

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention: a Short Presentation

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Abstract

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet, BRÅ) is a centre for research and development work within the justice system and is to provide assistance to the agencies of the criminal justice system in improving their knowledge and developing their methods to combat and to prevent crime.

In this article a summary of the operations of the Council – with a focus on the year 2004 – is presented. It is shown that a

great number of evaluation projects have been conducted (e.g. of electronic monitoring of offenders). Another way in which the Council can contribute is working to develop various instruments that can be used to measure the effects of different parts of the criminal justice system. As an example, a routine measure of repeat victimization at the regional and local level for different crime types, is being developed.

In order to maintain a national centre of expertise in

the broad area of economic and organized crime, a special secretariat has been established. Its focus is directed at the area of prevention, ranging from strategies to methods. Finally, the Council has the responsibility to support local crime prevention work and mediation at the local level.

The article also points out some challenges for the future.

KEY WORDS: Crime prevention, Reform evaluation, Knowledge base, Crime policy

A body of expertise within the justice system

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brottsförebyggande rådet, BRÅ) was established in 1974 as part of the Government's endeavours to counter public concern about the crime trends witnessed during the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s. At the time, the view was put forward from many sides that there ought to be a public organization which represented a broader criminal justice policy with a special focus on crime prevention.

BRÅ is an agency working under the Ministry of Justice, is a centre for research and development work within the justice system and is to provide

assistance to the agencies of the justice system in improving their knowledge and developing their methods. The results of the Council's work are to be utilizable as a basis for decision makers within the justice system and by Parliament and the Government. The agency also serves a staff function for the Government in relation to crime policy issues, which involves being able to respond at short notice and taking care of various commissions and other tasks that the Government needs to have carried out. One example of this area of BRÅ's work involves the presentation of an integrated analysis of crime trends, which includes an account of the types of crime that may require the introduction of special measures.

BRÅ is managed by a board, consisting of ten members and two staff representatives. The board is appointed by the Government. The Council is headed by the Director-General and the number of staff with permanent appointments is close to 60. In addition, a scientific board and an advisory group are attached to BRÅ.

BRÅ's operations may be divided into four different areas of activity. These correspond in turn with the areas of responsibility covered by the agency's four specialist divisions, whose respective operations are to focus in particular on:

- contributing to improving the development of knowledge in the area of crime policy, with a particular focus on improving the knowledge and methodological development of the agencies of the justice system, taking national and international research into consideration (*Research and Development Division*)
- evaluating the effects of politically adopted reforms of special importance, or of major changes, of other kinds that take place in relation to the operations of the justice system (*Reform Evaluation Division*)
- routinely developing the official justice system statistics and ensuring that the quality of these statistics remains high (*Statistical Division*)
- providing support to the country's local crime prevention councils and working to develop their operations and improving their methodological and knowledge development (*Local Crime Prevention Division*)

Besides these specialist divisions, the agency houses a special secretariat for

studies of economic and organized crime. There are also a number of additional supporting divisions, of which one is responsible for disseminating the findings from the Council's operational activities and seeing that they are utilized by the justice system and other actors in the field of crime prevention. (BRÅ's publications are available for download from the agency's Internet website (at www.bra.se). The Swedish language publications usually contain a relatively comprehensive summary in English.)

The operations of the National Council are primarily steered by the governmental commissions assigned to the agency by the Swedish Government. Many of these extend over a number of years. This is particularly true of commissions relating to the evaluation of reforms and other major changes within the justice system. The majority of these commissions relate to the work of the prison and probation service. One example of this work is the governmental commission to evaluate the use of intensive supervision by means of electronic monitoring, both as an alternative to a prison term of up to six months (front door), and as an element in the prison-release preparations for those serving longer prison sentences (back door). The more comprehensive governmental commissions also include the implementation of a national strategy to reduce car-related crime. Another involves distributing funding to mediation projects and assuming responsibility for issues of training, methodological development and quality assurance in the area of victim-offender mediation.

Thus BRÅ constitutes a body of expertise within the justice system.

There is also a very great demand for BRÅ to participate in various projects initiated by the agencies of the justice system—as experts and specialists or in order to contribute in various ways with the production of a relevant knowledge base. There must therefore also be room for the Council on its own initiative to produce compilations of the available knowledge and to work in other ways to provide expert knowledge that is of use to the agencies of the justice system and other actors in the field of crime prevention. Projects begun on the Council's own initiative during the course of the year are to be developed in consultation with the agencies of the justice system in order to ensure that they meet an explicit need in relation to methodological and knowledge development.

Operations—with a focus on the year 2004

Evaluations of crime policy reforms

One of the goals that the Government has established for the justice system is that of improving the levels of knowledge and methodological development within the agencies of the justice system. One means of achieving this goal is by conducting evaluations. Over the course of the year 2004, BRÅ has worked on eight major evaluation projects, of which five were commissioned by the Government. A selection of these projects is presented below.

BRÅ has been involved in a number of different ways in the development of *intensive supervision by means of electronic monitoring (EM)* ever since this was introduced as an alternative to short prison sentences in the mid 1990s. The agency's role in this area is today that of evaluating the use of this sanctioning

form. On 1 October 2001, the use of electronic supervision was further expanded in Sweden, with the initiation of a three-year trial project that gave persons serving a long prison term the opportunity to serve the final four months of their sentences at home under electronic supervision. The objective is to facilitate the inmates' transition from prison to life in the community. BRÅ has been commissioned by the Government to evaluate this trial project. Two progress reports have been published, one in 2003 and one in 2004 (BRÅ Report 2003:4; BRÅ 2004a). These reports showed that virtually all (94%) who had been granted the opportunity to participate in the project had acted in accordance with the conditions of the programme during their period of electronic supervision. They also showed that the social situation of the participants had improved from the beginning of their period of intensive supervision outside prison.

A final report analysed the effects of the reform in relation to reoffending (BRÅ Report 2005:6). The results show that by comparison with a control group, the proportion of those participating in the electronic supervision programme who reoffend is lower, but that this difference is not statistically significant. For the older half of the group participating in the electronic supervision programme, i.e. those over 37 years of age, the difference is both greater and is statistically significant. The rate of recidivism was 10% lower in this group than in the corresponding control group. Only 6% of the programme participants reoffended, by comparison with 16% of the control group.

The work conducted by BRÅ in relation to the use of *restraining orders* provides another example of the role played by the Council in conducting evaluations and in doing so assisting to improve levels of knowledge and methodological development within the agencies of the justice system. In 2003, the agency presented findings from an evaluation which noted, among other things, that the work of the police was wanting when it came to following up restraining orders to ensure that they were observed (BRÅ Report 2003:2). BRÅ has now been commissioned by the Government to study the extent to which police and prosecutors have improved their routines in this area. The task also involves evaluating the effects of an extension of the Act on restraining orders, which allows the law to specify restrictions over a larger geographical area than was previously the case and also in relation to a shared dwelling.

A third example is found in the Government commission to evaluate a three-year *special initiative to combat drugs within the prison system* that was initiated in the summer of 2002. The objective is to improve the effectiveness of the prison service's efforts focused on drug users, by improving the way in which drug users serving prison sentences are identified, assessed and provided with treatment. A first report was published in 2003 (BRÅ 2003a), which described the implementation of the initiative during its first year. A final report was presented in February 2005 (BRÅ Report 2005:3). In this report, BRÅ evaluated the effects of the initiative on reoffending and relapse into drug use during a one-year follow-up. In

summary, the analysis shows that to date no effects on reoffending can be identified. Nor was there any difference in the length of the time lapse between release from prison and a subsequent conviction during the follow-up period. The only significant difference noted in a positive direction between those released prior to and subsequent to the initiative relates to the group who had been placed in a treatment unit subsequent to the start of the initiative and had participated in the programme. This group reoffended about one month later during the course of their follow-up period than a matched control group.

Developmental work

Another way in which the agency can contribute to improving the methodological and knowledge development of the agencies of the justice system, is by means of research and development work other than evaluations. Amongst other things, the agency is working to develop various instruments that can be used to measure the effects of different measures and which contribute to other forms of improvement in the area of knowledge development. A number of examples of this work are provided below.

As a result of the fact that the Council has over recent years been assigned a number of different governmental commissions involving amongst other things studying the effects of various justice system initiatives on levels of reoffending, BRÅ has developed an *instrument* (FRAS) that has *inter alia* improved conditions for evaluations to follow-up the extent to which targets set in relation to the reduction of reoffending have been achieved. With the assistance of FRAS,

persons convicted of offences may be divided into groups on the basis of their reoffending risk. This then allows for a group's actual level of reoffending to be compared with the calculated expected reoffending risk. A possible next step would be to use the instrument in connection with routine follow-up work within the prison and probation service.

On the commission of the Government, BRÅ presented a report in 2004 as to the police measures focused on various types of crime that research or proven experience has shown to be effective in Sweden (BRÅ 2004b). Amongst other things, the report notes that scientific evaluations are rare in this area in Sweden, and that there is also a significant shortfall of simpler, but nonetheless structured, follow-ups and evaluations. Information is also presented as to areas where experiences are predominantly positive or negative respectively. The results show *inter alia* that to a relatively large extent, the police themselves perceive crime prevention projects that are implemented in collaboration with other actors outside of the justice system to have positive effects. As a consequence of this report, the annual governmental directive to the National Police Board for 2005 included a requirement that the Board present a description of the conclusions it has drawn as to the consequences of the BRÅ report for Swedish police work.

Inspired by amongst other things research conducted in the United Kingdom, BRÅ has shown in previous studies that a small group of crime victims are exposed to crime repeatedly and thus account for a large proportion of all incidents of criminal victimization (BRÅ

2001:3). This phenomenon, known as 'repeat victimization', has been found to occur in connection with several different types of crime. In the course of 2004, the Council established a developmental project to investigate the possibilities of producing *routine measures of repeat criminal victimization at the regional and local levels*. Measures of this kind may be used to provide the country's police authorities with an idea of the extent of repeat victimization in the county where a given police authority conducts its work, and also in connection with the following up of police work. The project has a special focus on violence against women, but attention is also directed at other types of crime.

As is the case in several other countries around Sweden, the inflow of prison and probation service clients, and particularly those entering prisons and remand centres, has increased over a number of years. This increase may *inter alia* be the result of factors such as an increase in the number of offences cleared by the police, the successive transition to later parole releases from prison and sentences involving longer prison terms, not least in relation to cases involving drug offences. In the context of the planning of the work of the prison and probation service, the Government has noted a need for basic knowledge relating to various aspects of future trends in this area. In order to be able to plan well in advance of future developments, there is a need for amongst other things *prognoses that provide an indication of future prison population levels*. BRÅ is therefore working on the commission of the Government to assist the National Prison and Probation Administration

[*Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen*] in their work to develop methods for producing prognoses of future levels of client inflow and prison population. The models that are developed may later form the basis of more comprehensive prognostic models covering additional stages in the judicial process.

Research on organized and economic crime

During the period 1998–2002, BRÅ was commissioned by the Government to assign 26 million SEK (approximately 2.8 million Euro) to the development of Swedish research into economic crime. This resulted in thirty or so research projects at Swedish universities and other institutions of higher education, and at the Council itself. In 2004, BRÅ presented the results produced by these research projects in a publication that has been translated into English in its entirety (BRÅ 2005a).

In order to maintain a national centre of expertise in the broad area of economic crime, a secretariat for studies of economic and organized crime has been established at BRÅ. Its focus is directed at the area of prevention, ranging from strategies to methods. Amongst other things, a report has been published under the title ‘Preventing economic crime’, in which the approaches and principles employed in the prevention of traditional crime are utilized as the point of departure (BRÅ Report 2005:5—this report has also been published in English).

One of the working methods employed at the secretariat involves engaging external researchers in various BRÅ-projects. One example of the use of this strategy is found in a report that

Professor Hazel Croall of Caledonian University in Glasgow was commissioned by BRÅ to write on *how ordinary people are exposed to economic crime in the course of their everyday lives* in the same concrete ways as is the case with traditional crime (BRÅ Report 2004:1). Women and children are not least among the groups affected by these crimes. This perspective is completely new in the context of the Swedish discourse in this area, a factor that constitutes the background to the initiative taken by BRÅ in this regard.

One of the secretariat’s projects involves studying the *organization of drug crime* in Sweden, and proposing crime prevention measures which focus more on the criminal organizations and networks involved than on the crimes themselves. The background to the project is that traditional anti-crime efforts tend to ‘knock out’ individual actors while the crime itself continues. Supplementary prevention methods are therefore required to increase levels of effectiveness. A model developed and formulated in collaboration with researchers working at universities and other institutions of higher education forms the basis for the collection and compilation of the empirical data.

Another project involves a study of *crimes against Sweden’s cultural heritage*, which has been initiated by BRÅ and is being conducted in collaboration with the National Heritage Board [*Riksantikvarieämbetet*] in Sweden and its equivalents in Norway, Denmark and Finland. The project is also being conducted in collaboration with the National Criminal Investigation Department [*Rikskriminalpolisen*], Swedish Customs [*Tullverket*] and the European

police agency Europol. The background to this project is found in amongst other things a wave of thefts from Swedish churches and chapels, particularly in the Norrland region. The extensive, illegal international trade in cultural objects constitutes a further reason underlying the initiation of this work. The project has the goal of formulating a crime preventive action plan and in addition to thefts of cultural objects from *inter alia* museums, local history centres and similar collections, it also focuses on the illegal export of cultural objects, the trade in illegal cultural objects and so forth.

A third project relates to *insurance frauds*. The point of departure for this project is the fact that society supplies personal insurance both via the general forms of social insurance administered by the Social Insurance Administration [*Försäkringskassan*], including sickness benefit, and sickness and disability pensions, and through the private insurance companies, who sell sickness, accident, and group-based life insurance policies. Frauds against personal insurance cost large sums of money since they are often directed at payments that continue over a long period of time. There are also examples of the staging of frauds that have involved both a very large number of individuals and very substantial sums of money.

Together with the National Social Insurance Board [*Riksförsäkringsverket*], the Swedish Insurance Federation [*Försäkringsförbundet*] and the Law Faculty at the University of Lund, BRÅ is working on a project to chart personal insurance frauds in both the private and public sector. The project's goal is to examine how these offences are dealt with across the entire control and

judicial system, i.e. including everything from the Social Insurance Administration's or the private insurance companies' own systems of control, to police reports, criminal investigations and court sentences. The Council is also to examine in more detail the question of which frauds are investigated and why. The quality of the Social Insurance Administration's reporting is also examined, as is the praxis of the courts. The project aims to present a proposal containing measures that may be used by the Social Insurance Administration and insurance companies across the entire country in order to prevent crime and improve levels of efficiency.

Crime structure and crime trends

One of the essential tasks undertaken by BRÅ is that of following and analysing crime trends and structural crime patterns. This work takes place at the national level, but an increasing focus is coming to be directed at the regional and local levels. The Council is responsible for the production and development of Sweden's official crime statistics. In addition to the routine production of these statistics, BRÅ has a number of projects underway whose goal is to develop these statistics. One such developmental project involves contributing to the work that the National Police Board has been commissioned by the Government to carry out in order to *improve the police model for following up results*. A large part of the data required to produce new, joint result measures for the work conducted by the police and prosecutors in connection with criminal investigations is to be found in BRÅ's statistical database. BRÅ also has the competence and

experience required in the area of developing and formulating result-based measures of this kind.

A further project focuses on improving the accessibility of the official statistics, not least at the local level. Against the background of the fact that there has been a high level of demand for a flexibility that would enable end-users themselves to look for relevant statistics, BRÅ has further developed the *statistical pages on the agency's website* (at www.bra.se). The objective of the extensive work that has been conducted in this area has been to adapt these statistical web pages to the needs of actors working with local crime prevention, journalists and the agencies of the justice system, so that they are themselves able to choose the information they wish to examine in a given statistical table. The new interactive system contains statistics relating to offences reported to the police from the year 1975 onwards. From 1995, it is also possible to break down the statistics into quarterly and monthly figures. These statistics are available for the country as a whole, for counties, municipalities, and for city districts within the three metropolitan areas of Sweden. Searches may be conducted on the basis of offence type, region and period. A diagram-drawing function is in the process of being developed at the present time.

The report series Crime Trends has been published by BRÅ since 1976 and has over recent years been published every third year. The most recent edition (BRÅ Report 2004:3) describes and analyses the trends in different types of crime, with the emphasis being placed on these trends over the last few years. The determination of the offence categories

chosen for discussion is based on their either comprising a large number of crimes, or their being often the focus of attention. The report devotes a substantial amount of space to different forms of crime against the person, such as lethal violence, assault and sexual offences. The analyses take the official crime statistics as their point of departure, but other types of statistics and research findings are also employed. The data and analyses presented in the publication may serve as a knowledge base for police and prosecutors, and also for agencies whose work relates to later stages of the judicial process.

The Government has commissioned BRÅ to formulate a plan for how an annual national questionnaire-based crime survey could be conducted and at what cost. BRÅ views a survey series of this kind as very important since it would complement the nationally representative *questionnaire survey of youths' involvement in and exposure to crime* that has been conducted among pupils in their final year of compulsory education (year nine) since 1995. These surveys have been administered by BRÅ since 1999 and the results presented in BRÅ-reports (BRÅ Report 2005:4). The objective of these surveys is to describe how common it is for youths to commit and to be exposed to various forms of theft and violence. The survey series shows that there is a tendency for the proportion of young people participating in crime to have decreased over time, which is particularly clear in relation to theft offending. An additional pattern noted, however, is that the trend in youth crime appears to differ somewhat for different groups. Among those growing up in the context of more socially disadvantaged

conditions, the trend is not as positive as it is among other young people.

Local crime prevention work

In 1996 the Swedish Government formulated a national crime prevention programme that is presented in the publication *Our Collective Responsibility* (Ministry of Justice 1997). The importance of work at the local level constitutes one of the cornerstones of this programme, and in particular the collaboration between agencies of the justice system and local actors such as municipal institutions, associations and the local business community. One idea presented in the programme was that municipal local crime prevention councils could function as contact points for those who want and are able to contribute to reducing crime and increasing levels of safety in the local community.

These local crime prevention councils have come to assume a central and strategic role in the work of crime prevention. In 1998, when BRÅ was given the task of supporting local crime prevention work, there were slightly fewer than 40 such organizations in Sweden. At the beginning of 2005, the agency was in possession of information showing that there are now local crime prevention councils in over 80% of the country's 290 municipalities.

There is a substantial variation in the status, working methods and ambitions of these local crime prevention councils. There are therefore also differences with regard to the levels and the focus of their activities. Some of the councils are still in the process of becoming organized, whereas others have been in operation for a long period of time. BRÅ's preliminary assessment is that the local

crime prevention councils are in need of continued, national knowledge-based support, particularly in relation to the charting of problems, documentation, and follow-up and evaluation work. The Local Crime Prevention Division at BRÅ has the task of developing the work of the local crime prevention councils and of improving the levels of knowledge and the methods employed in this work. In order to carry out this task, the agency has a special allocation of 7.2 million SEK (approximately 785,000 Euro). The provision of support to this work at the local level includes disseminating knowledge on promising crime prevention projects and also contributing to meeting the need for education and training among the local actors involved.

The financial support provided by BRÅ is primarily utilized to initiate various projects and to develop and collect knowledge on local crime prevention work. This provision is made in response to applications from local actors. The financial support is to be employed strategically in order to contribute as much as possible to the development of knowledge in this area.

Guidelines documents constitute one of the central tools employed by BRÅ to contribute to the development of methods and knowledge at the local crime prevention councils. These present proposals for new or improved crime prevention methods and strategies. The agency has published a total of 14 such guidelines documents of which 3 were produced during the course of 2004.

Guidelines document No. 12, *Crime prevention work in practice. 19 local projects*, [*Brottsförebyggande arbete i praktiken. 19 lokala projekt*], published

in the autumn of 2004, presents national and international crime prevention projects and measures introduced at the local level (BRÅ 2004c). The activities described have the objective of preventing and frustrating crime and increasing people's sense of security. These activities are focused on six distinctive areas: public transport, bar and restaurant violence, construction planning, hate crimes, car crime and criminal recidivism.

During the year, Guidelines document No. 13, *Graffiti prevention measures—a guidelines document on parallel thinking* [Klotterförebyggande åtgärder—En idéskrift om att tänka parallellt] (BRÅ 2005b), was also prepared for publication. This document presents a number of different methods that are used in the area of graffiti prevention work. The common denominator for the examples described in the document is that they have been perceived to be successful by those implementing them, which in certain cases has also been borne out by some level of evaluation. The publication concludes with a checklist which is intended to assist those planning to work to prevent graffiti.

Work on Guidelines document No. 14, *Measures to reduce car crime in residential areas* [Åtgärder för att minska bilbrott i bostadsområden] (BRÅ 2005c), was also completed. This document contains concrete descriptions of how local crime prevention work to combat car crime may be planned and implemented. This guidelines document is directed at property companies, local crime prevention councils and others with an interest in working to combat car crime in residential areas. The document's objective is to meet the

need for descriptions of crime prevention measures and to inspire and provide the knowledge base required for successful work to combat car crime.

The agency has also formulated a tutorial document for teachers, intended for use in relation to themed work in years 3–5 of the compulsory school system (BRÅ 2004d). A similar tutorial document had previously been formulated for years 6–9. The objective of this document, which was published at the beginning of 2005, is to stimulate and assist school staff and the local crime prevention councils to work to prevent the sort of crimes that may be common in the school environment. The tutorial document is built up around five areas: rules for life, security and insecurity, teasing, fighting and being mean, stealing and vandalism.

Challenges for the future

Crime policy issues are becoming increasingly important

Over recent decades, issues of crime policy have assumed an increasingly central significance. The media attention focused on crime-related issues is intense. Crime policy has today become one of the most important questions for all of the Swedish parliamentary political parties. Joint efforts to combat crime constitute a central task within the EU, and new European organizations such as Europol and Eurojust have been established. At the local level too, there is great interest in this area, and both private individuals and professionals, as well as various associations come together in relation to issues linked to crime, such as women's shelters, victim support centres, neighbourhood

watch and local crime prevention councils.

This tendency is not, however, a direct consequence of crime trends. The increased interest in crime-related issues noted over recent years does not reflect any manifest increase in actual crime levels, for example. It would rather be truer to say that crime has instead levelled off. One reason for the increasing level of interest is that issues relating to crime and the victims of crime constitute one of only a few phenomena that have the capacity to unite people in a society based on an ever decreasing number of common values (Tham 2001). There is therefore a risk that crime policy will become less pragmatic and more moralistic in orientation. The increasingly strong position occupied by crime victims in particular may lead to crime policy becoming more emotionally charged than has previously been the case (Tham 2001). BRÅ's assessment is that it is reasonable to proceed on the basis of the view that the trend in crime policy just described is likely to continue and that questions relating to crime and punishment will assume an even more important role in the future.

As a consequence of this trend, the media scrutiny of politicians' initiatives and the work conducted by public sector agencies will continue. There may be increased pressure on politicians and public sector agencies to act and show efficacy. The media continue to exert pressure, and various interest groups, 'moral entrepreneurs', or lobbyists, will promote the issues of relevance to themselves without having the responsibility for a coherent and rational crime policy. This will encourage a focus on crime that lends itself to easy description, that has

dramatic overtones and that is appropriate for presentation in the media. There is therefore a risk of 'quick fixes' and the introduction of symbolic measures. In certain problem areas, there will be demands that might best be described as an over-reaction on the part of society whereas there is a risk that other areas will be neglected. There will therefore be a substantial need to provide correct information on crime, on crime trends and on the harm resulting from crime. This need also relates to knowledge on which measures produce an effect and also on the negative side effects of different measures. A National Council for Crime Prevention which amongst other things bears responsibility for the production of the official crime statistics, must respond to this trend and meet the need for neutral and reliable information.

Insufficient financial resources

As has been mentioned, interest in issues of crime policy will continue to increase, which will lead to demands for interventions that cost money. The financial situation of the state, in combination with increasing demands for improved efficiency, is deemed likely to produce an increased need for knowledge development in the area of crime prevention. It is important that the resources devoted by society to the area of crime policy produce results. It is reasonable to assume that in the future more resources will be directed towards evaluations of reforms, methods and organizational solutions in the broad field of crime policy, with the focus of these evaluations being of a primarily financial nature. This means that cost-benefit analyses will come to play an important role in such evaluations. It is also

deemed likely that more resources will be devoted to research and development work, with an emphasis on the development of efficient methods.

For a national crime prevention council such as BRÅ, it is important to adapt to these developments and to assume responsibility for the conduct of evaluations that may increase the efficiency of the justice system and of other institutions of significance to crime and levels of safety. In this work to develop resource-efficient measures to combat crime, the need for well-developed official crime statistics, which *inter alia* focus on the flow of cases—from the reported offence to conviction and the conclusion of subsequent sentences—as well as on recidivism statistics and the time taken to process cases through the system, will play an important role. Furthermore, a crime prevention council such as BRÅ will face substantial demands to utilize its research and development work to contribute to the renewal of strategies and methods employed by agencies working at different stages of the control and justice process. This research will therefore need to focus on conducting studies—and not least collating and compiling the findings of research conducted by others—so as to facilitate concrete improvements within the justice system. It is likely that this work will proceed on the basis of a broader perspective and will include a wider spectrum of organizations than those located in the core area of crime policy.

Crime policy covers more than simply the core areas of crime policy

Crime policy used to be an issue addressed by a small number of experts

whereas questions relating to prevention were primarily dealt with by the police. In the same way as crime policy has today become an issue for the whole of society, it has also come to increasingly affect conditions located outside of the primary areas of crime policy and the justice system.

It has therefore been natural for the area of crime prevention to also include among its target groups schools, the social services, the local business community and other sectors of society located outside of the justice system. The area of economic and environmental crime lacks the traditions found within the agencies of the justice system to work preventively. Important actors in relation to the prevention of these types of crime are found among a large number of agencies with a control and supervisory function located outside of the justice system. The crime prevention strategies and methods employed by agencies working in the areas of taxation, the environment and health and safety at work, for example, involve regulation, supervision, control and the provision of information with the goal of improving the extent to which regulations are observed. In the area of economic crime, the business community also plays an important role, both to protect itself against exposure to crime and to increase the extent to which its members themselves act in accordance with existing regulatory systems by means of self-regulation.

Thus the number of crime preventive actors is much greater than one might at first think. Furthermore, their numbers will increase as research shows how crime and societal institutions are linked to one another, which will allow

for the further development of crime prevention measures. This is a positive trend that must continue.

Crime will also develop further, and organized and cross-border crime may constitute important areas in this regard. In these and other areas too, there will also be a need to formulate new crime prevention strategies and methods, which will in turn require a detailed knowledge of the relevant forms of crime.

The trend is therefore moving in the direction of an expansion of the crime prevention perspective, with a field of activity extending from the agencies of the justice system, via the civic institutions of the local community to agencies exercising control or supervisory functions. The healthcare sector also has an important preventive role to play. In addition, there is the role played by government and parliament in steering the work of public sector agencies and the contents of legislation. The future will therefore witness a broad range of preventive actors. Crime prevention councils such as BRÅ will therefore be faced with a substantial amount of work contributing to the preventive efforts undertaken by all of these actors. An important task for the future will be that of, in collaboration with Parliament and the Government, identifying these currently 'unknown' crime preventive actors and working to visibly define their role.

Crime policy, democracy and integration

Over the course of just a few decades, Sweden has been transformed into a multicultural society. Today over one fifth of the population is comprised of people with a non-Swedish background.

There are many positive aspects of this trend, which is in fact essential if the population is to grow sufficiently to keep up with economic developments. The multicultural society also produces tensions and problems. Movements have developed out of a xenophobic seedbed which are explicitly racist and which use violence. There are also structural integrational problems with people meeting dismissive attitudes and discrimination in the course of their everyday lives.

At the same time there are other integrational problems, which manifest themselves *inter alia* as social problems such as crime. Individuals with a non-Swedish background are over-represented in the official crime statistics. Different types of data produced by BRÅ indicate that crime is also characterized to some extent by social, economic and ethnic segregation. As was mentioned above, BRÅ has since the mid-1990s conducted a series of surveys examining young people's participation in crime. A clear pattern emerges from this series, namely a continual reduction in levels of participation in crime among youths from favourable social backgrounds. This trend does not manifest itself in the same way among youths growing up in more socially disadvantaged conditions (BRÅ 2005:4).

At about the same time as society has become multicultural, major structural changes have taken place on the labour market and within the commercial sector. The manufacturing industry has undergone substantial shrinkage. The new jobs are to be found in the glassed-in factories of the information society's new service-based industries. The new era makes demands on training and on levels of adaptation. The

consequences involve major challenges and substantial opportunities for those who fit in. The downside is that those groups who fail to establish themselves on the labour market, or who are pushed out, will become stuck in a situation of dependency on welfare benefits. To name but one area of transfers, sickness benefit, the number of persons on long-term sick leave has now reached worrying levels.

Within the field of criminology, marginalization and discrimination constitute important explanatory factors in relation to the crime of immigrants, as does their limited access to the means required to achieve societal success-goals in a legitimate fashion. When large groups find themselves excluded from the labour market, this leads to an increased risk of segregation, marginalization and of life on the outside. This

may in turn give rise to manifestations such as social problems and crime. The risks are at heart the same as those recently mentioned in relation to certain groups of immigrants and first generation Swedes.

In combination these constitute serious problems and may over the longer term come to bear the responsibility for a significant proportion of crime. The common denominators for the examples presented above are segregation and exclusion. These are issues that lie outside the core area of crime policy, and they constitute a clear illustration of the importance of approaching crime policy from a broad perspective. For a crime prevention council like BRÅ, it is important to more clearly emphasize the role of the issues of integration and democracy as an integral part of crime policy.

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