

Aktivera samhället mot livskvalitetsbrott

Trygghetskommissionens förslag på hur säkerhet
och trygghet ska kunna öka i människors vardag



TRYGGHETS
KOMMISSIONEN

Summary

Remit

Trygghetskommissionen (the Commission for Crime Prevention and Increased Security) was established in June 2017 on the initiative of Insurance Sweden. The background was the deteriorating crime figures and growing public insecurity. The Commission was tasked with examining developments in reported everyday crime and crime-related insecurity, as well as proposing measures to break the negative trend. As regards everyday crime, Insurance Sweden highlighted three trends as particularly problematical; the situation in areas identified by the police as disadvantaged, the crimes committed by mobile organised crime groups and the drastic rise in the number of crimes of fraud. The Commission is also to examine the opportunities available to the insurance industry to contribute to increasing security in society. This first report deals with everyday crime, crime-related insecurity and problems concerning disadvantaged areas. Other matters will be dealt with in the Commission's final report to be published in December 2018.

Quality-of-Life Crimes and security

The Commission started its work by addressing questions concerning everyday crime and security. These areas are very extensive and in the work of delimiting the issues we soon realised that there are no clear-cut definitions of the concepts. We therefore felt compelled to look closer at them to try and understand the problems we were facing.

As regards everyday crime, most people seem to agree that these crimes are of a such a simple nature that the criminal investigation can be led by police instead of prosecutors. A catalogue of offences has been created by the police and prosecutors. On closer examination of the catalogue it can be noted that many of the offences are not relevant in a discussion of security, while the catalogue lacks a variety of offences that have a clear impact on security, in particular in the context of disadvantaged areas. One example in the first category is unlawful energy diversion and in the second aggravated cases of assault or theft.

The Commission has been influenced by the international concept of quality-of-life crimes. The concept covers crimes and public disturbances that affect people so that they feel insecure in their everyday lives. We have decided to break down these crimes into four categories:

- violence in public spaces
- crimes committed in the home environment
- crimes against property
- other crimes and disturbances

To draw up proposals for increasing people's security it is of course of fundamental importance to know what is meant by security. The term is used frequently in various public documents, but attempts to investigate more closely what is meant give rise to uncertainty. Expressions such as perceived and actual security are used together with concepts such as safety, protection, trust, concern, fear and risk. Risk can be said to be an objective concept in the sense that either a risk exists that something will occur or it does not. This applies regardless of what a person thinks or feels. On the other hand, concepts such as fear and concern are subjective, since it depends on the individual whether they are afraid in a certain situation or feel concern about something in particular. This distinction is important to keep in mind, since it has an impact on the types of measure that are adequate. If there is a real risk that something will occur it should be met with a certain type of measure, while a (possibly unfounded) fear on the part of some people should be tackled in a different way. With a view to keeping our arguments as clear as possible we have used the following definition of security, which also includes the concept of safety and protection. *Safety and protection refer to the actual risk of the individual or someone close to the individual being exposed to crime and public disturbances. Security refers to the individual's perception of their own safety or the safety of someone close to them.*

Crime trends and security

As regards crime trends, quality-of-life crime is most relevant to the work of the Commission. However, it is a challenging task to gather statistics about it. Quality-of-life crime does not yet exist as a category in crime statistics. These crimes range over a wide field and statistical data does not exist for all public disturbances that are relevant. However, it can be noted that a study of the development of some typical quality-of-life crimes (such as burglary and vandalism) shows that by and large they follow the same pattern as crime in general. The total number of reported criminal offences in 2016 amounted to just over 1.5 million, while the number in 2013 was 1.4 million. The person-based clearance rate has fallen from 18 per cent in 2010 to 13 per cent in 2016. As regards conviction decisions, the number was 140,000 in 2009, while in 2016 it was just under 100 000.

In this context, it is important to clarify some circumstances that are of great importance for correctly interpreting crime statistics. In terms of the number of reported criminal offences, it can be noted that Sweden is high in comparison with other countries, but it should be made clear that a criminal complaint has an impact on statistics at an earlier point than is the case in many other countries and that the police in Sweden are obliged to register a complaint without any closer examination, which is not the case in all countries either. These circumstances alone probably mean that the number of reported criminal offences is higher in Sweden than in some other countries. As regards the person-based clearance rate, a crime is considered to have been cleared when a person can be so strongly bound to it that a decision can be made to prosecute, issue a summary sanction order or declare a waiver of prosecution. In some other countries considerably less than that is required for the crime to be regarded as cleared. As regards conviction decisions it should be noted that they include convictions, decisions to waive prosecution or approved summary sanction orders and that the statistics understate the number of conviction decisions for the simpler quality-of-life crimes due to how they are compiled.

As regards development of crime-related insecurity we have taken the Swedish Crime Survey, which is published every year, as our point of departure. Our overall principle of creating security where people live and work has had to govern what we report from the Survey, since it contains extensive and detailed material. However, it must be said that the Swedish Crime Survey is a crude instrument for describing development of insecurity other than at a national level, as a kind of thermometer for society. The findings from the Swedish Crime Survey refer to areas that are too large to act as a base for specific security-creating measures in the local community. Nor is the new Local Swedish Crime Survey that reports results at local police district level sufficient in these respects. In addition, the Swedish Crime Survey does not capture the breadth of quality-of-life crime.

In line with our approach to the concept of security, the Swedish Crime Survey only contains one question that directly addresses insecurity. It concerns how the respondent feels if he or she goes out alone late in the evening in their own neighbourhood. The percentage who state that they feel very unsafe or quite unsafe or who avoid going out alone at night as a consequence of feeling unsafe is 19 per cent. The difference between women and men is, however, great, as 30 per cent of women feel unsafe, while the corresponding figure for men is 9 per cent.

Feeling unsafe is more common in urban areas, though it is increasing more in smaller places and in sparsely populated areas. Moreover, feeling unsafe is almost twice as common among people living in multi-family buildings compared with people living in one-family houses. The proportion of people concerned about crime in society is 82 per cent. Specific concern about being a victim of burglary is felt by 20 per cent. The corresponding figure for attack/assault and theft/vandalism of a vehicle is 16 per cent. Those concerned about friends and family being subject to crime amount to 29 per cent. When it comes to confidence in the justice system, the percentage of people with a high degree of confidence is falling, while the percentage of those with a low degree of confidence is increasing.

The consequences of this are that due to feeling unsafe, 5 per cent have chosen another route or another means of transport or refrained from an activity. The proportion who feel that their quality of life is affected is 15 per cent. These results are the same in the data for 2016 and 2017 and constitute the highest in the measurement period, which started in 2006. Here too, in general women feel considerably more affected than men.

More police is not the only solution

Some areas are more crime-prone than others. The more crime-prone areas are often characterised by social problems consisting of socioeconomic segregation, high unemployment, low education levels and high levels of ill health. Such areas are mainly found outside and within large cities, but also in smaller communities throughout the country. In recent years, focus has been increasingly directed towards these areas and a number of reports have been produced. The complex set of problems in these areas and the interaction between people and between the individual and the State of course make it difficult to understand exactly the more detailed causes of the problems. Most commentators agree that the disadvantaged areas have increased in number in recent years. The highly complex picture painted of the problems in these areas includes social exclusion and serious criminal behaviour that affect public services as well as individuals and businesses.

There is a complex public debate on this issue. Opinions as to the methods that are most effective differ widely and include anything from whether military resources should be deployed to bring order to the disadvantaged areas or whether we should take our cue from a completely different type of work, highlighting examples from other countries. There is a parallel debate on the effectiveness of punishments. An overall assessment is that the debate does not generate a clearer picture of which efforts are successful

and hence which measures should be taken. It is clear that there is a lack of evidence-based knowledge that can guide the debate and action.

At a time when politicians are more or less holding an auction to decide how many new police officers should be recruited, it could be questioned whether this is the only solution worth considering. The initiative to increase the number of police officers in 2006-2010 has been evaluated by both the Swedish Agency for Public Management and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, and the evaluations show that the reform did not turn out as had been hoped. The additional 2,500 police officers did not result in the corresponding increase in the number of full-time equivalents/annual work units. In addition, the new resources were given priority in a way that was not in line with the ideas behind the initiative. Instead of more police in intervention operations there were more specialist positions in internal service. These experiences are important to bear in mind now as new major initiatives are being undertaken for the police.

It is also of the greatest importance to draw attention to the serious deficiencies that exist in the police organisation as regards governance and management of operations. Consequently, there is much to indicate that significantly greater and wider solutions are required than investing in police to reduce quality-of-life crime and increase security. This applies both to the disadvantaged areas and for society as a whole.

The Commission's starting points

Crime trends and the development of insecurity, combined with the complex public debate, problems within the police and crime and insecurity in the disadvantaged areas speak their clear message – innovative thinking is necessary to reverse the trend. It is clear that the measures currently applied either do not work or are insufficient.

Our assessment is that the most adequate and effective measures for creating a more secure society are best identified by starting from a broad overall perspective. This provides the conditions to identify any systemic deficiencies that must be dealt with before other, more specific and detailed measures can be effective. In our view, society as a whole must be involved in such a comprehensive task. The approach should be wider than just combating crime and should also deal with behaviour that specifically creates insecurity.

The overall objective of our work is to increase security where people live and work, which includes home and work environments, public spaces,

transport and places of recreation. As tools in the work of crime prevention and security creation that must be done to achieve success, we have identified a number of important starting points. These starting points are for the most part the essence of the success factors we have seen behind best practice in Sweden and abroad.

Clear responsibility and strategy

An important conclusion in our work is that the external environment often needs improvement. As there are many stakeholders in this work a functioning model for cooperation is needed that gives a better outcome than experience of partnerships has previously shown. For the work to be effective one function must be responsible for it, this function must have a mandate to make decisions and in the event that results are deficient must be accountable for the work.

Moreover, there must be a plan and a strategy for the measures deployed in a problem area so that they have the best effect possible. If effective action is taken, but at the wrong time or is misplaced, the result may instead be counter-productive.

Not the police alone

An important starting point is that the police cannot alone conduct the work of crime prevention and creating security that is necessary for the secure society that is desired. Other resources in society must be engaged, mobilised and above all allowed to participate in the work. There are many resources in society that in that case could be very valuable to use, but that are often completely or partially untapped for this purpose.

Activate untapped resources

The untapped resources we are referring to in particular for activation are the police, municipalities, property owners, the security industry, other business operators, the insurance industry, academia and non-profit actors.

Use market forces

Something that is almost never highlighted in the debate is the market benefits that exist for many actors involved in crime prevention and creating security. One such actor is property owners that see both increased property values and rental opportunities as a result of improved conditions in an area.

Reduce opportunities for crime

Crime prevention in Sweden has for decades consisted mainly of social crime prevention, which focuses on perpetrators and potential perpetrators. Though this is of course important, we believe it is time to take greater account of situational crime prevention, that is focus more on the crime opportunity. If the enabling conditions for committing a crime are removed, crime will decrease.

The Commission's proposed measures

The Commission has drawn up its action programme in accordance with the “phase theory” structure. In brief, the theory is that an area may be in three different phases depending on its set of problems. One of the fundamental ideas is that each phase requires its particular intervention and its focus for the intervention in order for the efforts to be successful. The theory provides a valuable model to structure planned interventions in an area and makes the need for long-term work visible. In this way it is made clear in what order measures should be deployed, what purpose they should have and which actors should and can be engaged at various stages.

Our proposed measures are of a fundamental and general nature, since we believe that these measures are necessary to lay a solid foundation on which more extensive and sophisticated initiatives can build. As one of our starting points is that other social resources than the police must be activated in the work, we will mainly concentrate on what these other civil society actors can contribute. However, it is not possible to ignore the role of the police as it is entirely necessary to the work.

Municipalities responsible for local surveys

Our first proposed measure implies that the municipalities, together with the police and other relevant civil society actors, should conduct surveys to identify areas that are in need of interventions and to monitor crime trends and development of security in the municipalities. This is a prerequisite for gaining an idea of the problems that exist in various places and their seriousness. The surveys will identify areas with different degrees of problems, which means that areas that do not have serious enough problems to fit into the phase theory will also be given attention. It is very important to prevent problems arising in these areas.

The municipalities with their extensive areas of responsibility are best suited to take responsibility for the survey work, since it is perhaps not primarily a

police operation that is needed to reverse the trend. The municipalities must therefore have responsibility for carrying out the surveys.

Carry out local security surveys

A necessary tool for being able to deploy adequate and effective measures to increase security is to measure security. The police and municipalities carry out a type of security survey in several places in the country on which to base local measures, but they are not done nationally, which is a deficiency. We therefore believe that such local security surveys must be carried out throughout the country.

More evidence-based knowledge

We propose academic evaluation and development of current practical crime prevention and security creation work in order to develop evidence-based knowledge for Swedish conditions. This provides the foundation for ensuring that the work done is of sufficient quality. There is far too little evidence-based knowledge, which leads to uncertainty about the effectiveness of various measures. This in turn entails a risk that several of the measures undertaken will be ineffective and that the funds invested in them will therefore be wasted.

In several other countries there is a stronger link between the academic world and the practical world compared with the situation in Sweden. In the United Kingdom, for example, it is almost impossible to take up a senior management position in the police without a high level of academic education and in addition continuing professional education at a university is encouraged. We believe Sweden should go in this direction.

As regards funding of research, the main responsibility must lie with the central government, but other actors' contributions, for example from municipalities or insurance companies, are also crucial for enabling research projects to be conducted to a sufficient extent.

Increased local police presence

An area that is in phase I according to phase theory requires extensive action. The main actor is the police and the purpose is to reclaim the area from criminal elements. The priority objectives are to improve the inhabitants' confidence in the justice system and improve their security. This could be done through increased presence of police and other civil society actors. A continuous police presence is of crucial importance, aimed at crime preven-

tion and security creation, as well as building confidence among the inhabitants. This applies in particular in phase 1, but is also important in the other phases.

The State should also increase its presence in other ways in these areas, for example by the presence of other authorities. A review of suitable activities to locate in different areas must therefore be conducted. Municipalities must also be activated and make an analysis of how they, by mobilising their various activities, can work to promote confidence, prevent crime and create security. The analysis must refer both to how the municipality can carry out this work internally and how it can be carried out together with other actors.

Property owners can improve the environment

Property owners in phase 1 areas must analyse the use of the spaces that border on the public space in order to identify premises that are suitable for activities that contribute to a living environment, such as shops, restaurants, cafés and premises for small businesses. They must also pursue active management of their properties, for example to ensure compliance with the rules for both primary and sub-letting, and maintain their properties in a broad sense, for example by organising effective refuse collection, dealing with vandalism and ensuring that no areas of the property are used for criminal purposes, such as substance abuse.

Funding should also be set up for establishing local community officers to work in the areas. The responsibility for arranging funding could lie with the property owners, both municipal and private, who in turn can turn to other stakeholders in the areas for financial support, for example business operators. In some places it may be necessary for municipalities to support this work. As mentioned, there are economic benefits for property owners when an area becomes more attractive.

Non-profit actors should also be activated in the work of reclaiming the public space. This may be a matter of an extended neighbourhood watch, the presence of parents in the town and allowing volunteers to arrange activities that promote an inclusive and secure community. The non-profit actors could also be responsible for activities that make the area attractive. Initiatives may come from the non-profit actors themselves and should be encouraged by the police, municipality etc. To the extent that there is a lack initiatives, the police and the municipality should see these activities as part of crime prevention and security creation and therefore initiate the participation of non-profit actors.

A business and civic public space model should be introduced

In a phase 2 area the police can be present without continual confrontation, the visible problems have decreased and the security surveys show a positive trend. The characteristics of phase 2 are that other civil society actors than the police have greater opportunities to operate in the area. A broad range of measures can be put in place in this phase, but our focus will be to achieve safer and more secure environments where there are people. An environment correctly designed to reduce opportunities for crime is effective from the point of view of crime prevention, and we have drawn attention to the fact that a successful working method is to concentrate on individual areas or individual places. Inspired by the BID model (Business Improvement District) we propose a model adapted to Swedish conditions called the AMP model (Swedish acronym for business and civic public space model). It is based on the stakeholders in an area, primarily municipalities, property owners and business operators, joining together and taking joint responsibility for the area in question. The concept of business highlights the necessity of the presence of private commercial interests in a place to make it vibrant and attractive. The civic concept makes it clear that it is a matter of creating public spaces that are accessible to everyone. The values created through these spaces are to benefit everyone, but they also entail a responsibility to look after them. The concept of space emphasises the significance of the location itself and the necessity of creating a vibrant, attractive public environment where people wish to spend time.

An AMP organisation is needed

In an AMP model there are various actors, with the AMP organisation being one of the most important. The main task of the organisation is to create a secure and safe area by coordinating and promoting the work in accordance with the basic concept of Placemaking. The organisation is responsible for continuity of work in the area and the need to develop it so that it follows the community development and public demands.

Apart from contributing to the work of the organisation, each individual actor should do what it can to make the area vibrant and attractive. In the case of the municipality, this may consist of renovating nearby areas, for property owners maintaining their properties in good condition and for business operators adapting opening hours so that there are people in the public space for large parts of the day and night.

As stated above, there are a number of stakeholders in an area that must contribute in various ways to the work for it to succeed. Municipalities, property owners and business operators must all participate actively in the AMP organisation and in its activities. The municipality has a special status in this context. Since the AMP work concerns caring for areas it may often relate to municipally owned land. Consequently, it is necessary for the municipality to transfer decision-making powers to the AMP organisation in matters concerning the area's design and the activities that take place there.

Insurance and security companies can contribute to AMP

Apart from these stakeholders, there are other actors that can make a considerable contribution to the activities, but that cannot be said to have such a direct interest in the area as those mentioned previously. These are the security industry and the insurance industry. Here responsibility falls on the AMP organisation to activate these resources. For example, companies in the security industry can assist in providing technical equipment adapted to the area and its actors, the insurance industry can contribute to development of the area through insurance terms and financing of various projects.

Create attractive places through Placemaking

A central task in the successful projects we have seen in for example New York is to create spaces that are attractive in the sense that people want to live and stay there. When a place attracts people, the human presence in the public space will function both as crime prevention and security creation. One concept that is applied in several places in the world is called Placemaking. It is based on a number of principles that have proved important in creating places where people want to be, for example investigating what type of spaces are desired in the area and not allowing design to steer the formation of the space. Bryant Park in New York was built according to these principles and has developed into one of the most attractive places on Manhattan from having previously been an area where no one dared to go due to serious criminality. When designing places the ideas of Placemaking should be taken note of.

Central and local government can contribute financially

Working with an area requires funding. Depending on the visions and the particular challenges of the area, relatively large amounts of funding may be required. It is not realistic to believe that this responsibility can be given to private actors; our belief is that central and local government must take wide responsibility for financing the transformation of various areas. The details

of the financing model must be adapted to the conditions in the individual area. In order for a project to be really successful it must run for several years, and therefore a long-term financing plan is necessary.

A knowledge centre should be set up to start up the AMP project

The concepts surrounding this type of partnership are relatively new in Sweden and knowledge of them is limited. To start up an AMP project, in the initial stages knowledge, support and help must be provided. We therefore propose that a knowledge centre be set up, tasked with collecting the knowledge that exists regarding partnerships in these areas, both Swedish and international, and developing this knowledge for Swedish conditions. The centre should also provide assistance with specific advice and recommendations for those intending to start an AMP project. As the work progresses, questions of various types will arise, and therefore the centres must be given research responsibilities. We also propose that the knowledge centre be tasked with identifying areas in need of AMP projects and initiate them if they are not initiated by other actors.

AMP pilot projects

As this type of partnership is new for Swedish conditions it is difficult to predict what will work and what will need to be addressed, for example in terms of legislation. We propose therefore that to start with, AMP projects are pilot projects in a number of places of differing kinds in the country. Experiences of these projects should thereafter form the basis for establishing a permanent structure for AMP projects throughout Sweden.

AMP is also appropriate in phase 3 areas

Finally, as regards action in phase 3 areas, it can be noted that the situation there is considerably better than in areas that are in other phases. Visible crime has decreased, the residents feel more secure and the municipality and the police have succeeded in building confidence in the area. The work must now be focused above all on combating hidden crime, such as domestic violence and economic and organised crime.

One of the risks in a phase 3 area is that the municipality and the police think the situation has improved so much that attention should now be directed towards other areas with greater problems. There is then a risk that the area will again develop negatively.

In such a situation we believe that the AMP organisation proposed in phase 2 constitutes a very valuable contribution to the continuous work that must be done in a phase 3 area.

In an AMP area police resources can be freed to concentrate more on serious crime. However, even if the police can reduce their presence in the area compared with phases 1 and 2, there must be both preparedness to be called out when necessary and continued work focusing in part on other more serious crime. In order to enable the AMP organisation to work successfully over time it is imperative that it receives the support and backing needed from central and local government authorities. If a situation arises that requires police intervention, the police must arrive in reasonable time. Consequently, the long-term work plan that the AMP organisation is to prepare together with the police and the municipality must also be adapted to the work when the area has reached phase 3. In this phase it is even more important to activate the untapped resources of other actors as mentioned above. In many respects it is a matter of continuing and also developing further the good work that led to the area's considerable improvement.

Concluding remarks

In view of the negative trend we see in Sweden, it is very clear that old proven concepts of crime prevention and creating security are not sufficient. We believe, therefore, that innovative thinking is necessary and that in that case there is every reason to try the AMP model introduced here. The Placemaking concept specifies that everything cannot be expected to be perfect from the outset, but practical experience is required in order to find out what must be addressed. The pilot projects can give these answers, but as society changes, new answers will need to be sought. We therefore see the proposed knowledge centre as a very important part of future crime prevention and security creation in Sweden. The AMP model is its practical footprint in society.