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26 September 1984

Jean M Alison

I am enclosing a copy of Criminal Waste by Robert Flach, John Wheeler MP and John Croft, all members of the Crime & Juvenile Delinquency Study Group, which is being published today.

I should be so grateful if you could pass this copy to the Prime Minister and I hope she will find it of interest.

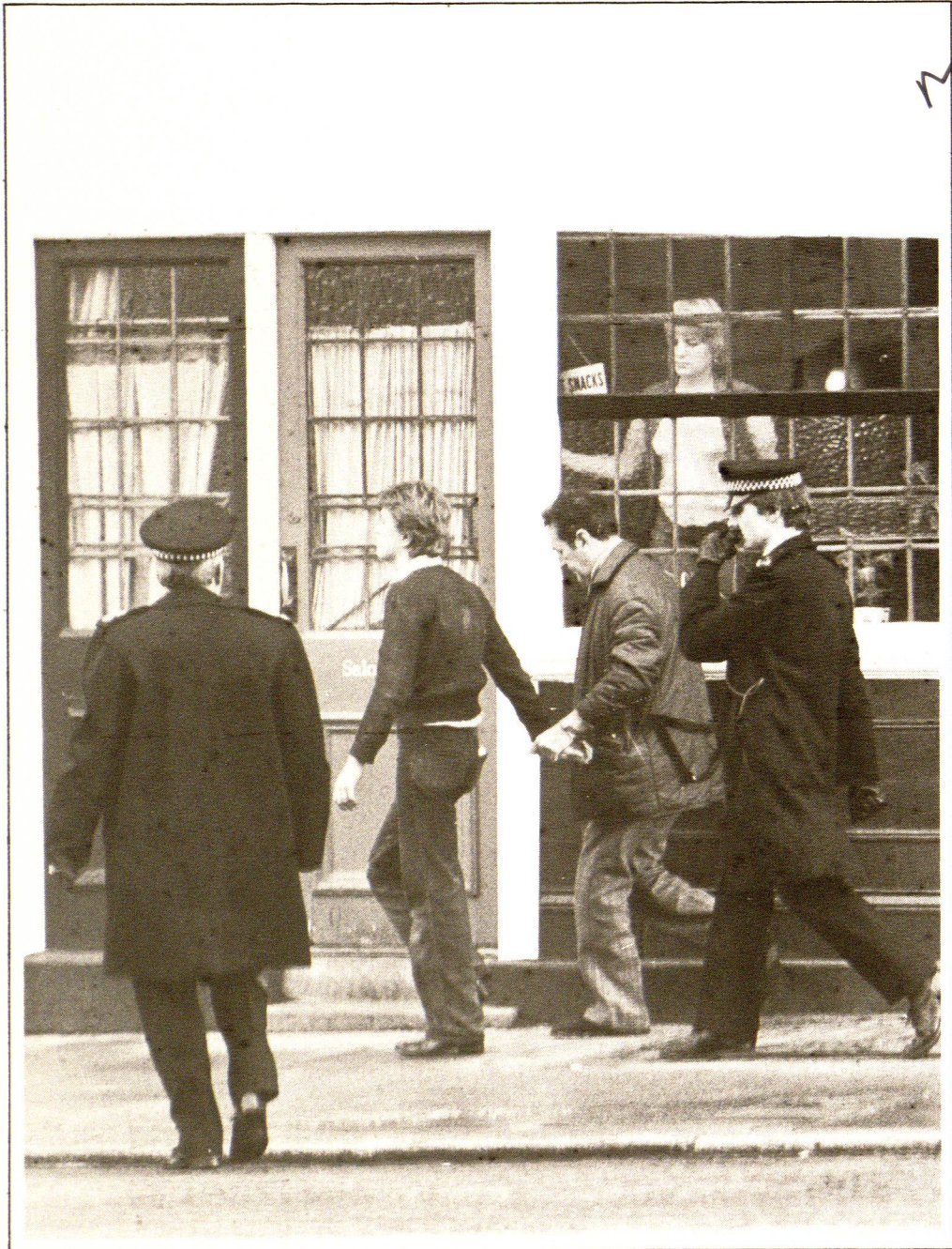
A handwritten signature in blue ink, which appears to read "Nathalie Brooke".

Nathalie Brooke

Rt Hon Michael Alison MP

Wp 601

CRIMINAL WASTE



C R I M I N A L W A S T E

C O N T E N T S

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This report has been prepared by Robert Flach (Chairman), John Wheeler MP and John Croft, with assistance from the other members of the Crime and Juvenile Delinquency Study Group of the Centre for Policy Studies.

ISBN No 0 - 905880 - 58 - 7

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8 Wilfred Street
London SW1E 6PL

September 1984

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The picture on the cover shows an arrest after a raid and siege in Blinstock Road, Highbury in December 1978 (Picture BBC HPL).

CRIMINAL WASTE

INTRODUCTION

In this study we have tried to achieve a blending of research, represented in our group by John Croft CBE, formerly Head of Research at the Home Office; the political knowledge of John Wheeler JP, MP, who was formerly a member of the prison service, and is mainly responsible for this paper; the practical experience of barristers who also sit in the criminal courts on occasion as recorders; as well as the experience of two magistrates.

Many useful changes have been introduced by the present government since it was first elected in 1979. Whilst trying to cut public spending wherever possible to enable us to live within our means, the Government has not hesitated to recognise the necessity of increasing expenditure on the police, to improve their pay and thus their morale and the quality of their recruits, to provide more attendance centres for young hooligans and to toughen the regime in the detention centres. The Criminal Justice Act 1982 has modernised and expanded the powers of the criminal courts, providing them with a range of tough and flexible sentences for violent criminals and thugs, as well as with a wider range of sentences for young offenders, who probably represent the greatest problem we have to face. The impending Police and Criminal Evidence Act which defines the powers of the police, safeguards the liberty of the subject and reforms police complaints procedure .

In spite of all these measures, and especially the recruitment of 9,000 more police officers, extrapolation of some existing trends suggests that serious crime per head of population will rise in the next ten years, though the recent fall in the number of some violent offences in the Metropolitan area is encouraging. There are grounds for hope; but we must be prepared for the possibility that the generally upward trend will endure. A continuing long-term increase in serious crime would be a major challenge to the Government and would require further new policies.

The real level of crime is not easy to assess, as was shown by the British Crime Survey¹, a study of householders' experience of crime. The Survey shows the limitations of official criminal statistics drawn from judicial or police records. The latter significantly understate the number of crimes committed. Only 8 per cent of cases of vandalism measured in the Survey had been accounted for in the official criminal statistics, and only 50 per cent of burglaries.

Official figures show that crime now stands at three times the level it was in 1960. The cost of crime is also high and growing. It is not just the appalling misery which crime inflicts on its victims, especially in muggings and burglaries; crime makes heavy demands on our prison and probation service. It causes damage to business, increases insurance premiums and thus affects substantially the cost of living of the ordinary citizen. It must be fought and contained as effectively as possible.

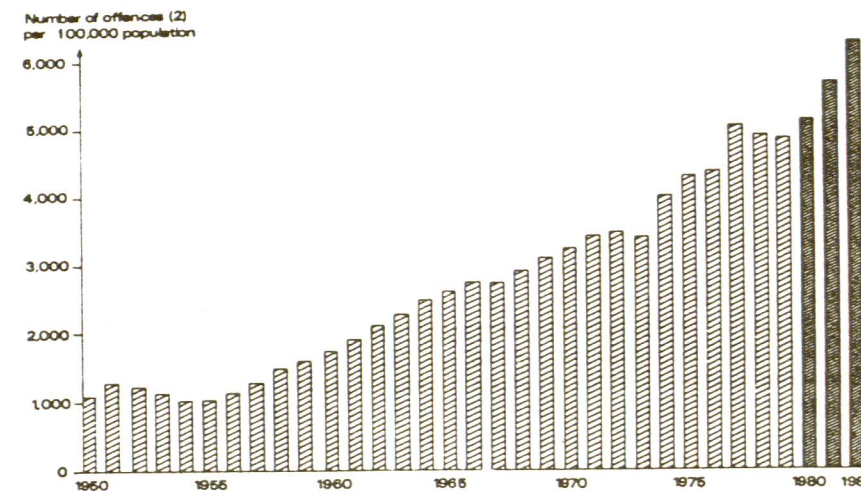
THE GROWTH AND EXTENT OF CRIME

In 1951 around 600,000 crimes were recorded by the police in the United Kingdom. In 1982 this figure had risen to just under three million. This growth cannot be accounted for by the growth of population, as Table 1 - which shows the number of crimes recorded per 100,000 of the population - indicates. Nor is it likely that the growth in crime can be explained by the greater readiness of the public to report crimes to the police, though this, too, is a factor.

However, there has been a sharp growth since the war in the number of young men in our society, and it is this group who are the most likely to commit crimes. In 1948 there were 5.8 million males aged between 15 and 24 and 5.1 million under 15. In 1980 there were 6.45 million between 15 and 24 and 6.1 million under 15.

¹ Hough, Mike and Mayhew, Pat: The British Crime Survey: First Report. Home Office Research Study No. 76. HMSO 1983 pp. v+62

TABLE 1
NOTIFIABLE⁽¹⁾ OFFENCES RECORDED BY THE POLICE PER 100,000 POPULATION
England and Wales



⁽¹⁾ In 1978 and earlier years were 'indictable'.
⁽²⁾ Excluding 'other criminal damage' of value £20 and under.

Source: Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1982
London : HMSO, Cmnd. 9048/1983, Fig 2.2.

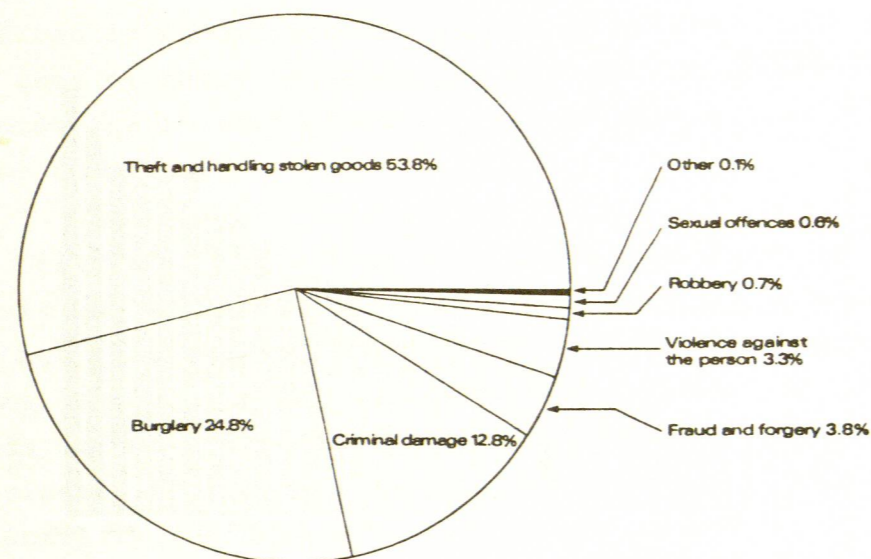
Our experience is not an isolated one. In the Western World there has been a continuous growth in crime throughout the post-war years. But the crime figures themselves are something of a fiction - perhaps a dangerous one - because undoubtedly there are a host of crimes which go unrecorded and undetected. It is generally accepted that crimes fully brought into the open, and punished, represent no more than a small proportion of those actually committed.

The Pattern of Crime

The basic pattern of recorded crime (that is, the distribution of recorded offences between the main legal classifications of offences) is set out in Tables 2 and 3. As they indicate, an overwhelming proportion of crimes consist of theft and breaking-in offences. This pattern of crime is repeated through all age and sex groups.

TABLE 2

NOTIFIABLE ⁽¹⁾ OFFENCES RECORDED BY THE POLICE BY OFFENCE GROUP



(1) In 1978 and earlier years were 'indictable'

Source: Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1982
London: HMSO, Cmnd. 9048/1983, Fig 2.1

TABLE 3

SERIOUS OFFENCES KNOWN TO POLICE IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1982¹

Theft and handling stolen goods	- 1,380,870
Burglary	- 650,833
Fraud and forgery	- 91,361
Criminal damage	- 329,051
Violence against the person	- 91,756
Sexual offences	- 16,934
Robbery	- 10,339
Other offences	- 3,100

Source: Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 1982:
London - HMSO 1983, Appendix 18 Table 4.4.

¹ These figures do not include the Metropolitan Police. "Burglary" indicates breaking and entering to steal; "Robbery" signifies a theft in which violence is used or threatened; while other thefts are included in the category of "Theft and handling stolen goods".

1) Theft and Handling Stolen Goods

This category accounts for most non-violent acts of dishonesty and includes about 53.8 per cent of all offences recorded by the police. Criminals in this category range from fully professional gangs of car thieves with access to garages, and so on, to a person who shoplifts a pair of socks. The growth in certain crimes in this category - such as stealing cars or from cars - supports the view that a great deal of crime results from increased opportunities; there are simply more goods to steal.

2) Burglary and Robbery

Most professional offenders and organised gangs are associated with these two categories of offence, and their increase is particularly menacing. It represents greater premiums on "successful" hard-core criminal activity, and the detection of such criminals is naturally more difficult and more costly than that of amateurs. But these are the "theft" offences most commonly committed by young offenders.

3) Criminal Damage

This crime - often associated with vandalism and hooliganism - has shown a persistent and precipitate rise. There were 2,134 offences in 1955. In 1982, this had risen to 329,051. It has been estimated by the Home Office that the cost of vandalism to the nation now runs into tens of millions per annum.

4) Violence against the Person

There has been a continuous upward trend in the post-war period in offences against the person. This is accelerating. For example, there were 60,035 such offences recorded in England and Wales in 1975; this figure jumped to about 100,000 in 1982. The great majority - 94,000 - were of a less serious kind. The major crimes of violence, such as homicide, account for only a relatively small number of these crimes. In 1982, there were 619 of these homicide crimes of which only about 100 were found to be murder by the courts.

It is interesting to note that there is a seasonal variation in crime. Crimes against the person reach their peak in summer (probably because there are more opportunities for human contact), while property crimes reach their peak in winter. Serious professional offenders and organised groups, of course, are more likely to operate on an all-year-round basis.

Repeated Offenders

The majority of offenders dealt with by the courts are "first offenders" (who have been caught for the first time) who, by and large, do not appear again in the criminal system. But it is the minority of repeated offenders¹ who pose the greatest problems: in the number of crimes they commit, in their apparent lack of susceptibility to deterrence, and in the fact that they constitute a major element of the prison population.

Of adult male offenders discharged from prison during 1976, 51 per cent have been reconvicted: and for male offenders aged under twenty-one on sentence, 67 per cent were reconvicted.

The proportion of repeated offenders among the under-21s is particularly worrying. In 1979, nearly two-thirds of males aged 17 to 20 who entered prison had at least one previous custodial sentence. Recidivism is highest among those adults who commit robbery and breaking-and-entering offences, which would tend to confirm the view that it is in this area that many professional offenders operate.

Detection Rates

Clearly, an important fact in considering criminal activity is the extent to which offenders are caught. The detection rate

¹ Those who relapse into crime are technically known as "recidivists".

measures the proportion of offences known to the police which are cleared up. It represents an imperfect measure of the effectiveness of our police - which, in turn, is partly a reflection of the resources society is prepared to devote to them - and it is the key to our attempts to deter criminals. Table 4 sets out detection rates for England and Wales in 1982. It paints a bleak picture.

TABLE 4

OFFENCES RECORDED AS CLEARED-UP
(England and Wales for 1982, excluding the MPD)

	<u>Percentage cleared-up 1982</u>
Violence against the person ..	80
Sexual offences ..	75
Burglary ..	34
Robbery ..	34
Theft, handling stolen goods ..	42
Fraud and forgery ..	77
Criminal damage ..	30
Other offences ..	92

Average detection rate	42

Source: Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 1982
London HMSO 1983 Appendix 17 Table 4.3

It can be seen that there is a relatively low detection rate for criminal damage, burglary, and robbery.

The relatively high proportion of crimes of violence, fraud and forgery offences cleared up reflects, among other things, the high priority given to dealing with these offences by society and by the police, (especially to violent crimes), and the availability of evidence and assistance from the plaintiff (especially in fraud and forgery). But the price of this has

been that proportionately less time can be devoted to clearing up criminal damage, burglary and robbery.

Residential Burglary

Residential burglary is generally regarded as a serious crime, both because of the material losses and because of the psychological upset which victims often suffer. It is also a very common crime and accounts for a substantial part of the load on the police, the courts and the prison system. In 1962, about 810,000 burglaries to residential property were recorded by the police in England and Wales¹ and these accounted for nearly 25% of what in official statistics are now called "notifiable offences recorded by the police" (Criminal Statistics, 1982). Only 29 per cent of these residential burglaries were cleared up. Yet in 1982, burglars receiving prison sentences for offences against residential and non-residential properties still accounted for nearly half of all receptions into prison of males under 21 and nearly a quarter of those over 21 (Prison Statistics, 1982).

On the basis of offences recorded by the police in 1982 and the numbers of households recorded in the 1971 census, a rough estimate of the average risk of burglary to households in England and Wales was one in 55. Risk figures, however, are higher when account is taken of offences not reported to the police. According to recent evidence from the General Household Survey (Criminal Statistics, 1980), 40 per cent of all residential burglaries were not reported. On the basis of both reported and unreported crimes, then, the average risk of burglary to households in 1980 may have been closer to one in 35 than one in 55. The position was confirmed by the British Crime Survey.

¹ Including the Metropolitan Police.

WHY ARE CRIMES COMMITTED?

The Family Background of the Offender

If crime has "causes", they are no doubt both social and personal. The best way to understand crime is to consider why it is committed. Research suggests that many people who take to crime have in their backgrounds, not a single crime-inducing element, but a constellation of factors. Prominent among these are: poverty; more children than the parents can cope with; family disharmony; little or arbitrary discipline; parental criminality; and such individual characteristics as irregular work habits and lack of social constraint. Nevertheless, as the criminologist D J West has said: "Convicted delinquents are not typical representatives of their class."¹ It is certainly not possible to understand - and would be wrong to excuse - individual criminals by reference to a deterministic sociology of class. For criminology the exception is normal.

Interestingly, delinquency does not seem to be statistically correlated to whether there is a divorced or separated parent, but rather to the behaviour of the remaining parent. In particular, parents' lack of interest in, and affection for, a child, together with inconsistent disciplining, increases the likelihood of crime. It is evidently very difficult to draw any conclusions from crude statistics about the unfathomable psychological problem of crime. Millions of people survive difficult backgrounds without resorting to crime; and of course, there are offenders - particularly latecomers to crime - who do not share any of these social and personal features. A further

¹ D J West and D P Farrington, The Delinquent Way of Life, London 1977, Heinemann, P 160.

reason for caution is that offenders who are caught may not be an entirely representative sample: most are caught largely because of their general ineptitude.

Still, since many offenders share the constellation of social and personal characteristics outlined above, it is clearly sensible to concentrate our efforts to control crime on them at present.

To establish the reasons for the growth in crime, it is necessary to link the social background and personal make-up of offenders with four inter-acting social and demographic facts. These are:

- i) the growth in living standards which creates many more opportunities for crime (for instance, the far greater number of vehicles has been accompanied by a similar rise in thefts from them);
- ii) the growth of urbanisation;
- iii) the weakening of control in families and in schools over the conduct of children;
- iv) the rise in the number of young males in society since 1945.

Unemployment

Although common sense would suggest a link between unemployment and crime, the evidence from research on this association is not conclusive.¹ Proof of a causal connection between the two phenomena cannot be established with certainty; statistical studies imply that the relationship is complex, with roots deep in the economic and social structure of society.

¹ Tarling, Roger: Unemployment and Crime. Home Office Research Bulletin No. 14 1982 (pp. 28-33).

Since 1945 recorded crime has risen during periods of both low and high unemployment and of both economic growth and recession, and on present evidence it is not possible to conclude that unemployment as such is a major cause of crime.

Alcohol

It is the experience of those connected with both the higher and lower courts - whether judges, magistrates, lawyers or social workers - that crime is increasingly associated with the consumption of alcohol. Apart from those crimes, such as affrays outside public houses at closing time, specifically linked to this phenomenon, it has been remarked that individuals (mostly petty offenders) may commit crime under the liberalising influence of alcohol. This problem has to be seen in the context of changing patterns of alcohol consumption in the population as a whole. Empirical research¹ undertaken in many western countries supports the belief that there is an association between alcohol and crime, which varies by offence and culture. Though the connection cannot be of a causal nature, since the consumption of alcohol is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for breaking the law, circumstantial evidence by members of this Group suggests that alcohol plays a prime part in crimes of violence.

¹ Murphy, Daniel: Alcohol and Crime. Home Office Research Bulletin No. 15, 1983 (pp8-11).

DETERRING INDIVIDUALS FROM CRIME

There are four main types of individual whom it is essential to deter. There are those who have not committed a crime but whose personality, family and social circumstances suggest that there is a strong chance that they will be involved in crime at some point in their lives - often between the ages of 14 and 17 (Group 1).

Then there are those who have already committed casual or impulsive crimes and who have served perhaps more than one custodial sentence (Group 2). This Group has obvious connections with, but is separate from, those serious professional offenders who have made substantial gains out of crime (Group 3). These people may be organisers of other criminals or they may be specialists, e.g. safe-breakers or "fences". Finally, there are those who take to crime later in life than most offenders, often as a result of special temptations or pressures, e.g. a local government official who is offered a large bribe (Group 4).

We shall concentrate on Groups 1 and 2. They contain many people who are "at risk"; they are made up mainly of young people; and, taken together, these Groups contain the majority of offenders.

However, most members of this group are under the observation of teachers for some of the time. They may respond better to deterrence than older people, for whom crime has become habitual.

Early Identification

The educational system has an important role to play. Teachers, in particular, need to be much more deliberately equipped to identify potential delinquents. D J West and D P Farrington (see above p 9) noted that the majority of those

who committed offences "had been recognisably deviant from an early age". They had been "noticeably troublesome at school at age ten and age eleven". So it should be possible for teachers to identify many of the children "at risk" at an early age. At this point, the teacher should bring such children to the attention of the social welfare department of the local authority. Timely and discreet investigations of the family background may sometimes help to save the child from crime.

Many offenders are virtually illiterate. There is, of course, a general need to improve educational standards, but children who are taken into residential care should receive much more intensive teaching in basic skills than they do at present.

However, we must also sound a note of caution about custodial or residential care orders. A Home Office Research Study by S R Brody, The Effectiveness of Sentencing (1979), concluded that "longer sentences are no more effective than short ones, that different types of institutions work equally well, that probationers on the whole do no better than if they were sent to prison, and that rehabilitative programmes, whether involving psychiatric treatment, counselling, casework or intensive contact and special attention, in custodial or non-custodial settings, have no predictably beneficial effects. The comparative advantages of other types of sentences remain, unfortunately, largely untested."

The Law and The Family

Everyone must uphold the law, but that is not enough: everyone must help keep the law. "Broad brush strategies to control crime are unlikely to reduce the scale of crime, especially burglary and theft." For the family, effective action must focus on the peculiar features of local crime, and particularly on those localities most prone to it.

While it will be for the authorities to try to ensure that the physical environment is not conducive to anti-social behaviour, families must make a positive effort to protect their own homes and property. But it will also be a major objective for Government, teachers and the family to affirm the concept of good citizenship. In London especially, it will be necessary for the Secretary of State for Education and Science and Her Majesty's Inspectors to recommend strongly that teachers should inculcate the idea of good citizenship by precept and example. The crime problem must be tackled by good schools with teachers working willingly in support of, and in conjunction with, the family.

Provided that it is understood that solutions must fit the circumstances of the neighbourhood, there is every hope of real progress. Those in positions of authority locally have a heavy responsibility to discharge, because it is they who know what the local problems are. For example, the inner city council that persists in allocating young, single parent families to one particular housing estate should not be surprised if, in the course of time, the male children of such concentrations include an excessive proportion of young burglars, vandals and glue sniffers. The local authority is well-placed to avoid such a situation, though not at the cost of removing responsibility from families and individuals. The Government, through its central departments (not just the Home Office) can give a lead; the Urban Programme and the Inner City Directorate of the Department of the Environment also have a part to play; but most of the solutions must arise from the family.

REDUCING THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CRIME

A great deal of work has been carried out in recent years on the social and psychological characteristics of offenders and on devising forms of social intervention. As a consequence, we have rather neglected the less problematic method of reducing the opportunities for crime. This is not just a question of more goods. Our attitude to these goods is as important. We are becoming more careless about protecting them and reporting their loss. A great deal more could be done to reduce opportunities for crime than is being done at present.

How can police resources best be used to prevent burglary and robbery? Significantly, the clear-up rates for these two categories of offence are among the lowest, although it is true that victims of these crimes can nearly always help the police by providing some description of the offender.

Senior police officers now recognise that one of their principal aims is the prevention rather than only the solving of crime. The policeman on the beat cannot be everywhere. Burglary and robbery are both crimes of stealth, which occur suddenly and unexpectedly and often - if not exclusively so, in the case of burglary - in private places where the police have no right of access and there are no witnesses.

The biggest share of spending on the criminal justice system is devoted to the consequences of burglary and robbery. About one third of those in prison were sent there for burglary or robbery. Most crown court trials are also for these offences. Consequently, it is in the interest of the police and the public that the greatest priority should be given to a strategy for preventing these crimes. Such a strategy must certainly take account of the environment in which they are committed.

Questions to be asked include: what are the common features of a mugging location - for instance, lack of street-lights, or concealed alleyways and walkways on housing estates? Many muggings could be prevented by changing the design of the buildings on estates. The police would have to be involved at the design stage of housing estates and generally in the work of the local authority planning committees. It might be important to look at entrances that act as thoroughfares and provide the mugger with cover and an escape route.

Much more could be done to stop the distressing crime of burglary. In the cities, the entryphone, installed at the entrance of a block of flats, is essential. In large blocks, with round-the-clock caretaker or porter services, police should press the council management to provide closed-circuit television to monitor corridors and entrances.

It should be normal practice when new houses, flats and other buildings are designed for the police to be consulted on the design, environmental features, and the nature of the materials to be used. Toughened glass will help defeat not only the burglar but the would-be vandal. Strengthened door frames and doors, strong mortice locks, window locks and metal grilles should all be included in a new building from the beginning. The police must be well-equipped to offer advice on these things. This will pose a challenge for the chief constables and has important implications for some police training and deployment, but it should have a high priority if we are to contain crime.

At present, only about one house in twenty is protected by a burglar alarm. Though the market in these devices is becoming more competitive, their cost is still such as to render a small incentive desirable if their use is to spread widely and rapidly. Since it is the intention of the Government to control crime through strategies for crime prevention of all kinds, the logic of this leads to the

provision of grants to home-owners to improve the protection of property, perhaps in a similar way to grants for loft-insulation. The development of a crime reduction policy clearly involves other Government departments, not just the Home Office. An important decision of the Government in November 1982 was the extension of membership of the Home Office Standing Committee on Crime Prevention to include representatives of the Departments of Education and Science, Health and Social Security, Associations of Metropolitan Authorities, District Councils and County Councils. Crime reduction must mean the full co-operation of these key Departments. Within existing budgets, more must be spent on developing crime control strategies.

We have to set the cost of encouraging crime prevention against the present huge and growing expenditure on the criminal justice system:

1. Recent figures have suggested an increase in spending on law and order from £2,192 million in 1979-80 to £4,266 million in 1984-85, and to £4,650 million in 1986-87. These figures are based on the Government's Expenditure Plans 1984-85 to 1986-87. (HMSO: Cmnd 9143, February 1984).
2. In England and Wales, the current annual costs for the police are well over £2,500 million. Annual average inclusive cost to maintain a police officer is about £14,000 (£23,000 in London). The average cost of clearing up a crime is just over £3,000 in London.
3. The Prison Service costs about £616,000,000. To send a young burglar to prison for twelve months costs about £7,000.
4. The Probation and After-Care Service costs about £175,000,000, which makes the cost of a ten-minute

interview once every two months (the average for an order) the most expensive conversation in the country.

These costs have to be set against the cost of improved physical crime prevention:

1. Entryphones in private rented and council house blocks.
2. Knocking down walkways.
3. Strengthened door frames and doors, and strong mortice locks.
4. Closed-circuit television to monitor corridors of large, crime prone residential housing blocks and car parks.
5. Effective 24 hour porterage or caretaker services.
6. Adequate lighting of streets, estates and building sites.

The question is: how much encouragement should the Government give to these ideas?¹ It could offer financial inducement to the private person; it could review grants to local authorities; or it could take direct action in Parliament through a Crime Prevention Act, which might make certain requirements for designs of new buildings to reduce opportunities for crime.

1 Official encouragement has now been given by Joint Circular of 30/1/1984 Crime Prevention Home Office/Department of Education & Science/Department of Health and Social Security/Welsh Office.

THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC

The Policy Studies Institute's Report on the Metropolitan Police, Police and People in London (November 1983), shows that in some circumstances there is a lack of confidence in the conduct of the police. These circumstances vary greatly and are often unpredictable; they include the age, race and sex of both criminal and victim and of the officers themselves. Sometimes these doubts about the police manifest themselves in acquittals by juries. The opinion persists, for example, that in respect of some offences, especially those involving drugs, the police may have been corrupt, or have planted evidence.

Operation Countryman made the public aware of allegations backed by prosecution that senior police officers were actually participating in the preparation of large scale robberies, though the great majority of those accused were acquitted. In recent years, judges have tended to admit evidence obtained in open breach of the Judges' Rules and have been encouraged to do so by the decisions of the Court of Appeal. This has resulted in an open disregard of these Rules by CID officers interviewing suspects. At the same time, there has been an undoubted growth in tension between the police and some members of ethnic minorities. It would be unrealistic to ignore the fact that there is now some anxiety among members of the Criminal Bar, solicitors and Justices of the Peace, both about the manner of treatment of some suspects in police custody, and about the veracity of police evidence of interviews with suspects. There has recently been some improvement in the interviewing; officers are now encouraged to take a contemporaneous note of interviews and to invite the suspect to sign each answer immediately after the interview. However, this is not the rule; it is still left to the officer's discretion whether he adopts this course or prefers the old system of a joint note with other officers made at the end of the interview. This

system assumes, most improbably, that police officers are capable of remembering verbatim lengthy interviews, sometimes an hour or more after such interviews have concluded. It is perhaps not surprising that modern juries tend to doubt this fictitious mental prowess and reject such evidence, with the result that the guilty are frequently acquitted.

We have discussed these matters with senior police officers and are somewhat concerned at the complacency which we have encountered. Recent information from Scotland Yard, on the other hand, shows that complaints against police are now diminishing, and that the standards of investigation of such complaints are extremely high.

During the last twenty years, much effort has been put into the development of modern technology as an aid to police operations; on the other hand certain deficiencies of management and training were neglected. One response to the changing attitude of the public - particularly the young - to the police, and the more sophisticated approach of professional criminals, should be the improvement of middle management. The recruitment of graduates to the police is increasing; we hope that this policy will be pursued still more vigorously. Chief Constables should encourage the application of modern management techniques to internal problems of police forces, with the appropriate incentives. This would be consistent with Government policy in other public services, and is essential if the efficiency of the police and their relations with the public are to improve substantially.

The irregularities in the admission of evidence noted above suggest that the relatively informal system of the Judges' Rules has outlived its usefulness, and the procedures to be adopted after the enactment of the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill should help to protect the rights of the innocent, and render the conviction of the guilty more certain. The Home Secretary's

commitment to introduce the tape-recording of interviews with suspects on a provisional basis, to be followed eventually by a Crown Prosecutor Service for England and Wales, is an eminently wise decision. The police must be supported; so must the improvement in police accountability and the wish of chief officers to raise the standards of the police service and those who work in it.

CONCLUSION

A conservative strategy for crime prevention should include the following elements identified in this paper:

- a) Reinforcing and encouraging a climate of opinion and a way of practice that will affirm the concept of good citizenship. Only in such a climate can the family, and those agencies - schools, health and social services, the police, which supplement the efforts of the family, achieve their considerable potential for the prevention of crime.
- b) Putting more emphasis, at both local and national level, on reducing the physical opportunities for crime. By making people conscious of the need for crime prevention, by fostering community spirit and neighbourliness, it is possible to allay the fear which can be more distressing than crime itself. The quality of the environment, especially in urban areas and on housing estates, is an integral part of such a spirit.

These two elements of a strategy of crime prevention should reinforce each other. An effective strategy depends on public support and sympathy, but unless moral standards and values are upheld by common consent and effort, the law enforcement agencies will be operating in a vacuum, and will be that much less effective.

This paper has emphasised the cost of crime: both in terms of loss to the community and the expense of maintaining an efficient police service which accounts for two thirds of all expenditure on criminal justice. Public support and sympathy for the efforts of the police and courts is essential for their success; the use of the techniques of crime prevention advocated here on a nationwide scale would strengthen such support by giving people value for money from their rates and

taxes. One final point: there are no instant solutions to the problem of crime, and this paper does not claim to offer any. What it does is to emphasise that, without augmenting existing provision, greater and more positive use could be made of the available financial and human resources.

PRICE £2.00