

Communities that Care is a new initiative in the UK. Can you say a bit about its origins?

Communities that Care

Barry Anderson talks to Penny Fraser about the development of this initiative in the UK.

The originators of Communities that Care are two American academics called David Hawkins and Richard Catalano, who are professors of social work at the University of Washington in Seattle. They began, in the 1980s to carry out research into the factors which appear to influence the likelihood of young people becoming involved in substance abuse. Ever since then, an important feature of their work which is based on a meta-analysis of international research, has been a concern, not with causal explanations of behaviours, but with the risk factors and protective factors which help to explain the processes of resistance, persistence and desistance.

I think Hawkins and Catalano felt that the analysis that they had undertaken was potentially immensely valuable, but that it might take 15-20 years to percolate through from academic circles to policy and practice. I think, therefore, that they wanted to broaden the debate beyond academia. They began to develop a community level preventive programme based on their research. The origins of the community based programmes operated by CtC today are to be found in a community level drugs prevention programme run in a number of communities in the State of Oregon in the mid 1980s. It is from the evaluation of the community dimension of these drugs prevention initiatives that we

“Community disorganisation and neglect, immediately mean something to us but they are very difficult to measure.”

Reducing Offending: an assessment of research evidence on ways of dealing with offending behaviour

Directed by Chris Nuttall. Home Office Research Study 187 (1998)

Reducing Offending identifies the approaches to crime reduction that are more effective than others and undermines the assumption that 'nothing works'. It recommends cost-effective strategies that will start to reduce crime and cites examples of best practice. The key findings emphasised in the report are as follows:

Reducing criminality

A wide range of initiatives will prevent criminality or reduce related risk factors if they target

- children
- families and friends
- schools

To be effective, prevention programmes should target risk factors affecting all the main aspects of a child's life. And early interventions to target not only the children at risk but also their parents and their schools are most effective as they deliver multiple outcomes and are more cost effective than interventions that focus on crime alone.

Situational crime prevention

There is evidence that combining crime prevention with other types of action produces gains over and above what could be obtained if they were delivered separately. For example, evidence from the Safer Cities Programme showed that action against domestic burglary was most effective when situational measures such as locks and bolts were combined with offender-oriented action.

However a continual programme of new initiatives is needed to maintain deterrence as currently effective methods quickly grow obsolete as offenders circumvent them or realise the risk is illusory (eg CCTV linked to inadequate police response)

Changing the context of crime

New structures are needed to increase incentives for crime prevention in the field of technological innovation. Where there is innovation, crime consequences should be anticipated and counter-moves incorporated in designs (eg digital TV). And more research should be undertaken on future environments for crime such as the Internet.

Community crime prevention

Community crime prevention - which denotes actions intended to change the social conditions which sustain crime in residential communities - is best delivered through inter-agency co-ordination at the local level. The Crime and Disorder Act introduces statutory clarification of this arrangement. Research evidence suggests that comprehensive community initiatives which tackle the inter-locking problems of social dislocation for which crime plays a part are likely to be most effective.

Effective policing

Evidence shows that the following practices are effective.

- targeting high profile repeat offenders
- targeting repeat victims to reduce the incidence of further victimisation
- police patrols of known 'hot spots'
- targeting drink-driving

And the following practices 'show promise':

- community priority setting so as to involve citizens in high crime areas
- effort to reduce fear and mistrust of the police can enhance co-operation from the community
- concentrating police efforts on a small area with particular crime problems can reduce serious crime in the short term

Sentencing policy

- Caution-plus schemes for first-time young offenders are associated with low re-conviction rates
- Restorative justice schemes are considered by both victims and offenders to be procedurally fair and produce low reconviction rates (but they have yet to be formally evaluated)

Interventions with offenders and drug users

The most effective programmes for addressing offending behaviour:

- are skills-based
- improve problem-solving
- draw on behavioural techniques to reinforce improved conduct.

Cognitive-behavioural approaches are more successful than techniques such as unfocused group or individual counselling and unstructured therapy.

Some types of programmes and placements show particular promise:

- Sex-offender programmes
- Vocational training, literacy provision and employment related projects
- Drug misuse treatment programmes in the community
- Targeted preventive drug programmes of young people particularly vulnerable to the development of addictive or dependent drug use.

[A full copy of the report can be obtained on request from the Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate (tel: 0171 273 2084 or fax: 0171 222 0211)]



derive much of the evidence for the community level process in use in CtC programmes today.

By this time, however, Hawkins and Catalano had also broadened the scope of their enquiries to include other 'problem behaviours', such as youth crime, school age pregnancy and school failure. Perhaps the single most important aspect of CtC's work is the understanding that the same risk factors and protective factors influence the likelihood that young people will get involved in one or more of these four problem behaviours. That's how we arrive at a clear, evidence based understanding of the importance of developing multiple solutions for multiple problems. If the main risk factors are in evidence in a community then youth crime, drug abuse, school failure and school-age pregnancy, are likely to be features affecting the lives of the

young people of that community. Single focus initiatives to deal either with say crime or school-age pregnancy are unlikely to be effective, if they have any effect at all, it may be to displace people into one of the other problem behaviours. I think Hawkins and Catalano's most important achievement to date has been to demonstrate this relationship between different kinds of social problem and to articulate the need for comprehensive, 'holistic' prevention strategies.

How did it come across the Atlantic to this country?

There are around 500 programmes operating in the States, 200 of which will have opened in the last 14/15 months. I suppose that level of activity was going to bring itself to be noticed over here anyway, especially as the

principles really and to build up a genuinely local approach. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation fund four dimensions of Communities that Care in this country: the pilot work by a team from Oxford University; the running costs of CTC (UK); the 3 UK demonstration projects in Barnsley, Swansea and Coventy and the evaluation which is being carried out by Sheffield University.

Which risk factors are the most significant in your view to the British context?

One of the main tenets of the model is that the different risk factors will have a different level of priority in different communities so there is a lot of emphasis on undertaking a risk audit. We leave it to local community boards to prioritise the risk factors.

American programmes are pretty prescriptive: it says that there is evidence that 17 risk factors in this country are the things that we know have a relationship with crime. But we don't say they explain everything. It may well be that the risk profiles stimulate the debate about what else needs to happen. The principal focus of the work is development of an action plan that looks at tackling the risk factors that arise from the audit.

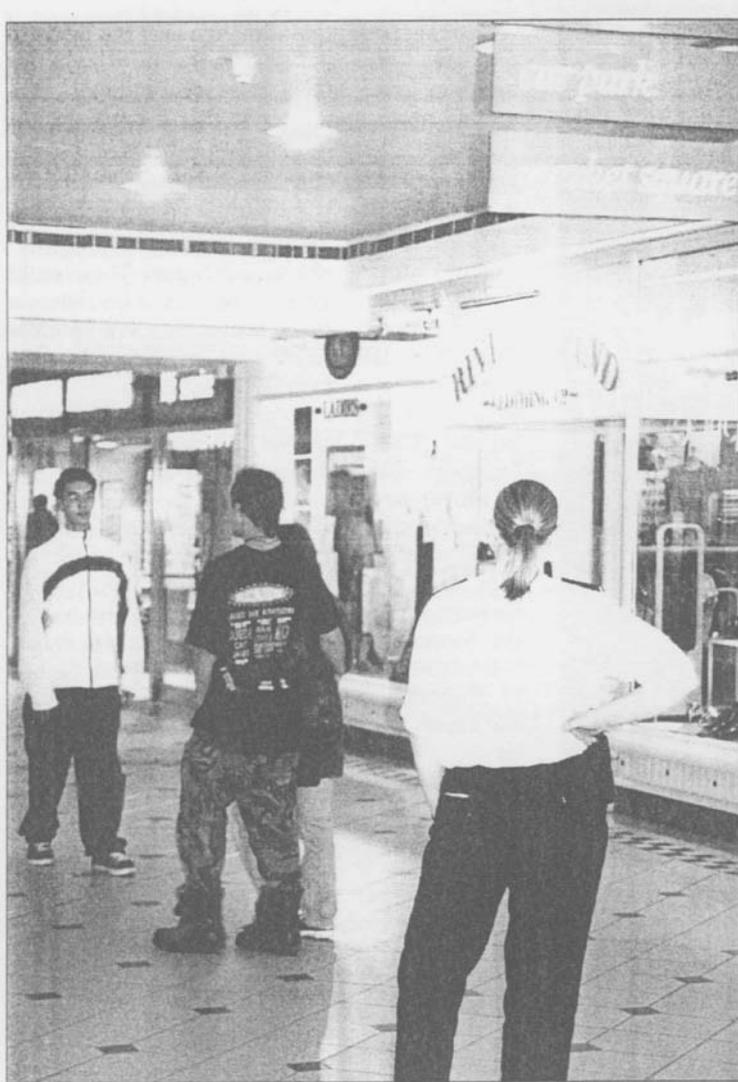
At the moment the model is pretty prescriptive: it says that there is evidence that 17 risk factors in this country are the things that we know have a relationship with crime. But we don't say they explain everything. It may well be that the risk profiles stimulate the debate about what else needs to happen. The principal focus of the work is development of an action plan that looks at tackling the risk factors that arise from the audit.

Can you summarise what the risk factors are?

It is important to say that we talk about them occurring in four domains. So there are family risk factors, there are school risk factors, there are community risk factors and then there are risk factors about the individual and their relationships with others such as peers and friends. It is important to say too, because sometimes people mistake our approach for an unduly pathological one, that if you look at those risk factors you'll find they cover a wide range of social, economic, personal and pathological factors. So poor housing, low income, inconsistent parenting, community neglect, all of those things will appear as risk factors. Those terms community disorganisation and neglect, immediately mean something to us but they are not precise terms and they are very difficult to measure. We are working towards a much clearer definition of what we mean by those things, developing measures and being able to validate those measures, benchmark them, so that when we get local results back they mean something. That's really been quite exciting and that I think is perhaps going to be the most valuable early contribution of Communities that Care.

What size of area does CtC work with?

We work in quite a small focused area. We describe ourselves as a community-based initiative and again "community" is one of those things that people have notions about, but we do need to test ourselves in different sized communities. At the moment in our three demonstration areas we are working with communities of around 12,000 population. One of the important things to come out



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of the evaluation will be the extent to which it is possible to tackle the issues that we seek to tackle on a locality basis. Clearly we think it is and clearly the early evidence from the States is that it is.

Having identified the location, how does Communities that Care then install itself?

One of the things we are keen to ensure is that local programmes are locally managed and locally accountable, so we don't manage them. The business of installing ourselves is actually very important. Thus far, people have come to us, saying 'we would like to run the programme, can you tell us about it?' Or, 'we would like to host a demonstration programme, what do we need to

do?' Barnsley, Coventry and Swansea (the three demonstration project areas) were selected through a bidding process.

We start off with a group of people we call key leaders from the various local authority departments (social work, chief executives, housing, education, possibly planning, economic regeneration). Alongside those, we have health, police, voluntary sector and others that seem appropriate. We define key leaders quite carefully, as people who have access to authority, information and resources, and what we want to do is arrive at a contract with them, that they will agree to deploy their authority, information and resources as appropriate to further the aims of the project. What we are asking them to do is to

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supervise the installation and then to let it go, because it is very much about a local community board taking the programme forward.

How will Communities that Care work with other regeneration initiatives at the local level - SRB, New Deal for Communities, Crime and Disorder Strategies and Youth Justice Plans, for example?

We can certainly work with them and in health and education action zones too. Indeed, I hope in some areas that we will be the glue that binds them together.

I think we are genuinely different in that most initiatives come with a ready-packaged solution and though the process that we adopt sounds superficially to be very similar to what everyone else does, that is, you collect and analyse information, you identify levels of need, you design solutions, you implement, you review, you evaluate and you start again, in fact we're not simply measuring, we're trying to look behind the measurements at what's driving particular problems. We're then looking to develop long term solutions which can inform the other initiatives. Our hope is that whatever the focus of an action plan, whatever kind of risks prove to be significant in Barnsley, in Coventry, in Swansea, that the more things that are going on, in terms of education, SRB 5 and the rest, the more opportunities there will be to finance initiatives. One of the things that we are at pains to emphasise the whole time, is that the emphasis is on the long-term, and the sustainable. We'll work hard to avoid developing action plans that propose setting up a three year project here and a two year project there.

I think part of the problem in some communities has been the extent to which people have tried to bolt on single focus projects to deal with the failures of the mainstream: we really are about changing the long-term culture of the mainstream. If you can work in communities to reduce the level

of risk that young people face and to promote the protective factors that mean they are less likely to get involved in things like youth crime, drug abuse and so on, you are actually changing that community for the better and you're improving some of the basic building blocks of that community. To a large extent that is going to be achieved by refocusing what is already going on. Sometimes, of course, we'll need to set up initiatives because a service which is indicated simply doesn't exist, such as parenting support or parental education. But again we want to introduce them in a way that is sustainable.

Do you regard Communities that Care as a crime prevention initiative or as a community safety initiative or do you resist those kinds of labels?

I worry about us being defined as a crime prevention initiative. I'm slightly more comfortable with the notion that we are a community safety initiative but we are not really a single focus initiative, indeed we are generally unhappy about single focus initiatives, preferring a more 'holistic' approach. You see, the correlation between the risk factors, for say youth crime and drug misuse mean that tackling one or the other in isolation is unlikely to be effective. There are 17 risk factors that correlate with youth crime and 16 of those correlate with drug abuse, so the single focus initiative simply isn't going to work. The term we like best is "positive prevention". Essentially we're about building on the strengths that exist within communities. We say that our principal aims are to support and strengthen families, promote school commitment and success, encourage responsible and safe sexual behaviour and promote community cohesion.

I'm not aware of any major evaluation that has been done of the programme in the States and yet obviously as an approach it has got sufficient advocates to be adopted not only in hundreds of communities in the States but also over here. Why do you think it has been so widely promoted despite not having had a major evaluation? And how and when are we going to know whether it is working here; what are the

milestones of Communities that Care in the UK?

I think the reason it's perhaps grown so quickly and so widely despite the absence of a large scale evaluation, is that people are reassured by the extent to which all the components have been evaluated. There is evidence for the risk factors: the way in which we measure them has been validated. There's evidence that the community based approach is effective. Even when it comes to drafting action plans then we have something called the quality approach which says that what you write in to your action plans, should be based on evaluated best practice.

The principal evaluation report will come out at the end of the four year evaluation period undoubtedly. We'll also be publishing an annual report and one of the things that we're looking at is ways in which we can roll out early findings either through that or perhaps through Joseph Rowntree Foundation findings. On the one hand we have a very rigorous and thorough and reasonably resourced evaluation, that is actually taking place concurrently, rather than post hoc. But at the same time it is

sufficiently flexible to permit early feedback into us which is why I think it is important that we then publish that. It is important that we are up-front about the advice we receive and about the in-course corrections we have made.

Of course there is a huge debate, not specifically about the way in which CTC is to be evaluated, but much more about how best we evaluate community level initiatives. There are those who feel that the traditionally more respected experimental or quasi-experimental approach to evaluation is either unworkable or can be improved upon and so there has been a lot of interest in things like the theories of change approach more recently. I think it is probably fair to say, without giving too much away, that the current evaluation of CTC attempts to borrow from both and probably a more meaningful discussion or distinction for our evaluators at the moment, is trying to get the balance right between process and outcomes.

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Barry Anderson is Chief Executive of Communities that Care (UK). The three demonstration projects and the evaluation are funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

NEW NACRO MAGAZINE

NACRO (National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders) is launching a new quarterly magazine 'Safer Society' in October. Safer Society will provide a forum for discussion and debate about the ever-widening and imaginative range of measures to prevent and respond to crime - ways which also help offenders to build law-abiding lives. It will be of interest to anyone who needs to keep up-to-date with new ideas about tackling crime. It will include essential information, reports and commentary relevant to the work of criminal justice agencies, local authorities and health, drug, housing and training organisations.

Annual subscription £20.

For further information, contact NACRO Communications Department, 169 Clapham Road, London SW9 0PU.

The 1998 Crime and Disorder Act places a duty on local councils and the police to prepare local audits of crime and disorder which must involve active consultation with local people and organisations. This article argues that the issue of community involvement in tackling crime and disorder needs to be viewed clearly within the context of the government's broader agenda for local democratic change. The resources and organisational changes among local authorities and the police required to fulfil the duty to consult the community are significant and will need to be linked into the wider process of 'best value' and community consultation.

Government's agenda for local democracy

John Blackmore highlights the importance of viewing community involvement in crime prevention in the context of the recent White Paper on local government reform.

The Government's agenda for local democracy

The recently published White Paper on local government reform ('Modern Local Government: In Touch with the People', DETR, July 1998) provides a clear indication of how the Government is driving forward an agenda for community empowerment. The Government makes it clear that it intends to instigate a radical reform of local government which will result in modern councils fit for the 21st century 'where public participation in debate and decision making is valued, with strategies in place to inform and engage local opinion'. Councils are instructed to develop a wide range of consultative mechanisms so that consultation and

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participation becomes embedded into organisational culture across a wide range of each council’s responsibilities: ‘This will be a key feature of constructing a community plan and achieving best value’. The government proposes ‘to legislate for a new statutory duty on councils to consult and engage with their local communities...’. With a none too subtle ‘iron fist in the velvet glove’ approach it states that ‘the way in which a council conducts consultation will be one of the issues taken into account in assessing how far the authority is meeting its duty to best value and is fit to be a beacon council’. In other words this may influence a

council’s future chances of securing resources from central government.

The emphasis the government is placing on Best Value is also crucial for all those partners involved in implementing crime prevention and community safety. Chapter 7 of the White Paper specifically refers to community safety, ‘Best value will also help councils to address the cross cutting issues facing their citizens and communities such as community safety ... which are beyond the reach of a single service or service provider’. The government makes it clear that the principles of Best Value must also be applied to all those partners (e.g.

the police) working with local authorities.

Crime and Disorder Act and requirement for community consultation

‘The Crime and Disorder Act provides the framework for a radical new empowerment of local people in the fight against crime and disorder’ (Opening statement to Foreword of the Act). The first of the 3 key messages that the Home Secretary, and other signatories (which significantly includes the Secretary of State for Environment, Transport and the Regions) get across is ‘the importance of involving the community at every stage in the process’. The Foreword makes it clear that the Act’s requirement to implement crime and disorder strategies will require ‘substantial changes in the practices of all these organisations’ and in many cases

will mean that they will have to ‘think in new and different ways about their own internal priorities and their relationships both with each other and with the wider community’.

In the context of community empowerment this means that existing ways of consulting the community will need to be reviewed and substantially developed. Police Authorities already have a duty under sections 7 and 96 of the Police Act 1996 to consult the community about policing issues and priorities. One of the main mechanisms used are Police Community Consultative Groups. However, the Police (and local authorities) will have to look much more actively at ways of engaging hard to reach groups such as young people, ethnic minorities, the disadvantaged and the socially excluded. The

government is keen to see young people involved and ‘places particular priority on the development of youth action groups as part of the strategy which is supported by Ministers in the Home Office and the DfEE’.

In considering ways of developing community consultation it will be important to discuss opportunities with partner agencies so as not to duplicate effort and also to avoid ‘consultation fatigue’ among particular communities. ‘Any mechanisms which other partners have in place should be examined to see whether they can provide an effective means of consulting and involving local people. All partners may want to take this opportunity to review their existing mechanisms to see whether they can be rationalised, adapted and improved to incorporate consultation on crime and disorder audits’.

Implications for crime prevention and community safety

What does this mean in practice for those responsible for developing community involvement in crime prevention and community safety? Firstly, it is crucial that the message about the importance the government attaches to community empowerment should be taken on board by all agencies in local Crime and Disorder partnerships. Secondly, a clear structure needs to be outlined both to involve the community actively in the process of preparing local crime audits and to continue and extend this involvement on an ongoing basis. Thirdly, work will need to be undertaken on how the process of consultation can be resourced. With the latter two points it will be essential to tie in the crime and disorder consultation with the work by local authorities and partner agencies being stimulated by the White Paper. A recent review by De Montfort and Strathclyde Universities of consultation mechanisms undertaken by local authorities highlights the extent and variety of consultation activity being developed (‘Enhancing public participation in local government’ DETR 1998). Local crime and



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disorder partnerships can also learn from exchanging experiences with each other.

Experience of community consultation in Brent

Brent has a well established crime prevention and community safety partnership which has been in operation for over 7 years. In 1996 a Residents Attitude Survey highlighted concerns about crime and significantly found that residents put community safety at the top of the service that they felt the Council should allocate more resources to. In response, the Council has made community safety one of its 5 corporate priorities and resourced a comprehensive 'anti-crime package'. A key part of Brent's community safety programme has been to try to engage the community in planning concrete action. A number of mechanisms have been put in place (some more successful than others) to consult with and engage the community. These include:

- establishing local community safety forums on high crime estates
- regular visits by community safety staff to Area Housing Boards and Tenants and Residents Associations
- 'piggy backing' questions about community safety onto surveys conducted by Housing and Environment
- directing Council officer time into developing Neighbourhood Watch
- resourcing Youth Action groups with Education and the Police
- taking crime prevention into the community by using a mobile community safety bus
- setting up a community safety advice point in a high street store and
- publishing a 'Safer Brent' Newsletter distributed to Council One Stop Shops, libraries, schools, community groups, ethnic minority groups and housing offices.

Conferences involving the public have been held on anti-racism, community safety, young people and elders' concerns. Specific projects such as neighbourhood pride clean up campaigns, blitzes on abandoned vehicles, CCTV on high crime housing estates and mentoring schemes for young offenders have been initiated directly as a response to local peoples concerns and ideas. Focus groups on crime have been undertaken as part of Brent's Best Value Housing Services pilot project.

There is still a long way to go. An important objective will be to co-ordinate this community involvement effectively and to link in with consultation mechanisms being employed by all the different service units of the Council as well as partners such as the Police and Health Authority.

Conclusion

The requirement in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act to involve local communities actively in devising and implementing local crime and disorder strategies must be viewed in the context of the Government's wider agenda for local democratic change. Community consultation, involvement and empowerment is a central tenet of this agenda. Involving the community genuinely and actively in shaping crime and disorder strategies and action requires significant resources. In the absence of 'new money' being made available it will be essential to link into local authorities' wider programmes for community development. As part of this process all agencies involved in crime and disorder partnerships will need to drastically improve their existing ways of communicating with the public and will need to actively take on board the principles of Best Value.

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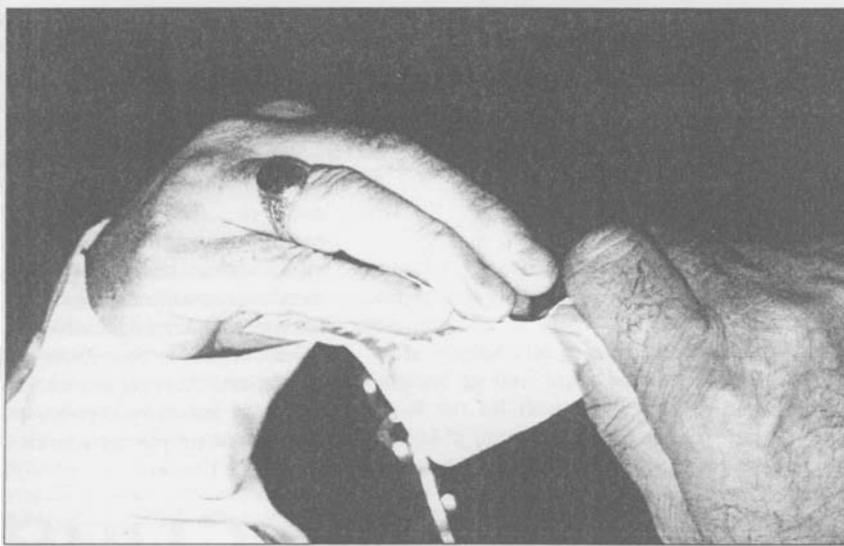
Crime prevention strategies are generally aimed at what might be described as conventional crime and offenders - burglars, vandals, thieves and the unruly or violent. The many crimes perpetrated by and in the interests of entrepreneurs, businesses and organisations rarely feature in standard crime prevention advice. Many reasons are advanced for this - their impact is less direct and visible and their regulation lies outside the realms of the police and other crime prevention agencies.

Protecting us from powerful interests?

Hazel Croall reflects on the need to take business crime prevention seriously.

Many victims are unaware of and therefore powerless to prevent their victimisation. Yet even a brief glance at a selection of offences traditionally regarded as white collar, business, commercial, institutional or corporate crime demonstrates that they have a considerable impact in the same locations as the targets of crime prevention - in the home, the local neighbourhood, the high street and many others.

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Offences and offenders

Offences range from the major financial scandals associated with white collar crime and the so called 'disasters' which are so often caused by a neglect of criminally enforced regulations, to the more everyday breaches of health, safety and other regulations which seek to protect the public from harm and fraud. Tax evasion and frauds on national and local government deprive local communities of much needed cash and major 'disasters' affect not only the immediately bereaved but also the local community. The recent Fatal Accident Inquiry into the 21 deaths from E-coli in the area surrounding Wishaw found that the butcher concerned had routinely neglected hygiene regulations and had been dishonest when questioned by Environmental Health Officers - a dishonesty which may have contributed to six of the deaths. Following the publication of this report, a victim's relative stated that he had let down himself and his family and 'also the people of Wishaw (Daily Mail, 1998). To these major cases must be added the multitude of offences associated with many different forms of organisational and entrepreneurial activity - from enterprises whose activities lie on the borderline of legitimacy, to the activities of large organisations and corporations which have an often unrecognised

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impact on everyday lives.

Home and business relations

In the home for example, householders are exhorted to protect themselves by installing locks, bolts and security alarms. But these cannot exclude other risks of victimisation. Basic utilities such as water and fuel pose risks such as polluted tap water, dangerous fumes from inadequately maintained gas appliances which can and have killed, and, particularly since privatisation, the harassment and defrauding of householders by high pressure doorstep selling, or 'marketing malpractice' on the part of utility companies, recently made subject to more rigorous regulations (Scottish Office Press Release, 1998). Cowboy builders and plumbers also defraud and threaten the safety of householders. Telecommunication sales provide yet more opportunities for fraud and a major criminal industry has grown up around the production, distribution and sale of counterfeit videos, CD's, computer software and of course computer pornography (Croall, 1998).

Rethinking community safety

Community safety is generally portrayed as under threat by the noisy neighbours, vandals, drug addicts and unruly young men who

are to be the subject of anti-social behaviour orders. But what about the nuisance and threat to the quality of life of noisy businesses, polluting factories and the growing problem of dumping hazardous waste? This latter involves legal businesses, hospitals and illegal enterprises alike. While many crime

prevention initiatives are directed against the 'car crime' of vandals and joyriders, car crime could also include the criminal activities of car manufacturers, garages and second hand car traders - the 'clocking' of cars alone having been estimated to cost consumers £100 million in one year.

High streets, shopping malls and other commercial sites are surrounded by preventive measures and the gaze of CCTV aims to seek out the potential thief, vandal or attacker. But what about other forms of 'retail crime'? A host of counterfeit and unsafe products from toys and washing powder to perfumes, jewellery and designer clothes are sold by 'rogue' traders in markets and squat shops along with major high street stores. Legitimate butchers, bakers and grocers can sell short weight and unsafe food and the use of misleading labels on food has recently attracted considerable concern. And, as the example of E-coli illustrates, neglecting hygiene regulations can have fatal results. Manufacturers, major stores and supermarkets also mislead and defraud consumers through a variety of sales techniques one of which is the use of deceptive packaging where large boxes and jars are found to contain less of the product than expected along with a lot of cardboard and fresh air. Many customers think they have purchased a 'bargain' when the price may be little different to what was always charged.

Many more examples could be cited - recent well publicised cases where deaths have followed the neglect of safety regulations have involved workplaces, transport, sporting venues, leisure sites and adventure centres. Women, often seen as vulnerable to violence from strangers and acquaintances are

also at risk from the harassment and frauds of 'men at work' - after all 'little old ladies' are the archetypical target of fraudsters (Croall, 1995).

The contexts of crime

These examples are not merely advanced to expose the considerable impact of business or commercial crime and to point out that the rhetoric of crime prevention reflects the conventional social construction of crime - although they do do this. They also draw attention to the social and economic context of all forms of crime. Ruggiero and South (1997) for example have recently pointed to the increasingly blurred boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate enterprises in the bazaar of the late modern city. Social exclusion not only makes conventional crime or participation in the drugs market attractive but also provides a market for cheap and often unsafe goods and services, the supply of which also yields much needed income and employment. Loose regulation of business and other enterprises taken together with privatisation enable both legitimate and illegitimate businesses and service providers to bend and break laws which are not generally regarded as 'criminal'. The groups most vulnerable to many of these activities are those who are also most vulnerable to conventional crime and they involve repeated and multiple victimisation. Crime prevention policies will therefore be less than comprehensive should these forms of crime be neglected.

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