance, as well as activity and space scheduling. From a planning and public policy standpoint, *where* crimes occur and *how*

places are designed and managed are at least as important as *who* the perpetrators are. To date, however, most of the experience of applying this approach has been in the developed world. But subject to two important conditions, there is no reason why approaches of this nature cannot be successful in developing countries. The first of these conditions is the need for support for these approaches to be generated among the development communities of such localities so that attempts to apply them do not become a running battle between developers, planners and the police. The second condition is that appropriately trained staff must be available in order to put these approaches into practice.

At the national level, there is a need to strengthen the formal criminal justice and policing systems. It is important that the police and the criminal justice systems are 'fit for purpose' in the modern world and are seen as key contributors to the fight against crime. A vital issue is the need for public confidence that the police and criminal justice systems will play their part in this process effectively, and where this is not the case, the problems that give rise to this lack of confidence need to be vigorously addressed. Key elements of such action will include the active participation of senior managers in police and criminal justice organizations, resources and political support, and a willingness to try new approaches where existing approaches are not working.

Programmes aimed at strengthening the police, particularly in developing countries, should also address their welfare and poor conditions of service. In many African countries, the police earn a pittance and often lack the necessary resources and equipment to perform their duties. In countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa and Kenya, members of the police force have not been spared from the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Furthermore, the living conditions in most of the existing police accommodation are appalling.

Prison reforms are one of the key policy areas through which central governments can contribute to tackling crime. By improving prison conditions and placing more emphasis on rehabilitation, the situation where prisons become finishing schools or 'universities' for criminals can be prevented. It is possible for re-offending, or recidivism, rates to be significantly reduced as a consequence of greater emphasis on rehabilitation. This will have a beneficial impact on crime because a high proportion is committed by previous offenders.

Support at the international level can help cities, particularly in developing and transitional countries, to improve their ability to effectively implement measures that address crime and violence. This kind of assistance should be seen as part of a package, which also includes continuing and strengthening international cooperation in tackling certain kinds of crime, where very often their worst consequences are most felt in cities. For example, the trafficking of drugs, arms and people are all matters where international cooperation is vitally important. There are several examples of international support that have been of immense importance to particular cities. For example, assistance from the US has been a key factor in recent efforts at tackling crime and violence in Kingston (Jamaica). Likewise, Canada, The Netherlands and Sweden have contributed to Safer Cities projects in several African cities.

One particular type of international support that can be very helpful is in the field of training and staff development. There are already several examples of this practice. As part of its support for the reform of the Jamaica Constabulary Force since 2000, the UK government has been providing financial resources to support international police officers working alongside Jamaica's force in addressing crime. This has included Metropolitan Police officers working directly with their Jamaican counterparts, as well as training being offered by the Metropolitan Police to the Jamaica Constabulary Force.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

UNDERSTANDING URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY

The theme of 'urban safety and security' encompasses a wide range of concerns and issues. These range from basic needs, such as food, health and shelter, through protection from crime and the impacts of technological and natural hazards, to collective security needs, such as protection from urban terrorism. However, only a few of these concerns and issues have been, and can be, addressed from a human settlements perspective, mainly through appropriate urban policies, planning, design and governance. For this reason, the Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 focuses on only three major threats to the safety and security of cities in respect of which the human settlements perspective has in recent years increasingly contributed useful solutions: crime and violence (which is the focus of this first of the three-volume abridged edition of the Global Report); insecurity of tenure and forced evictions; and natural and human-made disasters. These threats either stem from, or are often exacerbated by, the process of urban growth and from the interaction of social, economic and institutional behaviours within cities, as well as with natural environmental processes.

This chapter briefly presents a conceptual framework for understanding urban safety and security issues based on two concepts: at a more general level, the concept of *human security*, and at a more specific level, the concept of *vulnerability*.

Before turning to these conceptual issues, it is important to emphasize that the urban poor are dispropor-
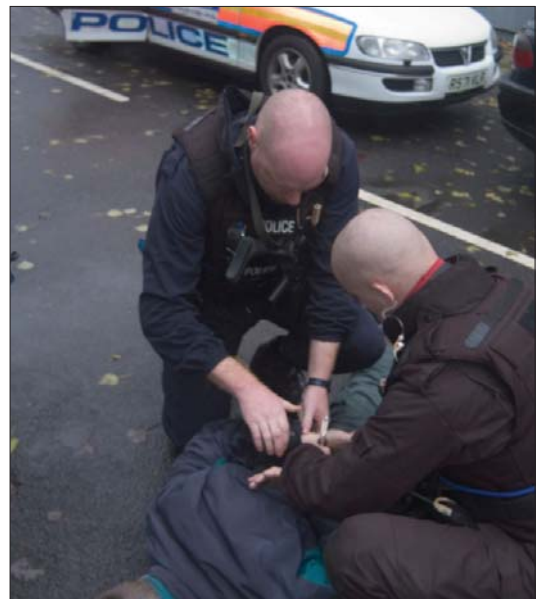
Urban crime is often seen as a police matter, but more can be done by others

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tionately victimized by the three threats to safety and security examined in the Global Report on Human Settlements 2007: crime and violence, insecurity of tenure, and natural and human-made disasters. This is against a background of rapid urbanization and the conse-

quent urbanization of poverty. The world's population has recently become more than half urban, with projected urban growth in developing countries in the order of 1.2 billion people between 2000 and 2020. This growth increases the pressure on the urban poor to earn incomes and to secure adequate shelter, basic infrastructure and essential social services, such as healthcare and education. Existing backlogs of services — as reflected in the 1 billion people already living in slums — are strong indicators of the weak capacity of both public and private institutions to provide such services.

Threats to urban safety and security, including crime and violence, must therefore be placed within a context of both opportunity and risk. The medieval saying that 'city air makes men free' can be complemented with the observation that urban life offers the prospect of greater economic welfare as well. This observation, however, must be tempered by the reality of growing numbers of urban residents living in poverty, lacking basic infrastructure and services, housing and employment, and living in conditions lacking safety and security.

This distribution of risk and vulnerability is an important and growing component of daily urban life. It is part of what has been referred to as the 'geography of risk and vulnerability' and is often linked to the presence of millions of urban residents in slums, which are environments in which much crime and violence occur, where tenure is least secure, and which are prone to disasters of many kinds.

A HUMAN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE TO URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY

Urban safety and security should be placed within the wider concern for human security, which has been increasingly recognized by the international community in recent years. This concern specifically focuses on the security of people, not states. The concept of human security was addressed in detail by the United Nations Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sadako Ogata and Nobel Laureate and economist Amartya Sen. This commission issued its report in 2003 and addressed a wide range of dimensions of human security, including:

Homelessness is one of the most serious outcomes of tenure insecurity

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> … conflict and poverty, protecting people during violent conflict and post-conflict situations, defending people who are forced to move, overcoming economic insecurities, guaranteeing the availability and affordability of essential health care, and ensuring the elimination of illiteracy and educational deprivation and of schools that promote intolerance.

This obviously broad coverage includes several important distinguishing features that are relevant to urban safety and security:

- Human security focuses on people and not states because the historical assumption that states would monopolize the rights and means to protect its citizens has been outdated by the more complex reality that states often fail to fulfil their obligations to provide security.
- The focus on people also places more emphasis on the role of the human rights of individuals in meeting these diverse security needs. There is thus a shift from the rights of states to the rights of individuals.
- Recognizing and enhancing the rights of individuals is a critical part of expanding the roles and responsibilities for security beyond simply the state itself.
- People-centred solutions must be identified and supported to address the range of menaces and risks that they encounter.

- Human security, therefore, goes beyond the security of borders to the lives of people and communities inside and across those borders.

The human security approach builds upon earlier United Nations ideas on basic needs, as discussed in the Copenhagen Declaration, adopted at the 2005 World Summit on Social Development, which noted that:

> *... efforts should include the elimination of hunger and malnutrition; the provision of food security, education, employment and livelihood, primary health-care services, including reproductive health care, safe drinking water and sanitation, and adequate shelter; and participation in social and cultural life* (Commitment 2.b).

Another international legal framework that has served to enhance the human security approach is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which highlights the need to:

> *... recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions* (Article 11.2).

Article 2.1 of ICESCR deals with the progressive realization of these rights, and implies that governments are legally obliged, under international law, to take steps to improve living conditions.

From the perspective of human security, it is clear that threats to urban safety and security are associated with different types of human vulnerability. These can be divided into three broad categories: chronic vulnerabilities, which arise from basic needs, including food, shelter and health; contextual vulnerabilities, arising from the socio-economic and political processes and contexts of human life; and vulnerabilities arising from extreme events, such as natural and human-made hazards. Partly because of its human rights basis and its emphasis on basic needs, the human security perspective is increasingly influencing the work of United Nations agencies, including UN-Habitat (see Box 1).

Box 1 Enhancing urban safety and human security in Asia through the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security

In March 1999, the Government of Japan and the United Nations Secretariat launched the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS), from which the Commission on Human Security prepared the Human Security Now report in 2003, as a contribution to the UN Secretary-General's plea for progress on the goals of 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'. The main objective of the UNTFHS is to advance the operational impact of the human security concept, particularly in countries and regions where the insecurities of people are most manifest and critical, such as in areas affected by natural and human-made disasters.

Growing inequalities between the rich and the poor, as well as social, economic and political exclusion of large sectors of society, make the security paradigm increasingly complex. Human security has broadened to include such conditions as freedom from poverty, access to work, education and health. This, in turn, has necessitated a change in perspective, from state-centred security to people-centred security. To ensure human security as well as state security, particularly in conflict and post-conflict areas where institutions are often fragile and unstable, rebuilding communities becomes an absolute priority to promote peace and reconciliation.

With the rapid urbanization of the world's population, human security as protecting 'the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment' increasingly means providing the conditions of livelihood and dignity in urban areas. Living conditions are crucial for human security, since an inadequate dwelling, insecurity of tenure and insufficient access to basic services all have a strong negative impact on the lives of the urban population, particularly the urban poor. Spatial discrimination and social exclusion limit or undermine the rights to the city and to citizenship.

In this context, UN-Habitat is coordinating three UNTFHS programmes in Afghanistan, Northeast Sri Lanka and Phnom Penh, the capital city of Cambodia, all focusing on informal settlements upgrading. On the assumption that community empowerment is crucial for the reconstruction of war affected societies, all programmes have adopted the 'community action planning' method – a community-based consultative planning process – and have established community development councils as the most effective approach to improving living conditions and human security in informal settlements.

Source: Balbo and Guadagnoli, 2007

VULNERABILITY, RISK AND RESILIENCE

Vulnerability, as an analytical framework, has during recent years been increasingly used in a number of disciplines, including economics (especially in the study of poverty, sustainable livelihoods and food security), sociology and social anthropology, disaster management, environmental science, and health and nutrition. In these disciplines, vulnerability is often reduced to three fundamental 'risk chain' elements — namely, *risk*, *response* and *outcome*, while the last two elements, in particular, are determined by the extent of *resilience* at various levels (i.e. individual, household, community, city and national levels).

Vulnerability may be defined as the probability of an individual, a household or a community falling below a minimum level of welfare (e.g. poverty line), or the probability of suffering physical and socio-economic consequences (such as homelessness or physical injury) as a result of risky events and processes (such as forced eviction, crime or flood) and their inability to effectively cope with such risky events and processes.

Distinctions can be made between physical vulnerability (vulnerability in the built environment) and social vulnerability (vulnerability experienced by people and their social, economic and political systems). Together, these constitute human vulnerability.

Risk refers to a known or unknown probability of distribution of events — for example, natural hazards such as floods or earthquakes. The extent to which risks affect vulnerability is dependent upon their size and spread (magnitude), as well as their frequency and duration.

Risk response refers to the ways in which individuals, households, communities and cities respond to, or

Flooding due to heavy rain is a major concern in many cities

manage, risk. Risk management may be in the form of *ex ante* or *ex post* actions — that is, preventive action taken *before* the risky event, and action taken to deal with experienced losses *after* the risky event, respectively. *Ex ante* actions taken in advance in order to mitigate the undesirable consequences of risky events may include purchase of personal or home insurance to provide compensation in case of theft, injury or damage to property; building strong social networks able to cope with risky events or hazards; and effective land-use planning and design of buildings and infrastructure able to withstand natural hazards such as floods, tropical storms and earthquakes. *Ex post* actions may include evacuating people from affected areas; selling household assets in order to deal with sudden loss of income; providing public-sector safety nets, such as food-for-work programmes; or reconstructing damaged buildings and infrastructure.

From the point of view of policy making, the challenge with respect to risk response is to find ways of addressing the constraints faced by individuals, households, communities and cities in managing risk. These constraints may be related to poor information, lack of finance or assets, inability to assess risk, ineffective public institutions and poor social networks. All of these constraints are among the determinants of *resilience*.

Resilience has been defined as the capacity of an individual, household or community to adjust to threats, to avoid or mitigate harm, as well as to recover from risky events or shocks. Resilience is partly dependent upon the effectiveness of risk response, as well as the capability to respond in the future. Pathways towards greater resilience have to address issues of institutional effectiveness, application of international human rights law and involvement of civil society.

Outcome is the actual loss, or damage, experienced by individuals, households and communities due to the occurrence of a risky event or risky process — for example, physical injury, death and loss of assets resulting from crime and violence; falling below a given poverty line and loss of income as a result of forced eviction from informal housing or from premises in which informal enterprises are based; as well as damage to buildings and infrastructure resulting from natural or human-made hazards. The outcome of a risky event is determined by both the nature of the risk as well as the degree of effectiveness of the response of individuals, households, communities and cities to risky events.

One of the most important socio-economic determinants of vulnerability is poverty. It has even been suggested that, because of their close correspondence, poverty should be used as an indicator of vulnerability. As pointed out earlier, the urban poor are generally more exposed to risky events (such as crime, forced eviction or disasters) than the rich, partly because of their geographical location. With respect to disasters, the urban poor are more vulnerable than the rich because they are often located on sites prone to floods, landslides and pollution. The urban poor also have relatively limited access to assets, thus limiting their ability to respond to risky events or to manage risk (e.g. through insurance). Because the poor are politically powerless, it is unlikely that they will receive the necessary social services following disasters or other risky events. In addition, the urban poor are more vulnerable to the undesirable outcomes of risky events because they are already closer to or below the threshold levels of these outcomes, for example income poverty or tenure insecurity.

Another very important determinant of vulnerability is the capacity of institutions. This influences the *response* and *outcome* elements in the *risk chain* discussed above — in terms of effectiveness and severity, respectively. For the purposes of the conceptual framework currently under discussion, the term *institution* refers to any structured pattern of behaviour, including informal institutions or behaviours, which communities and households may use to maintain their equilibrium in the face of dynamic conditions such as crime and violence, forced evictions, or disasters.

Vulnerability may be used as a general framework for conceptualizing and analysing the causal relationships between risk, responses and outcomes of risky events and processes, as in much of the work on sustainable livelihoods and also as used in this report. It is a useful framework for understanding the nature of risk and risky events, the impacts or outcomes of risky events, as well as responses to risky events at various levels, including the household, community, city and national levels.

Within the context of this report, risk refers to both risky events (such as natural and human-made hazards), as well as risky socio-economic processes (such as crime, violence and the kind of social exclusion that leads to tenure insecurity and forced eviction). Outcomes of risky events and processes are the undesirable consequences of crime and violence (such as loss of assets, injury and death), of tenure insecurity and forced eviction (such as homelessness and loss of livelihoods), as well as of natural and human-made disasters (such as injury, death and damage to property and infrastructure).

Table 1 is a schematic representation of how the concept of vulnerability is used in this report as an analytical framework.

Threat to urban safety and security	Risk	Response	Outcome
Crime and violence	Specific risky events are the various types of crime and violence, such as burglary, assault, rape, homicide and terrorist attacks.	Responses may include more effective criminal justice systems, improved surveillance, community policing, better design of public/open spaces and transport systems, improved employment for youth, development of gated communities, and provision of private security services.	Key outcomes include loss of assets, injury, death, damage to property, emotional/psychological suffering or stress, fear, and reduced urban investment.
Tenure insecurity and forced eviction	Specific risky event is forced eviction, while risky socio-economic processes and factors include poverty, social exclusion, discriminatory inheritance laws, ineffective land policies, as well as lack of planning and protection of human rights.	Examples of risk responses at the individual and household levels include informal savings and social networks, and political organization to resist forced eviction and to advocate for protection of human rights. At the institutional level, responses include more effective land policies and urban planning, as well as housing rights legislation.	Outcomes include homelessness, loss of assets, loss of income and sources of livelihood. May also include physical injury or death if eviction process is violent.
Natural and human-made/technological disasters	Specific risky events (or hazards) include floods, earthquakes, hurricanes, volcanic eruptions, technological disasters and war.	Examples of major responses include *ex ante* measures such as more effective spatial design of cities and the design of individual buildings, as well as home insurance; and *ex post* measures such as emergency response systems, reconstruction of buildings and infrastructure, as well as rehabilitation of institutions in war-torn countries.	Key outcomes may include physical injury, loss of income and assets, damage to buildings and infrastructure, as well as emotional/psychological stress.

Table 1

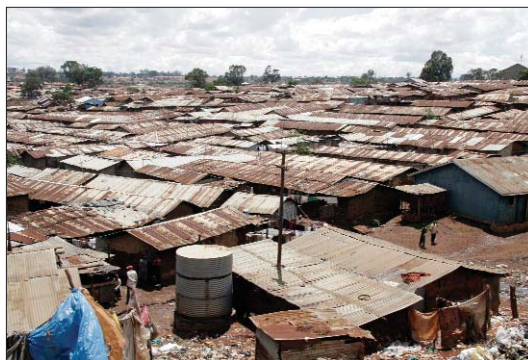**Vulnerability as a conceptual framework: Risk, response and outcome**

THE ROLE OF URBAN POLICY, PLANNING, DESIGN AND GOVERNANCE IN ENHANCING URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY

Levels of security and safety are lowest in slums and effective planning is desperately needed

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From the perspective of each of the three broad threats to urban safety and security addressed in the Global Report on Human Settlements 2007, there is an evident need to improve preparedness, to reduce risks and vulnerabilities, to increase the capacity for response through improved resilience, and to take advantage of the opportunities for positive urban reform and social change during the process of recovery. It should be asked, however: what is the role of the human settlements perspective (i.e. urban policy, planning, design and governance) in guiding these steps towards positive change?

Urban policy is understood as all those explicit decisions intended to shape the physical, spatial, economic, social, political, cultural, environmental and institutional form of cities. In terms of improving urban safety and security, urban policy is translated into urban planning, design, programmes and operating procedures and measures that can directly affect both the physical environment and social behaviour.

Planning is the assembly and analysis of information, the formulation of objectives and goals, the development of specific interventions, including those intended to improve urban safety and security, and the organizational processes needed to bring them to fruition. Planning takes the decisions of urban policy makers and transforms them into strategy and measures for action.

Urban design involves the design of buildings, groups of buildings, spaces and landscapes in towns and cities, in order to create a sustainable, safe and aesthetically pleasing built environment. It is limited to the detailed physical structure and arrangement of buildings and other types of physical development within space. This includes the use of building codes, for example to mandate earthquake-proof or flood-proof buildings. It may also entail the design of transport systems in ways that improve safety for women, or of streets in relation to buildings in order to minimize crime opportunities through improved visibility. Urban design is narrower than urban planning, and is often seen as part of the latter.

Both the processes of urban policy, as broadly defined, and planning are integral parts of the governance process. Governance is more than government, whether in the form of institutions or of public authorities: it is an all-encompassing process by which official and non-official actors contribute to management of conflict, establishment of norms, the protection of the common interest, and the pursuit of the common welfare. The participation of communities in crime prevention or in emergency response to natural hazards is among the most important urban governance issues identified in this report.

A significant contribution of this Global Report is its identification of the means or approaches, with many examples, through which urban policy, planning, design and governance are increasingly contributing towards the enhancement of urban safety and security, including in the area of crime and violence.

2

URBAN CRIME AND VIOLENCE: CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

THE INCIDENCE AND VARIABILITY OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

Crime and violence are unevenly distributed across the globe and within nations and cities. Nevertheless, they are pernicious, continuing threats to human security generally, and especially for the poor, who are disproportionately victimized as individuals and whose communities are strongly affected. While crime and violence must be considered through the lens of unique local contexts and circumstances, trends in crime and violence can also be seen at much broader levels.

Prior to providing an overview of crime trends at the global, regional, national and city levels, it is important to note that there are several caveats to interpreting the data on the incidence of crime and violence. These include:

- Methods of recording and counting crime vary from country to country, and there are no accepted universal standards of presenting crime statistics.
- Crime reporting is related to the prevalence of law enforcement and to peoples' willingness to come forward, both of which vary by country. In virtually all jurisdictions many crimes are not reported to authorities.
- Crime victimization data obtained through surveys tends to be higher quality than police reports.

- Definitions of what constitutes a crime differ widely and may not be comparable by virtue of cultural, social and legal system differences.
- Crime data quality diverges widely and is related to resource availability. Poor nations are less likely to have complete and accurate crime data.

Global and regional crime conditions and trends

Figure 1, which is based on United Nations surveys, shows that crime rates at both the global and regional levels have increased steadily over the period 1980 to 2000, rising from 2300 to over 3000 crimes per 100,000 individuals. But this is not the case for all regions. Some crime rates, such as those in North America, fell significantly over these two decades even though the general level of crime was higher there than for other regions, except for the European Union beginning in approximately 1999. Crime in the LAC region rose during this period.

Homicides at global, regional and city levels

The definition of homicide generally includes intentional and non-intentional homicide. Homicide is widely considered the single most important indicator of violent crime, and other lesser crimes (such as robbery) are often associated with it. Moreover, it is the offence that is most likely to be reported to the police. Despite this, it should be
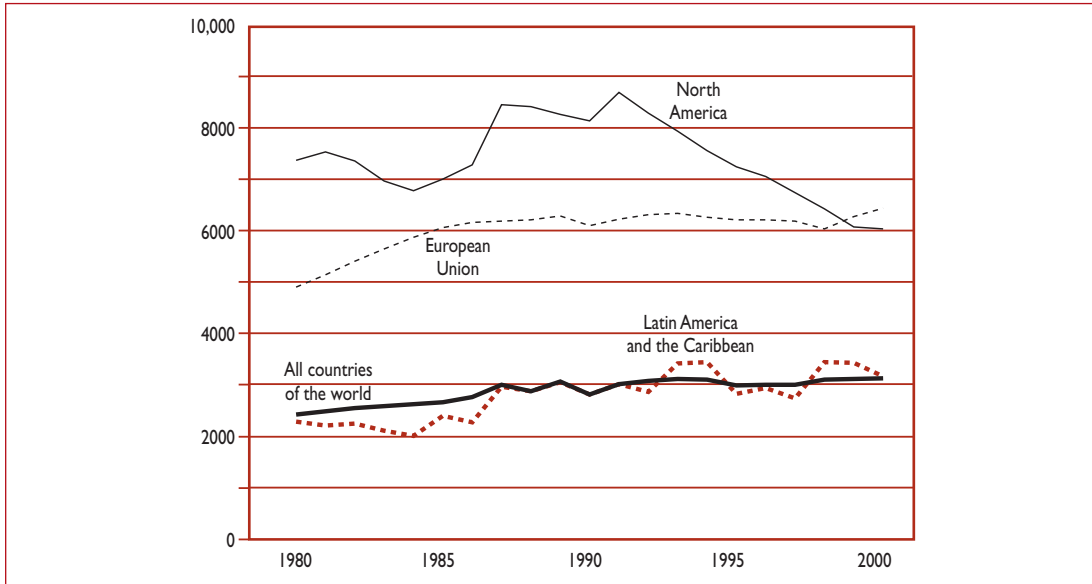
Total recorded crime trends per 100,000 individuals in selected regions of the world

Source: Shaw et al, 2003, p42

clear that homicide is a rare crime, especially when compared with property crimes such as larceny and theft.

Figure 2 shows homicide rates for selected global regions. It clearly indicates that the LAC region and sub-Saharan Africa have the highest rates of homicides, while the European Union and the Arab States have the lowest
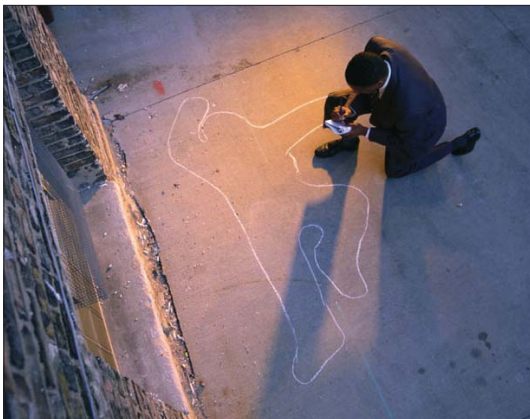
Homicide is the single most important indicator of violent crime

rates. Between 1990 and 2000, WHO data shows that violent crime, including homicide, grew to 8.8 per 100,000 individuals.

Homicide rates for 37 selected cities drawn mainly from developed countries are presented in Figure 3. High murder rates are apparent for cities experiencing civil strife, such as Belfast (Northern Ireland) and in cities that are in the midst of transition between political and economic systems, such as Tallinn (Estonia), Vilnius (Lithuania) and Moscow (Russia). The highest reported murder rate is in Washington, DC, which equals or exceeds rates in developing countries. This city has a number of converging risk factors, including significant social and economic inequality, a high proportion of impoverished citizens and widespread availability of guns.

Within cities, homicide rates vary significantly. In São Paulo, homicide rates in 2001 ranged from 1.2 per 100,000 individuals in the Jardim Paulista district to 115.8 per 100,000 in the Guaianazes district. The reasons for such variations are subject to much debate, with rationales variously attributed to differences in local drug markets, policing strategies and contextual community cultural and social values.
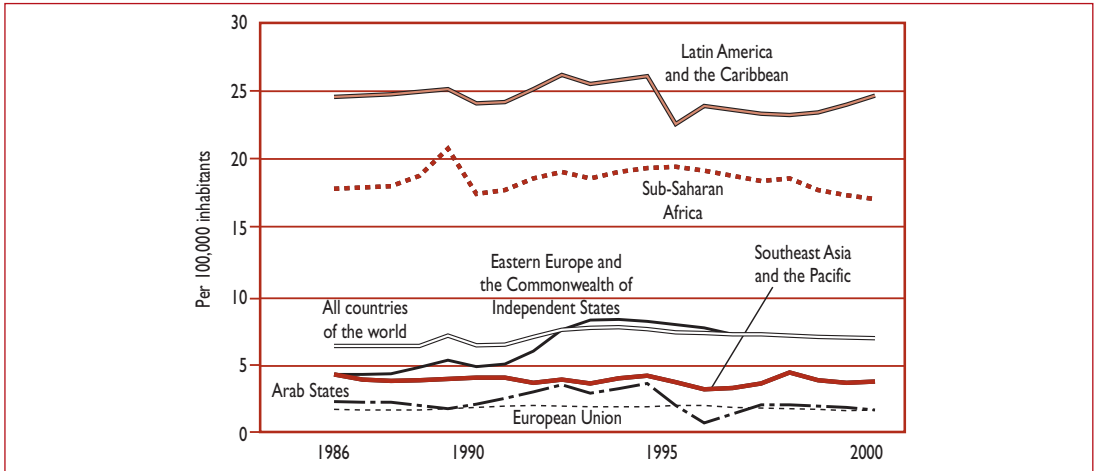
Crime and violence are typically more severe in urban areas and are compounded by their rapid growth, especially in developing and transitional nations. It has been estimated that 60 per cent of all urban dwellers in developing and transitional countries have been crime victims, with rates of 70 per cent in parts of Latin America and Africa.

Fear of crime and violence

Cultures of fear of crime and violence are widespread in both developed and developing countries. Public opinion surveys in many countries repeatedly show that people rank crime among the top concerns that they have in everyday life. In Nairobi, Kenya more than half of the citizens worry about crime all the time or very often. A national survey conducted in South Africa found that about 25 per cent of respondents indicated that concerns about crime prevented them from starting their own businesses and interfered with everyday transportation decisions. Likewise, in Zambia, a World Bank study uncovered significant fear of crime that manifested itself in the work decisions of teachers. In Lagos, Nigeria 70 per cent of respondents in a city-wide survey were fearful of being victims of crime, while 90 per cent were fearful of the prospect of being killed in a criminal attack.

Robbery and burglary

Primarily a contact crime, robbery is often classified as both a violent crime and a property crime in many jurisdictions. Consequently, it is more likely to be reported to police than lesser crimes. Global robbery trends increased between 1980 and 2000, from about 40 to over 60 incidents per 100,000 individuals. Data for Eastern Europe, Latin America and Africa shows that countries within these regions have high robbery rates. North America on the other hand witnessed a remarkable decline from 200 per 100,000 recorded cases in 1992 to about 120 in 2000.

Of all property crimes, burglary is probably the most invasive

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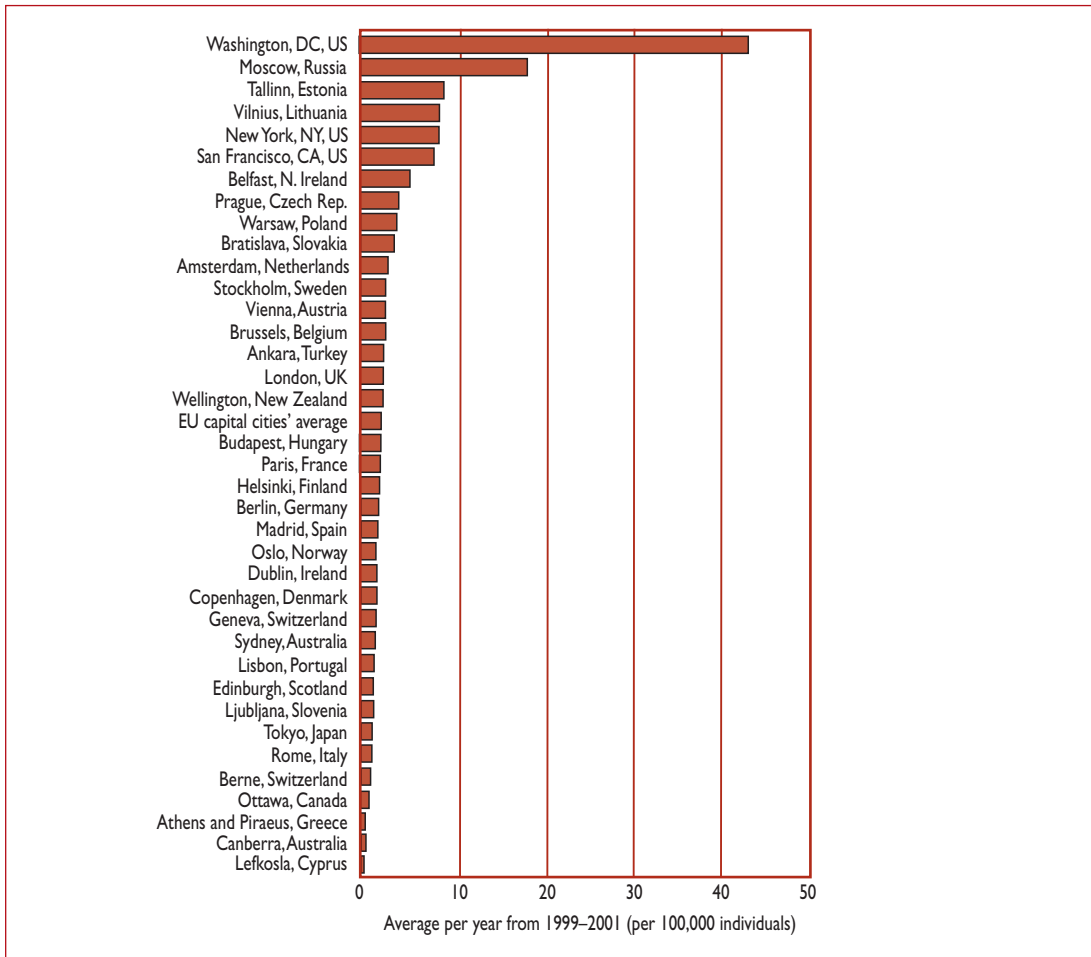
Figure 3

Recorded homicides in selected cities

Source: adapted from Barclay et al, 2003

Although often targeted against vehicles, burglary is the most common property crime connected to local built environmental and design features. It may be defined as the unlawful entry into someone else's property with the intention to commit a crime. On average, about one out of five urban residents worldwide report being victimized. More Africans believe that they will be victimized by burglary than people in any other region. Nonetheless, the reporting rate for burglary in Africa is 55 per cent, with only Asia reporting a lower rate of 40 per cent. Other reporting rates are 84 per cent for Oceania, 72 per cent in Europe and 59 per cent in the Americas.

Intimate partner violence, child abuse and street children

Also known as *domestic abuse*, intimate partner violence (IPV) negatively affects many intimate relationships and families worldwide. Due to its sensitive and personal nature, many victims do not report the crime to authorities. Surveys in the UK show there were almost 500,000 official reports of domestic violence in 2000. In the US, about 29 per cent of women and 22 per cent of men are victims of IPV during their lifetime. Globally, women are significantly more likely than men to be victims of IPV. A

Burglary is the most common property crime

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Public protest against domestic violence

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study by the WHO shows that between 51 and 71 per cent of women in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Peru and Tanzania reported experiencing physical or sexual violence from an intimate partner. Box 2 illustrates the plight of women in South Africa, including some of the underlying risk factors associated with IPV.

Violent households are often venues for child abuse. Child abuse includes physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological/verbal abuse, commercial or other exploitation of children, as well as neglect of children. Vast numbers of children are exposed to violence each year. The United Nations estimates that between 133 million and 275 million children experience violence at home annually, with the largest proportion in South, Western and Eastern Asia, as well as in sub-Saharan Africa. Children are increasingly being victimized outside their homes — in schools and hospitals and by individuals other than primary caregivers, such as teachers, police or clergy in the workplace and in community settings at large.

Recent global estimates indicate there are likely to be tens of millions of street children, and some estimates place the number as high as 100 million. Other estimates point to 250,000 street children in Kenya, 150,000 in Ethiopia, 12,000 in Zimbabwe, 450,000 in Bangladesh, 30,000 in Nepal, 11 million in India and 6000 in the Central African Republic. Future approximations project increasing numbers of street children, growing especially with the pace of urbanization.

Corruption

Corruption is generally classified as a crime against public order. There is no universally accepted definition of corruption; but it has been summarized as the abuse of public power for personal gain. One of the most widely used measures of corruption is the Corruption Perceptions Index, which calculates a score based on perceived levels of corruption in a given country. The index for 2005 shows the least corrupt countries to be the high-income countries in Europe and Oceania. The most corrupt consist largely of low-income countries of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

Organized crime

An enormously diverse series of enterprises, organized crime profits from drug trafficking, trafficking in firearms, trafficking in human beings and money laundering, among others. As one measure of its profitability, the United Nations Drug Control Programme has estimated that US$1 billion in illicit capital is circulated daily by criminal groups among the world's financial institutions.

Illicit drug trafficking and drug use are fundamental risk factors underlying crime and violence at global, national and local levels. Drug addiction, particularly in urban areas, fuels crime and violence, increases policing and healthcare costs, disintegrates families and generally diminishes the quality of life.

Using the example of cocaine, the world's main trafficking routes run from the Andean region, notably Colombia, to the US, with Europe as the second most important destination for cocaine produced in the Andean region. The trafficking and use of cocaine in Asia and Oceania is low compared to the rest of the world, while its use in West and Central Africa increased in 2004 on account of the region being a trans-shipment point to European markets.

Arms trafficking is often the focus of organized crime. The illegal trade in small arms is much harder to document, but it is thought to be worth about US$1 billion a year. According to the Small Arms Survey, the latter sales account for an estimated 60 to 90 per cent of the 100,000 combat deaths that occur each year, and thousands more that take place outside of war zones. There are more than 640 million small arms available worldwide, or enough to arm one in every ten persons, and about 1000 individuals each day are murdered by guns worldwide.

Human trafficking is a global problem that involves organized criminal groups and disproportionately affects women and children. Although accurate data is unavailable, it is estimated that between 700,000 and 1 million persons are trafficked around the world each year. Trafficking people is big business that generates enormous revenues for traffickers. Women and children, especially girls, living in poverty and without economic prospects are particularly vulnerable to traffickers.

The main countries from which human trafficking originates include those in Central and Southeastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States and Asia. These regions are then followed by nations in Western Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The regions that are the most common destinations include countries within Western Europe, East and Southeast

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Box 2 Violence against women in South Africa

South Africa has one of the highest incidences of violence against women (and children) in the world. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) data on crimes reported by the police indicate that 123.84 rapes per 100,000 individuals were committed in 2000. This is one of the saddest and most alarming manifestations of violence in a society generally regarded as traumatized and wracked by violent crime and (very often) violent interpersonal and public behaviour. Although the causes of the high levels of violence in South African society are manifold and complex, they broadly relate to the country's violent history of colonialism and apartheid. One can also safely assume that the high levels of poverty and unemployment in the country and the resultant economic hardships and frustrations add to the already volatile social and political atmosphere. In addition, patriarchal attitudes, which we share with other societies, make it particularly difficult for women to attain economic independence. As a result, many women are unable to permanently leave their abusive partners, thus failing to protect themselves and their children from physical, sexual, emotional, economic and other forms of abuse.

Source: Zambuko and Edwards, 2007

Violent youth gangs are common in many urban areas

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Asia, and some countries in the Western Asia subregion, such as Turkey. The US and Canada, respectively, are identified as 'very high' and 'high' destinations for human trafficking.

Youth and territory-based gangs

Youth gangs are found throughout the world, partly spurred by rapid urbanization, social exclusion, poverty and the enactment of repressive public policies towards marginalized groups. In the US, increase in gang violence has been linked to the growth in cocaine markets beginning during the 1980s. In Latin America, youth gangs constitute key features on the urban violence landscape, and are variously known as *pandillas*, *maras*, *bandas*, *galeras*, *quadrilhas*, *barras* and *chapulines*. In Brazil, two-thirds of all homicides involve youths, where children as

Date	Incident	Number of people killed	Number of people injured
17 November 1997	Gunmen attack tourists in Luxor, Egypt	62	24
7 August 1998	US embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya	225	> 4000
18 October 1998	Blowing up of the Ocensa pipeline near Machuca in Antioquia, Colombia	84	100
11 September 2001	A series of hijacked airliner crashes into the World Trade Center in New York City and The Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, USA	3500	
9 May 2002	Bomb explosion in Kaspiisk in Dagestan, Russia during Victory Day festivities	42	130
12 October 2002	Bombing of holidaymakers Bali, Indonesia	202	
23–27 October 2002	Moscow theatre hostage crisis, Russia	160	
27 December 2002	Truck bombing of the Chechen parliament in Grozny	83	
7 February 2003	El Nogal Club bombing in Bogotá, Colombia	36	150
12 May 2003	A truck bomb attack carried out on a government building in the Chechen town of Znamenskoye	59	
25 August 2003	South Mumbai bombings: Gateway of India and Zaveri Bazaar	48	150
6 February 2004	Bombing of Moscow Metro, Russia	41	
27 February 2004	Bombing of Superferry 14 in the Philippines	116	
11 March 2004	Coordinated bombing of commuter trains in Madrid, Spain	191	1500
24 August 2004	Terrorist attack on two domestic Russian aircraft in Moscow, Russia	90	
7 July 2005	London bombings: Bombs explode on three underground trains and on one double-decker bus	56	700
23 July 2005	Bombing of tourist sites in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt	88	> 100
29 October 2005	Multiple bomb blasts in markets in Delhi, India	61	200
9 November 2005	Three explosions at hotels in Amman, Jordan	60	120
11 July 2006	A series of explosions rock commuter trains in Mumbai, India	209	714

Table 2

Examples of major terrorist incidents since 1997

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_terrorist_incidents

young as six years old are drawn into gangs to serve as lookouts and carriers of hard drugs. In sub-Saharan Africa, many young men from marginalized communities join gangs who help to replace the extended family and who provide economic and social values not found in mainstream society. While no reliable numbers exist, it has been estimated that, worldwide, membership of youth gangs runs into millions.

Urban terrorism

In recent years, cities have become increasingly vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Indeed, cities make attractive targets for terrorist attacks for several reasons. In this report, terrorism is seen as violent acts that are deliberately targeted at civilians and urban infrastructure. Major terrorist incidents that have taken place in both developed and developing country cities since November 1997 are shown in Table 2. Although these acts of terrorism are local events, they have had international repercussions that have ricocheted across the world. It is worth stressing that in relation to everyday violence, or common crime, the incidence of terrorist attacks is significantly small. Nonetheless, the impacts of terrorism on cities have been enormous in recent years.

FACTORS UNDERLYING CRIME AND VIOLENCE

At broad national and societal levels, crime and violence are linked to a range of long-term underlying economic, social, cultural and political factors that produce opportunities and incentives for criminal behaviour and violent acts. Some of these are described below.

Social and cultural factors

Globally, informal forces embedded in social and cultural values are arguably the most powerful factors acting to encourage or discourage crime and violence. In some societies, crime and violence are common components of daily life and are accepted social and cultural norms, or are built into, or encouraged by, law. On the other side of the spectrum, culture can mediate crime. For example, in Hong Kong, Confucianism based family-oriented values, extended kinship structures and a generally compliant

'pro-social' population, that favours a government hostile to crime and corruption, are major factors in keeping crime and violence rates low.

Poverty and inequality

Poverty has long been recognized as an important risk factor associated with increased crime and violence in urban areas. While crime may be associated with poverty, it is important to note that there are many poor communities all over the world where crime levels are low, as behaviour is constrained by informal social and cultural values as noted above.

Inequality in the distribution of income may be a more important factor than poverty in affecting crime and violence. Closely associated with inequality are key exclusionary factors relating to unequal access to employment, education, health and basic infrastructure. Gender, racial, ethnic and religious inequalities are also major factors in violence perpetrated against women and minorities.

Pace of urbanization and city size

The rapid pace of urbanization is associated with increased crime rates in some of the world's regions. Rapid urbanization places increased pressures on the ability of authorities to meet public security and safety demands. This is especially important since almost all of the world's urban growth in the next two decades will be absorbed by cities of the developing world, whose public institutions are least equipped to deal with the challenges of rapid urbanization.

People residing in large urban areas are increasingly vulnerable to crime and violence than ever before. The link between crime and city size in developing countries can be explained by three factors. First, returns on crime are likely to be higher in larger cities due to the greater concentration of wealthier victims, more opportunities to commit various types of crime, and a more developed second-hand market for the disposal of stolen items. Second, the chances of arresting a criminal might be lower in larger cities because large cities spend less on law enforcement per capita, or have lower levels of community cooperation with the police, or require more police officers per inhabitant to effect an arrest. Finally, larger cities have a greater proportion of crime-prone individuals/potential criminals.

Poor urban planning, design and management

There is increasing evidence that poor planning, design and management of the urban environment puts citizens at risk of death, injury and loss of property. The lack of integration of crime prevention strategies within city planning practices has been cited as a factor in facilitating opportunities for urban crime. Physical design and management of the built environment play a role in facilitating or diminishing opportunities for crime and violence. While there is no way of accurately counting the number of incidents related to physical design or management, it has been estimated that 10 to 15 per cent of crimes have environmental design and management components, especially those related to visibility, dilapidation of buildings and public spaces, as well as physical-spatial isolation of public facilities, among others. From a planning and public policy standpoint, *where* crimes occur and *how* places are designed and managed are at least as important as *who* the perpetrators are.

Youthful population growth and youth unemployment

Crime and violence are strongly associated with the growth and proportion of youthful populations and, especially, young males. In Nairobi (Kenya), where bank robbery, violent car robbery, house breaking and street muggings and snatching are the main criminal activities, a distinctive attribute of the perpetrators is their youthfulness — criminals in their teens and 20s.

Unemployment among young people is a fundamental issue related to crime and violence. Unemployed youths are disproportionately more likely to be perpetrators, as well as victims, of crime and violence. Unemployment, and especially long-term unemployment, undermines human capital so that work abilities and motivations 'atrophy'.

Deportation of offending criminals

The deportation of criminals to their countries of origin, especially from the US to Latin America and the Caribbean, in part accounts for increasing levels of gang-related crime within the region. In Central America, the phenomenal growth in youth gangs has been attributed to the deportation of young Salvadorans from the US. This has resulted in the 'transfer' of gang wars from the ghettos of Los Angeles to the streets of El Salvador. Similarly, in Jamaica, where gangs have a stranglehold on society and are at the centre of most murders, the feeling is rife that deportees are a major part of the crime problem.

Transition towards democracy

Research indicates that global homicide rates have grown at about the same time as there have been significant increases in political democratization. *Transition toward democratization* often brings social and economic disruption that may be associated with increased crime and violence, at least in the short term. Some nations undergoing transition from autocratic governance to democracy have significant increases in homicide rates. These include countries in Eastern Europe and in the Latin American/ Caribbean region. As such nations move towards full democracy, their crime rates may begin to decline, even though they will not disappear and may, indeed, creep upward, as evidenced by data from full democracies.

IMPACTS OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE

At the global level, homicide and other violent crimes have significant impacts, which include loss of life and physical and psychological injury. Data from the WHO suggests that almost one third of the estimated global violence-related deaths in 2000 were due to homicides. In some countries with easy access to weapons, the tolls have been particularly high. For example, Colombia has experienced over 500,000 deaths due to common and organized crime since 1979, which amounts to 17,600 deaths per year. Over 80 per cent of these have been due to gun violence. The incidence of homicide is often exacerbated by civil conflicts that make weapons more available to the general population.

National impacts of crime and violence

At national levels, high homicide and violent crime rates have multiple impacts. Some of these may be illustrated by economic and healthcare indicators. The former is demonstrated in Kingston, Jamaica, where rising urban

Gated communities are a common response to urban crime and violence

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homicide rates have been cited as a factor affecting national tourism, with negative economic consequences at every level of society. The World Bank has identified the impact of crime on business as one of the major reasons for Jamaica's weak economic development. A similar phenomenon occurs in Papua New Guinea, where violent crime, particularly in some suburbs of Port Moresby, discourages tourists from exploring the country.

At national levels, high crime rates are identified as major impediments to foreign investment, and also affect capital flight and the reluctance of people to invest in their own countries. Recent research in Africa has shown that more than 29 per cent of business people surveyed report that crime was a significant investment constraint. Findings from Latin America show that the financial burden of violence is equivalent to 25 per cent

of the GDP in Colombia and El Salvador; 12 per cent in Mexico and Venezuela; 11 per cent in Brazil; and 5 per cent of the GDP in Peru. High homicide and violent crime rates are also associated with increased healthcare costs and social services costs. For example, the collapse of the Brazilian public hospital system in the 1980s and 1990s has been attributed to the weight of the high number of homicides and criminal injuries.

Local impacts of crime and violence

The impacts of crime and violence are very much manifested and felt at the city and neighbourhood levels. Rising violent crime rates influence population and commercial flight from central city locations, with more affluent households and those with children more likely

to leave. High rates of robbery contribute to a downward spiral of low property values and serve as a deterrent to investment, thereby leading to greater levels of poverty and deprivation. The result is that poor neighbourhoods are the hardest hit by a range of crimes. Spiralling rates of robbery and violent crime affect cities by leaving some areas desolate, especially in the evenings, thereby adversely affecting the local economy.

One manifestation of the failure of public agencies to adequately address the fear and incidence of serious property and contact crimes, such as burglary and robbery, is the explosion of privatized gated communities and private security forces. Many cities in developing countries have witnessed the proliferation of private security as a means of safeguarding residences and commercial enterprises. In Caracas, 73 per cent of the population have private security for their homes, while 39 per cent make contributions in terms of money and time to community and neighbourhood watch initiatives. In South Africa, the number of private security guards has increased by 150 per cent since 1997, while the number of police officers has declined by 2.2 per cent during the same period. In Kenya, the private security industry is one of the fastest growing businesses. It is important to note that the use of private security in cities of developing countries is no longer the sole preserve of wealthy households: it is also becoming increasingly common in informal and low-income settlements where crime is widespread.

Neighbourhoods seen as high risk for violent crimes gain reputations that impede outsiders' desire to travel, work and live there, and lessen the ability of residents to receive social services. Moreover, residents of such neighbourhoods become stigmatized and may be excluded from outside employment opportunities. In some instances, such communities are isolated from the outside world, as in the case of *favelas* in Brazil whose drug bosses cut off territorial access to outsiders, and especially those from 'enemy' *favelas*.

Impacts of intimate partner violence and child abuse

While the aggregate effects on cities are difficult to measure, it is clear that IPV and child abuse destroy social and human capital and contribute to the rising numbers of street families and children. Many women who are victims of IPV not only experience negative physical and
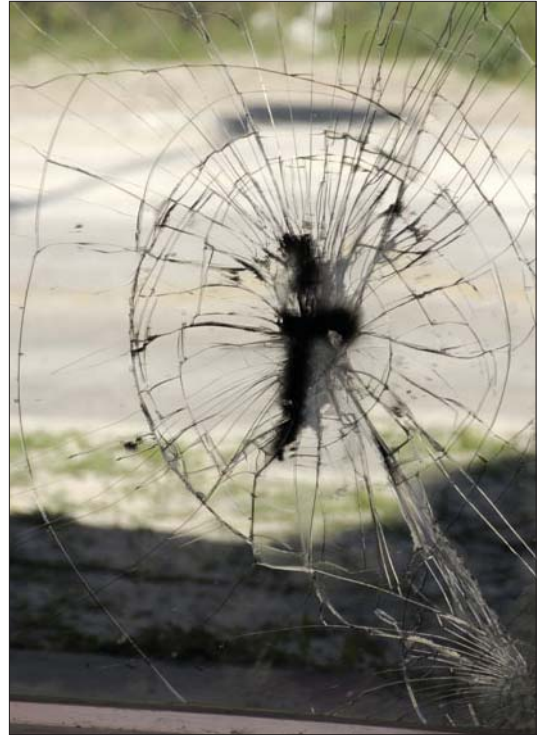
The effects of urban crime are also manifested in damage to buildings

© imac / Alamy

psychological effects, but are also affected financially due to lost productivity from paid work, medical care costs, mental healthcare costs, property loss and legal costs. Abused children and those who grow up in violent family settings stand a much greater risk of becoming offenders. Furthermore, abused children often perform poorly in school, thereby adversely affecting their lifetime opportunities.

The impacts of organized crime

Organized criminal activities stretch from global to local levels, with multiple impacts. The impacts of corruption are perceived as the largest single obstacle to global development. Urban residents generally bear the brunt of corruption because they require more services from officials than rural residents. Corruption often skews the distribution of resources away from local infrastructure projects to large, national ones, where opportunities for

grand corruption are significant. Drug trafficking impacts city neighbourhoods by helping to create areas known for drug marketing and arms trafficking, both factors in the carving of urban spaces into 'no go' zones. For these reasons, such neighbourhoods may be excluded from or demoted on redevelopment priority lists.

The impacts of human trafficking are felt first by victims, who are denied their basic human rights. The health and urban service costs to cities can only be approximated. Human trafficking greatly increases prospects for prostitution and sex-tourism, which hasten the spread of disease and crimes associated with the sex industry and affects the stability of families. A recent study by an Indian NGO, the Nedan Foundation, suggests that increased human trafficking in India's northeast region opens up huge possibilities for the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Impacts of terrorism on cities

One of the most profound impacts of urban terrorism is the loss of lives. Estimates related to the attacks of 9/11 reveal a death toll of over 3500. The March 2004 bombings of Madrid resulted in 191 deaths, while that of Mumbai in July 2006 led to the loss of 209 lives.

The damage and destruction of physical capital and infrastructure constitutes one of the most direct impacts of acts of terrorism in urban areas. The extent of the physical destruction that followed the 9/11 attack has been likened to that of an earthquake or a similar major natural disaster. The impacts of terrorist attacks on physical infrastructure in cities of developing countries are equally devastating and the long-term effects are likely to be more pronounced, given the inadequate condition of such infrastructure in the first place.

Loss of urban employment is a major impact of terrorist attacks. Following the events of 9/11, the number of private sector job losses was estimated to be between 38,000 and 46,000 in October 2001, and had increased to between 49,000 and 71,000 by February 2002.

Terrorist attacks have resulted in new and tightened security measures on public transportation systems across the world. Other impacts of urban terrorism include the development of an atmosphere of fear, which might be exacerbated by terror alert levels adopted in affected countries; post-traumatic stress disorder and increased depression experienced by victims of terrorist attacks; and increased spending on public security, especially in terms of surveillance, emergency planning and training of operatives in counter-terrorism. In the case of cities in developing countries, such increased spending diverts scarce resources away from productive investment in areas designed to promote growth, poverty eradication and sustainable urban development.

CONCLUSION

Crime and violence are fundamental threats to human security. Though found in virtually all cities across the world, most places are safe and most citizens are neither perpetrators nor victims of crime and violence. Rather, crime tends to be concentrated in certain areas within the city. In this context, crime and violence are associated with risk factors that are generally known, although not completely understood. Crime and violence are especially problematic to vulnerable populations in distressed communities in developed nations and to those in developing and transitional countries with rapidly growing urban populations.

URBAN CRIME AND VIOLENCE: POLICY RESPONSES

This chapter provides an overview of some the policy responses to the problems of crime and violence. It needs to be understood, from the outset, that a high proportion of these initiatives have not been fully or properly evaluated, and that a further proportion have not had the results of such evaluations made public. It is also the case that much of the evidence that is available and accessible comes from the developed world, rather than from the developing world, and it should not be automatically assumed that conclusions from the former context will automatically apply to the latter.

TYPES OF POLICY RESPONSES TO CRIME AND VIOLENCE

There are many kinds of responses to issues of crime and violence, with evidence suggesting that the most successful ones are those that are tailored to the particular circumstances being addressed. It is possible to classify these responses into six broad groups of approaches as follows:

- enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance;
- community-based approaches to enhancing urban safety and security;
- strengthening formal criminal justice systems and policing;

- reduction of risk factors;
- non-violent resolution of conflicts; and
- strengthening of social capital.

Two important points need to be made about these policy responses. First, they are not watertight compartments but involve considerable overlap. Second, it is not necessarily a question of choosing between these approaches, because it is possible to combine elements of several or all of them. Indeed, available evidence suggests that a carefully managed programme that combines several elements of these approaches in ways that recognize the connections between them and their appropriateness to the local context has a better chance of success than merely focusing on a single element.

Enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance

Poor planning, design and management have been identified as among the constellation of factors associated with crime and violence. This group of activities is therefore about manipulating and maintaining the physical environment, which is the setting within which most crimes take place. Often referred to as crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED); this approach, which focuses on the setting of crime, links crime prevention and reduction to changes in physical design. Such changes encompass building crime prevention considerations into

CCTV has been widely deployed in public places in recent years

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the design processes that shape new development, and revisiting problematic existing built environments where there is the possibility that reshaping these might reduce the crime problems that they are experiencing. This latter element is often given less attention than the former; but in most societies the amount of new development under consideration is on a much smaller scale than the extent of development that already exists. The process of enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance is still in its infancy in many parts of the world; although in some countries such as the UK, the US and Canada it is more advanced. Available evidence shows that CPTED-based approaches to the processes of shaping new development have an important contribution to make to crime prevention. Another example of an initiative in this category is closed circuit television cameras (CCTVs). The UK is an example of a country which has deployed CCTV cameras widely during recent years, not just in public places such as shopping centres and car parks, but also in some

residential areas. The use of CCTVs has been very controversial in the US because of the implications for civil liberties of installing cameras in residential areas.

Community-based approaches to urban safety and security

Community-based approaches have an important role to play in the litany of responses to crime and violence. This can mean a wide range of possible ways in different local circumstances. At one end of the spectrum, some approaches are about developing and implementing crime prevention initiatives where the main impetus comes from the community itself. At the other end of the spectrum, community involvement in initiatives mounted by the local authority seems to be essential if they are to have the maximum chance of success: such initiatives should be 'done with' communities rather than 'done to' them. Communities may not be the initiators; but they still have a central role to play in shaping initiatives based both upon their local knowledge and upon the fact that, in their daily lives as residents, what they do or do not do can make a difference to what happens on the ground.

A good example of a city where several different forms of community involvement exist in its approaches to crime prevention and safety is the city of Toronto, Canada which is one of the world's most ethnically diverse cities. One of the most striking elements of the 2004 Toronto Community Safety Plan is the emphasis on crime prevention through social development. This is the idea that spatially targeted or area-based interventions are necessary to tackle the particular problems of specific neighbourhoods. The approach adopted in each of these areas was to develop a Neighbourhood Action Plan through partnership between the city council, residents, community leaders, the police and relevant local agencies. The intention behind this is that the interventions that are considered to be appropriate in each case should build the local community's capacity to improve safety and to prevent crime, especially violent crime. Examples of these initiatives are summarized in Box 3. Three elements stand out in the Toronto Community Safety Plan: its wide-ranging and imaginative nature; the various ways in which local communities are directly involved in programme delivery; and the targeted nature of what is being attempted.

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Youth Opportunity Initiatives: Training
This initiative is about providing opportunities for young people to develop employment-related skills and to obtain relevant experience through activities such as internships and apprenticeships. It involves close cooperation with community organizations, businesses and trade unions.

Youth Opportunity Initiatives: Jobs for Youth
The provincial government has provided Cdn$28.5 million in funding over three years so that the city can offer summer employment opportunities to youth from the priority neighbourhoods. Community-based organizations administer the funds, recruit and select job candidates, and work with employers. In 2004, over 300 young people living in Toronto's 'priority' neighbourhoods secured summer employment.

Youth Challenge Fund
The Province of Ontario has a Cdn$15 million fund to support local programmes, training and jobs for youth living in Toronto's 13 'at-risk' neighbourhoods. In particular, this supports ideas for community safety that come from people living in these areas, and community organizations are encouraged to apply for funds that will enable projects of this nature to be implemented. In April 2006, the premier of Ontario challenged the private sector to match this public investment and promised that if that happened, further private-sector contributions up to a maximum of another Cdn$15 million would then be matched over the next three years, taking the total up to a potential Cdn$60 million.

The Community Crisis Response Programme
This programme focuses on getting city services to respond in a coordinated manner to support neighbourhoods following 'trauma-inducing events', such as killings or violent assaults. Programme staff work with neighbourhood residents to identify and implement appropriate and culturally sensitive interventions that are intended to facilitate the recovery process.

Community Use of Schools
This recognizes that there is often a very valuable resource locked up in schools during evenings, weekends and the summer months, and so schools have been opened in a number of neighbourhoods to provide free access to community and recreation programmes. The aim of this is to break down financial barriers and to promote participation in a range of community activities.

Grassroots/Community-Based Youth Services
These services are essentially about providing support for not-for-profit community-based agencies to provide programmes and services for youth in at-risk neighbourhoods. These include violence prevention, anger management, conflict resolution, mentorship and peer support, individual and family counselling, academic programming, life skills training, and gang prevention/exit programmes.

Expanded Healthcare Centres
Healthcare facilities are being improved in at-risk neighbourhoods to ensure that teams with a wide range of skills are available locally to deliver a range of programmes and support services for youth, young children and families.

Source: Thompson and Gartner, 2007

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Strengthening formal criminal justice systems and policing

This could be seen as the 'classical' approach to problems of crime and violence. This is because the criminal justice systems and policing were seen to be the main societal tools designed to address the problems of crime and violence before the broadening of the response agenda in recent years. However, criminal justice and police systems are often perceived by the public at large as being part of the problem rather than the solution. Problems that have been experienced have included corruption in such systems, inflexibility of response to changing criminal circumstances, limited resources and skills in relation to the needs of the job, and ineffective practices. All of these issues require sustained efforts to address them, and a willingness to try new ideas. Examples of the latter include changing policing models to those with a stronger community focus, provision of uniformed security presence in public spaces to augment police resources, and models of restorative justice which emphasize means of restoring to victims or to society at large something of what has been damaged by criminal acts.

Box 4 The role of the women's safety audit in Durban (eThekwini), South Africa

The inspiration for undertaking a women's safety audit in Durban came from the discussion of best practice in this area at the first International Women Seminar held in Montreal in 2002. The pilot project was conducted in KwaMakutha, a peri-urban area experiencing both high levels of social crime and unemployment. The process entailed going out and identifying problems on site, as well as a needs assessment and a strategic planning workshop undertaken with service providers. The key environmental factors that were taken into account in this process were lighting, signage, isolation, movement predictors, entrapment sites, escape routes, maintenance and overall design. Since the pilot project was undertaken, this process has been extended to other parts of the city as part of Durban's partnership approach to tackling rising levels of crime and violence. Although this approach has not eradicated crime, it has managed to contain it in comparison with previous experiences.

The key challenges that the auditing process faced included getting local authorities to buy into it; establishing and developing the necessary relationship between local authorities and local communities; and effective implementation. This latter point was seen to be particularly significant. This is because of the risk of disillusion and eventual apathy on the part of the community if nothing happened after all the effort that had been expended in the process. Much of the action that was identified in specific localities involved applying the principles of CPTED, and thus one of the important tasks was the need to train city employees who would need to be involved in the implementation of the principles of CPTED.

Source: Zambuko and Edwards, 2007

In Hong Kong, changes that have occurred in the styles and processes of policing since the 1960s appear to have been an important factor in the achievement and maintenance of Hong Kong's low crime rates. The essential change here has been a move away from a traditional 'command-and-control' approach and towards the evolution of a more community-based approach to policing.

One related type of initiative that seems to be becoming more common is the use of uniformed security staff in public places. An example of this initiative is the regeneration of Bryant Park, New York. During the 1980s, the park had become a major problem area and was described by local businesses as being a 'war zone'. However, a series of physical and social improvements have turned around both public perception of the park and its economic impact on the surrounding area. One of these improvements has been the establishment of a visible security presence in the park. While in the real sense, uniformed security staff are not part of the police force, it is important to note that uniformed security staff can convey to the public the same sense of presence as police officers do and, in practice, can provide a level of visibility that stretched policing resources are unable to achieve.

One development that has been visible in several parts of the world is the idea of restorative justice. This is based on ideas that were originally part of tribal or clan-based cultures that stand the risk of disappearing in the face of modernization. For example, in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, there is significant public support for reconnecting with former tribal systems of justice. The idea here is that the harm caused by criminal behaviour is emphasized, and, as a consequence, restorative justice models encourage communication between the crime victim and the offender in order to facilitate healing, reconciliation and rehabilitation. Similarly, several Latin American countries have also implemented projects of this nature. For example, in 1995 the Colombian government launched two *Casas de Justicia* (Houses of Justice), which are based on face-to-face meetings between parties in conflict and which include the provision of access to legal services for low-income families.

Strategies aimed at reducing risk factors

These approaches tend to focus on groups that are likely to be perpetrators of crime or those that are at risk of being victims of crime. The aim is either to reduce the likelihood of such groups getting involved in criminal activities or to reduce the problems faced by victims. The main elements in strategies designed to achieve the reduction of risk factors are measures to tackle violence against women, programmes to prevent youths, particularly young males, from slipping into a life of crime, as well as

Community support officers have become an important aspect of urban policing

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programmes to help people in both groups who have become victims of crime.

A starting point for many projects that seek to tackle violence against women is the use of women's safety audits. Essentially, these involve exploratory walks by groups of three to six people, mainly women, designed to identify specific problems in the local environment from a woman's safety perspective. At each specific site, participants identify where the potential for crime is high or where women may feel unsafe. This helps to suggest appropriate corrective action. Women's safety audits not only provide valuable information, but also increase awareness of violence against vulnerable groups, and help decision makers to understand how women experience their environments. Box 4 summarizes the experience of Durban in this regard.

Strategies designed to show young people that there are better alternatives, and to encourage them to experience employment opportunities, or engage in sporting or cultural activities in preference to a life of crime, are increasingly becoming popular. The value of such

strategies can be seen in both their short-term and long-term effects. In the short term, strategies of this nature can deflect young people away from criminal activities and therefore can positively affect one of the groups most prone to crime. There are examples of short-term successes of this in Kingston, Jamaica, where in the Grants Pen area the creation of a peace park has provided recreational opportunities for young people that were previously absent and contributed to a lowering of the murder rate in the area. In the long term, such strategies offer the possibility that individuals who benefit from them will contribute more fully and effectively towards the development of their community and society than would otherwise have been the case, thus becoming much less of a burden to overstretched police and criminal justice systems.

Non-violent resolution of conflicts

The non-violent resolution of conflicts is more of an approach to issues based upon a particular moral philoso-

Billboard campaign in support of community policing

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phy than a specific policy response to crime and violence. This approach is about achieving results by means other than violence. It has been extensively used as a philosophical idea by the labour, peace, environmental and women's movements. It is also an important philosophy in relation to education, where conflict resolution education is part of the curriculum in many schools and where conflict resolution techniques are applied to the resolution of many of the difficulties experienced by pupils. The avoidance of violence in schools is an important issue in its own right, not least because of its potential for inculcating appropriate habits among young people, but also because it is central to the effective functioning of the school itself and to the quality of the educational experience that it offers its pupils.

There appear to be three broad approaches to conflict resolution education:

- *Process curriculum:* this is where educators teach the principles and processes of conflict resolution as a distinct lesson or course.
- *Peer mediation:* this is where trained youth mediators work with their peers to find resolutions to conflicts.
- *Peaceable classroom and peaceable school:* these approaches incorporate conflict resolution within the core subjects of the curriculum and within classroom and institutional management processes.

An important feature of approaches of this nature is that they seek to involve everyone connected with the unit of

management in question (e.g. individual class or whole school), irrespective of their roles. Peaceable school approaches challenge both youth and adults to act on the understanding that a diverse, non-violent society is a realistic goal.

Strengthening of social capital

This includes improving the ability of people, groups and communities as a whole to challenge the problems of crime and violence and the provision of community facilities that facilitate or provide more opportunities for processes of this nature. Elements of approaches to the strengthening of social capital can be found in many of other policy responses since this seems to be a very common factor in crime prevention programmes that combine several of these approaches. Strengthening of social capital is not only about improving the ability of groups and communities to respond positively to problems of crime and violence, but is also about the creation of community assets that assist with these processes. Efforts to improve social capital relates to what the city offers its residents in terms of education, employment, sporting and cultural activities. All of these are likely to be helpful in tackling (youth) crime and violence because they improve opportunities to participate positively in the life of the city, and offer positive lifestyle alternatives to individuals.

There are several examples in individual UN-Habitat Safer City Programmes that can be seen as including the creation of social capital. These include:

- Durban, where urban renewal efforts have concentrated on areas with the highest rates of poverty, unemployment and violent crime, with several projects in these areas that provide employment opportunities for local youth;
- Dar es Salaam, where pilot projects have included employment creation and skills training for youth; and
- support for street lighting initiatives, as well as for improvement of community and recreation facilities in slums (Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Douala).

There can be little doubt about the importance of activities of this nature because they address some of the underlying causes of crime and violence in cities by offering youths a better alternative.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Not all crimes can be ameliorated by strategies described in the preceding sections, which are especially suitable for implementation at the local level. For instance, crimes such as trafficking of drugs, arms and people need to be tackled at a much broader scale, often cutting across the boundaries of several countries. In this regard, international cooperation and mechanisms have an important part to play in tackling such crimes. They also have an important role in setting principles and guidelines for addressing issues of crime and insecurity at city level, through city-wide processes and strategies, and for supporting local initiatives and international exchanges and learning. Some of these mechanisms are described below.

United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime

The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime was signed by just under 150 member states between December 2000 and December 2002. The convention seeks to standardize terminology and concepts in order to create a common basis for national crime-control frameworks, and commits signatories to a series of actions. These include adopting domestic laws and practices designed to prevent or suppress organized crime; confiscating illegally acquired assets; adopting an approach to extradition that avoids the creation of 'safe havens'; mutual legal assistance; the adoption of measures to protect victims and witnesses; programmes of technical cooperation; financial and material assistance to help developing nations implement the convention; and the establishment of a regular conference to review progress.

There are three important characteristics of this convention: the commitment to specific actions that signature entails; the recognition that not all nations are equally placed to implement the convention and, thus, the creation of a mechanism to help developing nations; and the recognition of the need for a standing review mechanism. There is no suggestion that a framework of this nature will of itself resolve all the difficult problems associated with tackling transnational crime, but there can be little doubt that such a mechanism as a vehicle for encour-

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Box 5 The Safer Nairobi Initiative

The strategy involves a two-year action plan based upon four pillars:

- better enforcement of existing laws and by-laws;
- improvement of urban design and the environment;
- community empowerment; and
- socially oriented measures providing support for groups at risk, including children, youth, women and street families.

The major elements of the strategy are:

- the adoption and implementation of a local safety action plan;
- local diagnoses of insecurity, involving a crime victimization study, youth offender profiling and a study of violence against women;
- extensive discussion of survey findings with stakeholders groups, including communities, the private sector, women's groups;
- a city-wide residents convention held in 2003 that approved the city-wide crime prevention strategy, later endorsed by the City Council;
- the establishment of an interdepartmental committee on safety and security within the city council under the auspices of the mayor;

- safety audits conducted in key locations;
- launch of a Safer Spaces and Streets Campaign with two pilot projects;
- publication of a quarterly newsletter on city safety and security;
- establishment of a local coordinating team and office;
- progressive development of action-oriented partnerships;
- broad-based stakeholder consultations and reviews;
- training and exchange visits; and
- lighting up of Nairobi's slums and streets.

It is still too early to draw overall conclusions on the success of the programme since it is trying to combat what are, in some cases, quite long-term trends and since it is seeking not merely to undertake specific projects targeted at specific problems, but also to change the ways in which crime and public safety issues are tackled in Nairobi. But what is already clear is that there have been some specific successes – for example, the programme of lighting Nairobi's streets and slums is seen as a success both in aesthetic terms and in addressing some of the people's fear of crime and violence. In addition, the problems of youth-related crime (including its street-life elements) are not only better understood, but are also being tackled through a longer-term strategy.

Source: Masese, 2007

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aging appropriate cooperation between nations is of considerable importance.

International Criminal Police Organization

Another international initiative is the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol), which has 186 member countries. A key role of Interpol is to increase and improve international law enforcement in order to combat all forms of organized crime, including illicit drug production and trafficking, weapons smuggling, trafficking in human beings, money laundering, child pornography and white collar crime, as well as high-tech crime and corruption. Its functions entail the creation and operation of secure global police communications services; the maintenance and development of operational databases and data

services for police organizations; and the provision of operational police support services. As many aspects of crime have become internationalized, so the need for police forces to be well connected internationally and to work harmoniously with other police forces in seeking to address common problems has become more significant. Interpol plays an important role in supporting and facilitating these processes.

UN-Habitat Safer Cities Programme

An example of a form of international cooperation mechanism which tackles crime and violence as issues of good urban governance is the UN-Habitat Safer Cities Programme. The programme, which was launched in 1996, has crime prevention as its main focus. It recognizes

that crime and insecurity have been strongly affected by the impact of urbanization, and as such, have become a major preoccupation for many countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific as well as Latin America and the Caribbean. The programme's initial focus was on Africa, at the request of a group of African city mayors who were concerned about the extent of violence in their cities and wanted help with the development of prevention strategies. This provided a learning ground upon which the programme adapted, piloted and tested various tools within an internationally recognized municipal framework and approach to crime prevention.

Although the implementation of the programme in different cities varies according to the characteristics and requirements of the particular locality, the essence of the approach is broadly common, with emphasis on attitudinal change and governance processes. Its key activities are:

- strengthening the capacities of local authorities to address urban safety issues and reduce delinquency and insecurity;
- promoting holistic crime prevention approaches implemented in collaboration with central and local authorities, the criminal justice system, the private sector and civil society;
- developing tools and documentation to support local initiatives;
- encouraging city networks in order to exchange experiences;
- preparing and implementing capacity-building programmes, and bringing in qualified and experienced partners from elsewhere to help; and
- focusing on three main action areas, in particular: developing social crime prevention approaches targeting groups at risk; developing situational crime prevention approaches targeting public spaces; and supporting reform of the criminal justice system.

Safer Cities programmes in individual cities have been developed within a democratic framework in the fight against crime based on three principles: law enforcement for all, solidarity and crime prevention. The experience of Nairobi, Kenya in the implementation of the Safer Cities Programme is summarized in Box 5.

To date, Safer Cities initiatives are well under way in several African cities (Johannesburg, Durban, Dar es Salaam, Abidjan, Antananarivo, Dakar, Yaoundé, Douala and Nairobi). The programme has been extended to Latin America, Asia and Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea). The initiative caters for an increasing need for exchange of information, knowledge and good practice between national, regional and local governments as well as civil society and non-government organizations, but also at the international level. The Safer Cities Programme is an example of an international initiative that is locally applied, and which is essentially about improved local governance. It includes local capacity building and provides a framework within which the ability of local communities to tackle their own problems is improved over time. It is also about the establishment of a culture of prevention so that key issues are identified and tackled through activities that engage a wide range of key partners and local residents.

CONCLUSION: SOME EMERGING POLICY TRENDS

Several emerging trends are evident in the policy responses to urban crime and violence. These are:

- the move away from the idea that crime prevention and tackling violence are essentially matters for the police and the criminal justice system, and towards the idea that these are complex phenomena with a range of causes that require equally broadly based responses;
- as an important part of this process, four of the six groupings of policy responses have attracted particular interest — enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance; community-based approaches; the reduction of risk factors; and the strengthening of social capital;
- the move away from *ad hoc* initiatives, and towards more programmatic approaches encompassing some or all of the approaches described above, backed up by broad strategies and by a detailed study of the issues on the ground;
- the use of the partnership mechanism as a key vehicle for delivering programmes of this nature;

- the growing recognition of the need to adapt solutions to local circumstances, rather than to borrow uncritically from elsewhere;

- the growing (although as yet still too limited) acceptance of the need for the honest evaluation of initiatives and for publicizing such material.

REDUCING URBAN CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight some of the most helpful ways forward for urban areas in seeking to tackle issues of crime and violence, based on the discussion of the policies in the last chapter. This chapter starts by exploring the potential of the six groupings of policy responses to crime and violence, as well as the future utility of the emerging policy trends. It also looks at some of the key issues for implementing policy since it is clear that one of the key challenges in this field is the need to find effective ways of putting them into practice. Thereafter, some of the key issues that relate to the future of the UN-Habitat Safer Cities Programme are presented. Finally, the broad propositions of this chapter are summarized.

SCOPE FOR THE CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT OF KEY POLICY RESPONSES

The last chapter identified six groups of policy responses to urban crime and violence as follows:

- enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance;
- community-based approaches to enhancing urban safety and security;

- strengthening formal criminal justice systems and policing;
- reduction of risk factors;
- non-violent resolution of conflicts; and
- strengthening of social capital.

Each of these is discussed briefly in terms of its potential to contribute effectively to addressing crime and violence in urban areas.

Enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance

Some of the most helpful ways forward for enhancing urban safety and security through effective urban planning, design and governance can be seen as follows:

■ Building crime prevention into new and existing environments

There are usually two primary elements to processes of this nature: building crime prevention considerations into the design processes that shape new development, and revisiting problematic existing built environments where there is the possibility that reshaping these might reduce the crime problems that they are experiencing. This latter element is often given less attention than the former; but in most societies the amount of new development under consideration is on a much smaller scale than the extent

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Box 6 Urban planning and design and municipal service delivery initiatives in Safer Cities programmes in African cities

UN-Habitat's range of planning, design and municipal service delivery initiatives have been grouped together under seven broad headings; the key actions in each instance are summarized as follows:

- Integration of safety principles within the planning or upgrading of neighbourhoods, public places and street furniture, including planning for mixed uses (including, in some cases, a multiplicity of uses) and animation, signage and physical access, vision and lighting, frequency of use and access to help, as well as safety audits.
- Surveillance of streets, equipment and public spaces through formal and informal mechanisms, including CCTV and patrols of various kinds (usually by community-based organizations rather than the police), incentives for increased human presence throughout the day, and partnerships with private security service providers.
- Design and intervention in neighbourhoods, including lighting, access roads, cleaning and waste removal, removal of abandoned vehicles, elimination of graffiti, and the maintenance and repair of street equipment.
- Management of markets and public ways, including updating, integration and enforcement of municipal by-laws, urban renewal of particular areas, and interaction and dialogue with retailers' and hawkers' associations.
- Management of traffic and parking, including updating, integration and enforcement of municipal by-laws, specialized squads and car guards, and sensitization campaigns.
- Control of bars, including the regulation of opening and closing hours, the periodic control both of juveniles and of activities, and promoting the responsibility of owners.
- Securing homes and neighbourhoods, including sensitization campaigns on safety measures, technical assistance to homeowners and tenants, surveillance and mutual assistance between neighbours, neighbourhood watch activities, and access to help.

Source: UN-Habitat, 2006, p33

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of development that already exists. Consequently, it is important that attention should not be focused exclusively on new development.

■ Designing with crime prevention in mind

The basic requirement for an approach of this nature is that the design process needs to think from the outset about the possible criminal use of the buildings and spaces being created. In other words, design should not just be about the aesthetics and the functionality of what is being created, but should also be about how people can occupy and use it safely and about how criminals might abuse it for their own ends. Persuading designers and developers to think about crime prevention as an integral part of the design process would be a huge step forward. So the starting point must be that it would be highly desirable if design processes took account of safety considerations and of the possibility of criminal misuse from first principles.

■ Planning with crime prevention in mind

Planning systems can also play an important role in this process through policies and practices that promote thinking about crime prevention and through their role in

controlling development. In many parts of the world, planning systems are relatively recent arms of urban governance, struggling with limited resources and problems of access to sufficient skilled personnel. Many planners, faced with this situation, will undoubtedly be tempted to feel that being expected to start thinking about issues of crime prevention is yet another pressure on them.

Urban safety and security can be enhanced through effective urban planning

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Nevertheless, thinking about how planning can contribute to crime prevention is important because there is ample evidence from citizen feedback studies that crime and safety are top priorities in residential neighbourhoods. This issue is undoubtedly a challenge for planners, their professional bodies and for the process of planning education since crime prevention has not achieved prominence in planning dialogues.

■ Integrating crime prevention within planning policy and practice

In most planning systems, an important step in the chain of effective action is the need to create planning policy tools that planners can apply consistently and with the expectation that their actions will be supported. The starting point is the need to get basic policies about planning for crime prevention written into development plans and associated documents since both shape how planners deal with submitted applications for permission to develop and send out messages to the development community about what the planning system is looking for.

■ Integrating urban safety within planning and service delivery

The starting point for this has to be a recognition that, in many instances, the existing structures of urban governance had not done much of this kind of work before. Thus, introducing what are new processes and practices is likely to be a long-term process, raising important issues of skills, resources, training and staff development, as well as causing debates about priorities for planning systems. The wide range of planning, design and municipal service delivery initiatives based on the experience of the Safer Cities Programmes in African Cities summarized in Box 6 provides a good indication of the kinds of initiatives that are possible.

Community-based approaches to enhancing urban safety and security

There is considerable scope for beneficial development of community-based approaches in enhancing urban safety and security, such as neighbourhood watch initiatives or community policing. This needs to be seen in terms of opportunities, rather than in terms of problems, and must be approached realistically, which means properly under-

Formal criminal justice and policing systems are key contributors to the fight against crime and violence

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standing the local circumstances. There is no point in drawing idealistic conclusions about what local communities are capable of achieving and then criticizing them for failing to live up to these ideals. However, there is every point in taking the view that community capabilities are not static, but can be developed through appropriate training, information, support and opportunity. Consequently, programmes to develop community capability need to sit alongside appropriate contemporary programmes of community engagement.

Strengthening formal criminal justice and policing

It is important that the police and the criminal justice systems are 'fit for purpose' in a rapidly changing and modernizing world, and are seen as key contributors to the fight against crime and violence. An important part of initiatives of this nature is the need to address corruption in these systems wherever it exists. Key elements of such action are likely to include the active participation of senior managers in police and criminal justice organizations in such debates, the appropriate allocation of resources and political support for action, and a willingness to try new approaches where it is clear that existing approaches are not working well enough.

It is important that programmes aimed at strengthening the police, particularly in developing countries, should also address their welfare and poor conditions of service. In many developing countries, the police earn a pittance, and often lack the appropriate equipment to carry out their duties. In countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, South Africa and Kenya, members of the police force have not been spared from the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Furthermore, the living conditions in most police accommodation are appalling.

Prison reforms are one of the key policy areas through which central governments can contribute to tackling crime and violence. There can be little doubt that it is possible for recidivism rates to be significantly reduced as a consequence of a much greater concentration on rehabilitation during periods in prison. This will have a beneficial impact on urban crime because a high proportion of crime is committed by previous offenders.

Prison reform is one of the key policy areas through which governments can tackle crime and violence

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Further examples of actions to strengthen the formal criminal justice and policing systems, which form an important component of the Safer Cities Project in African cities are summarized in Box 7.

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Box 8 The place of non-traditional approaches to crime and violence in UN-Habitat Safer Cities programmes
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UN-Habitat Safer Cities Programme activities target three main types of prevention:

- situational prevention – crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED);
- institutional prevention – support to new and alternative forms of justice and policing;
- social prevention – actions aimed particularly at groups at risk.

In addition, the following are the other significant areas of activity:

- promoting local authority leadership and responsibility for urban safety as part of good urban governance;
- supporting crime prevention partnerships and initiatives implemented in collaboration with local authorities, the criminal justice system, the private sector and civil society in order to address urban insecurity issues successfully and in sustainable ways;
- building city networks to share knowledge, expertise and good practices that can be replicated in other cities and regions;
- conducting training and capacity building for local authorities and other stakeholders;
- disseminating lessons learned in collaboration with partners in the North and South.

Source: UN-Habitat, undated, p3

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Reduction of risk factors: targeting youth and women

It is important that thinking about problems of this nature does not only begin at the time when young people leave school, given that in some settings, children as young as six years are recruited into gangs. One of the potential developments in this field is the need for closer and more effective liaison between the work of educational services and work that targets young people in order to try to prevent them from offending so that the transition between the two is seamless. Another issue that is commonly faced is how young people manage the transition from school to work. There is considerable scope to improve cooperation between schools, local employers and youth-related services. The aims of these sorts of activities would be to improve work experience and training opportunities of many types, and to emphasize both the importance and the value of an economically active lifestyle in preference to one dominated by crime and violence.

In preventing violence against women, the key element of importance is the fact that such violence needs to be perceived as a serious issue by policy makers and leaders at all levels. A systemic approach to tackling violence against women needs to be developed and deployed. Women's rights and measures against violence have also to be reflected in the law, as in many contexts legislation is still very wanting in terms of protecting women from violence. In terms of interventions, the priority would have to be sensitization of policy makers and access of women to decision-making processes. Other interventions of relevance should target underlying factors, such as conceptions of masculinity, cultural definitions of women's roles and rights in society, capacity of law enforcement and other actors to carry out early interventions and to deal with offenders.

Non-violent resolution of conflicts

There is, as yet, only limited evidence that can be drawn upon in discussing what the future role of programmes of this nature might be. However, there are two possible areas where this approach might have much to contribute. The first is as part of managing the transition of young people from a school environment to the world of work and other social, community or sporting activities. The second example relates to efforts to tackle the problem of prisons becoming 'universities for crime'. This needs to be seen alongside programmes to improve prison conditions and to enhance rehabilitation efforts, rather than as a substitute for initiatives of this kind.

Strengthening social capital

A critical issue in many initiatives of this nature is that of maintenance of facilities. Typically, this can be problematic because while the provision of new facilities usually involves finding capital resources for investment at a particular time, their ongoing maintenance involves locating revenue to carry out essential tasks on a continuous basis. This often seems to be trickier than the initial task of raising capital resources because it is a continuing commitment that has not always been clearly thought through at the time of initiating the project. Where maintenance fails, facilities then become neglected, vandalized or underutilized. There is the risk that this can undermine the good work done up until then and send out very negative messages about the communities in which such facilities are located. There are ways in which issues of this nature can be addressed without being totally dependent upon the public budget. One of these is the use of sponsorship. An example of this is the Nairobi Adopt a Light initiative, which sought to address the widespread feelings of insecurity brought about by poor or non-existent street lighting. In order to fill an important gap in public service provision by improving street lighting in major streets and by adding high-mast lighting into Nairobi's slum districts, sponsors are invited to pay an agreed annual sum to adopt a light pole in return for their advertisement being hoisted on that pole. This project has been well received by firms and advertisers since its commencement in August 2002.

THE FUTURE OF THE EMERGING POLICY TRENDS

Broadening the range of responses to problems of crime and violence

The main strength of broadening the range of responses is that it appears to be appropriate to the task in hand. A related strength is that, by definition, broadening the range of responses to problems of crime and violence also extends the numbers of people and groups who are involved in processes of this kind, and thus adds to both the range of possible responses they might identify and to the numbers of people who are prepared to participate in implementing chosen actions. This process seems likely to continue, with an ever-widening search for 'non-tradi-

tional' responses to go alongside the work of the police and the criminal justice system. It is important that these are seen as complementary activities rather than as alternatives, with the modernization of the 'traditional' services being accompanied by a range of other responses often tied together in comprehensive programmes.

Developing policies and practices in 'non-traditional' areas

There is considerable scope for developing policies and practices in 'non-traditional' areas and to apply the lessons that have been learned by those cities that have attempted such initiatives much more widely. It is important that rapidly urbanizing cities try to adopt practices across this range of activities, so that thinking about problems of crime and violence is built into processes of coping with these pressures. The extent to which non-traditional approaches to crime and violence have become well-established is illustrated by the main areas of activity promoted via UN-Habitat's Safer Cities approach, which are summarized in Box 8. The box shows a combination of traditional and non-traditional approaches, with a strong emphasis on process issues, an emphasis on the leadership role of local authorities working in collaboration with a wide range of partners, and recognition of the need to build capacities in order to make people and processes more effective.

The move away from *ad hoc* approaches and towards more programmatic approaches

This is part of the response to the multidimensional nature of crime and violence in urban societies. There are several characteristics involved in making such approaches successful. These include:

- a careful audit of the main crime and violence issues that are experienced in the locality;
- an approach to tackling these issues that has both clear strategic intentions and specific action plans/programmes;
- effective public consultation practices and a good level of community support for the proposed actions;
- a partnership framework that draws key stakeholders together, generates real commitment from them, and
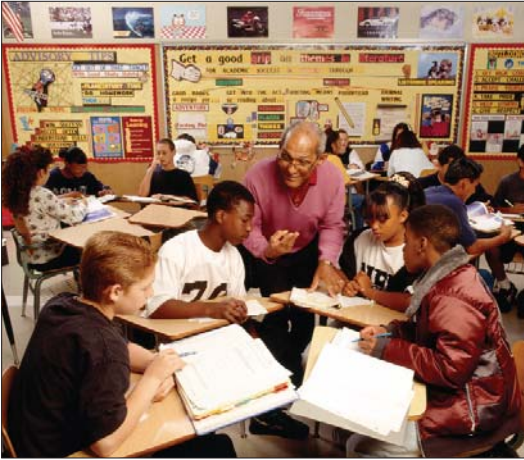
Programmes that target young people in order to prevent them from offending are particularly effective

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encourages them to address how their own mainstream activities can support this work;

- a long-term perspective in recognition of the fact that it is unlikely that all problems will be resolved quickly, together with a commitment to achieve some early successes;
- an innovative approach to providing resources for programme work that does not just rely on what will inevitably be limited public budgets; and
- a firm commitment to evaluation and the publication of results on a regular basis so that the programme can be adjusted, where necessary.

Partnership mechanism

The use of partnerships in tackling the problems of crime and violence is not an automatic guarantee of success, but is critically dependent upon how it is done in each set of circumstances. Key questions for partnerships to address in seeking to understand whether they add value in this context are as follows:

- How is partnership membership determined, and what sort of commitment to the process does this entail?
- How is the partnership process led, and how widely accepted is this approach to leadership?

- What resources are available to the partnership to enable it to do its work?
- How does the partnership see its relationships with key sectors in the community?
- Is this a partnership which is about action as well as about discussion?
- Has the partnership achieved effective buy-in from all sectors to what it is trying to do?
- Is the partnership committed to evaluation and to the discussion of evaluation results?
- Is the partnership dominated by a small number of powerful members, or can all partners influence events irrespective of their backgrounds?
- Do partners accept and welcome challenges to the territories of key members?

These questions do not deal with every issue about the work of partnerships, but they are derived from the main criticisms that have been made about partnerships.

Adaptation to local circumstances rather than uncritical borrowing

There have been many examples of projects that have been implemented in a locality because they have been seen elsewhere and have been copied without any proper evaluation of the original project and without any understanding of the extent to which the apparent success of the project was dependent upon a particular set of local circumstances. Many projects of this nature have failed to work. From this experience has come a greater willingness to recognize that borrowing what appear to be good ideas must be dependent upon an understanding of the particular context in which they were originally applied and a recognition of the necessity to think carefully about how they might need to be adapted to local circumstances.

The importance of evaluation

The evaluation of programmes to tackle urban crime and violence is of paramount importance. This is because much of what is done in this field is either not evaluated, is assessed in the most perfunctory manner, or is declared to be successful without much evidence to support such a claim. The review by UN-Habitat of the experience of delivering Safer Cities strategies in African cities not only reinforces this point, but also focuses on the different

kinds of evaluative activity needed at various stages of the Safer Cities process. These are follows:

- at the stage of the initial assessment of the issues;
- when thinking about whether the strategy actually seeks to address the issues identified;
- whether goals are being achieved;
- whether individual projects are succeeding given the different timeframes to which they relate;
- whether the implementation process is effective;
- whether partnership structures continue to be fit for purpose; and
- whether the partnership process itself is operating appropriately.

The importance of identifying this multiplicity of evaluation activities is that it sees evaluation not just as a set of activities at the end of the process, but as something that is integral to the process itself at several stages.

SOME OF THE CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTATION

In highlighting the challenges of implementation, emphasis has been placed on the importance of considering the local circumstances. This is because without careful consideration of the particular circumstances in which something is going to be applied, there can be no guarantee that what has worked well elsewhere can be transplanted effectively. The five more systemic implementation challenges are:

- Defining appropriate institutional structures for action — where two key issues appear to be the central role of local authorities in providing leadership and the need for pragmatic approaches to issues such as boundaries and the involvement of various tiers of government.
- Involving and mobilizing local communities — where the key issue is for all parties to recognize the value of working with communities and to enter into such initiatives wholeheartedly as a consequence. The central concern here is that the value of this kind of action needs to be fully understood and fully committed to, and not undertaken as an act of tokenism or in

the most minimal ways.

- Capacity building at the local level — where the key issue is to think about the various types of capacities that need to be developed.
- One of the most important tasks that partnerships and other implementing agencies need to undertake early in the process of tackling crime and violence is an assessment of the extent to which what they want to do might be limited by the capacities of the relevant organizations and individuals.
- Integrating crime prevention into urban development whereby crime and violence increasingly becoming subjects of concern for urban development interventions and policies. Various ways of achieving this include:
  – Systematically include crime and violence among issues to be analysed in urban development and investment needs, including City Development Strategies.
  – Development interventions and policies should be subjected, as much as possible, to crime impact assessment.
  – Involving the police in the formulation of policies and projects. The experience of the UK in relation to the collaboration between the police and planning authorities indicates the potential of such collaboration.
- Effective international support for initiatives against crime and violence — which is about both the continuation of international cooperation against international crime and direct action to help individual cities not just in terms of financial resources but also in terms of skills, including helping with capacity-building initiatives.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UN-HABITAT SAFER CITIES PROGRAMME

Although more cities in the developing world are signing up for Safer Cities initiatives, there is little doubt that more cities could benefit from this kind of participation. By its nature, the Safer Cities model is about a long-term process, and a key issue is whether progress in individual cities can be accelerated in order to maintain momentum and commitment and to demonstrate clear signs of

progress. This appears to be a function of the different situations to be found on the ground among participating cities. All of these challenges inevitably raise resource issues, both for individual cities and for UN-HABITAT as a whole. Apart from targeted support from a wider range of countries, an initiative which might help in this context is to think about how Safer Cities partnerships might themselves be paired with partnerships in other parts of the world that have relevant experience to offer, and which can help them to overcome some of these challenges by playing a mentoring role.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: WAYS FORWARD

Positive ways forward to address the problems of crime and violence in the rapidly growing urban areas of the developing world can be summarized as follows:

- The 'traditional' approach to these problems, which is to see them as being the primary responsibility of the police and the criminal justice system, has increasingly been replaced by an approach that recognizes the necessity for a broad-based response.
- Nonetheless, it is important that the police and the criminal justice system are 'fit for purpose' in the modern world, and are seen as key contributors to the fight against crime and violence. Improvements in these 'traditional' areas should be seen as being complementary to the new approaches being developed in 'non-traditional' fields.
- Four 'non-traditional' areas have been the main focus of attention to date: urban planning, design and governance contributions; community-based approaches; reducing key risk factors; and strengthening social capital. There is considerable scope to continue and extend work in these areas.

- Less attention has been paid to applying the idea of the non-violent resolution of conflicts. There is scope for the further exploration of this idea.
- The combination of several of these approaches into a systematic programme, driven by a broad strategy and based upon a careful understanding of the local context, seems more likely to be successful than the *ad hoc* application of individual initiatives.
- The preferred mechanism to support this approach is the partnership mechanism. To be fully effective, partnerships need to address a series of questions about their operation, and partners need to buy fully into 'the spirit of partnership'.
- The transfer of ideas between cities has much to offer, but it needs to be thought about carefully in the specific context rather than applied uncritically.
- A greater level of commitment to evaluation as a process is still required, and there needs to be more open reporting of evaluation results, including in areas where problems have been experienced.
- The best institutional structures are those which succeed in getting key players together, who are committed not just to the collaborative process but also to exploring how the mainstream work of their own organizations can contribute to this process.
- Local communities need to be fully involved in these processes, not just in the sense of being consulted but also as generators and implementers of projects.
- Capacity building is central to the idea that work in this field is about doing better in the longer term as well as in the shorter term.
- International support can help cities in targeted ways, including financial support for particular initiatives, providing capacity-building support, making appropriate expertise available via secondment arrangements, and various kinds of mentoring activities.

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