

**Preventing Youth Crime in Chongqing:**  
**The Implications of Western Scientific Evidence and**  
**Intergovernmental Guidelines on Crime Prevention through Social Development**

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## Abbreviations

**ACPF:** Alberta's Crime Prevention Framework  
**BSPYV:** Boston Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence  
**CPIMJ:** Crime Prevention Institute of the Minister of Justice  
**CPLC:** Crime Prevention Leadership Centre  
**CPSD:** Crime Prevention through Social Development  
**CQHPC:** Chongqing Higher People's Court  
**CSPV:** Centre for the Study and Prevention of Violence  
**CTC:** Communities That Care  
**CY:** Chongqing Yearbook  
**IPC:** Institute for the Prevention of Crime  
**JDPL:** Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Law  
**JJS:** Juvenile Justice System  
**JPL:** Juvenile Protection Law  
**MATTF:** Manitoba Auto Theft Task Force  
**NBSC:** National Bureau of Statistics of China  
**NCPC:** National Crime Prevention Centre  
**NGO:** Non-governmental organizations  
**OJJDP:** Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs  
**PYCLO:** Prevention of Youth Crime Leading Office  
**QOP:** Quantum Opportunities Program  
**RCT:** Randomized Control Trial  
**REB:** Research Ethics Board  
**SCLAO:** State Council Legislation Affairs Office  
**SNAP:** Stop Now and Plan  
**UN:** United Nations  
**UNECOSOC:** United Nations Economic and Social Council  
**UN-HABITAT:** United Nations Human Settlements Programme  
**UNODC:** United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime  
**NOBPP:** Norwegian Olweus Bullying Prevention Program  
**VRU:** Violence Reduction Unit  
**WATSS:** The Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy  
**WHO:** World Health Organization

## **Abstract**

The primary objective of this thesis is to examine the relevance of intergovernmental decisions and western risk-focused social crime prevention to reducing youth crime within Chongqing, China. With this aim, the thesis involves a review of the existing literature both within China, and at an international level (primarily from the U.S.A. and decisions by Intergovernmental Organizations) that might be relevant to: (i) the current youth crime situation in the city of Chongqing, (ii) risk factors that might contribute to youth crime within Chongqing, (iii) the scientific evaluations of ‘evidence-based’ risk-focused crime prevention strategies for different age groups of youth, and (iv) implementation strategies for evidence-based innovations to reduce youth crime. Based on this knowledge, interviews with six key stakeholders of Chongqing were conducted for the purpose of obtaining some initial perceptions regarding the utility and practicality of crime prevention through social development within Chongqing. Ultimately, this study demonstrates the preliminary relevance of western studies and action, recalls China’s endorsement of intergovernmental recommendations, and provides a foundation for further research into this topic.

*This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Chongqiu Gao and Haike Cao.*

*For their endless love, support and encouragement*

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## Introduction

The metropolis of Chongqing is located in South-Western China. It is the newest direct-controlled municipality of China<sup>1</sup> and one of the five National Central Cities. It is the largest municipality in the world by size and population (National Bureau of Statistics of China [NBSC], 2010). In 2009, the municipality of Chongqing, with a region of 82,300 km<sup>2</sup>, had jurisdiction over 19 districts, 17 counties, and four autonomous counties (Chongqing Yearbook [CY], 2009). It has a population of 32.8 million, of which about 8 million (24%) are under the age of 18 (CY, 2009). Chongqing has remained historically and culturally important throughout China's long history and was once the capital city of China during World War II.

Over the last decade, Chongqing has been the most rapidly developing city within China. While urbanization and modernization have offered many advantages, they have also created disadvantages for this city. For instance, while economic progress has brought wealth, rapid development has interfered with social stability. Just as in other major cities throughout the world, social issues such as unemployment, broken families, and drug abuse are increasingly prevalent.

Based on the limited data sources that are available to the public, it appears that modernization and urbanization are causing youth crime to become worse in Chongqing. For instance, court reports and local newspaper articles suggest that the seriousness of youth crime within Chongqing continues to increase, and that youth involvement in murder, assault, robbery,

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<sup>1</sup> A direct-controlled municipality, with status equal to province, is the highest level classification for cities used by China. Direct-controlled cities operate somewhat independently from the central government, yet remain principally under the control of the Chinese government. To date, there are four direct-controlled municipalities in China; the other three are Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin.

gangs, sex crimes and drug abuse is increasing (in both prevalence and severity) (Chongqing Higher People's Court [CQHPC], 2009). In addition, a significant portion of the increase in crime rates in Chongqing are perceived to be linked to factors such as poor parenting, poverty, low education, and unemployment (CQHPC, 2009).

The dominant response to youth crime in China is often described as the traditional criminal justice approach. This approach relies upon the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China* to guide a penalizing response from elements of the criminal justice system (police, prosecution, courts, prisons and corrections) (State Council Legislation Affairs Office [SCLAO], 2011). This approach assumes that police are aware of the offence and are able to make an arrest. The court process ensues. If the court convicts, it gives the final ruling on how the youth will be sentenced. This may involve punitive or alternative measures that strive toward correction.

Recently in China, both the media and some academics have started to discuss the possibility of using preventative approaches to reduce the youth crime problem in China (Crime Prevention Institute of the Minister of Justice [CPIMJ], 2009). Crime prevention through social development, which aims to promote well-being through social, health, and educational measures particularly by focusing on risk factors that predispose youth toward developing into persistent offenders, has been discussed as a viable alternative by a number of Chinese scholars, government officials and law practitioners (CPIMJ, 2009). However, this approach has yet to be integrated in the decisions of intergovernmental organizations or adopted in practice.

There exists a great deal of social science and public health evidence identified by intergovernmental organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations (UN) which supports crime prevention through social development as a more effective and efficient way of reducing crime than the traditional police, courts and corrections programs.

China, as an active member of both the United Nations and the World Health Organization, has agreed to a number of important decisions that support the implementation of prevention, including through social development, as a method of reducing youth crime (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC], 2010; Appendix D).

In countries, such as Canada, the United Kingdom and the USA, a body of knowledge has developed about social factors that contribute to the increased risk of a young person becoming a persistent offender. This knowledge has been founded in longitudinal studies completed and analyzed by western scholars, such as Farrington, Welsh and Loeber, regarding the experiences that predispose children and youth to becoming delinquents (Farrington & Loeber, 2001 and 2011; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007).

A complementary body of knowledge demonstrates that risk-focused crime prevention projects which tackle these risk factors have indeed prevented crime (Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence [CSPV], 2004; Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2006; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; National Crime prevention Center [NCPC], 2008; Sherman, et al., 2002). In response to the problem of youth crime, western scientists have developed several experimental projects targeting risk factors which have achieved impressive success rates for reducing violence among youth. These projects have been scientifically evaluated by experimental and quasi-experimental studies to show their impact and effectiveness (Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

Also, increasingly, experts and practitioners are agreeing on the key components of strategies for different levels of government to implement these effective strategies (WHO, 2004b; UNODC, 2010).

## **The Goal of This Thesis**

This thesis will explore whether the social development approach of crime prevention that has been shown to be effective method in the West may also be adopted and sustained within China. More specifically, it will focus on the city of Chongqing, China.

This study aims to serve as an initial exploration of whether youth crime in Chongqing could be reduced by implementing western crime prevention knowledge. It was not designed to be an in-depth investigation or description of what it would take to implement crime prevention. Ultimately, this thesis attempts to provide a foundation for further in-depth research on this topic.

However, there exist a number of obstacles that may arise when implementing these crime prevention initiatives in Chongqing's distinct political, economic, social and cultural environment. These differences between the West and China will no doubt limit the ability to implement western crime prevention initiatives in Chongqing, China. Regardless, this study examines the concept and practical strategies of crime prevention through social development to determine whether there might be some benefits for the city of Chongqing to consider reflecting on western crime prevention knowledge.

The motivation for the author to initiate and complete this research is my belief that the crime prevention knowledge mentioned throughout this thesis would more than likely benefit Chongqing by reducing youth crime. It is worth noting that although crime prevention knowledge has been recognized as a cost-effective method of addressing youth crime in China (as evident in China's participation in WHO and UN initiatives), this study was not conducted at the formal request of any politicians or policy-makers from Chongqing.

## Research Questions

The research questions posed are as follows:

1. What is known about the youth crime situation in Chongqing?
2. What have been identified as risk factors that predispose youth to becoming persistent offenders according to the policy and research literature (intergovernmental decisions and western literature)?
3. What is known regarding ‘what works’ for targeting risk factors and reducing youth crime through social development?
4. What is known from this literature about effective ways to harness knowledge about crime prevention through social development in order to reduce youth crime in cities?
5. To what extent are the conclusions of western knowledge accepted by some key opinion leaders of Chongqing regarding: (i) identified risk factors for youth, (ii) effective strategies for tackling risk factors, (iii) crime prevention initiatives consistent with proven effective strategies, and (iv) the presence of a responsibility centre or ‘Crime Prevention Leadership Centre’ that could mobilize sectors such as schools, housing, youth and criminal justice services around a diagnosis, strategic plan and shift towards increased and sustained investment in effective crime prevention strategies?

When this paper discusses ‘western literature’, it is referring to empirical crime prevention knowledge and practices that have been proposed by leading experts and organizations in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom as well as the intergovernmental organizations such as the World Health Organization and the United Nations.

Throughout this thesis, crime prevention is defined as any initiative or policy that reduces delinquency, property crime, or violent crime by successfully tackling the scientifically

identified causal factors (Welsh, 2007). Generally, there are three approaches to preventing crime: prevention of crime through law enforcement and corrections, prevention through reduction of opportunities to commit crime (situational crime prevention), and prevention through social development actions (crime prevention through social development). There are three levels of prevention: primary crime prevention,<sup>2</sup> secondary crime prevention,<sup>3</sup> and tertiary crime prevention<sup>4</sup> (Brantingham & Faust, 1976; Farrington & Welsh, 2007; WHO, 2002). The main focus of this thesis is on secondary crime prevention techniques that are specific to social development and which aim to prevent crime by addressing the individual and relational factors that put youth at risk, such as family violence, school failure (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1984; Kelly & Caputo, 2011).

### **Topics of Each Chapter**

In order to fulfill the research goal stated above and answer all of the research questions of this study, this thesis will utilize the following format:

**Chapter 1** describes the methodology that was utilized in this study.

**Chapter 2** presents what is known about the current youth crime situation in the city of Chongqing. This will provide general information regarding Chongqing as well as background information relevant to understand crime within a Chinese context.

**Chapter 3** focuses on the knowledge from western research on risk factors and compares this to some knowledge from the 1973 Chinese Birth Cohort Study.

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<sup>2</sup> Primary crime prevention: programs designed for the general population that address broad-based socio-economic factors believed to be related to increased likelihood of later offending. For example, early child care, income distribution programs, and employment support programs.

<sup>3</sup> Secondary crime prevention: programs focus on intervening with children and youth who are at risk for becoming offenders because of the presence of one or more risk factors.

<sup>4</sup> Tertiary crime prevention: directed towards the prevention of criminal re-occurrence. This includes measures such as physical modification of repeatedly victimized buildings, offender rehabilitation programs, etc.

**Chapter 4** summarizes the general conclusions with some examples of successful crime prevention initiatives that have been evaluated within western countries. These are discussed as responses to the risk factors discussed in Chapter 3.

**Chapter 5** identifies scientific strategies of how to successfully establish a crime prevention system within a province or large metropolis such as Chongqing.

**Chapter 6** discusses interviews that were conducted with six key stakeholders within the city of Chongqing. This chapter examines their perceptions and opinions with regard to the potential for the application of effective western risk-focused crime prevention strategies within Chongqing.

**Chapter 7** draws on the conclusions and findings of this thesis.

## **Chapter 1: Methodology**

This chapter discusses the methodology that was utilized in this study to explore the research questions proposed in the introduction. Essentially, this chapter will explore the literature pertaining to the objectives of this thesis as well as the interview methods that were used to collect the data for this project.

### **1.1. Literature Review**

Exploring efficient means of reducing crime has been a concern of social scientists and various western and intergovernmental commissions since the 1970s (Waller, 2006). In the 1970s and 1980s, academics in Australia, Canada, Britain and the United States began to focus on crime prevention. Much of the interest was generated by recognition of the limits of the traditional criminal justice approach and concerns that the rehabilitative model was not succeeding. Pioneering research at this time pointed to explanations that combined social causes of crime and explanations about opportunities of crime (Waller and Okihiro, 1978).

One approach has focused on environmental design as a means of limiting opportunity to commit offenses. Three renowned criminologists who were vital to the development of this body of knowledge included Clarke (1997) as well as Felson and Cohen (1979) as they helped to establish situational crime prevention theory, rational choice theory, and the routine activity approach.

Another approach which focuses on the underlying social and economic risk factors that predispose young men toward developing into persistent offenders has come to be known as Crime Prevention through Social Development (CPSD) (Canadian Council on Social

Development, 1984; Kelly & Caputo, 2011). The overall question that the CPSD approach addresses is: “why are certain individuals or groups more likely to be involved in, or be victims of, crime than others?” (MacRea, et al., 2005; Stroick, 2002). CPSD includes activities that are directed toward youth which aim to prevent/reduce the risk of youth becoming involved in crime by seeking to address the challenges they face in their lives (Kelly & Caputo, 2011). Of note, the majority of research conducted on CPSD has been directed towards persistent offenders (MacRea, et al., 2005; Stroick, 2002).

Criminologists have organized the approaches listed above into models of crime prevention. The most recognized model of crime prevention, noted by Brantingham and Faust, which was borrowed from the approach found in the public health models of disease prevention has been conceptualized as being three tier: primary, secondary and tertiary prevention. Primary prevention identifies conditions of the physical and social environment at large, secondary prevention is directed at early identification and intervention in the lives of individuals or groups in criminogenic circumstances, and tertiary prevention deals with actual offenders and focuses on the prevention of recidivism” (Brantingham and Faust, 1976: 284).

Most CPSD initiatives operate within the secondary level of crime prevention (Farrington & Welsh, 2007; MacRae, et al., 2005). Generally, a CPSD approach includes a wide range of programs that aim to promote well-being through social, health, and educational measures by targeting factors identified as risks for people, especially children and youth, at high risk of getting involved with criminal activity (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1984; Kelly & Caputo, 2011).

The cost-effectiveness of CPSD has been recognized worldwide. For instance, in order to develop a balanced approach to crime control, Canada has shifted their resources toward CPSD

strategies since the mid1980s as it is considered the most cost-effective way of preventing at-risk individuals from engaging in delinquent activity (MacRae, et al., 2005). In addition, international authorities such as the United Nations (2002) agree that CPSD is effective, particularly with at risk children and youth.

For this thesis, the researcher has chosen to focus on the potential of secondary level of CPSD. CPSD has been developed empirically through longitudinal studies, as well as experimental and quasi-experimental evaluation designs (Farrington & Welsh, 2007). On the one hand, longitudinal studies, which were used to show the knowledge about risk factors, have shown that several negative life experiences, such as inconsistent and uncaring parenting, seem to predispose certain youth to becoming persistent delinquents (Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007; Farrington & Loeber, 2011). An example of such a longitudinal study was the 1973 Chinese Birth Cohort study which interviewed two samples consisting of 5,000 individuals each in an effort to identify the differences between offenders and non-offenders (Friday, et al., 2003). These studies have proven crucial to assessing the effects that programs and risk factors have on youth over time. On the other hand, high-quality evaluations, cost-benefit analyses and random control trials have been designed to investigate the effectiveness of CPSD programs. In addition, criminologists use different forms of rigorous methods, especially systematic review and meta-analytic review, to assess and review the evaluation research evidence (Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

The researcher has relied on a number of previous studies of risk factors and social prevention innovations. Reviews of risk factors relevant to CPSD have been done by a number of criminologists such as Cambridge professor David Farrington. Brandon C. Welsh, Ph.D, Northeastern University professor Brandon Welsh, and University of Pittsburgh professor Rolf

Loeber (specifically, Farrington & Loeber, 2001 and 2011; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007). Over the past decade, their work was further reviewed by the World Health Organization, which has assembled panels of academics from across international agencies throughout the world to assess their research, thus implying the relevance of these reviews to China (WHO, 2002).

Evidence from scientific experimental evaluations supporting CPSD have been assessed rigorously by a group at the University of Colorado funded by the U.S. Department of Health as well as the National Institute of Justice of the U.S. Department of Justice, and by a group at the University of Maryland funded by the National Institute of Justice (CSPV, 2004; Sherman et al., 2002). The work at Maryland reviewed more than 600 scientific evaluation programs to examine what works, what does not work, what is promising, and what is unknown in preventing crime (Sherman et al., 2002). The review by the World Health Organization included a special chapter on youth crime and its conclusions have been approved by its ministerial health council (WHO, 2002). As a key member country of the WHO, this review holds relevance for China as the prescribed guidelines put forth for addressing specific youth risk factors appear to be universally applicable. There is also a Chinese language version of the World Report on Violence and Health.<sup>5</sup> China has also endorsed the *World Health Assembly Resolution 56.24*, on implementing the recommendations of the *World Report on Violence and Health* when it was passed in 2003 (see Appendix D).

Building on material produced by the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC) agreed on two important sets of guidelines for implementing crime prevention in 1995 and 2002 (UNECOSOC, 1995 & 2002).

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<sup>5</sup> Retrieved from: [http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2002/711705283X\\_chi.pdf](http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2002/711705283X_chi.pdf).

These guidelines were also agreed upon by China, which has been a member of the Council since 1971 (UNECOSOC, n.d.).

To better understand the youth crime situation in Chongqing, as well as the state of the Chinese juvenile justice system, published Chinese documents were examined. These include the official 2009 Chongqing Higher People's Courts' report (the white paper) and local media reports. However, all of the data that has been categorized as being of Chinese origin for this thesis only refer to information collected/produced within mainland China (which excludes the Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan regions).

## **1.2. Semi-Structured Interviews**

The decision to utilize semi-structured (semi-standardized) interviews for this research endeavour was based on the following rationale. Compared to a structured (standardized) interview, which has a formalized and limited set of questions, the semi-structured interview allows participants the freedom to express their views in their own terms. It also allows the interviewer to record the interview while participants answer the questions and make clarifications during the interview (Berg, 2009). Given the limited window that was available for conducting research in Chongqing, China, semi-structured interviews proved most appropriate as they allowed the interviewer to be more flexible during the interview, and participants were able to disclose their opinions without being constrained by questions which limit their responses (Berg, 2009).

### **1.2.1. Content of the interviews.**

The content of the semi-structured interviews was based on the findings of the literature review. An interview guide (See Appendix A) was constructed to aid in focusing the constructs

of interest as well as to structure and organize the interview process. All of the questions asked during the interviews were open-ended and composed to explain themes identified in the existing literature. Below are the questions that were used in the interview.

1. In what way is youth crime a problem within Chongqing? What type of crime is most committed by youth? Is youth crime a big or small problem within this city? Is there a specific area of the city where youth crime happens most?
2. What do you believe are the causes of youth crime in Chongqing? What do you think of the risk factors that have been identified by western scholars and intergovernmental organizations (presented prior to interview)?
3. What do you think is the best solution for combating the problem of youth crime? What do you think of the crime prevention initiatives that have been proposed regarding youth crime? Do you think that these crime prevention initiatives could work in a city as big as Chongqing?
4. Does Chongqing have any crime prevention leadership centre? If it does, please explain the structure, the name of the institution, its objectives and past results. If not, do you have any suggestions for establishing a leadership centre dedicated to crime prevention in Chongqing?

In addition to the interview questions, participants were presented with an interview outline (Appendix B). This outline summarized eight of the most common risk factors that have been identified by western scholars and intergovernmental organizations, an example of one effective western crime prevention initiative, and a description of the crime prevention leadership centre model that has been adopted in Alberta, Canada (Waller, 2006; Government of Alberta, n.d.). This outline was provided at the beginning of the interview in an effort to offer the

participants an introduction to western crime prevention knowledge. While the interviewees went through this material, the researcher further explained in more detail the western crime prevention knowledge presented and answered any questions relative to crime prevention prior to the actual interview. In order to best fit the limited interview times that were allotted, this outline only included limited information regarding western crime prevention knowledge to ensure that all participants were familiar with the basic concept of crime prevention.

It is evident that if the informants have been given the interview questions and interview outline in advance then they would have had much more time to reflect on their answers and responses more sufficiently. However, under the restrictive government control that exists within China, it is highly possible that if the participants had been given the questions in advance and thus informed of the specific crime prevention ideas to be discussed, then they would have provided answers that were less reflective of their personal and professional opinions.

The interview guideline (Appendix A) and interview outline (Appendix B) were developed in English, and then translated into Chinese by the researcher.

### **1.2.2. Ethical considerations.**

This study required approval from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board (REB) as it involved obtaining data from human participants. Approval for this study was granted by the REB with no restrictions in January of 2011.

Since the interviews were conducted in another country, further permission was originally required by a Chinese REB. However, it was stated by a prominent Chongqing municipal government official within the department of Political & Legal Affairs of Chongqing that local ethical clearance was not required. The reason provided by the official was that ethical

clearance was not an issue due to the harmless nature of this study. As a result, the endorsement by the University of Ottawa REB was deemed sufficient and the study was able to proceed.

In order to protect each participant from any sort of harm, the following precautions were taken prior to conducting the interviews. Each participant was informed that they were selected due to their status as a key stakeholder in the area of juvenile delinquency. At the time of the interview, participants were provided with a written informed consent slips explaining the purpose of the study, the time and location of the interview, the possible risks of their participation, the benefits of their participation, the safeguards that were put forth to ensure confidentiality and anonymity, the methods used for protecting/conserving the information provided by them, their rights as a voluntary participant, the contact information of the study coordinators (Jing Cao and Dr. Irvin Waller) and the contact information for the University of Ottawa REB should any queries or ethical concerns arise (Berg, 2009). These slips were dated and signed by the informants at the beginning of the interview (Berg, 2009).

The risks associated with the interview process mainly involved potential social repercussions. Participation required that the stakeholders share information which they have acquired during their experiences in their current occupation. As a result, participant responses had the potential for containing sensitive information on their perceptions of how crime prevention was being handled, or mishandled, by the authorities in Chongqing, China, as well as the limitation of current criminal justice practices in China. These discussions might be considered critical of the regime's approach, and if they were to be identified by the Chinese government it could pose a serious political risk to the participants.

In order to mitigate such risk, the informants were not pressured to answer in any particular way that could place them in any form of jeopardy. Also, the participants were

informed of this risk prior to conducting the interview as a precaution (Berg, 2009). In addition, the anonymity of all participants was strictly protected throughout the entire process. In the recordings, notes, transcripts and thesis, participants were not identified by name; rather, they were identified as a member of the specific position from which they were selected (i.e. journalist, school principal, judge, etc.). Furthermore, the recordings and notes from the interviews were kept in a secure digital manner in an encrypted document on the researcher's personal laptop while collecting data in China. Therefore, in taking precautions to secure anonymity, there is no way that an outside source would be able to trace the actual informant. After the researcher arrived back in Canada, the interview documents were copied and transferred to Dr. Irvin Waller; thus, only the researcher and supervisor involved in this thesis project would be able to identify the interviewees. The data obtained through these interviews is to be stored for a period of five years within a secure office prior to being destroyed.

### **1.2.3. Recruitment of participants.**

In order to select the participants who could provide the most valuable and helpful information for fulfilling the objective of this study, the researcher first consulted a director within the Department of Political & Legal Affairs of Chongqing prior to conducting this study. The researcher communicated by the phone with this official twice prior to conducting the interviews via telephone. In the first call, the researcher introduced herself, explained the purpose of the study, requested permission to conduct interviews in Chongqing (see Chapter 1.2.1), and sought help in generating a list of stakeholders to be interviewed (which was narrowed down to a judge, a district attorney, a police officer, a social worker, a school principal, and a media representative). It was requested by the researcher that each stakeholder should have working experience within the field of youth delinquency and also be willing to provide his/her

perceptions as part of a foreign study. The official showed interest in this topic, and agreed to consider the request. In the second phone call, the official gave permission to conduct the interviews in Chongqing and provided an initial list of candidates that could provide valuable insight into the area of youth delinquency. This list included the names and phone numbers of three judges, two district attorneys, three police officers, four social workers, two school principals and two journalists.

Representatives from each occupation were contacted via e-mail and/or telephone with information detailing the study, and then asked if they would be willing to participate. Of the candidates who showed interest in participating, one from each occupation was selected on the basis of convenience (i.e. availability, location, title). During this verbal recruitment, the participants were informed in greater detail of the methodology and objectives of the study. Upon receiving verbal consent to participate, interview times and locations were agreed upon, and the interviews were conducted accordingly.

Six different stakeholders in key positions were selected to assess the current youth crime situation in the city of Chongqing, China. These six participants included: a judge that specialized in the area of young offender prosecution employed within the Chongqing Higher People's Court, a district attorney who specialized in the prosecution of juvenile cases, a Chongqing Municipal Public Security Bureau senior staff member (who also happened to be a member of the Chongqing Juvenile Delinquency Research Institute), a senior official within the Chongqing Youth League and director of the City Commission on the Protection of Minors Office, a Local Newspaper Journalist that specialized in law proceedings, and a High School Principal.

#### **1.2.4. Data collection and analytical strategy.**

Semi-structured interviews often contain open-ended questions and discussions may diverge from the interview guide (Berg, 2009). As a result, it is generally thought best to tape-record interviews and later transcribe these tapes for analysis (Bernard, 1988). For this reason, the interviews were recorded with the consent of each participant. Each interview lasted from 30 to 45 minutes, and most interviews were conducted during the office hours and at the offices of the stakeholders. An exception to this was the interview with the journalist, which was conducted and recorded via telephone.

As indicated previously, those being interviewed were asked four distinct groups of questions that adhered to the interview guide (Appendix A). Each participant shared their perspective regarding the topics and offered opinions on the western scientific crime prevention knowledge that was presented to them in the interview outline (Appendix B). Data that was recorded included the interview record as well as other relevant materials that were offered by the informants. Two of the participants had prepared documents for this interview.

The interviews generated a total of four hours and 45 minutes worth of recording, and each conversation was conducted in a Chongqing dialect of Mandarin Chinese. In order to manage this information, the interviews were first transcribed into written Chinese text, and then each individual's responses were categorized into corresponding crime prevention themes. In examining the responses, several themes were identified. For example, responses to the question regarding the current youth crime situation in Chongqing generally included elements pertaining to the prevalence of youth crime, the main types of youth crime, and the location and demographics of youth crime. Responses were then translated into English and the content was further analyzed in an effort to detect overlapping themes. Once the information had been

transcribed and organized according to themes, correlating responses were observed and reported in Chapter 6.

### **1.3. Limitations of the Study**

The literature used in this study focused on social risk factors for youth, proven methods of crime prevention and implementation guidelines that have been identified by western researchers and intergovernmental organizations. Most of the research knowledge discussed throughout this thesis has been approved in principle by China as it continues to be an active member of intergovernmental organizations such as the World Health Organization and the United Nations. Regardless, there exists the possibility that not all crime prevention measures discussed will be transferable to China due to cultural, economic, political and social differences. In addition, even if it was assumed that successful crime prevention initiatives of the West could work in Chongqing, the possibility of acceptance by the local Chongqing government could prove to be a substantial barrier. However, as stated previously, this thesis serves the purpose of providing an initial exploration that could in turn supply a foundation for further and more in-depth research on the topic.

This thesis does not include knowledge regarding situational crime prevention or crime prevention initiatives that are not specific to youth crime but which might be capable of contributing to crime reduction in Chongqing. It focuses on crime prevention through social development because it is believed to be the most important facet with respect to reducing all forms of youth crime in Chongqing. Furthermore, this thesis only focuses on the secondary level of CPSD rather than the primary and tertiary level (to be discussed in Chapter 3). However, the application of risk focused crime prevention through social development remains largely

theoretical as the implementation of specific programs are yet to be tested in a western-style context. This again raises issues of transferability.

As the researcher resided in Canada during this study, there was limited access to data regarding the youth crime situation in Chongqing, China. As a result, local media reports, which consist principally of news articles from official news agencies, were used to demonstrate the problem of youth crime in Chongqing. This was a limitation as China's media remains highly censored and news reports are believed to reflect data which has been screened by the government for political purposes. However, these reports offered the only available data to reflect youth crime within China.

The interviews with stakeholders encountered various problems that impeded the overall objective. Perhaps the greatest limitation to this study relates to the lack of research/criminal data that has been conducted within Chongqing. For instance, there exists no credible statistics depicting the current youth crime trend in Chongqing. As a result, conclusions could only be drawn from the perceptions provided by different stakeholders. If there were previous studies that were specifically aligned with the objectives of this study, then perhaps a better comparison could have been available and proposed crime prevention tactics could be better tailored for the city of Chongqing.

In interviewing the stakeholders, there were only four primary questions used to assess knowledge of youth crime within Chongqing. Furthermore, the interview outline only provided enough information for the interviewee to acquire a small degree of knowledge of western crime prevention initiatives. This outline might not have been enough to provide the interviewee with an adequate comprehension of crime prevention concepts. In addition, since the researcher was conducting the interviews in China while she was studying in Canada, there was very limited

time to both prepare and conduct these interviews given the timeframe allotted for such an undertaking. Consequently, the researcher selected the participants out of convenience and was only able to conduct one interview per representative within the limited timeframe. Also, although the informants were willing to speak openly during the interviews, their answers may have avoided communicating criticisms regarding the efforts around crime prevention because they were speaking within their professional roles and thus potentially feeling constrained by their institution. In essence, the methodology that was chosen was believed to be the best available option considering the time, resources and objectives of the study.

Another key limitation to this study is that the participants interviewed are to remain anonymous. The 'key stakeholders' examined work within the city of Chongqing and have experience with youth related work and have influence within the criminal justice system or other youth related social service areas. If the participants were permitted to be named, then much more credibility could be afforded to this study; however, the trade-off of accountability (social acceptance bias) and punitive risk would increase as a result.

A related limitation is that only six participants (albeit key stakeholders) were interviewed due to time and technical constraints; this study could have gained greater reliability if there were a greater number of participants.

Furthermore, all interview transcripts were translated from a Chongqing dialect into Mandarin (Chinese), and then again into English (Canadian) by the researcher. Due to language differences, translated words, quotes and discussions appeared awkward in English as the Chinese context was transformed. Furthermore, based on the researcher's knowledge of these two languages, some meanings and understandings might have been slightly altered as a result of

translation (Temple & Young, 2004). To remedy this, the translated data was organized and generated into a format that would best make sense for English readers.

Finally, the objective and methodology of this thesis is in and of itself presumptuous and could be perceived as an effort to impose western ideas into a Chinese context. This is a possibility as a large portion of this thesis was used to introduce and discuss content selected from western countries and intergovernmental decisions that were related to China. Furthermore, the interview questions and material that were proposed to the participants somewhat assumed that western ideas are desirable in, and relevant to, eastern contexts. Such courses of action, which could be inferred as westernization, have long been criticized as being problematic and inappropriate in cross-cultural social science research (Agozino, 2004). Due to time, resource and page limitations of such a research endeavour, this project was only able to focus on select issues that comprise a small part of what constitutes the crime prevention and youth crime literature. However, the intergovernmental decisions discussed in this thesis have been developed and approved by the central Chinese government. Also, the western crime prevention initiatives illustrated are universally recognized by the international community, which includes some Chinese scholars and officials (CPIMJ, 2009; UNECOSOC, n.d.). Therefore, the implications of imposing western ideas and projects onto other countries and cultures are limited in scope to the specific ideas discussed throughout this thesis.

#### **1.4. Conclusion**

During the literature review, the researcher decided to focus on the secondary level of crime prevention through social development, which includes studies reviewed by western criminologists as well as intergovernmental organizations such as the WHO and UN. As a result,

both primary and tertiary CPSD were neglected in this study. The researcher also completed an extensive search for available published Chinese documents related to the topic. Unfortunately, it was revealed that there are very few sources that address crime prevention within Chongqing.

The methodology of the semi-structured interviews was approved by the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board. Through a key contact in Chongqing, there were total six informants that were recruited for this study. These informants were given an outline which included some basic western crime prevention information and were then asked to describe the current situation in Chongqing discussing what is being done, what needs to be done, as well as their opinions on the crime prevention programs presented. They were further asked whether or not the city could benefit from these programs as well as the implementation strategy. The information was later translated and analyzed by the researcher.

The methodology applied in this study holds several limitations that will likely affect its reliability and validity. For example, only six participants, in one of the largest cities in the world, were interviewed in this study. Although each informant represented a position featuring unique insight into the subject of youth crime, the opinions of this very small sample may not reflect that of the many.

## Chapter 2: Youth Crime and the Juvenile Justice System in Chongqing

In order to contextualize the current youth crime situation in Chongqing, this chapter provides general information about the city of Chongqing as well as about the Chinese Juvenile Justice System (JJS) and some major pieces of legislation that apply to youth in Chongqing. In order to summarize what is known about youth crime in Chongqing, this chapter will examine the 2009 Chongqing Higher People's Court's Juvenile Delinquency Trial Report (the White Paper) as well as local media coverage.

Before exploring the JJS of China, it should be noted that in China the concept of 'youth crime' refers to two distinct age groups: juveniles and young adults. Juveniles are defined under the *Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China* as individuals between the ages of 14 to 18 years old; whereas young adults have no legally specified age range (SCLAO, 2011).<sup>6</sup> The terms 'juvenile' and 'youth' are used interchangeably throughout this project and remain consistent with the source of information being discussed.

### 2.1. General Information about Chongqing

The metropolis of Chongqing is located in South-Western China, which has remained historically and culturally important throughout China's long history. Chongqing was the capital

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<sup>6</sup> Under Article 17 of The Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China, the age of criminal responsibility is divided into three categories: 1) Age of Absolute No Criminal Responsibility: any person who is under the age of 14 is not criminally responsible; 2) Age of Relative Criminal Responsibility: any person who has reached the age of 14 but not the age of 16, and who commits homicide, intentionally injuring another person resulting in serious bodily injury or death, rape, robbery, selling narcotic drugs, arson, causing explosion, or spreading poisons, shall bear criminal responsibility; and, 3) Age of Full Criminal Responsibility: any person who has reached the age of 16 and who commits a crime shall bear criminal responsibility. However, any person who has reached the age of 14 but not the age of 18 and who commits a crime shall be given a lighter or mitigated punishment (State Council Legislation Affairs Office, 2011).

city of China during World War II and is currently the world's largest municipality by area and population (NBSC, 2010). Also, Chongqing is the newest direct-controlled municipality (a title jurisdiction equivalent to that of a Canadian province) within China. The other three are Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin). In 2009, the municipality of Chongqing, with a region of 82,300 km<sup>2</sup>, had jurisdiction over 19 districts, 17 counties, and four autonomous counties (CY, 2009). From an economic perspective, Chongqing is considered by the central government of China as one of the nation's five central cities (the other four central cities are Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Guangzhou), as well as the primary hub for economic activity within western China (CY, 2009). Chongqing has a large population that is diverse and complex due to great migration to the area. As stated in the Chongqing Statistical Yearbook, this city had a total population of approximately 32.8 million in 2010, which is roughly the population of Canada (2010). As stated in the Chongqing Municipal Public Security Bureau Statistics,<sup>7</sup> there were roughly 6.96 million people (21% of the city's population) who fell within the range of 6 to 25 years of age in 2009. Like most other cities in China, Chongqing has undergone rapid urbanization over the past few decades. This might have contributed to social problems such as increases in social inequality and poverty (CY, 2009).

## **2.2. Juvenile Justice System in China**

In China, it has generally been considered that there was no Juvenile Justice System from 1949 to 1979, the period under Chairman Mao's regime, during which general crime rates were reported to be extremely low (Guo, 1999; Zhao, 2001; Zhang, 2008, Wong, 2001, Wang, 2006). However, in the 1980's, China began implementing economic reforms; these were seen to have

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<sup>7</sup> In China, basic census data (such as addresses and registration of people) are managed by public security officials, which are similar to police in Canada.

contributed to an increase in juvenile crime due to the resulting social changes (Wang, 2006). At that time, China began developing a juvenile justice system as a response to the rise in juvenile delinquency (Zhang, 2008).

Over the past two decades, the Chinese JJS has established a professional criminal justice system based on traditional retributive principles similar to western systems. The Chinese JJS includes the police, the public prosecutor (in China it is translated as People's Procuratorate), the courts and corrections (Wong, 2001; Wang, 2006).

### **2.2.1. Legislation.**

To date China has issued two national juvenile codes representing the basic statutes of the juvenile legal system. These include the 1991 Juvenile Protection Law (JPL) and the 1999 Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Law (JDPL) (Wang, 2006). The stated purpose of each is to protect juveniles and 'prevent<sup>8</sup>' delinquency in China (Wong, 2004). These laws outline the duties, responsibilities and authorities that parents or guardians of juveniles have in relation to welfare, right of education and juvenile justice (Wong, 2004).

The JPL established the basic principles for Chinese juvenile justice. It adheres to the guiding principle of using education as the primary means and punishment as the secondary means of handling delinquent juveniles (SCLAO, 2006; Zhang, 2008; Wong, 2004). Unfortunately, it is generally believed by Chinese legal scholars that the situation of China's juvenile delinquents as well as the protection that has been afforded to juveniles through this law has not significantly improved since its inception in 1991 (Yao, 2009).

In an attempt to contain the increasing delinquency trend of the late 1990s, the JDPL was issued in 1999 as a measure for 'preventing' and tackling the issue of juvenile delinquency

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<sup>8</sup>In the Chinese context, 'prevention' could also refer to reducing juvenile delinquency through the measure of law enforcement (which includes the death penalty and incarceration). Therefore, it might be different from the use of crime prevention throughout this thesis.

(Zhang & Liu, 2007; Wong, 2004). It expands the initial framework set out by the JPL into areas of ‘crime prevention’ for misdemeanours, rehabilitation for juvenile offenders, juvenile self-protection, and measures for preventing recidivism (Zhang & Liu, 2007; Zhang, 2008; Wong, 2004; Wang, 2006). However, most sections in the JDPL emphasize punishment and treatment after conviction, and prevention of recidivism (CPIMJ, 2009).

As one can see at this point, the two juvenile codes that have dictated China’s legal response to juvenile delinquency over the past two decades have utilized reactive approaches rather than proactive ones. There are few specific measures to prevent juvenile delinquency by targeting risk factors (as it will be defined in Chapter 4) before they develop into delinquent behaviour. The measures related to crime prevention within the JPL and JDPL include parent training to keep youth away from drinking and/or smoking and to help them succeed academically (SCLAO, 2002). Regardless, the results of these initiatives have yet to be thoroughly evaluated and there is no concrete method of observing effectiveness on overall juvenile delinquency trends (Yao, 2009).

### **2.2.2. Components of the juvenile justice system.**

In accordance with the JPL and the JDPL, young people that display unruly behavior that comes to the attention of the authorities can be divided into two categories: serious misbehavior and criminal behavior (Wang, 2006; Zhang, 2008). When a juvenile engages in an activity that is labeled as ‘misbehavior’, this means that the juvenile would go through alternative justice channels. Conversely, ‘criminal behavior’ generally results in the juvenile being processed through formal criminal justice proceedings (Friday, et al., 2003; Wang, 2006; Zhang, 2008; Wong, 2004).

### *The formal criminal justice system.*

There are four judicial sectors that form the formal criminal justice system; these include the police, the public prosecutor, the juvenile court, and corrections (Zhang, 2008).

#### *(i) Police.*

The police are responsible for investigating recorded youth crime cases and preparing these cases for the prosecuting authority (Friday, et al., 2003). However, in China most police departments do not separate juvenile cases from adult cases (Yao, 2009). Despite consensus within Chinese academia that it is necessary to establish and complete a special juvenile police section dedicated to juvenile delinquency cases, policing remains largely underdeveloped in this area (Yao, 2009). As a result, to date only few major cities in China have specialized agencies as well as investigation units within their police departments to handle local juvenile crimes. Chongqing has not yet developed a specialized unit for juveniles.

#### *(ii) Public prosecutor.*

The branch of the Chinese juvenile prosecutor is not uniform throughout the country of China (Yao, 2003). Generally, the duties of public prosecutor officials include examining police arrest requests, reviewing and making decisions on whether or not to prosecute, attending public prosecutions, and supervising law enforcement (Yao, 2003). As a major city, Chongqing has already established independent juvenile prosecutor institutions to deal with juvenile cases. The role of the institutions in reducing youth crime will be discussed in Chapter 6.

#### *(iii) Juvenile court.*

In keeping with the principles of the JPL and the JDPL, Chinese juvenile courts have adopted a 'double protection' method, which requires deliberate consideration of diversion

methods for diverting juveniles from the criminal justice system (Zhao, 2001). This action has perhaps contributed to decreasing the number of youth convictions; however, the extent to which diversion is used and the impact of its use remains unknown.

*(iv) Corrections.*

There are three types of judicial, correctional and rehabilitative institutions for young people and use depends on the seriousness of the crime committed. These include juvenile reformatories, juvenile penitentiaries, and ‘work-study’ schools (Yao, 2009; Zhang, 2008; Wong, 2001). These institutions represent the traditional criminal justice or retributive way of ‘preventing’ crime, which is by incarcerating young offenders. Since these institutions have the function of rehabilitation, they could be considered to fall within the tertiary level of crime prevention.

***The alternative juvenile justice system.***

Juveniles who face remedial measures are often those that commit minor offences. This generally means experiencing one of five remedial options in an effort to ‘prevent’ recidivism. These options include: a police warning, being enrolled in a work-study school program, taking a social treatment course, action taken toward the legal guardian, and public order punishment. These options occur in response to a delinquent act which has already taken place. As they are aimed at preventing recidivism, these options could be categorized as part of the tertiary level of crime prevention as well. The police warning is very similar to the UK police cautioning system, where the police give an official caution to the youth which is recorded so that if the youth reoffends, the caution can be brought up in court (Home Office, n.d.). Warnings are issued by a police department to reprimand parents or other guardians who have failed to perform their duties of guardianship in ensuring that juveniles are kept from committing misbehavior. In most

situations, a recommendation would be issued by police to the youth's parent or guardian that they take measures to prevent their child from engaging in delinquent activities in the future (Wang, 2006). Unfortunately, due to limited police resources, the implementation of this measure is not extensive.

### **2.3. The Current Youth Crime Trend in Chongqing**

Chongqing does not have any reliable data regarding actual incidents of youth crime. This is because China does not employ the same methods as Canada, the United States and Britain for obtaining statistics pertaining to crime. Also there is only limited data available to the public, and virtually no crime figures are available to foreigners. In addition, criminologists have noted that Chinese official statistics do not always reflect the real crime situation existing in China (Wong, 2001; Xiao et al, 2007; Bakken, 1993). The situation is described by Wong, "as a totalitarian country the publication of crime figures has to comply with the party line to serve government ideology and act as a means of social control" (2001: 494). The researcher conducted this study in Canada which made it difficult to obtain data pertaining to criminal activity within Chongqing. Therefore, in this thesis, there is no concrete data to describe the youth crime rates in Chongqing.

Based on the limited data sources that are available to the public, it appears that there is concern and a sense that youth crime is quite prevalent and serious in this city, and perhaps more severe than the national average, due to the rapid modernization and urbanization which have taken place in the past two decades. Some Chinese criminologists have reported that the youth arrest rates in Chongqing have always been higher than the overall national rate (Xiao et al., 2007). Their data shows that from 1957 to 1965, the national youth crime rate was projected to

be very low (around 30%); however the city of Chongqing featured a much higher youth crime rate of 65% (Xiao et al., 2007). Furthermore, during the Cultural Revolution period (1969 to 1979), 75% of the convicted criminals in Chongqing were young people, while the national average was around 40%. In the Shapinba district, Chongqing's cultural and educational center, the youth crime rate among the total convicted criminals reportedly reached an astonishing 93.4% in 1975 (Xiao et al., 2007).

The severity of juvenile delinquency in Chongqing was identified recently in the White Paper published by the Chongqing Higher People's Court in 2009. It is the first White Paper to feature data regarding juvenile convictions in Chongqing to this date. The White Paper suggested that the number of convicted juvenile offenders had increased by 108% between the years 1998 and 2008 within the city (CQHPC, 2009). The members of the Chongqing Higher People's Court also predicted that over the next decade juvenile convictions within Chongqing will continue to increase at a rate of 12% per year. Considering the rapid economic development and the outstanding urban-rural conflicts, the actual rate may increase even faster than predicted (CQHPC, 2009; Tian, 2009).

Furthermore, it has been reported in multiple major news agencies, locally and nationally, that the youth crime problem in Chongqing is increasing at an alarming pace and that approximately 70% of all criminal cases recorded by police are committed by people under the age of twenty-five in Chongqing (Luo & Sun, 2010; Tian, 2009). The seriousness of juvenile delinquency in Chongqing is also presented in a 2010 self-report conducted by the Chongqing Social Condition and Public Opinion Research Institution which examined the sense of security of people within Chongqing. It was revealed that rural residents ranked the juvenile population as the 'number one' at-risk population for delinquency, which shows that there is a tremendous

concern for juvenile delinquency in rural areas (Chongqing Social Condition and Public Opinion Research Institution, 2010). Ultimately, this appears to be an opportune time to consider crime prevention in order to reduce both the current and projected crime rates within Chongqing.

#### 2.4. Characteristics of the youth crime situation in Chongqing.

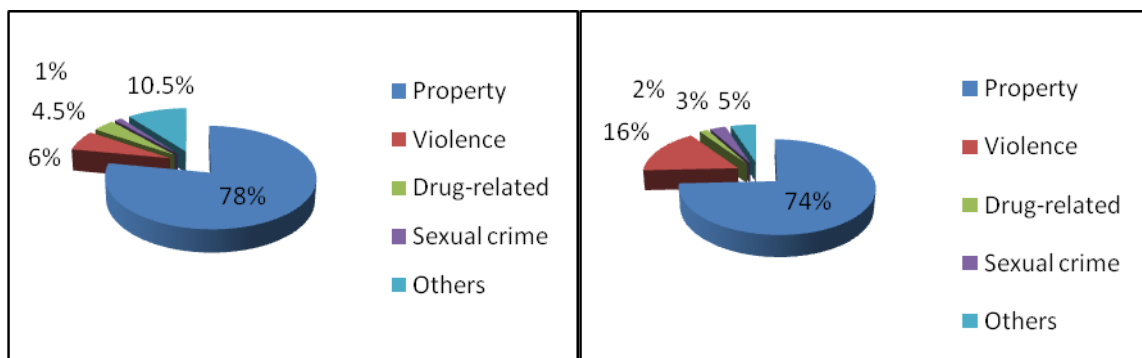
In analyzing the White paper, as well as local news reports, several elements regarding the current situation of Chongqing’s youth crime have emerged:

##### *Types of crime.*

Since 1998, juvenile delinquency convictions appear to have increased in areas of property and violent crime, which accounts for almost 80% of all convictions (Tian, 2009; Luo & Sun, 2010; CQHPC, 2009; see Figure 2.1 & 2.2). These two types of crimes happen to be the main focus of this thesis. In the later chapters, the cost-effectiveness of CPSD initiatives in dealing with these two types of crimes will be described.

**Figure 2. 1.** The Proportion of Crime Convictions within the Nine Central Districts of Chongqing by Property, Violence, Drug-related, Sexual crime

**Figure 2. 2.** The Proportion of Crime Convictions outside the Nine Central Districts of Chongqing by Property, Violence, Drug-related, Sexual crime



**CQHPC, 2009**

Property crimes account for the majority of convictions (80%), while violent crimes, which include manslaughter, assault, robbery, and kidnapping, account for more than 10% of

crime in Chongqing. Within the nine central districts, convictions are focused on property and drug-related crimes; however violent crimes and sexual crimes, such as rape and sexual assault were more prominent in other districts (CQHPC, 2009; see Figure 2.1 & 2.2). However, the small number of sexual crime convictions may be due to the lack of reporting by victims as well as difficulty in ensuring conviction.

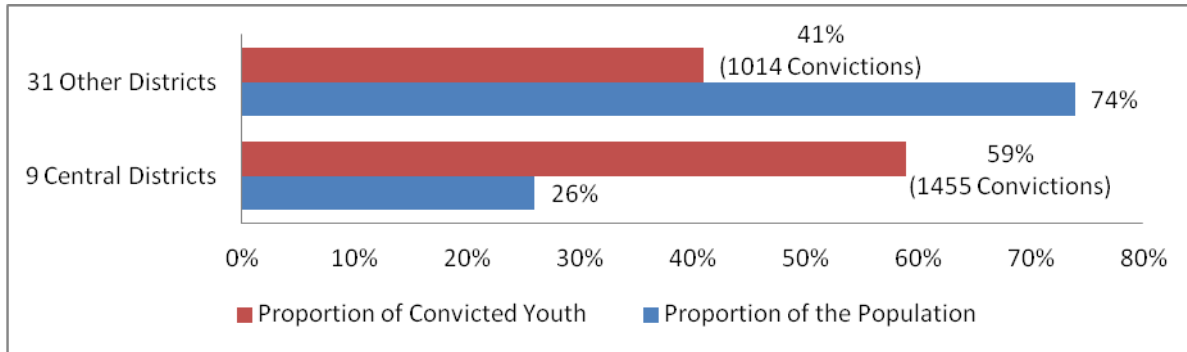
### ***Gang crime.***

The incidence rates for high profile cases and organized crime (especially gang crime) appear to have significantly increased throughout the years (CQHPC, 2009; Luo & Sun, 2010). In 2008, more than 35% of convicted young offenders involved in major criminal cases were also involved in gang crime. Of the 113 gang members who were convicted that same year, the majority were less than 25 years old, and 11 of them were under 18 years of age (CQHPC, 2009).

### ***Location.***

Delinquent activities among juveniles seem more likely to take place in urban settings where economic activities are more frequent and the mobile population is dense (CQHPC, 2009). According to the CQHPC data, the population of the nine central districts only accounts for 26% of the total population of Chongqing. However, the number of convicted young offenders in these nine central districts accounts for roughly 41% of the total city-wide young offender convictions. On the other hand, the remaining 74% of the population from the 31 non-central districts accounts for 59% of the total number of convictions (see Figure 2.3). As one can see, there is a disproportionate amount of youth crime being committed within the nine central districts. Consequently, if one were to tailor crime prevention initiatives for Chongqing, the nine central districts would be a good place to start.

**Figure 2.3.** Areas in which Criminal Convictions for Youth are Prevalent:  
A Comparison of the Nine Central Districts to the Other 31 Districts of Chongqing

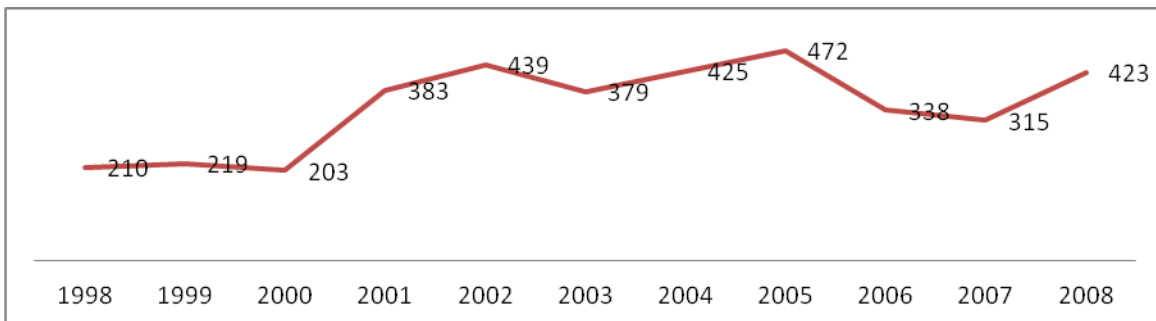


**CQHPC, 2009**

*Ages of youth criminals.*

Statistics indicate that juveniles are being convicted at a younger age (see Figure 2.4; CQHPC, 2009). In 1998, there were only 210 convicted juvenile offenders aged 14 to 16; whereas in 2005, this number had increased to 472. As indicated in the chart below, this trend dipped after 2005. This decrease can more than likely be attributed to the 2006 Supreme Court of Judicial Interpretation’s decision to raise the standards for convicting juveniles charged with an offence (the Research Office of the Supreme People’s Court, 2006). Regardless of this short decline, the number of convicted juveniles has once again continued to rise.

**Figure 2.4.** Number of Convicted Criminals Ages 14-16 (people)



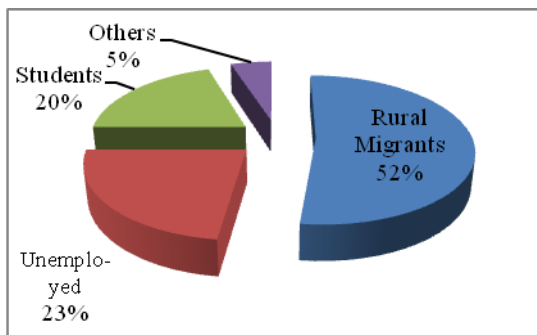
**CQHPC, 2009**

The above graph illustrates that there should be concern for early intervention. This will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

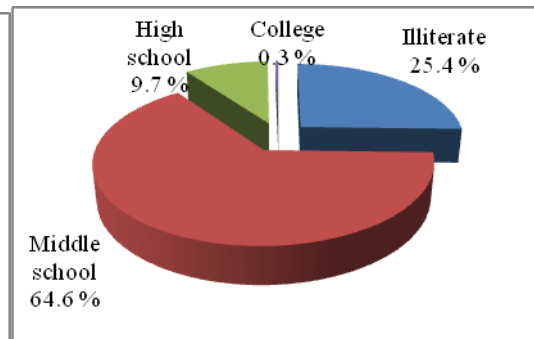
**Demographics.**

According to the CQHPC, the majority of young offenders are individuals who have migrated from a rural setting or are those who have dropped out of school prior to attending high school (CQHPC, 2009; Luo & Sun, 2010; see Figure 2.5). As illustrated in the figures below, the majority of convicted youth possess a low level of educational attainment (Luo & Sun, 2010; CQHPC, 2009). Less than 10% of convicted young offenders have completed middle school; whereas 25% of young offenders are illiterate or possess only an elementary level of education (CQHPC, 2009; see Figure 2.6). This lack of education is an obstacle that must be overcome in order to curb youth crime.

**Figure 2. 5. Identities of Convicted Youth in Chongqing (%)**



**Figure 2. 6. Educational Levels of Convicted Youth (%)**



CQHPC, 2009

**2.5. Conclusion**

Chongqing is a fast-growing metropolis which appears to be plagued with persistent socio-economic problems. In the past two decades China has developed laws on youth crime, similar to those in the west, based on traditional criminal justice principles such as retributive

justice as well as diversion possibilities such as a police cautioning system. Chinese scholars consider these laws to be at an early stage of development. These same scholars suggest that the current JJS is in urgent need of radical reform in order to reduce the overall youth crime rate in a cost-effective way (Wong, 2001).

Although there is no valid evidence to support the actual youth crime rates in Chongqing, the few sources that have reported on youth crime (primarily local newspapers and court reports) indicate that juvenile delinquency presents a significant problem for the city. Youth crime appears to be concentrated in the nine central districts and associated with issues such as school failure as well as migration from rural areas to the city. Furthermore, property and violent crime, as well as gang involvement are on the rise. In considering this knowledge, crime prevention initiatives can begin to be tailored to reform criminal justice within Chongqing for the better.

## **Chapter 3: Risk Factors for Youth Crime**

This chapter reviews the research on the risk factors that might contribute to youth crime within Chongqing, China. It will first introduce the longitudinal study as an important scientific method to explore risk factors that predispose youth to becoming persistent delinquents. This chapter will then refer to the *Ecological Model* identified by the World Health Organization (WHO) in the *World Report on Violence and Health* (2002) to discuss why some young people engage in delinquent behaviour and why crime is more prevalent in some areas than in others. The findings from the *Chinese Birth Cohort Study in Wuhan* (2003) will then be examined in an effort to identify any youth risk factors present in China that are not found in the West due to the unique historical and cultural development of China. Lastly, risk factors found in western and Chinese longitudinal studies, as well as risk factors observed in court convicted juveniles from Chongqing, are to be discussed.

### **3.1. Risk Factors Identified through Longitudinal Studies**

Over the past few decades, western criminologists have investigated how the individual, family, school, and societal experiences of young people contribute to juvenile delinquency (Farrington & Welsh, 2007). These social scientists designed large-scale ‘longitudinal studies’ to follow the development of children over a long period of time; this involved experts collecting data to document the developmental experiences of thousands of children from early childhood through adolescence and through the life cycle (Farrington & Loeber, 2001 and 2011; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007). This data has been used to analyze the nature of the experiences that

preceded the youth's involvement in crime. The experiences that are more frequently found among persistent offenders are deemed 'risk factors' as they are selected to the likelihood that a youth will engage in delinquent behaviour (Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007). Most of these longitudinal studies have been conducted in Sweden, Britain, Canada, and the United States. The Chinese Birth Cohort Study that will be discussed later is the only relevant longitudinal study to have been conducted in China to date (Friday, et al., 2003; Taylor, et al., 2004).

In these studies, social scientists have noted significant correlations between certain risk factors and youth crime (WHO, 2002; Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2007). In sum, they have noted that aggressive and antisocial behaviour, including crime, are the result of a multifaceted interaction of individual, family, school, peer, community and societal variables; they include the following (Waller, 2006: 23):

- Being born into a family in relative poverty and living on inadequate housing;
- Being brought up with inconsistent and uncaring parenting;
- Witnessing intra-familial violence;
- Possessing limited social and cognitive abilities;
- Presenting behavioural problems in primary school;
- Exclusion from or dropping-out of school;
- Frequently being unemployed and with relatively limited income; and
- Living within a culture of violence on television and within the neighbourhood.

Another important finding from these longitudinal studies is that the more risk factors a child or adolescent experiences, the more prone to delinquent behaviour that same person will be (Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2007). However, it should be noted that many children grow up without committing offenses despite having experienced several risk factors (WHO, 2002; Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

As portrayed, longitudinal studies have provided some of the most valuable data with respect to CPSD (Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007). Unfortunately, China is yet to engage in

such empirically driven efforts, and as a result, this thesis is limited to findings primarily from the west.

### **3.2. Risk Factors identified by Intergovernmental Organizations**

Identifying risk factors through risk assessment is a central tenet of effective crime prevention. One of the most influential sources regarding youth risk factors is known as the *Ecological Model* found in the *World Report on Violence and Health* (WHO, 2002). This model was initially developed to show that violence is the result of a complex interplay of individual, relational, social, cultural and environmental factors (WHO, 2002). It theorises that violence is the product of multiple contributing variables that increase the likelihood of young people becoming both victims and perpetrators of violence (WHO, 2004a).

Specifically, this model organizes the risk factors for youth violence into four interacting levels (as presented below, see Figure 3.1): the individual level, relationship level, community contexts and societal factors (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2004a).

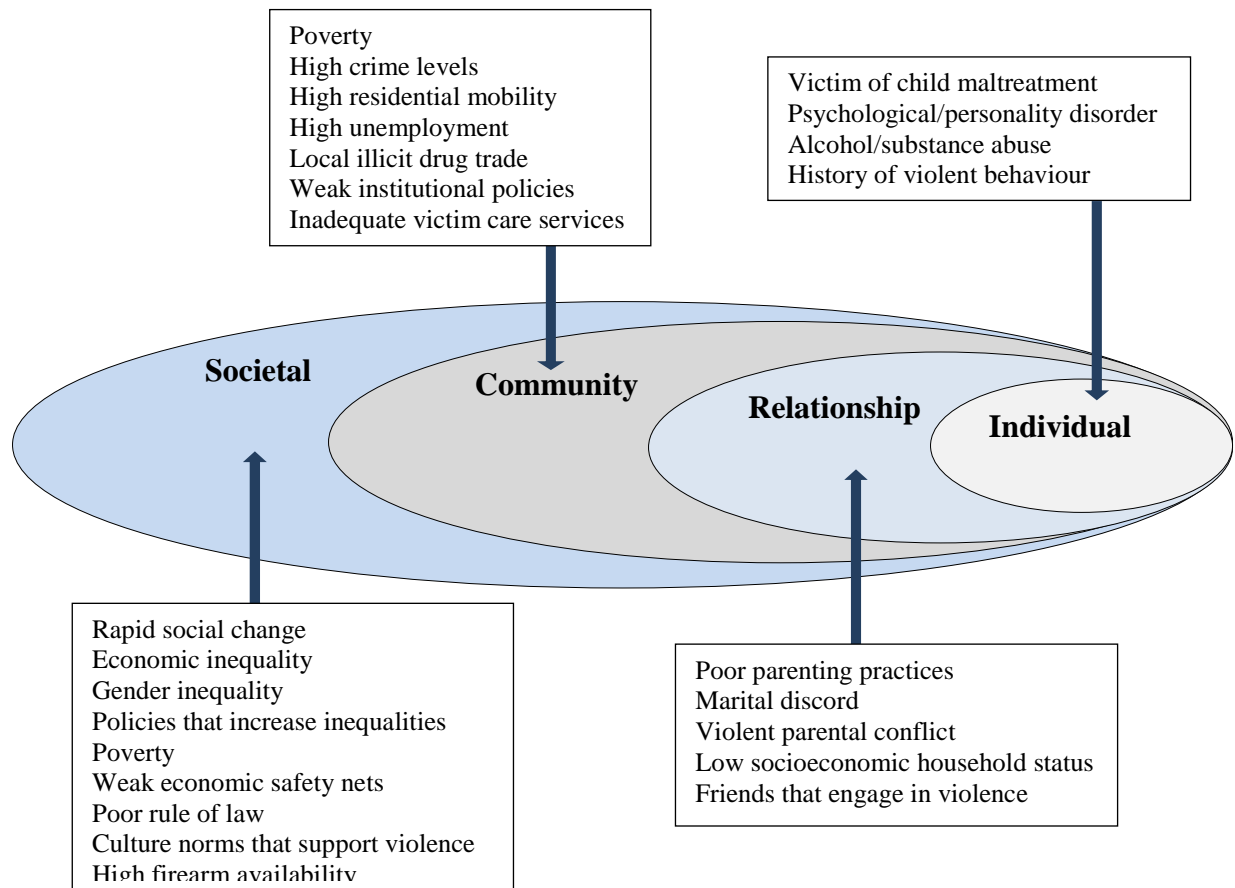
As touched on in the previous chapter, the individual and relationship levels are of particular interest for this thesis as the initiatives discussed in the later chapters are tailored more toward these two micro levels (refer to Figure 3.1). This is not to downplay the importance of societal and community factors by any means with respect to crime prevention; however, since the focus of this thesis is on implementing initiatives tailored toward the individual rather than macro aspects (which are largely undeveloped in China relative to the West), emphasis has been afforded to micro rather than macro factors.

***Individual Level*** – Individual characteristics within this model consist of biological and demographic factors that increase the likelihood of violent behaviour. Such factors

include: impulsivity, low educational attainment, psychological and personality disorders, alcohol and substance abuse, as well as a history of aggression and abuse (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2004a).

**Relationship Level**– Relationship factors within this model focus on interactions with others who are capable of influencing one’s behaviour. Social relationships with peers, partners and family members are explored at this level. Factors such as poor parenting practices, family dysfunction and peer pressure, as well as associating with individuals who engage in violent or delinquent behaviour, tend to have drastic effects on a young person’s behaviour (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2004a).

**Figure 3.1.** Ecological Model for Understanding Violence



**WHO, 2002**

***Community Context*** – This level of the model explores why violence in some social relationships such as neighbourhoods, schools, the workplace and other institutions present greater opportunities for manifesting violence than others. Research shows that residential mobility, diverse populations, population density, and communities that feature drug trafficking, poverty, unemployment, social isolation, and weak policies/programs often increase the risk of youth violence (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2004a).

***Societal Factors*** – This last level examines the broader category of societal factors. At this level researchers generally look at the climate in which youth violence emerges. These factors include economic, social, health and education policies that maintain or increase economic and/or social inequalities. This can include: cultural norms that support the use of violence, norms that give priority to parental rights over child welfare, male dominance over women, unequal opportunities, as well as norms that condone violence within criminal justice systems (WHO, 2002; WHO, 2004a).

It should be noted that these factors are by no means mutually exclusive and that the presence of one or more risk factors at multiple levels suggests an increased likelihood of violent behaviour.

### **3.3. Risk Factors identified by the Chinese Birth Cohort Study**

In 1991, Wolfgang initiated the Chinese Cohort Study in Wuhan (Hubei Province, in central China) to examine the risk factors associated with offending for people living in the city of Wuhan and born in 1973. It was the only longitudinal and cohort research study to be conducted in a non-western society and developing country at the time (Friday, et al., 2003;

Taylor, et al., 2004). Unfortunately, this study was never fully completed by Wolfgang. After his death, Professors Paul Friday and Xin Ren continued with Wolfgang's work, in collaboration with the Chinese Society of Juvenile Delinquency Research. The data collection process and with the subsequent analysis of the Wuhan cohort was finished on date (Friday, et al., 2003).

This project consisted of two different cohort datasets. The first dataset, which included the original 5,341 participants from the 1973 birth cohort, was analyzed by Wolfgang in 1991. It included 81 recorded offenders and a random control sample of 81 non-offenders from the initial sample. The second dataset, later analyzed by Friday and Ren in 2000, included an independent cohort of 5,384 participants who were born in 1973 and were found to have a criminal record by the age of 27 (Friday, et al., 2003). Through an extensive analysis of the original interview questionnaires used in the first dataset, Friday and Ren were able to identify a number of significant differences between offenders and non-offenders.

**Figure 3.2.** Initial Comparison of Risk Factors

<b>Risk factors</b>	<b>Western longitudinal studies</b>	<b>Chinese Birth Cohort Study</b>	<b>Characteristics of Court Convicted Youth in Chongqing</b>
Negative family experiences	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poor family background	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poor peer relationship	Yes	Yes	Yes
Negative peer influences	Yes	Yes	Yes
Poor school performance	Yes	Yes	Yes
Not motivated of study	Yes	Yes	Yes
Low education level	Yes	Yes	Yes
Limited social and cognitive abilities	Yes	Yes	No
Unemployed and low income	Yes	Yes	Yes
Violent neighbourhood environment	Yes	Yes	No
Migration from rural areas to the city	No	No	Yes
Poverty	Yes	Yes	Yes
Unemployment	Yes	Yes	Yes

The findings for the Chinese Birth Cohort study are similar to the findings of western studies, and the characteristics discussed in Chapter 2 described convicted juvenile offenders in

Chongqing (see Figure 3.2). For example, factors such as peer influence, family background, expectations and goals, as well as the role of school performance were established as key contributors to delinquency (Friday, et al., 2003; Taylor, et al., 2004). It was further revealed that offenders, compared to non-offenders, were subject to more risk factors; that is, the majority of offenders were more likely to have negative family experiences, lower educational attainment, and more negative peer relationships. The results also suggested that the accumulation of risk factors often differentiated offenders from non-offenders (Friday, et al., 2003; Taylor, et al., 2004; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007).

Although these findings were largely consistent with the risk factors that have been found in western studies, other factors that are specific to China's youth were also discovered. For example, the majority of offenders are interested in fantasy, war and detective stories. They also have an interest in becoming a labourer (Friday, et al., 2003).

In general, offenders were found to be more prone to consider participation in labour 'a waste of time for students while in school', and show lower interest in social activities and lectures which focus on Chinese nationalism. There was also a significant difference in media interests between offending and non-offending youth. For example, non-offenders showed greater interest in media portraying scientific knowledge and philosophy; whereas offenders were more interested in war and detective stories (Friday, et al., 2003; Taylor, et al., 2004). On the other hand, individuals with greater social awareness/consciousness were found to be less delinquent (Friday, et al., 2003). However, it should be noted that this study was conducted in 1998, when communist values were held in higher degree compared to the present. Perhaps, if this same study were to be conducted today, the findings would be even more aligned with western studies.

Unfortunately, to date the Wuhan study is the only longitudinal research project to examine risk factors within China (Friday, et al., 2003). However, in light of the common risk factors that have been found in the Wuhan study and various western studies, it appears that these findings can also be applied to Chongqing as both Chinese cities share similar characteristics such as demography, government structure, and criminal justice system.

### **3.4. Conclusion**

Through large-scale longitudinal studies, western social scientists have identified certain risk factors at the individual, family, school, peer, community, and societal level that are related to youth becoming persistent offenders. The intergovernmental organizations conducting these studies have presented these risk factors using an ecological model. The 1973 Chinese longitudinal study also confirmed the same factors at the various levels mentioned previously that increase the probability of youth to commit offences. These risk factors identified in this chapter are similar to the characteristics of court convicted youth in Chongqing with the exception of rural migration which appears to be unique to Chongqing. Considering these commonalities, it appears as though the transferability of some western crime prevention initiatives could take place if they target the risk factors identified in this chapter.

## Chapter 4: Scientific Knowledge of Effective Strategies to Reduce Youth Crime

This chapter reviews the scientific evaluations of strategies that target risk factors for different age groups. In doing so, successful methods for addressing specific risk factors at particular ages will be presented and the merits of certain crime prevention programs will be discussed.

The programs discussed within this chapter represent both ‘model’ and ‘promising’ programs that have been implemented for the purpose of preventing youth crime. A *Model Program* refers to a prevention program that “meets the highest scientific standard for effectiveness, as evidenced in published evaluations; has a significant, sustained preventive or deterrent effect or reduction of problem behaviour; or, enhances protective factors related to problem behaviour and has been replicated in different communities or settings” (NCPC, 2008: iii). A *Promising Program* is one that “meets scientific standards for effectiveness, but does not meet all of the rigorous standards of a model program” (NCPC, 2008: iii).

These programs have been reviewed in the book *Less Law, More Order* (Waller, 2006). In addition, this chapter will focus on the work done by Farrington and Welsh (Farrington & Welsh, 2007), Canadian National Crime Prevention Center (NCPC, 2008), the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence (CSPV, 2004), Sherman and his colleagues at the University of Maryland (2002), as well as Intergovernmental Organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO, 2002). In the previous chapter, examples of risk factors identified by the WHO (2002, 2004a) were discussed within the context of an ecological model. This chapter will situate these risk factors into respected programs that have been developed in the West. The goal

is to portray the various micro-focused programs that are available for different age groups to familiarize the reader with potential programs that might be considered within Chongqing, China.

#### **4.1. Programs Designed for Ages 0-5 (Early Childhood)**

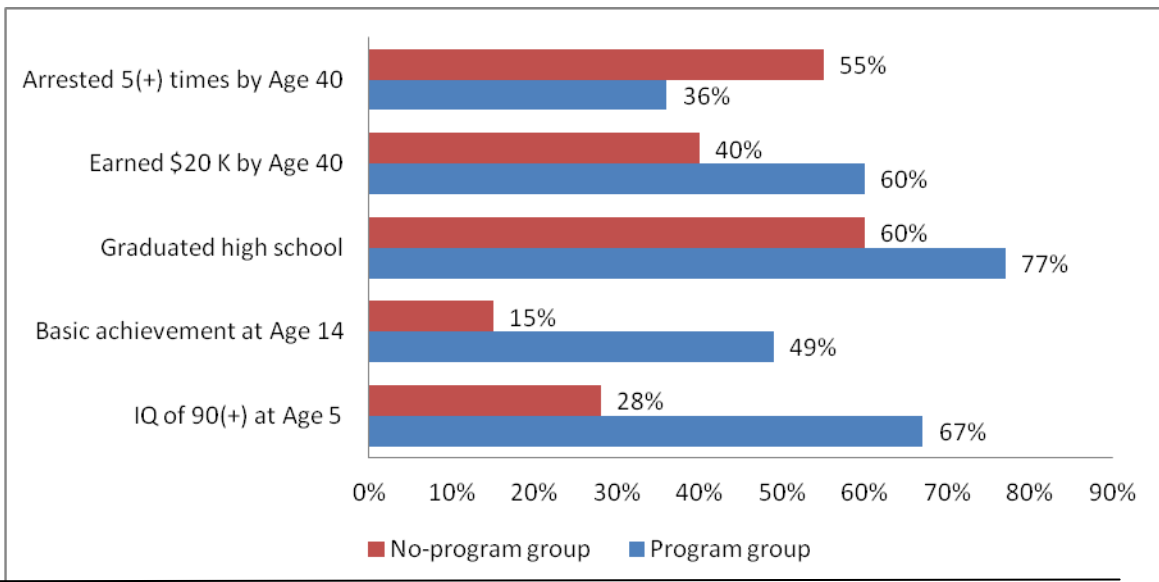
One important common risk factor that has been identified in both the West and in Chongqing is poor parenting (WHO, 2002; CQHPC, 2009). Fortunately, there are several programs that have proven effective in addressing these particular risk factors.

The Perry Preschool program is an example of a well-established early childhood intervention program that has been in operation for nearly 40 years in the United States (Parks, 2000). It is one of the first studies to explore the effects of preschool education on children and to demonstrate that early childhood intervention can reduce delinquency (Schweinhart, et al., 2005). Random control trials were used in this study, which involved a sample of 123 low-income African-American children living in poverty and at high risk of failing in school. Of these 123 children, 58 were randomly assigned to a high-quality preschool program for ages 3 and 4, and the remaining 65 were assigned to a control group that received no preschool education (Schweinhart, 2003).

The children in the experimental group received an enhanced pre-school experience that would help the children develop under better care (Schweinhart, et al., 2005). Each preschool teacher held a bachelor's degree in education and was responsible for serving 5–6 children within the group. The program was based on the High/Scope Educational Model, which entailed conducting daily 2½-hour classes for children and weekly 1½-hour home visits (Parks, 2000). The program is the most famous intellectual enrichment preschool which provided self-initiated learning activities to encourage social development (Waller, 2006; Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

The key findings of the Perry Preschool program longitudinal study are presented in Figure 4.1. This study (conducted by Schweinhart, et al., 2005) presents strong evidence that the Perry Preschool program played a significant role in terms of crime prevention and improving overall quality of life for these youth. It was found that participants within the experimental group by the age of 40 had been arrested less often than those within the control group and that they had higher median annual earnings than the non-program group. Participants who were subject to the Perry Preschool program also significantly outperformed the non-program group on overall educational attainment as well as on various basic school achievement tests, such as intellectual, language and literacy tests, conducted at the ages of 5 and 14. At ages 15 and 19, participants of the preschool program group had better attitudes toward school than those of the non-program group, and program group parents had better attitudes toward their 15-year-old children’s schooling than did non-program group parents.

**Figure 4.1. Major Findings of the Perry Preschool Study at Age 40**



**Schweinhart, et al., 2005**

The most recent follow-up cost-benefit analysis of Perry at age 40 found that it has a large positive return on public investment (Parks, 2000). According to Schweinhart's report, the Perry Preschool program is estimated to have a 17 dollar return for every dollar invested (2005). Within this \$17 return, \$15 comes from a reduction in criminal justice processing; which could largely reduce policing, prison and court costs if implemented on a wider scale (Waller, 2006). However, this program was tested on a small sample composed primarily of African-American families strictly within the United States. These aspects should be taken into consideration in assessing transferability to a city like Chongqing.

Other successful early childhood interventions include the Chicago Child-Parent Center program and the Prenatal and Infancy Home Visitation by Nurses program. The Chicago Child-Parent Center program provides high-quality educational and family-support services to reduce the negative impact of inconsistent and uncaring parenting for disadvantaged children. A cost-benefit analysis of this program showed that for every dollar's investgate, there was more than 7 dollar's return to the society (Farrington & Welsh, 2007; Waller, 2006). The Prenatal and Infancy Home Visitation by Nurses program is a well-established program that addresses risk factors associated with the early development of antisocial behaviour through regular nurse visits to the child's home, and through the offering of training, support, counselling, monitoring and referrals to outside agencies for low-income mothers or families at risk of child abuse or with other problems (CSPV, 2004; WHO, 2002). Through a meta-analysis, it was found that this particular program was effective in reducing rates of child abuse and neglect, as well as preventing antisocial behaviour (Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

All three of the early childhood programs discussed have been found to produce long-term effects in reducing violence and delinquency. It can be presumed from the youth court

conviction data and the Wuhan study (discussed in the previous chapter) that Chongqing, like most other metropolis-sized cities, features the same risk factors that are targeted by these programs, and to explore whether these programs might be transferable to Chongqing.

#### **4.2. Programs Designed for Ages 6-12 (Elementary School)**

Evidence-based programs that target youth aged 6 to 12 generally target elementary school youth who display early signs of antisocial or aggressive behaviour and have come into contact, or are at risk of coming into contact, with the criminal justice system (NCPC, 2008). A prominent program that falls within this category is called Stop Now and Plan (SNAP). SNAP is a model community-based program which aims to decrease risk factors for youth between the ages of 6 and 12. It was first developed in Toronto, Canada, and has demonstrated positive results through rigorous evaluation (Augimeri, et al, 2007). The program consists of courses that are designed separately for youth and their parents. It also includes services such as: in-home family counselling for high-risk youth behaviour management strategies, role-playing, problem-solving exercises, generalization activities and social reinforcements for aggressive youth; and parenting skill training for adults (Augimeri, et al, 2007).

Results have shown that children (aged 6 to 12) who participate in SNAP are twice as likely not to have a criminal record by the age of 18 as non-participants and that 60% of the high-risk children who participate in this program do not have any criminal record by the age of 18. In addition, parents who also participate in SNAP show a greater degree of confidence in their ability to raise a child and experience less stress in disciplining their children (Augimeri, et al, 2007). However, the difference in community structure between the West and Chongqing might limit the effectiveness and transferability of this program.

Another evidence-based crime prevention program that targets youth within this age range is the Norwegian Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (NOBPP). This program is listed in CSPV Blueprint (2004) as a model program for reducing bullying amongst elementary, middle and junior high school youth by removing the opportunities and rewards associated with bullying behaviour. NOBPP has been implemented in more than a dozen countries worldwide and has been found to successfully reduce childhood bullying (a 50% reduction in bullying was found in Norway schools that implemented NOBPP) and to reduce related antisocial behaviours such as vandalism and truancy (Bauer, et al, 2007).

*Communities That Care (CTC)* is a community-based program that also falls within this category. It engages all aspects of the community in a broad-based prevention alliance to promote the positive development of young people and reduce adolescent problem behaviours such as violence, drug and alcohol use, teenage pregnancy, school drop-out, and delinquency. The results of CTC have included lower risk levels and reduced delinquent behaviour for students in CTC communities in comparison to control communities (Hawkins, 2008).

#### **4.3. Programs Designed for Ages 12-17 (Junior High and High School)**

As observed in longitudinal studies, youth who drop out of school are more prone to engaging in delinquent activities than those who stay in school (i.e. truancy is a risk factor). The Quantum Opportunities Program (QOP) is an initiative that targets this specific risk factor. It was developed and implemented for the purpose of reducing drop-out rates and delinquency among youths who come from disadvantaged backgrounds (CSPV, 2004; NCPC, 2008). The objective of QOP is to provide mentoring/role model services to youth (generally entering grade nine) in order to facilitate social bonding and caring. In doing so, students are provided with a prosocial

environment conducive to developing a new sense of motivation for success (CSPV, 2004; NCPC, 2008). QOP consists of three components that aim to improve opportunities for youth:

1. Educational opportunities: to improve academic skills and increase the likelihood of graduation from high school and attending college (e.g., peer tutoring, computer-based instruction);
2. Development opportunities: to reduce risky behaviours (e.g., family/job planning, career and college planning, cultural enrichment, personal development); and,
3. Service opportunities: to help the youth develop a sense of responsibility (e.g., volunteering, community service).

QOP requires that each student complete 250 hours per year in each of the three components (a total of 750 hours) depicted above. Cash rewards were used as incentives to increase participation, completion, and long-term commitment (NCPC, 2008).

This program is a testament to the positive effects that addressing academic deficiencies could have on high school aged youth with low grades at risk of dropping out of school (Schirm, et al, 2003; Waller, 2006). Results from the pilot test of this program indicated that QOP participants, when compared with a control group, were more likely to have graduated from high school (63% versus 42%), more likely to be enrolled in higher education or training (42% versus 16%), and more likely to attend a 4-year college (18% versus 5%) (CSPV, 2004). It also proved to have an impressive result as the proportion of those arrested after completing the program was 70% below the proportion arrested in the control group (Schirm, et al, 2003). Furthermore, a cost-benefit analysis of this program found that it produced 3.7 dollar in benefit for every dollar's spent (Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

The programs discussed in the past two sections have been created to address risk factors that are present for children during early stages of schooling. Unlike the programs designed for early childhood, elementary and junior high oriented programs could prove more difficult in terms of transferability to Chongqing, China. This is due to the fact that much like the political

climate, China has a school system that is much more strict and structured differently than that of the west.

#### **4.4. Programs Specific to Youth Gangs**

All of the programs that have been mentioned in this chapter so far (5.1 to 5.3) are evidence-based risk-focused crime prevention initiatives that have been tailored for specific risk factors that have been grouped around three different age ranges. This section is devoted to programs that have been designed for the purpose of reducing crime associated with youth gangs. The Boston Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence (BSPYV) is perhaps the most successful example of such a strategy (Waller, 2006).

The Boston Strategy is a problem-oriented program that was developed during the 1990s by various stakeholders in a collaborative effort to reduce soaring youth homicides and gang-related violence within the city of Boston (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Programs [OJJDP], 1999). One group of stakeholders consisted of a broad range of law enforcement agencies that are coordinated by the Boston police. The other important group of stakeholders came from public health, social services and religious leaders which were led by public health specialists (OJJDP, 1999). These groups both undertook a diagnosis of what was causing the problems. Eventually, the mayor brought the two groups together for a joint diagnosis. Commentators emphasise this diagnosis as a key to the success of the initiatives that followed (OJJDP, 1999; Waller, 2006).

*Operation Ceasefire* was one of the outstanding problem-oriented programs within BSPYV designed specifically to reduce gang-related violence. This program featured two strategic components: the 'head-on' law enforcement effort to target illegal gun suppliers, and

the ‘pulling levers’ deterrence strategy, which focused criminal justice attention on chronic youth gang offenders who were responsible for much of Boston’s youth homicide problem (Braga, et. al, 2001; NCPC, 2008).

Alongside enforcement efforts, Boston employed numerous prevention and intervention initiatives aimed at the high-risk youth population (OJJDP, 1999). Some examples that were implemented included: street social workers providing outreach services for youth gang members and their family, as well as youth service workers providing network services to reduce school dropouts, help runaways, and increase youth employment (Braga, et. al, 2001; Waller, 2006; NCPC, 2008).

The Boston Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence has proven to be an invaluable crime prevention initiative for the city of Boston. Evaluation has shown that there was a significant decrease in the number of homicides in the city of Boston as the average annual youth homicide rate for the city significantly dropped from 44 between 1991 and 1995 (during initial implementation) to 15 in 1998 (Waller, 2006). This reduction in youth homicides can most likely be attributed to that of a cumulative approach rather than the implementation of a single program (OJJDP, 1999).

Unfortunately when the reduction of youth homicides had been achieved, the city withdrew its temporary funding for some of the social development initiatives, while the funding for the traditional criminal justice system continued. As a result, the youth gang problems in Boston have returned.

The success of the BSPYV has since led other major cities to adopt key elements of the strategy, creating similar results across the U.S. (Institute for the Prevention of Crime [IPC], 2009; Braga, 2001; OJJDP, 1999). Similar initiatives include the Chicago Project for Violence

Prevention (Gangs and Guns) and the Philadelphia Youth Violence Reduction Partnership, which have both achieved significant success in reducing youth violence in the city (Waller, 2006; NCPC, 2008). If there is one thing to take away from the BSPYV, it is that greater investment and cooperation from various community stakeholders creates greater opportunity for program success.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

This chapter described examples of successful western crime prevention programs to demonstrate the possibility, and cost-effectiveness, of addressing risk factors that are specific to certain categories of youth. The recurring objective is to reduce the likelihood of youth succumbing to violence and increasing the quality of life for at-risk youth. For each initiative the tremendous value of evidence-based research is worth noting. It is also worth noting that the overall impact of a particular program is generally related to the degree of investment by community stakeholders. As observed in the Boston Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence, investment from a wide-array of resources, organizations and government agencies can lead to substantial results.

This chapter focused on targeting risk factors at the individual or relational level that predispose youth to delinquency. However, it is worth noting that a lot of secondary CPSD measures are also designed to address social and community level factors, such as poor living conditions and inadequate employment. These macro-level risk factors are equally important to the micro-level approaches discussed in this chapter. However, since the macro-level development strategies have consistently been emphasized in the Chinese government's work agenda, the researcher decided to focus on micro-level innovations (Xiao et al., 2007). Where

these are largely undeveloped in China relative to the West, this study aims to fill this identified gap in Chinese literature.

## Chapter 5: Implementation Strategies and Governance

This chapter will identify important components for successfully establishing a crime prevention system. It will first discuss how the risk-focused crime prevention model has been received throughout the world and depict the intergovernmental organizations and programs that endorse it. This chapter will then describe an implementation model that focuses on a four step strategic planning process coordinated by a responsibility center. It will then present some examples of jurisdictions that have implemented a strategic planning process. Lastly, the relevance and potential applicability of these processes to Chongqing will be discussed.

### 5.1. Intergovernmental Consensus on Implementation Guidelines

As touched on in previous chapters, the UN and the WHO have promoted crime prevention at an international level. This is evident in the major publications that each organization has put forth in the past decade to instruct their member countries (including China) on means to effectively reduce crime and victimization. Such publications include: *United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime (2002)*, *Preventing Violence: A Guide to Implementing the Recommendations of the World Report on Violence and Health (WHO, 2004b)* and *Making Cities Safer from Crime - A Toolkit* (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-HABITAT], 2007).

The *UN Guidelines for the Prevention of Crime* outline the necessary elements for implementing effective crime prevention at all levels of government, and provide a framework for putting comprehensive and evidence-based crime prevention initiatives into action. This document discusses the need for establishing a permanent and funded responsibility centre,

provides ‘multi-dimensional’ problem solving strategies that correspond to all stages of the crime prevention process (depicted later), and details various comprehensive and integrated strategies for targeting specific forms of crime. It also sets out principles for public engagement and outreach (UNECOSOC, 2002).

In addition, UN-HABITAT, an intergovernmental section of the United Nations that has focused on preventing youth crime in cities, launched the Safer Cities Programme in 1996 in an effort to help cities develop their urban safety and social cohesion. Lately, this initiative has been expanded to China. In its publication *Making Cities Safer from Crime - A Toolkit*, UN-HABITAT also points out that the incidents and impacts of crime and violence in developing and transitional countries could be largely reduced through good governance and appropriate urban planning and management (UN-HABITAT, 2007).

The WHO guide provides a similar framework for implementing crime prevention. This particular document is an implementation guide for the seven recommendations provided by the *World Report on Violence and Health* (WHO, 2004b). It provides action steps for increasing the capacity for data collection as well as for researching violence. This guide also provides important information for preventing interpersonal violence, promoting social and gender equality, as well as strengthening support and care services for victims. In this document, the WHO discusses a strategy for developing a national action plan for implementing prevention measures (WHO, 2004b).

Following the United Nations Economic and Social Council’s approval of guidelines for the implementation of effective crime prevention (UNECOSOC, 1995 and 2002), the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime prepared a handbook for planning, monitoring and evaluating policies and programs on the subject for different countries and regions (UNODC,

2010). Consistent with the content discussed in chapters three and four, this report describes the benefits that effective crime prevention initiatives can bring to cities and urban areas. These include enhancing the quality of the social and economic resources for cities and their inhabitants as well as helping to bring about long-term reductions in expenditures on criminal justice, health care and other services (UNODC, 2010). The report then goes on to recommend the steps required to implement these initiatives by creating a crime prevention planning office as well as a sound model for diagnosing and evaluating initiatives.

Together, these guides constitute a collective effort to universally reduce crime in a financially responsible manner. Therefore, in theory, the ideas discussed should be capable of being utilized within a city as unique as Chongqing.

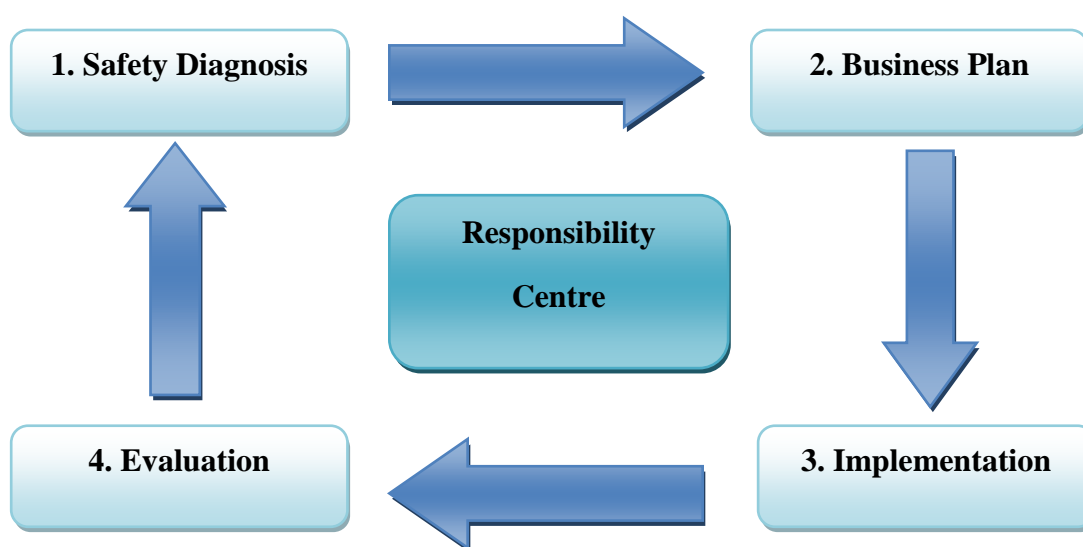
## **5.2. The Crime Prevention Responsibility Centre and Strategic Planning Process**

Discussion on implementation can, at least in part, be attributed to the national crime prevention policies and strategies of nine Western countries (Australia, Belgium, Canada, England & Welsh, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States). These implementations of crime prevention took shape in the early 1980's and have been modified in recent years to sustain the efficiency of prevention efforts (Waller, Sansfacon and Welsh, 1999). The UNODC guidelines regarding intergovernmental consensus on the implementation of crime prevention programs discussed above are taken up later in *Less Law, More Order* (Waller, 2006; Figure 5.1). These implementation guidelines adapted by the Institute for the Prevention of Crime (IPC) in Canada as the *Problem Solving Model* in their publications *Building a Safer Canada: First Report of the National Working Group on Crime Prevention* (IPC, 2007) and

*Making Cities Safer: Action Briefs for Municipal Stakeholders* (IPC, 2009). It is in these documents that one can find blueprints outlining the crime prevention planning process.

The crime prevention planning process consists of four overlapping stages that are overseen by a responsibility center (a permanent central authority) (UNODC, 2010). The institution charged with orchestrating this process is referred to as a Crime Prevention Strategic Planning Office (see Figure 5.1).

**Figure 5.1.** Crime Prevention Strategic Planning Office



**Waller, 2006**

### ***Responsibility Centers.***

The establishment of a Responsibility Center to implement crime prevention policy is one of the first recommendations presented in the UNODC Guidelines (UNODC, 2010). It is also proposed in the UN-HABITAT strategic plan for safer cities (2007). Essentially, the purpose of a responsibility center is to ensure the success of each stage and serve as a hub in the planning process (IPC, 2007). The potential role of this body is to promote and coordinate public engagement as well as to provide political leadership, funding and resources to best identify and prevent risk factors within its jurisdiction (UNODC, 2010; IPC, 2007). Perhaps most important,

it must also ensure a sustained commitment to prevention. Currently, there are a number of permanent crime prevention responsibility centers operating at the national level (such as France, Canada, Chile and South Africa) and state/provincial level (such as the State of Victoria in Australia, and the State of Queretaro in Mexico) throughout the world (UNODC, 2010). Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to identify any research-based evaluations of the success of the Responsibility Center. However, the next section discusses three best practices linked to the reduction of crime that offer support for this body.

Responsibility Centers are generally composed of a Joint Planning Board and Secretariat, which consists of key stakeholders that are responsible for the promotion and coordination of prevention plans (UNODC, 2010; Waller, 2006). These stakeholders are suggested to consist of leaders from key agencies that are capable of influencing the risk factors that were identified in Chapter 3 and the types of programs shown to prevent crime in Chapter 4. Areas that recommended to be incorporated are: politics, youth justice, police, corrections, community representatives, non-government organizations, representatives of special interest groups (such as youth, women and ethnic communities), the media, social and health care, education and academia, as well as private and business sectors (UNODC, 2010; IPC, 2007). The Responsibility Center of Alberta, Canada, known as the Safe Communities Secretariat (SafeCom), has provided a list of the city stakeholders that should be involved in formulating crime prevention strategies (see Appendix C). SafeCom will be further discussed later in this chapter.

The four stages, as put forth by the IPC, consist of: conducting a safety diagnosis, creating a business plan, implementing the plan and then evaluating the plan. The following provides a brief overview of each stage:

**1. Conducting a Safety Diagnosis.** This is the first stage of the process and entails identifying and evaluating risk factors, challenges and community assets that are specific to the problem (Waller, 2006). Key questions regarding both crime and the community are asked at this point in order to analyze the problems that may exist as well as to set prevention priorities. Questions asked at this point in the process should include: “*Which areas have the highest crime rates?*” and, “*What are the demographic characteristics of the highest crime neighbourhoods?*” (IPC, 2009).

**2. Creating a Plan.** Based on consultations with a wide range of sectors, including the public, as well as research findings, a strategic plan/initiative that best addresses the issue(s) identified in the diagnosis should be created (UNODC, 2010). At this point in the process, staff set clear priorities and integrate funding, services and other resources for addressing the main concerns regarding crime, victimization and insecurity across the city. It is important to establish key areas where action should be focused and select the main types of offence or groups at risk (UNODC, 2010). Strategies should be problem oriented and focus on areas such as: social development, community action, police strategies, physical design administrative strategies, etc. (IPC, 2009). During this stage conflicting interests between stakeholders often emerge. One of the biggest challenges for Governments often lies in encouraging departments and other sectors to operate multi-sector partnerships instead of confining their activities to discrete areas of responsibility. It may not be easy to persuade departments of health, urban development or labour that they can make an important contribution to crime prevention and community safety. Many departments will probably see crime as a police or justice responsibility and cede power to those sectors. Furthermore, there may be an unwillingness to share data and information with other

departments or with non-governmental actors, as well as reluctance to allocate departmental resources to joint prevention projects.

**3. *Implementing the Plan.*** This essentially involves putting the priorities that were developed at stage two into action. This entails the mobilization of resources, as well as strategic coordination, in order to engage the desired target population (Waller, 2006). There are two essential factors that should not be neglected at this stage: community involvement and maintenance strategies (UNODC, 2010).

**4. *Evaluation of the Plan.*** Evaluation is the final stage of the process prior to starting over again. At this stage short and long-term monitoring and evaluation occurs along with a cost-benefit analysis (UNODC, 2010). Ultimately, the outcomes and unintended consequences are assessed in an effort to determine whether the correct strategy was implemented (Waller, 2006). Here, both process and outcome evaluations are used to monitor the implementation and assess the impact of the initiative (IPC, 2009). The process can be fine-tuned using the evaluation results and better tailored to prevent crime.

### **5.3. Some Best Practices of Implementation**

This section details three ‘best practices’ of the planning process that have been associated with the reduction crime, such as those identified earlier in this chapter. Three examples were chosen to illustrate the significant impacts that crime prevention centres can have on various types of crime and at different levels of government. Examples include the Bogotá Permanent Office for Violence Prevention, the Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy, and Scotland’s Violence Reduction Unit. Each of these cases uses strategies that incorporate elements of social development, policing and situational crime prevention. The Alberta Crime

Prevention Framework was also discussed as one such practice in this section, but unfortunately the results of this model are yet to be observed. The Alberta Crime Prevention Framework is still in its early stages.

### **The Bogotá Permanent Office for Violence Prevention.**

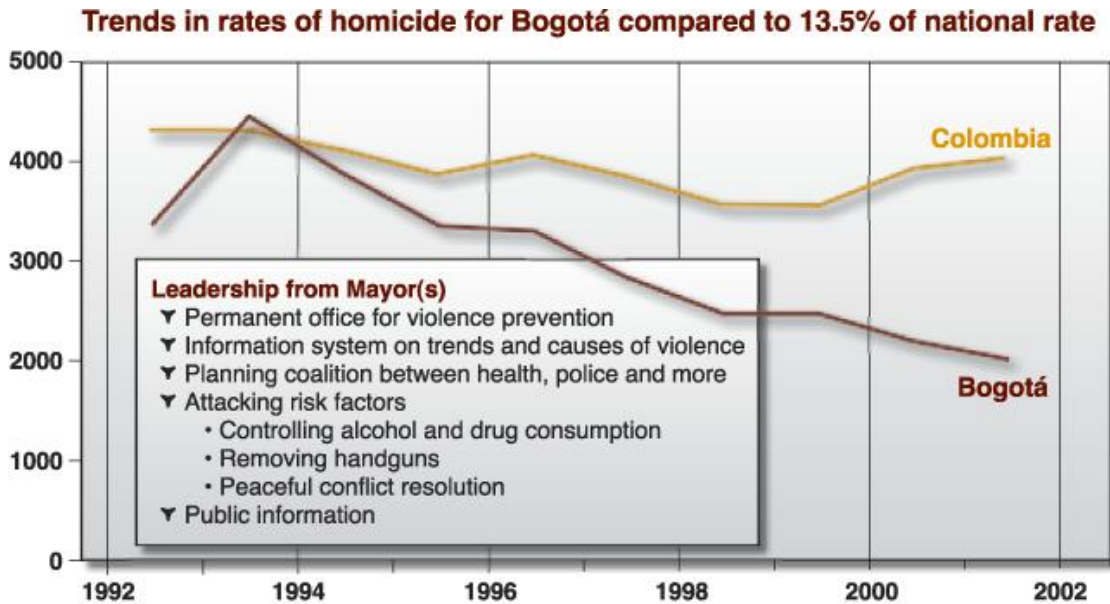
The Bogotá Permanent Office for Violence Prevention represents a successful example of crime prevention within Latin America. In the mid-1990s, the city of Bogotá, Colombia, adopted recommendations that had been made by the United States Conference for Mayors in 1991 (Waller, 2006). In keeping with these recommendations, city mayors of Bogotá have since established a crime prevention planning office (referred to as an observatory) to analyze the causes of violent crime and develop solutions/better investments (Waller, 2006). The Bogotá Permanent Office for Violence Prevention was then established and began working in collaboration with other organizations (i.e. police and health departments) to identify and address risk factors for violence. Using evidence-based practices, this office was able to implement measures to reduce crime that included: an ‘anti-violence vaccine’<sup>9</sup>, victim assistance, limiting access to alcohol and drug consumption, reducing the availability of handguns, and enforcing a curfew for young men (Waller, 2006). These measures combined problem-solving policing with social programs for at-risk young men. However, it must be clarified here that measures other than the anti-violence vaccine and victim assistance did not fall within the secondary level CPSD. Measures such as curfews and limiting access to handguns are law enforcement crime prevention approaches. Further, these two CPSD strategies are based on victim support rather than the social risk factors discussed earlier. Nevertheless, the Bogotá example is useful to demonstrate the potential of this observatory office and its capacity to serve as a key component of crime

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<sup>9</sup> *Anti-violence vaccine* is a system of outreach for victims of violence to help them avoid retaliation.

prevention efforts. In doing so, the city of Bogotá was able to reduce its homicide rate by more than 50% within less than 10 years; a drop from 4,452 murders in 1993 to 1,993 murders in 2001 (Waller, 2006). As displayed in Figure 5.2, this was a significant decrease compared to the overall national homicide rate of Colombia which did not change substantially.

**Figure 5.2.** Trends in rates of homicide for Bogotá



Source: Personal communication with Acero Velasquez, City Hall Bogotá

As one can see, Bogotá is a testament to the positive effects of crime prevention. Through political leadership, coordination and adherence to the crime prevention process, a drastic reduction in the homicide rate of Colombia’s capital city became reality. There are elements that are common between the cities of Bogotá and Chongqing. For instance, both cities feature a political climate that is resistant to western-style ideals, both are large metropolis’s found within a developing country, and power is highly centralized with the mayor in both. However, more differences than commonalities exist between these two cities, such as political history, culture, city capacity and demography. As a result, there is an undeniable incompatibility for applying this model to Chongqing. This same issue of transferability also exist in the next three examples.

However, as stated previously, this study was not designed to be an in-depth investigation or description of the requirements for implementing crime prevention models in Chongqing. Consideration of transferability will not be discussed in detail in this thesis.

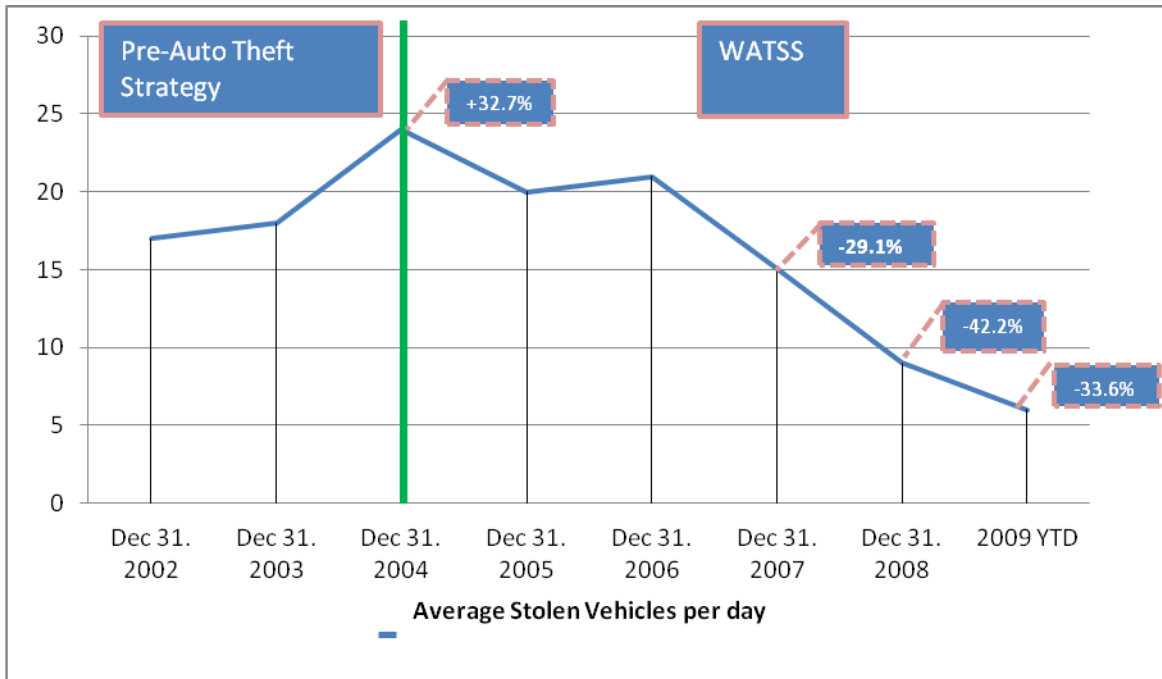
### **The Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy (WATSS).**

During the period from 2003 to 2007, Winnipeg had one of the highest vehicle theft rates of any city within North America and financial losses that were estimated to be nearly \$40 million per year (Manitoba Auto Theft Task Force [MATTF], 2009). In response, the city of Winnipeg, Manitoba, formed the Manitoba Auto Theft Task Force (MATTF), which in many ways mimicked the crime prevention planning office depicted earlier. The MATTF undertook a diagnosis of the problem where the task force reviewed the available criminal justice data and discovered that vehicle theft had become an important part of the youth culture in some inner-city neighbourhoods. It was revealed that most thefts were committed by young offenders and that most vehicles which had been stolen within the specified time period were stolen for the purposes of joyriding rather than for profit (MATTF, 2009).

Following the diagnosis phase, the MATTF developed a multi-agency approach, namely the Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy (WATSS), to reduce auto theft in Winnipeg committed by young offenders. WATSS was initiated as a coalition strategy which included the Winnipeg Police Service, Manitoba Public Insurance, and Manitoba Justice (Youth Correctional Services and Prosecutions) (MATTF, 2009). WATSS originally targeted the supervision of high-risk youth but later expanded into a comprehensive strategy that used a tiered CPSD approach to at-risk youth. The comprehensive strategy involved intensive community supervision for youth at different levels of risk, a program requiring compulsory vehicle immobilizers for the most at-

risk vehicles, and outreach programming for youth that addressed root causes of vehicle theft (MATTF, 2009).

**Figure 5.3.** Winnipeg Daily Stolen Vehicle Average. 2002 – 2009



**Manitoba Public Insurance, 2009**

The WATSS has since achieved a significant and long-lasting reduction of motor vehicle thefts (see Figure 5.3) with annual decreases of: 29 percent in 2007, 42 percent in 2008, and 34 percent in the first four months of 2009. Over a five year period (from 2004 to 2009) there has been an overall reduction of 76 percent in vehicle theft, which corresponds to an estimated savings of \$30 million per year for victims (MATTF, 2009).

These drastic vehicle theft reductions can be accredited to the detailed problem diagnosis, strategic planning, implementation and evaluation conducted by a city-wide coalition within the city of Winnipeg. The Winnipeg Auto Theft Suppression Strategy is a great example of the potential of problem-oriented crime prevention. Today, auto theft rates have now reached their lowest levels in 15 years and continue to decline. WATSS is a model that was tailored to address

property-related youth crime. As mentioned previously, youth crime is perceived to be a major issue within Chongqing. Consequently, WATSS could hold great value if Chongqing were to implement a crime prevention program that targets a specific form of property-related crime.

### **Scotland's Violence Reduction Unit.**

In Glasgow, Scotland, violence had developed into a persistent problem. Throughout the West of Scotland, levels of violent crime had remained relatively constant for the last 40 years. In 2005 the Strathclyde Police, the police for Glasgow, established the Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) to address all forms of violent conduct, in particular knife crime and weapon carrying (Violence Reduction Unit [VRU], n.d.). The VRU's strategy is based on a diagnosis of the problem followed by the proposition of solutions for reducing violence focused on two areas: enforcement and attitudinal change. Within these two strands, the VRU worked with a range of partners, such as police, health, education and other public sector organizations, that were capable of helping reduce violence. In 2006, the VRU was extended nationwide, creating a national organization known as the Violence Reduction Team, which was tasked with reducing levels of violent crime throughout all of Scotland.

Scottish executives/stakeholders utilized the WHO's *World Report On Violence and Health* (2002), and identified the following goals: 1) to reduce violent crime and behavior by working with partner agencies such as health care, education and social work to achieve long-term societal and attitudinal change; and, 2) to contain and manage individuals who carry weapons or who are involved in violent behavior by focusing on enforcement (VRU, n.d.). The unit also aimed to explore best practices and develop sustainable, innovative solutions to address this entrenched problem.

As a comprehensive strategy, VRU has implemented a wide range of initiatives that target individual and relational risk factors among at-risk youth. VRU efforts cover the following five areas<sup>10</sup>: 1) Enforcement, which includes leading the *Community Initiative to Reduce Violence* to target gang crimes, as well as the *Anti-Violence Campaign* that encourages police forces to develop and implement risk-based crime prevention approaches; 2) Health, for which the VRU adopted the public health approach to violence reduction and successfully established partnerships with emergency and local health department to develop risk-focused interventions. For example, as part of the *Medics Against Violence* program, the VRU send volunteer medics to educate students about the outcomes of violence as an effort to prevent future violence; 3) Early years and education, which includes assigning campus officers to secondary schools to foster efforts around diversion, conflict resolution, anti-bullying and early intervention of at-risk youth. Another example is the *Early Years & Education* program that offers support and advice on parenting; 4) Community Safety Partnerships, which have already been operating across Scotland to bring together representatives from enforcement and social sectors to maximize the impact of risk-based activities on reducing violence within communities; and 5) Community Groups, who are consulted to provide solutions for reducing violence in their neighborhood (VRU, n.d.).

Although the VRU is young, the long-term plans that are in effect look promising and are already creating positive results.

### **Alberta's Crime Prevention Framework.**

In 2007, the Crime Reduction and Safe Communities Task Force was established in the province of Alberta, Canada, for the purpose of identifying methods to reduce crime. This Task

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<sup>10</sup> Please refer to their official website for more details: <http://www.actiononviolence.com/what-is-being-done>

Force undertook a diagnosis of the issues and then submitted a plan consisting of a series of recommendations, one of which was to develop a comprehensive, long-term crime prevention strategy (Government of Alberta, 2011). Alberta's Crime Prevention Framework (ACPF), led by the Safe Communities Secretariat (SafeCom), created in order to fulfill this recommendation (see Appendix C).

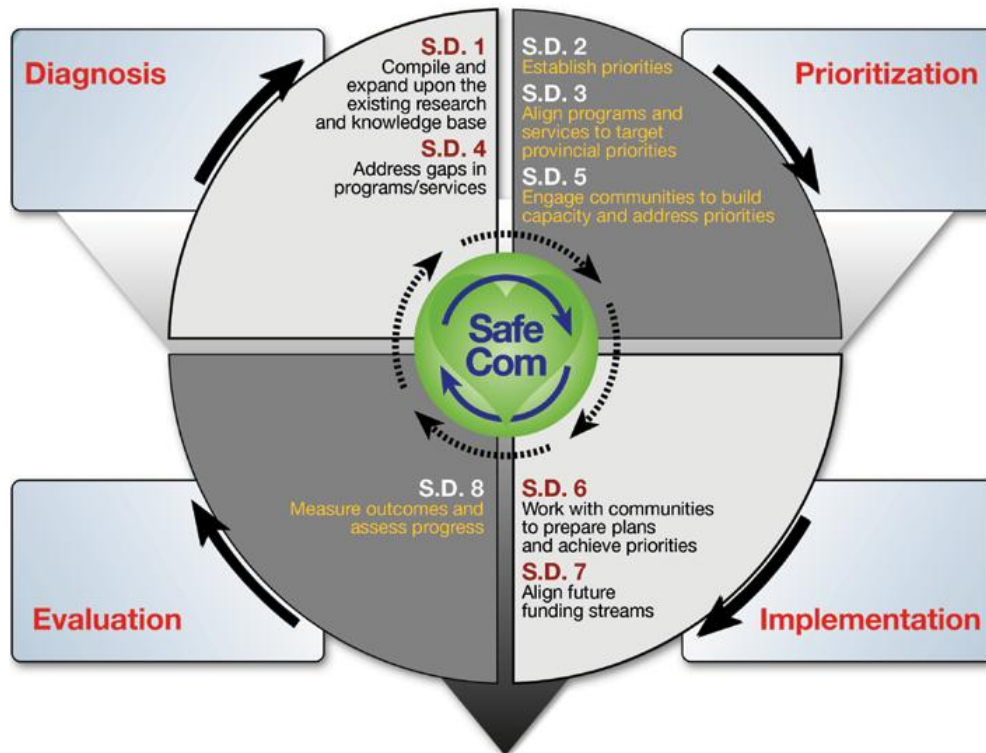
SafeCom has since operated in conjunction with nine different government departments including education, health, police and social services. It has also begun to work with social agencies in order to fulfill ACPF that has been set out. The objectives of ACPF have been to increase protective factors (positive influences) and decrease risk-factors in an effort to diminish rates of crime and victimization as well as the social and financial costs associated with crime. The targeted risk-factors are personal behaviours and/or environmental conditions that might increase youth involvement in crime, such as low literacy, family distress, having parents in conflict with the law, and early anti-social behaviour. Plausibly, these individual and relational risk-factors are similar to those that might contribute to youth crime within Chongqing.

ACPF posits a detailed strategy for reducing crime within the province of Alberta through a cost-effective and proactive approach. Furthermore, it outlines five specific results that are to be achieved: reduce crime, reduce the severity of crime, reduce victimization, reduce harm to victims and society, and increase the sense of safety for Albertans (Government of Alberta, 2011). Unfortunately, the results of Alberta's Crime Prevention Framework are yet to be observed as this initiative is still in its early stages.

The ACPF stresses a shift from over-reliance on the standard reactive criminal justice model towards a balance between smarter use of criminal justice with effective prevention and focuses on engaging partners and cities in order to achieve its outlined objectives. The

Framework identifies vulnerable groups and targets problem areas, as well as justifies the project in terms of social, financial and human costs. As illustrated below, SafeCom aims to substantially reduce crime through adherence to the crime prevention process and its strategic directions (see Figure 5.4).

**Figure 5.4. Alberta’s Crime Prevention Framework**



\*S.D. = *Strategic Direction*

**Government of Alberta, n.d.**

The ACPF is relevant to implementing crime prevention within Chongqing because it features an approach that is all-encompassing (i.e. it does not focus on a single issue like that of WATTS). This approach could hold great value for a city lacking extensive research into specific areas of crime.

#### **5.4. Recent Discussions and Issues of Implementation for Chongqing**

In 2011, there was a symposium between crime prevention experts in Ottawa. Participants included Jack Calhoun, the current Senior Consultant to the National League of Cities Institute for Youth, Education, and Families and Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. He was also CEO of the U.S. National Crime Prevention Council for more than 20 years. Another participant was Nigel Whiskin, a founding director of Restorative Solutions, as well as a charity providing Restorative Justice training for front line crime fighters<sup>11</sup> and community activists. For fifteen years he was the founding chief executive of Crime Concern, a community safety organization that pioneered successful youth inclusion projects and neighborhood safety programs. Their recommendations on the key elements of successful implementation were concluded by Waller:

1. Cities must establish comprehensive strategies that balance enforcement, intervention and prevention to change structures that influence policies which change lives on the street. This requires the support of both the mayor and the police chief, and the creation of a central planning entity to make it happen that involves all key city and stakeholder groups as well as families and youth.
2. State, provincial and federal governments must overcome ‘braid’ funding to integrate their funding for schools, health, housing, social services and enforcement to support these comprehensive strategies at the local level.
3. Governments must support and replicate networks of cities like the 13 City California Gang Prevention Network<sup>12</sup> and the Canadian Municipal Network for Crime Prevention to share best practices, and to empower them to implement effective strategies, learn how to overcome inertia and support communities that do not produce gangs.
4. Governments must ensure universal implementation of the programs that ‘we know work’, where they are needed, including fostering ways to manage performance and change the personnel or the model when we don’t get the results we expect.
5. Governments and cities must invest in developing the tools for implementation, performance management and training for people in the front line.

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<sup>11</sup> Please see: <http://www.restorativesolutions.org.uk/page/97/Nigel-Whiskin-Bio.htm>

<sup>12</sup> California Cities Gang Prevention Network was formed in 2007. As the first of its kind in the United States, it focuses on successful anti-gang policies and practices that interweave prevention, intervention, enforcement and a community’s ‘moral voice’ as an alternative to prison-only solutions.

6. Research funders must now focus on improving implementation and developing information systems that gather the data needed to manage program performance – this means abandoning the obsession with evaluation, as we already know so much about what works from outcome evaluations that are not implemented.

[www.irvinwaller.org](http://www.irvinwaller.org) (Waller, 2011 August 11)

Some experts dispute the sixth recommendation above regarding the value of evaluation. However, it is important to note that, taken as a whole, this statement reflects the importance for practitioners to properly implement crime prevention strategies.

The above recommendations are relevant to establishing a crime prevention system within the municipality of Chongqing. Calhoun and Whiskin reinforce the importance of a responsibility center, collaboration between different social agencies and intergovernmental cooperation. However, they also mentioned several issues that have not yet been emphasised regarding implementation. Objectives such as getting support from police departments, and public support, balancing law enforcement and prevention, pursuing political leadership, launching a crime prevention network between cities, and making the best use of the knowledge and expertise are necessary.

Calhoun and Whiskin stressed that the key to implementing a crime prevention strategy is in the hands of the local government. In using local policies to target risk factors that cause crime, officials/stakeholders can prevent crime in a sustainable and affordable way by engaging in such initiatives as improving policies on jobs, education, public health and social services, as well as modernizing law enforcement.

In the sources that were used, there was no clear understanding as to why particular jurisdictions have invested successfully in effective crime prevention. Nevertheless, it is striking that in each of the four jurisdictions discussed in this chapter, there were three ‘winning

conditions' present. First, they all faced an identifiable challenge of disturbing crime rates. Second, experts were available to provide accessible and convincing preventive solutions. Third, political leadership chose to implement those preventive solutions alongside the traditional criminal justice system and through a responsibility centre capable of diagnosis and planning. At this point there is no evaluation data to support or reject these issues.

## **5.5. Conclusion**

The overarching objective of this chapter was to illustrate that in order to achieve successful implementation and sustain the success of prevention actions in a city, an institution resembling that of a responsibility center should be created to engage a wide range of agencies (such as schools, housing, social services and police) into a planning process that consists of diagnosis, planning, implementation and evaluation stages. This process is supported by intergovernmental organizations such as the UN, UN-HABITAT and the WHO and has been proven in such cities as Boston, Winnipeg, and Bogotá, and Scotland.

When leading jurisdictions establish a responsibility center and undertake the crime prevention planning process, a subsequent reduction in crime generally follows. This in turn reflects positively on the political leadership, and all stakeholders, including the public, tend to benefit as a result. In order to replicate these effective initiatives in Chongqing, the economic and social circumstances of the city, as well as its capacity and political history need to be taken into account (UNODC, 2010).

## **Chapter 6: Perspectives of Key Stakeholders in Chongqing**

This chapter explores the perspectives of some key stakeholders within the city of Chongqing who have experience with youth-related work and have influence within the criminal justice system or other youth related social service areas.

For this project, semi-structured interviews were conducted with six stakeholders within Chongqing during the first two weeks of January in 2011. Each stakeholder has previously been described, along with their relative importance to the topic of juvenile delinquency (see Chapter 1). The sample includes: a Judge, a District Attorney (D.A.), a Police Officer, a School Principal, a Local Journalist, and a Youth League Officer. Opinions and views were gathered from these participants in an effort to understand the current situation of youth crime in Chongqing as well as to situate it in terms of importance and complexity. Following the methodology (also detailed in Chapter 1), and keeping with the findings of the previous section of this thesis, interviews were conducted to obtain the necessary data to fulfill the objective of this thesis (refer to Appendix A for the interview guide).

In order to best portray the perceptions of these key stakeholders (their views of the current youth crime situation in Chongqing and attitudes toward western crime prevention knowledge), this chapter has been structured into four categories. First and foremost, it will depict the perspectives of the stakeholders pertaining specifically to youth crime. It will then proceed to describe their perceptions of the causes of youth crime within this city, followed by their proposed solutions for combating this unique form of delinquency. Last, this chapter will portray stakeholder opinions toward implementing modern crime prevention tactics within the city of Chongqing as an alternative way to reducing youth crime.

For organizational purposes, the data gathered has been divided into specific categories in order to contrast the responses from each stakeholder. Each stakeholder's verbal response has been transcribed (after being recorded using a voice recorder) into written text. The transcripts have been organized into four categories (described above) and translated from Chinese into English. Finally, responses were sorted into several particular themes and contrasted to the crime prevention findings portrayed in the earlier chapters of this thesis.

## **6. 1. Perceptions of Youth Crime in Chongqing**

In examining the transcripts, there were several common themes that were revealed regarding the current youth crime situation in Chongqing. Responses depicting the prevalence of youth crime, the primary forms of youth crime, and the location and demographics of youth crime were revealed.

### **6.1.1. The prevalence of youth crime.**

All of the stakeholders who were interviewed have the impression that Chongqing's youth crime situation is average in comparison to the overall national level in China. Each participant also expressed that youth crime is a serious problem within the city in terms of the nature of the crimes being committed, as well as their severity and social impact. However, the stakeholders admitted that their perceptions of youth crime were based on their work experiences and personal interpretation rather than actual crime data. As stated in Chapter 1 of this thesis, no actual crime data regarding youth crime within Chongqing is available to the public.

Regarding the trend of youth crime in Chongqing, four of the six participants held the same opinion that there has been an increase. The two participants that offered a differing opinion were the Judge from the Higher People's Court (of the Highest Provincial Judiciary) and

the District Attorney. The Judge noted that “according to the number of cases that have been accepted and heard by juvenile courts in Chongqing, there continues to be an annual decline over the past five years.” The Judge further speculated that this downward trend will continue principally due to three reasons:<sup>13</sup>

1. The 2006 Judicial Interpretation issued by the Supreme People’s Court has altered the conviction standards for juvenile offenders, which has created a corresponding decrease in both charges and convictions;
2. Chongqing now has an aging population (a product of one-child policy) and this has created a decrease in the overall youth population;
3. Continued improvement of judicial diversionary measures<sup>14</sup> used by the Chongqing People’s Prosecutor exempts more and more types of juvenile offenders from prosecution (for example: circumstances where family/school supervision is possible, cases involving minor offences, first-time offenders, etc.).

The Judge also illustrated that juvenile offenders whom have committed misdemeanours sometimes have their charges dropped (*nol-pros*) during the review and prosecution stage. In these instances, the court will not record the offence despite its occurrence. Despite this, the Judge stated: “I think the number of juvenile offenders heard by the court is much lower than the total number of delinquent juveniles that come before the court. In other words, a reduction in the number of juvenile convictions does not mean that youth crime is going down in this city.” It should be noted that the Judge had first-hand experience in prosecuting youth as well as access to juvenile conviction data. The Judge’s inability to put-forth any evidence attesting to the crime situation reflects how difficult it is to gauge the prevalence of youth crime in Chongqing.

Like the Judge, the District Attorney stated that, “according to the number of arrests and public prosecution cases, Chongqing’s juvenile delinquency rate in the year 2009 was slightly lower than that of 2008.” Unfortunately, the actual data referenced by the Judge and D.A., as

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<sup>13</sup> The quotes were translated from a particular Chongqing dialect, to Mandarin, then to English by the researcher. Therefore, quotes are more paraphrased than directly interpreted.

<sup>14</sup> *Judicial Diversion* in China is an alternative measure that directs minors (who have been charged with criminal offences) away from the court system. Diversionary initiatives include (but are not limited to): conditional discharges, community service, and fines.

well as the Court/Prosecutor data for offender's aged 18 to 25 years old, remains unavailable to the general public.

To reiterate, there is no actual statistical data to describe youth crime rates in Chongqing (refer to Chapter 2). Also, based on such a small set of perceptions from only six informants, it is hard to determine the real number and trend of youth crime in Chongqing. Nevertheless, there is a common impression that youth crime remains an important issue in Chongqing as it continues to threaten public safety. The fact is, regardless of actual youth crime rates/trends, crime prevention presents a cost-effective alternative that could significantly change the youth crime situation for the better in Chongqing if stakeholders were to adopt it.

#### **6.1.2. The main types of youth crime.**

All of the stakeholders identified property-related crimes (i.e. vandalism, larceny and theft) as the main type of youth crime. Specifically, the D.A. stated: "more than 70% of juvenile delinquent acts committed in Chongqing are property related." Similar proportions were estimated by other participants and were found to be consistent with the data identified in the official White Paper (prepared by the CQHPC). Conversely, violent crimes were also perceived to be highly prevalent amongst youth; however, not nearly to the extent as property-related crimes. This is illustrated in the following quote from the D.A.:

Most cases in the past were property-related as violent crimes remained low and less serious. For example, the most serious violent cases were generally robbery, sexual assault, and the occasional armed fight. However, this has changed over the past few years. Cases of rape and murder, which were quite rare before, are becoming more and more prevalent. Today, many districts within Chongqing are showing increased concern toward these kids.

The quote above depicts an increase, in both severity and form, in violent crime being committed within Chongqing. Such testament practically warrants alternative measures of crime control as juvenile delinquency appears to be evolving for the worse.

Youth gang crime is explicitly identified as the most prominent form of juvenile crime by all participants. The Youth League Officer stated: “individual crimes are reported to be very rare in comparison to gang crimes because minors prefer to follow a crowd.” Most youth gangs appear to feature either a ‘juvenile with juvenile’ or ‘juvenile with adult’ composition. As put forth by the Judge, youth gang crimes generally refer to crimes that involve three or more offenders aged 14 to 25 years old and often consist of a small number of participants (except for cases involving organized criminal networks). It was of general consensus among the participants that violent crimes such as theft, robbery, and assault were in large part committed by gang members. It was also mentioned that overall there are no major organized crime syndicates in Chongqing. So far, most youth gangs are spontaneous, small scale, operate for short-term purposes, and have very little direction.

Despite this submission, two of the participants (the Police Officer and D.A.) noted that there have been several recent changes with regard to youth gang crime trends in Chongqing.

These changes are summarized as followed:

1. **Membership.** The Police Officer indicated that the average range of youth gang members has extended from 3-5 people to 3-10 people; in few cases, there have been even more than 20 gang members. The average age difference between members within a gang generally extends from 1-3 years; however, some cases involve both juveniles and adults. There could be 7-10 years age difference. The Police Officer also stated that the structure of gangs has evolved and become more complex in recent years as gangs are more commonly including classmates, neighbours, relatives, and mixed genders.
2. **Organization Maturing.** On average, internal management within gangs has become stricter. The D.A. mentioned one case where gang members were not allowed to abuse drugs and another case where all members contributed collectively to medical expenses that were endured. The Police Officer also illustrated that gangs are becoming much harder to detect (and follow) as communication methods have become quite modernized and practically invisible.
3. **Active Area.** Traditionally, youth gangs have been active locally; however, in recent years some local gangs have resorted to committing crime in other districts.
4. **Formative Process.** The D.A. concluded that there has emerged a common process for the formation of gang activity. Generally, the formation of a gang involves a four-step process: individuals become unmotivated in their study, these individuals gather into

small delinquent groups, these groups begin committing various small crimes, and finally these groups develop into comprehensive criminal gangs.

5. **Types of Crime.** Youth gang criminal acts often gradually evolve from misdemeanours to felony offences as well as from single crimes to complex criminal schemes. The Police Officer and D.A. both stated that gangs initially tend to engage in property and violent crimes and then sometimes graduate into engaging in more complex crimes (such as drug-related crime and internet-related crime).
6. **Means of Crime.** There is much evidence indicating that the level of violence used by gangs has significantly increased. This is inferred from recent news reports of severe criminal cases that have been committed by youth gangs. However, some gangs have managed to incorporate modern technology to orchestrate complex criminal schemes. This is evident in the numerous counterfeiting crimes that are being committed as well as the significant increase in online fraud within China.
7. **Numbers and Proportions.** Both the D.A. and Police Officer estimated that more than 60% of youth crimes that are committed involve some form of gang activity and that there is no sign of this trend slowing down anytime soon.

It should be stressed that this information represents the perceptions of the stakeholders, and not actual crime data.

The prevention of campus crime was also mentioned as an area of concern by the majority of participants. The Police Officer detailed this type of crime through the following: “Campus crime can be broken down into offences featuring at least one of the following elements: ‘Xia-Bao’, which summarizes a growing type of violent crime committed by students;<sup>15</sup> students falling victim to robbery by people from outside of their campus; emotional abuse within the student population; and/or, general violence.” The School Principal indicated that in 2010 there were a number of severe campus violent crimes that occurred across the nation which quickly drew extensive attention. In turn, campus crime has become a major focus of the Chongqing municipal government since 2010.

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<sup>15</sup> *Xia-Bao* stems from Chongqing, and means ‘young students exerting violence against other young students’. This refers to students that apply violent behaviour toward other students generally because of a premature love triangle, money/material desires, sexual awareness, imitation of media, or to vent their anger. These violent behaviors include: violence, sexual assault, extortion of money/robbery, and/or other offences. This phenomenon in Chongqing is commonly called *Xiao-Bao* as these behaviors share common characteristics: 1) they involve people of young age, mostly concentrated in the upper primary and junior secondary school stages; 2) there exists a strong imitation of some violent media plot; and, 3) most forms involve informal gang groups.

To summarize, there was strong agreement among the participants in this study that property-related crime is the primary type of youth crime in Chongqing, and that youth gang crimes account for a considerable amount of crime being committed. Furthermore, gang crimes are fast evolving and becoming more severe and complex within Chongqing. Also, it was revealed that campus crime is quickly emerging as a great area of concern. Supposing that this information reflects actual youth problem areas, this suggests a need for a crime prevention program that specifically targets these concerns. However, implementation would still remain a great obstacle to overcome.

### **6.1.3. Location and demographics of youth crime.**

A reoccurring theme presented by the stakeholders was that youth crime was primarily concentrated within Chongqing's economic centre where there exists a large transient population. The economic inequality between the transient population and urban residents is considered to be a significant societal risk factor. This could be addressed by employing crime prevention strategies that seek to reduce economic barriers to development, such as creating job programs or income distribution programs (WHO, 2002). However, the previous chapters of this thesis have focused more on the individual and relational aspects of crime prevention through social development. Such societal risk factors in Chongqing could also be addressed through macro-level reforms; however, this issue is outside the scope of this thesis.

It was also revealed that more than half of the young offenders in Chongqing originally come from rural areas outside of the city. This finding is in line with the notion that Chongqing is currently witnessing a mass influx/migration from the countryside. As mentioned previously, rapid social change is also considered to be a common societal risk factor (WHO, 2002). The D.A. speculated that more than 80% of young offenders come from broken homes (generally

divorced or single-parent families), a large portion of which can be attributed to mass migration. The term ‘rural left-behind children’ has emerged to depict a special social phenomenon that has recently surfaced not only in Chongqing, but also in a few other mid-south provinces (CQHPC, 2009).

According to recent news reports, Chongqing has approximately 1.07 million rural children who were ‘left-behind’ by their parents upon their migration to work in the city (Luo, 2012). This estimate depicts a large-scale epidemic of children being neglected by their parents. The Police Officer who was interviewed believed that this trend is being experienced not only in Chongqing, but in many other Chinese cities as well. All participants believed that the resulting lack of supervision has caused an increase in juvenile delinquency. Their concerns are in line with the risk factor of inconsistent parenting, identified by the WHO and various longitudinal studies as a precursor to crime (WHO, 2002; Farrington & Loeber, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2007).

Within this study, stakeholders have identified several themes regarding the location and demographics of youth crime in Chongqing. Youth crime has been reported to be primarily concentrated within Chongqing’s economic centre. Also, it is estimated that more than half of young offenders are rural migrants. These themes represent significant ‘risk’ areas that could be effectively targeted through crime prevention initiatives.

## **6.2. Perceived Causes of Youth Crime**

This section details the perceived causes and risk factors that contribute to youth crime in Chongqing. During this portion of the interview, the informants not only shared their opinions on the causes of youth crime in Chongqing, but also expressed to what extent they think the risk

factors that have been identified by western criminologists and intergovernmental organizations apply to their situation (see the Appendix B).

For the most part, the stakeholders were in agreement with the conclusions laid out in Chapter 3, which outlined criminogenic risk factors for youth. After transcribing the interviews, it was discovered that there were four prominent risk factor dimensions identified by the stakeholders: individual, family, school, and society.

### **Risk factors at the individual level.**

All of the participants mentioned that young people usually do not completely understand the significance and meaning of their illegal activities due to their young age. Furthermore, young people normally have insufficient self-control over their own actions and often do not take consequences into consideration before acting. The Youth League Officer suggested that youth are largely being neglected by their families, schools or society and that sometimes the children who share similar disassociations gather together and form gangs. As one can see, this official identified dissociation as a prelude to engaging in criminal activity. This is a common risk factor targeted by crime prevention programs that are typically introduced during the early education phase for youth.

### **Risk factors at the family level.**

In terms of family, there were two main areas identified by the participants as risk factors for youth: poor parental supervision and a lack of education amongst parents.

#### ***(i) Poor supervision.***

All participants held the opinion that youth who grow up in broken homes are more likely to be involved in violence. The Judge commented, “based on my observation, I find that youth who experience/witness domestic abuse and/or grow up in either a divorced family, a poor

family, or a left-behind family are more likely to engage in juvenile delinquency.” The D.A. estimated: “in our district more than 80% of prosecuted youth are born into, or grow up in, a broken family.” These claims are backed by the WHO *World Report on Violence and Health* (2002), which has identified dysfunctional families as a primary risk factor for youth violence.

In addition, the Youth League Officer stated that, “a lot of parents resort to cruel and negative punishment as a simple means of correcting youth behaviour because it is a ‘quick-fix’ for parents who are distant from their children.” The Judge reinforced this positions by stating, “the higher conviction rates among rural youth can be attributed to the fact that parents often leave home to work in the city, and parents from such left-behind family are often neglect the basic needs of their children.”

Ultimately, neglect, harsh punishment, and other forms of poor parenting as seen to represent a major obstacle to overcome if there is to be a reduction in youth crime rates.

***(ii) Poor education.***

The majority of participants noted that lack of education is directly correlated to crime. In cases where parents have little/no education (both parental and academic), youth tend to suffer more. One participant was quite adamant in stating that “parents who lack education are generally ignorant of the law, and as a consequence their children grow up with little to no respect toward rules or authority figures.” In addition, three of the participants mentioned that parents who are violent or have been convicted of a crime tend to have a negative influence on their children. In these cases, youth often imitate their parents’ bad behaviour.

As one can see, family structure, education and supervision are considered by my respondents to be key risk factors for juvenile delinquency in Chongqing by the stakeholders.

These findings are highly coherent with risk factors identified at the relationship level from the WHO Ecological model (WHO, 2002).

### **Risk factors at the school level.**

It has been suggested that negative school experiences are a very important risk factor for youth violence (Farrington & Loeber, 2001). This is especially true within Chongqing, China because of its unique education system. The School Principal and the Judge both insisted that the current ‘exam-oriented’ education system and the methods used for fostering students are at least partially to blame for juvenile delinquency. However, this factor falls within the macro-level, and has long been criticized by Chinese scholars and education practitioners. The proposed risk-based CPSD initiatives do not apply to this risk factor because it requires a major change within the Chinese education philosophy and system. The Judge stated: “since the education system cannot fully support and satisfy the development of every student, some of them are marginalized by the system and become social outcasts.” The Principal depicted the current school system in the following way:

The only criteria being used to evaluate the quality of schools is based on the student results of the two major exams for admittance into higher learning (the Secondary School Entrance Exam and the National Higher Education Entrance Examination).<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, secondary schools classify their students into ‘advanced’ and ‘regular’ categories. As a result, students that are in the ‘advanced’ courses receive better treatment in an effort to boost enrolment rates. Also, due to tremendous pressure to perform consistently well, some students have complete mental breakdowns at young ages, whereas others drop out of school at an early age due to poor performance. The current education system stratifies students and those that are unable to adapt tend to resort to a life of crime.

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<sup>16</sup> The *Chinese Secondary Education System* consists of junior high (middle school) and senior high (high school). In most provinces in China, middle school refers to the last three years (from grade 7 to grade 9) of the nine-year compulsory education youth are to receive. At the end of the third year, students have to pass the graduation exam to obtain a junior high school degree. Junior high school graduate students are able to go to senior high school by taking the Secondary School Entrance Exam. High school refers to grades 10 through 12. In the third year of high school (grade 12), senior high school graduate students can take the *National Higher Education Entrance Examination*, or commonly known as ‘*Gao Kao*’. This examination is a prerequisite for entrance into almost all higher education institutions at the undergraduate level.

Each participant also pointed out the importance of having a basic understanding of the law, especially for young people. Unfortunately, the current curriculum is virtually void of any type of formal/informal legal education. The Principal commented that practically 99% of the school curriculum is focused on the content of the entrance exams that are to be administered. As a result, many young students lack the most basic understanding of the law. As observed, this ‘make or break’ style of schooling indirectly encourages delinquency. Also, the fact that curriculum prioritizes exam scores over moral and ethical values is an indictment of the Chinese education system.

### **Risk factors at the societal level.**

Although this thesis is to focus on individual and relational level factors that are relevant to youth crime, the following risk factors identified by the participants are worthy of note. According to the Judge, “during China’s transitional period, Chinese society was overwhelmed with material indulgence and mental temptation for adolescents. Unfortunately, China has not kept up with these changes and conflict has emerged as a result.” Under the theme of social risk factors, a colour scheme was proposed by the Judge. The Judge identified a ‘three colour pollution’ scheme of yellow, grey and black to portray substance abuse<sup>17</sup>, corruption in society<sup>18</sup> and media influence<sup>19</sup>, respectfully, as social risk factors for youth. The Judge also indicated that setting (rural/urban) is also an important factor as urban areas have better economic opportunity, social conditions/services, and living standards than rural areas. Due to the disparity between

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<sup>17</sup> ‘Yellow Pollution’ (Substance Abuse) - Regulation 23 of the Protection of Minors Act states: “business owners should implement necessary measures to prohibit minors from entering establishments such as commercialized clubs or bars that are unsuitable for adolescents to frequent.” However, many business owners do not adhere to this regulation in pursuit of profits, which fuels substance abuse and juvenile delinquency.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Grey Pollution’ (Corruption in Society) - The influence that corruption has on youth should not be treated lightly. Extortion, bribery, and unjust influence within China are major concerns that will no doubt be inherited.

<sup>19</sup> ‘Black Pollution’ (Media Reports) - In recent years, gang crimes have become more prevalent, which can be attributed to the media. The media has managed to inadvertently cause adolescents to imitate petty crimes as well as endanger others within society.

urban and rural areas, portions of the rural population are unable to receive social resources and are often excluded from social management. As a consequence, these people are forced to make their living through other means, which has created a generation of 'left-behind' children.

To conclude, the responses from the participants indicated that factors related to family, school and society are direct contributors to delinquency. These findings are largely coherent with the findings of the WHO report on violence (2002). The stakeholders stated that youth who lack family supervision and grow up with uneducated parents are at higher risk for engaging in delinquent behaviour. Also, the exam-oriented education system in China has been considered as a barrier to youth development. Currently schools are failing to offer even a basic appreciation for the law and as a result social rules are left untaught. Furthermore, factors such as substance abuse, corruption, the media, and setting were mentioned as risk factors.

### **6.3. Proposed Solutions for Combating Youth Crime**

This section of the thesis is structured in accordance with the interview guide outlined in Chapter 4 (see Appendix A). Each stakeholder's perspective toward preventing and controlling youth crime was captured and analyzed individually. Stakeholder responses were then contrasted to each other in an effort to determine any common themes or unique perceptions of youth crime in Chongqing. This section will also present perceptions of western crime prevention initiatives (see Appendix B).

#### **The Senior Police Official.**

The Senior Police Official interviewed for this study pointed out three different approaches that he believed would help reduce youth crime: community policing, incorporating

legal education into school curriculums, and the production of media commercials aimed at denouncing youth crimes.

***(i) Community policing.***

Community policing in Chongqing is similar to western community policing. The Chongqing Public Security Bureau has tried to strengthen their local police forces throughout recent years by adopting neighbourhood crime prevention tactics. This program enlists the coordinated participation of residential families, local committees, and neighbourhood volunteer in cooperation with local sector law enforcement to manage the adolescent *bang-jiao*.<sup>20</sup> All of the districts in Chongqing have adopted this style of community policing; however, Chongqing continues to be subjected to a large migrant population influx and the relational changes between neighbourhoods have gradually sped up. This has made the management of ‘*bang-jiao*’ very difficult. The Police Officer recommended strengthening this area of policing to better combat youth crime. It should be noted that there are distinct differences in community policing between China and the west. For example, in China, community policing is more centralized and reactive compared to the west. Also, Chongqing police in general have far less investigative resources at their disposal and are paid much less than agencies in the west.

***(ii) Incorporating legal education into the school curriculum.***

According to the Police Officer, police stations have been working with local schools to improve research on youth crime prevention and legal education. It was found that one important contributor to adolescent delinquency is a lack of respect for the legal system and society. To address this, in 2010, the Youth Crime Research Unit of the Chongqing Police Department set up billboards in over 8000 different universities, high schools, and elementary schools (generally in

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<sup>20</sup> *Bang-Jiao* is the most well-known form of social treatment in China. It is a community-based rehabilitation program that assists, helps, guides, and directs juvenile offenders for their returning to normal life

the front of student residences and cafeterias). Furthermore, researchers created a popular song to educate youths about crime prevention. The Police Officer believed that this type of proactive legal education promotes respect for the law, and could in turn affect crime rates.

***(iii) Other legal publicity and education.***

Chongqing's police department is preparing to do the following to promote youth crime prevention in the near future: produce a documentary that highlights the prevalence of youth delinquency, host a large conference dedicated to youth criminal activity, and publish photo albums that display youths interacting with police in a positive light. These activities are open to both in-school students and school drop-outs. Police departments have already been guaranteed funding for these projects by various businesses and the government.

There is widespread belief that police, in general, are highly susceptible to corruption in China. Understandably, the officer that was interviewed did not express much criticism toward the integrity of policing in Chongqing. Regardless, the ideas put-forth could hold future value in reducing crime.

**The District Attorney.**

The Office of the District Attorney in Chongqing follows Article 17 of the Criminal Code in protecting minors (SCLAO, 2006). As such, the D.A. explained that the police often arrest young offenders after first requesting a warrant from a prosecutor. Ultimately, as in most western states, it is left up to the prosecutor to decide whether or not to follow through with the prosecution of a specific young offender. In most circumstances, the prosecutor normally does not approve arresting young offenders who are underage, are first-time offenders, and/or have committed a minor crime. When asked about how to better prevent youth crime in Chongqing, the D.A. further mentioned that since detention centres mainly serve as a means of educating

young people on how to become a more skilled criminal, more emphasis should be placed on diversion. Further to this, the D.A. stated that she firmly believes that parents should be held accountable for their children and that probation is an effective means of instilling responsibility and preventing recidivism. The judicial diversion identified by the D.A. could be understood as part of China's juvenile justice reform. It also indicates that the present is an opportune time for proposing innovations to Chongqing within the recent trend of change.

### **The Judge.**

Through the judicial process, the court aims to reinforce the legal protection of minors. Recent legislation states that sentencing for minors is to be lenient and oriented toward rehabilitation. During the interview, the Judge stated: "I believe the best tool for reducing youth crime is early prevention. The earlier the crimes can be prevented or intervened, the better the result and the lower the cost." The Judge also said that, "compared to adult offenders, most juveniles commit crimes when their moral understandings are underdeveloped. As a result, young offenders have greater potential to be reformed, rehabilitated and then returned to society."

These statements reflect more of a proactive stance than that posited by the District Attorney. Regardless, neither the Judge, nor the D.A., offered specific forms of intervention that could be incorporated into a particular program. This lack of knowledge could be a reflection of a callous criminal justice system or a mere coincidence found between two criminal justice representatives. Perhaps this could be an avenue for future research.

### **The Youth League Official.**

The Chinese Communist Youth League is the chief department for addressing youth within Chongqing. This organization provides youth services, organizes youth activities, and

works to protect the rights of youth. It is also the leading organization in youth crime prevention work. From the Youth League Senior Officer's point of view, there are four key measures that need to be fully embraced in order to successfully prevent youth crime: legal education (same as the Police Official), community corrections, after-school education and addressing the high-risk youth population.

***(i) Community corrections.***

Community correctional measures are similar to the concept of community policing. The Youth League works with agencies within the community correctional system (mainly probation and parole) in Chongqing. The Youth League Official firmly believed that reintegration and rehabilitation are crucial to reducing crime within Chongqing. In deferring youth to community correctional agencies, rather than imprisoning them, the Youth League Official indicated that there could be a substantial decrease in crime.

***(ii) After-school education.***

After-school education is a key priority of the Youth League. The Youth League has established Youth Activity Centres in order to provide youth with training, skills, and recreation. The Officer illustrated that offering kids a place to spend their spare time and the opportunity to acquire/develop new skills can only have a positive influence on today's youth.

***(iii) Targeting the high-risk youth population.***

Since 2009, under the Youth League's instruction, various departments that have a vested interest in Chongqing's youth crime rate (i.e. Police, Prosecution, Courts, etc.) have been informed of five factors that can largely increase the risk of youth criminal behaviour. These five youth risk factors include: previous participation in crime, unemployment, homelessness, being 'left-behind', and having parents that have been convicted of a crime. In view of these high risk

factors, the Youth League has taken measures to help reduce each one's impact. For instance, to address the problem of unemployment, the Youth League has developed free skills training and job placement initiatives. For 'left-behind' children, the Youth League has helped establish programs that are similar to the Big Brother or Big Sister programs of North America where volunteers are paired off with abandoned/neglected youth. This initiative was estimated to reach around 100,000 within Chongqing by the end of 2011. Unfortunately, these projects receive limited funding and government support, and the effectiveness of these projects remains unknown.

The interview with the Youth League Officer proved to be much more enlightening than any other interview with respect to proactive solutions to preventing youth crime in Chongqing. If a pilot western-style crime prevention initiative were to be implemented in Chongqing, the Youth League appears to be a possible vessel due to the organization's mission and proactive orientation.

### **The School Principal.**

The Principal stated that there have recently been many cases of in-school violence all over the city of Chongqing. As a result, in May of 2010, a campus police system was put into service for all junior high schools and high schools within the city. This project was the first of its kind and has been financed by the city municipal government. In discussing the best method for controlling youth crime, especially crime that involves students, the Principal firmly responded that legal education is the best method. He stated that in many cases, the students do not realize that their actions are significant enough to be considered illegal, which leads them to engage in delinquent activity such as '*Xia-Bao*'.<sup>21</sup> The Principal pointed out the importance of

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<sup>21</sup> Supra, at 14.

educating youth in simple right/wrong and illegal/legal conduct and stated that school curriculum should incorporate material that is not on the entrance exams in which students will take for future enrolment. From this discussion it is clear that there is a perceived trade-off between maintaining high academic performances and teaching fundamental social rules within Chongqing's schools.

To summarize this section, the only common theme that emerged from the interviews was that all informants believed that applying legal education to enhance the ethics and moral of youth is the most effective approach for preventing youth crime. Although each stakeholder proposed varying methods for addressing youth crime, all stakeholders indicated that Chongqing has yet to adopt/mimic any of the western crime prevention initiatives that were proposed in the interview outline (see Appendix B). There was a consensus that the current methods for addressing crime within Chongqing are based on reactive, rather than proactive, practices. As one can see, the methods used for addressing crime within the city of Chongqing are insufficient and unorganized which can be corrected through the adoption of western crime prevention tactics.

#### **6.4. The Need to Establish a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre in Chongqing**

The interview outline (Appendix B), which was provided to each participant at the beginning of each interview, briefly introduced the major elements of a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre Model (refer to Chapter 5, Responsibility Centre).<sup>22</sup> The first question asked

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<sup>22</sup> In order to be better understood by the Chinese informants and, borrowing from the Alberta crime prevention leadership model, the researcher changed the name of Responsibility Centre into "Crime Prevention Leadership Centre" in this chapter and during the interviews.

to each participant during the interviews was whether or not Chongqing had anything similar to a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre (CPLC). If the stakeholder responded yes, then he/she was asked to explain the structure and efficiency of the centre. If the stakeholder answered no, then he/she was asked about their opinions regarding the need for a CPLC and to offer suggestions for establishing such an organization.<sup>23</sup>

**Question One: The existence of a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre in Chongqing.**

In this phase of the interview, inquiries into departments responsible for youth crime prevention within Chongqing were made. This included asking whether or not there exist any government or non-government departments that conduct safety diagnoses, formulate business plans, implement crime prevention initiatives, or perform evaluations of existing methods for combating crime. Four out of six participants stated that there were no organization that was similar to a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre within Chongqing. It was further indicated that the crime prevention strategies that have been implemented in Chongqing thus far were a coincidence rather than a calculated plan to reduce youth crime based on research.

The Police Officer and the Youth League Officer believed that the Prevention of Youth Crime Leading Office (PYCLO), which is a special department within the Chongqing Youth League under the Central Committee of Public Security Commission, bears the most resemblance to a CPLC within Chongqing. However, it is not considered to be a well-organized department and does not have a mandate designed for implementing and evaluating crime prevention initiatives. Furthermore, the PYCLO does not have the required financial support and capability to develop a CPLC model that could oversee a city as large as Chongqing.

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<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, due to time constraints, the District Attorney was not able to answer any follow-up questions regarding the need for a CPLC. As a result, only the five other stakeholders were included in this part of the analysis.

## **Question Two: Suggestions for establishing a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre in Chongqing.**

In question two of the interview, participants were asked to discuss the need for establishing a CPLC in Chongqing and their suggestions for implementing such an organization.

### ***The Police Officer.***

The Police Officer noted that even though the police department has established a Juvenile Delinquency Institute that is responsible for seeking more effective methods for reducing youth delinquency, the results have not been very promising. The Police Officer indicated that due to a lack of theoretical insight and research methodology, there has been little research into the topic of juvenile crime prevention in China since the 1980s. The officer further stated that Chongqing has not yet established a city-wide juvenile delinquency research centre. He agreed that if the city of Chongqing were to adopt proven crime prevention measures and establish a CPLC that the city might be able to proceed with the necessary agenda and methods for reducing recidivism.

The Police Officer also stated that there would be great difficulty in implementing a CPLC model. One reason he cited was that the Chinese government is often prompted to conduct political reform only when there is an absolute need to, meaning that the governing authorities will only consider adopting crime prevention methods when there is virtually an epidemic that threatens their reign. The officer then went on to state that the city has not yet reached that level of severity. Furthermore, Chinese bureaucracy features a top-down process, in which only the highest official has the authority to assemble various resources and human capitals to implement such a major reform. This in turn means that the city has to rely on non-official civil

organizations to launch the development of crime prevention from the bottom; which is unlikely to achieve any significant impact within a city such as Chongqing.

The officer suggests that persuading highest-level officials to pay more attention to the crime situation which has adversely affected Chongqing would be the first of many steps to attaining reform.

***The Judge.***

The Judge stated that implementing a CPLC would have a tremendous impact on Chongqing's economic and cultural development. Currently, Shanghai is the leading city in China in terms of crime prevention. This is because Shanghai has a unique cultural and economic setting which enables its government to provide funding directly to its communities; in Chongqing, the concept of proactive crime prevention remains a radical idea that is often dismissed. In explaining this, the Judge stated:

At the present time, my understanding is that no one organization would be capable of implementing crime prevention for young offenders because such a project would not receive any direct effects in the short-run. Thus, even though the idea of crime prevention is appealing, no one would commit to such an undertaking where there are no imminent results.

The Judge also pointed out that relying solely on the government to implement crime prevention initiatives will not solve the problem. It was explained that non-government organizations (NGOs) are required to help coordinate such a mass undertaking within one of the world's largest cities. Conversely, NGOs have been depicted as weak and virtually absent within China. In essence, the Judge believes that it is up to the Chongqing government to fund and implement crime prevention for the city, and that participation from NGOs is crucial to maintaining a CPLC for the long run.

### ***The Youth League Officer.***

The Youth League Officer believes that crime prevention is a systematic project requiring support from various enterprises including the government, and that modifying the educational system is not enough to significantly reduce crime. Furthermore, the emphasis should be focused on instilling crime prevention in youth during early development (i.e. employing more social workers to provide young people with professional assistance). Although the Prevention of Youth Crime Leading Office has a primitive structure of a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre, the PYCLO lacks commitment to specific crime prevention measures and lacks the manpower to coordinate complex projects. The Youth League Officer affirmed this position in stating:

The development of crime prevention projects requires extreme devotion (i.e. through funding and volunteers) mostly in part from the government. Currently, the only feasible way to encourage people to volunteer for such projects is to use the Party's influence. The Communist Party is yet to get on board which is why there have only been small-scale initiatives that resemble crime prevention in Chongqing.

In closing, the Youth League Officer stated that she believed the western crime prevention findings presented to her could indeed serve as a foundation for establishing an institute similar to a CPLC in Chongqing.

### ***The School Principal.***

The School Principal agreed that given the current financial state of the Chongqing government, the actual field operational capacity of the police force, the overwhelming student and youth population, and the way that Chongqing society is structured, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to create a CPLC. However, the Principal did admit that the idea of crime prevention in Chongqing is an inspiring one. This participant then recommended that the most efficient means of creating a CPLC would be to create a trial project in one community first, and then expands into further jurisdictions overtime. In following this model, it would be more

likely to succeed as there would be smaller investment from the government at first and little at stake.

***The Journalist.***

Using the ‘Criminal Reports for Underage Offenders’ system<sup>24</sup> of Yubei District (a major district within Chongqing) as an example, the Journalist indicated that cooperation from multiple government authorities is required if crime prevention initiatives for juveniles are to be implemented. The Journalist then stated that the most appropriate method for creating a CPLC in Chongqing is to create a separate and distinct branch within the Chongqing criminal justice system that is devoted to researching and implementing various initiatives throughout the city.

Responses to the final interview question made it clear that the participants believe that Chongqing has not yet established a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre. The closest thing in Chongqing to a CPLC is the Prevention of Youth Crime Leading Office. However, the PYCLO was depicted as a primitive and dysfunctional institution. It was largely agreed upon that adopting a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre would be in the city’s best interest. However, the stakeholders also indicated that this action will not be easily accepted by the local government in Chongqing at this point. The most viable solution for implementing a CPLC came from the Principal. He stated that the chances of a CPLC being adopted within the city of Chongqing would significantly increase if it were to be created on a small-scale at first and then expand into surrounding jurisdictions. This would require low investment from government officials and

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<sup>24</sup> The ‘*Criminal Reports for Underage Offenders*’ system was initiated in August of 2010 within the Yubei District of Chongqing. This system requires community correctional officers of the Justice Bureau to perform detailed background checks on juvenile suspects. This process includes investigating the offender’s: development/background, family status/environment, personality, and social activities. This information is used as a reference for prosecutors in deciding whether an accused juvenile will be arrested, prosecuted or punished.

allow for an extended time-line as fewer resources would be tied up. This option also serves as a means of avoiding the radicalization of the Chongqing criminal justice system as changes would be subtle and adaptable.

## **6.5. Conclusions**

Based on a small set of interviews of key stakeholders within Chongqing, there is a common impression that youth crime remains an important issue in Chongqing as it continues to threaten public safety. Participants also agreed that youth crime was concentrated within Chongqing's economic centres, and that property-related crimes remain the most prevalent. Furthermore, campus crime appears to be an area of great concern for the Chongqing government. Despite the fact that youth gangs are involved in a large portion of the crimes being committed, these crimes are generally low in severity; however, this trend appears to be becoming more severe. It was also revealed that youth are committing crimes at earlier ages and the drop-out rates for students are on the rise.

For the most part, the stakeholders were in agreement with the youth risk factors identified in Western and intergovernmental literature. They agreed that the risk factors for youth outlined in Chapter 3 are also present in Chongqing. However, since Chongqing has a very large and diverse population, other risk factors such as neglectful parenting and lack of social skills appear to be most prominent.

Each informant proposed methods for addressing some of the risk factors in youth crime. Although it was evident that people in Chongqing are capable of creating their own programs to deal with youth crime, the stakeholders also indicated that these programs are insufficient and unorganized. Most participants believe that in order to effectively reduce youth crime, there

needs to be a greater degree of legal education incorporated into school curriculums; however, the problem appears much broader than this. The informants also acknowledged the potential of the risk-based CPSD that was proposed to them. Unfortunately, Chongqing has yet to develop any successful crime prevention initiatives that focus on targeting the risk factors identified in this chapter.

The informants were interested in the concepts of the Responsibility Center and planning process. They assumed that if Chongqing were to establish a Crime Prevention Leadership Centre that there would be a substantial reduction in youth crime within the city. The problem is that the Chongqing government has yet to get on board with proactive crime prevention. It seems they have not yet done so because results are not imminent and implementation would involve radicalizing criminal justice resources. Other suggestions for establishing this model in Chongqing include persuading the highest-level officials that it is a worthwhile venture and testing the model in a limited area. Unfortunately they were unable to comment further on issues such as support from police services or interest from the central government.

At this point it is important to remind the readers that only six participants, in one of the largest cities in the world, were interviewed. Although each participant represented a position featuring unique insight into the subject of youth crime, the opinions of this very small sample may not reflect that of the many.

## Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

The primary objective of this thesis was to examine the relevance of intergovernmental decisions and western risk-focused social crime prevention to reducing youth crime within Chongqing, China. There were five research questions developed and then explored to accomplish the objective of this thesis:

1. What is known about the youth crime situation in Chongqing?
2. What have been identified as risk factors that predispose youth to becoming persistent offenders according to the policy and research literature (intergovernmental decisions and western literature)?
3. What is known regarding ‘what works’ for targeting risk factors and reducing youth crime through social development?
4. What is known from this literature about effective ways to harness knowledge about crime prevention through social development in order to reduce youth crime in cities?
5. To what extent are the conclusions of western knowledge accepted by some key opinion leaders of Chongqing regarding: (i) identified risk factors for youth, (ii) effective strategies for tackling risk factors, (iii) crime prevention initiatives consistent with proven effective strategies, and (iv) the presence of a responsibility centre or ‘Crime Prevention Leadership Centre’ that could mobilize sectors such as schools, housing, youth and criminal justice services around a diagnosis, strategic plan and shift towards increased and sustained investment in effective crime prevention strategies?

The methodology used for investigating these questions consisted of two phases. The first phase entailed a review of the selected literature both within China, and at an international level that might be relevant to: (i) the current youth crime situation in the city of Chongqing, (ii) risk factors that might contribute to youth crime within Chongqing, (iii) the scientific evaluations of risk-focused crime prevention strategies for different age groups of youth, and (iv) implementation strategies for evidence-based innovations to reduce youth crime.

Based on knowledge from the literature review, the second phase involved a preliminary investigation of the perceptions of the potential relevance of this literature to Chongqing by conducting semi-structured interviews with six key stakeholders (a Judge, a District Attorney, a senior Police Officer, a School Principal, a Local Journalist, and a Youth League Officer) within the city of Chongqing. The stakeholders were given examples of effective crime prevention initiatives and programs, and were asked to outline the current situation in Chongqing discussing what is being done, what needs to be done, as well as their opinions on the crime prevention programs presented and whether or not the city could benefit from these programs.

### **What is known about the youth crime situation in Chongqing?**

In conducting the literature review and semi-structured interviews, it was found that there is no reason to have confidence in estimates of youth crime rates in Chongqing. However, some sources exist, including local media reports, the 2009 delinquency trial report, and a set of perceptions which indicate that juvenile delinquency may present a significant problem for the city (Luo & Sun, 2010; Tian, 2009; CQHPC, 2009). More specifically, the problem of youth crime is perceived to be concentrated in the nine central districts and to be associated with issues

such as school failure and migration from rural areas to the city. Furthermore, property-related crime is believed to be the primary type of youth crime in Chongqing. Youth gang crimes already account for a proportion crime and appear to be becoming more severe and complex. It was also revealed that crime on school campuses is also perceived to be emerging as an area of concern.

### **What risk factors predispose youth to becoming persistent offenders?**

Identifying risk factors is an essential part of the successful crime prevention process. Longitudinal studies, conducted in both China and the West, suggest that there exists great consistency in the risk factors which predispose youth to engaging in criminal activity for both cultures. However, it was revealed that rural migration is perceived as a unique risk factor for Chongqing. Excluding this exception, the similarities of risk factors between the West and Chongqing are crucial as it can now be assumed that many of the western crime prevention strategies which have been tailored for youth who possess such risk factors within North America and Europe might also be applied successfully to youth in Chongqing.

The focus of this thesis is on implementing initiatives tailored toward the individual and relational rather than macro aspects (which are largely unconventional in China relative to the West). Macro-level risk factors identified for youth within Chongqing were found to be prevalent at the community and societal level (i.e. poverty, unemployment). These macro-level risk factors are peripheral to this thesis as the main literatures used in this chapter (including the *1973 Chinese Birth Cohort Study* and the *2009 Chongqing Higher People's Court's Juvenile Delinquency Trial Report*) are focused on individual and relational aspects. However, consideration of macro-level risk factors could prove fruitful if explored in the future.

## **What is known regarding ‘what works’ for targeting risk factors and reducing youth crime through social development?**

The few examples of successful western crime prevention programs that were presented in this study demonstrate the possibility and cost-effectiveness of addressing risk factors that are specific to certain categories of youth. It was found that the success of a particular program is generally related to the degree of collaboration between community stakeholders and social investment from a wide-array of resources, organizations and government agencies (e.g. the Boston Strategy to Prevent Youth Violence). In addition, the risk-focused CPSD projects identified in the literature were valued by the key informants in Chongqing.

It is worth noting here that, although the programs discussed in this chapter mainly focus on targeting individual or relational level risk factors, there are also a lot of secondary CPSD measures designed to address macro-level factors, such as poor living conditions and inadequate employment (WHO, 2002; Farrington & Welsh, 2006 and 2007; Farrington & Loeber, 2001 and 2011; CSPV, 2004; Sherman et al., 2002). Macro-level risk factors are as significant as the micro-level approaches discussed in this chapter. However, since the Chinese government regularly deals with these macro issues as part of their state agenda, the researcher has focused on micro-level innovations, which are largely undeveloped in China relative to the West (Xiao et al., 2007).

## **What is known from this literature about effective ways to harness crime prevention knowledge through social development in order to reduce youth crime in cities?**

It seems that in order to achieve successful implementation and sustain the success of prevention actions in a city, a responsibility center is needed to engage a wide range of agencies

(such as schools, housing, social services and police) into a planning process that consists of diagnosis, planning, implementation and evaluation stages. This process is supported by intergovernmental organizations such as the UN, UN-HABITAT and the WHO, and has been proven in such cities as Boston, Winnipeg, Bogotá, and Scotland. It has been revealed that when leading jurisdictions establish a responsibility center and undertake the crime prevention planning process, a subsequent reduction in crime follows. According to the participants, state sponsorship of crime prevention is fundamental to the success of crime prevention.

**To what extent are the conclusions of western knowledge agreed upon by some key opinion leaders of Chongqing?**

The interviews with the six key stakeholders of Chongqing revealed that (i) the youth crime problem is in need of innovation, (ii) the youth risk factors identified in the western and intergovernmental literature are also present in Chongqing, (iii) risk factors are not being effectively addressed by evidence-based programs in Chongqing, and (iv) the Chongqing government should consider the crime prevention strategies suggested by the literature if it is to achieve a reduction in youth crime.

Each stakeholder was found to have the impression that youth delinquency is a serious problem in this city. For the most part, the stakeholders were in agreement that the youth risk factors outlined in Chapter 3 were also present in Chongqing, with the exception of rural migration. Further, the stakeholders indicated that the methods currently used to prevent youth crime in the city of Chongqing are insufficient, unorganized and based on reactive, rather than proactive, practices. They also agreed with the potential offered by the risk-based CPSD that was proposed to them. In addition, the informants liked what they understood about the idea of

implementing a Responsibility Center and planning process. It was also suggested that in order to bring about such innovations, resource investment (i.e. funding, employment, initial setup and time) from the highest-level government officials would be required and could test this model in a limited area. However, the informants were unable to comment further on issues such as receiving support from police and the central government, nor could they identify the necessary components to lead such implementation in Chongqing. Although it is understandable that implementing a risk-focused crime prevention model within a city as diverse and populated as Chongqing will prove to be a difficult undertaking, it is necessary in order to achieve a noticeable reduction crime in the near future.

### **Reflections and Future Research**

In sum, this may be an opportune time for Chongqing to consider risk focused crime prevention through social development as an additional method of combating its youth crime problem. This thesis approached the issue of youth crime in Chongqing, China from a criminological perspective in order to provide a critical analysis of the phenomena and some understanding of what is known about youth crime within this city. It also confirmed that China has endorsed these approaches in intergovernmental agencies.

This study has demonstrated the preliminary relevance of Western criminological studies and initiatives to the current state in Chongqing, China by drawing some important parallels between Western and Chinese criminogenic risk factors while confirming some successes in the West in tackling those risk factors. Also, it showed that a few key stakeholders in Chongqing agree with the relevance of the risk factors and the solutions to Chongqing. As expressed earlier, there are very few Chinese sources that address crime prevention within Chongqing.

Consequently, this research project aimed to begin to fill the gap within the Chinese literature on this topic.

Although this thesis has identified many encouraging findings that social risk-focused crime prevention is relevant to Chongqing, it is also important to acknowledge the methodological limitations of this study so that future research may overcome the gaps in this project. The most significant limitations include:

1. There were only six informants included in this study. The question based on this limitation is whether the opinions of the key stakeholders interviewed for the thesis are reflective of other key stakeholders, particularly those in a position to make decisions for the implementation of the proposed crime prevention innovations? It would be valuable for future studies to test the preliminary findings from this thesis with more stakeholders.
2. This thesis only focused on secondary level CPSD, with particular emphasis on the individual and relational risk factors that predispose youth to delinquency. Future studies could exam the effectiveness of macro-level CPSD innovation in dealing with youth crime. Further, researchers could also consider primary or tertiary level CPSD and situational crime prevention.
3. The interview questions are limited in scope in that they do not reflect the full range of Western knowledge of crime prevention. Also, due to time and resource restrictions, this study's informants were unable to review such knowledge in advance, which would have given them much more time during the interview to reflect and elaborate on their answers and responses. This issue should be overcome in future studies in order to obtain greater reliability.

4. This study does not discuss in detail the transferability of intergovernmental decisions and Western risk-focused social crime prevention to reduce youth crime within Chongqing. However, while China has endorsed the intergovernmental decisions discussed in this thesis, future studies could explore whether or not Chongqing will make the necessary reforms. Further, it would be important to consider how the central government decided to support the crime prevention model and, depending on whether or not Chongqing makes such reforms, did the Western model produce successes in Chongqing.

Hopefully, this study will provide a foundation for reflection on action as well as further research into this area.

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## **Appendix A: Interview Guide**

I am contacting you because you are in a key position to assess the current youth crime situation in Chongqing, therefore you will have insightful knowledge on this issue. I am wondering if you would be willing to spend 30-45 minutes of your time at a location and date of your convenience to discuss this topic. I will be very grateful to hear your perspectives you've gained during your work with youth crime issue.

### **1. Participant background:**

- a.) What position you hold or ever held in your job that relevant to youth?
- b.) what is your job content?
- c.) Can you tell me what the structure of your department is?

### **2. In what way are youth crime a problem within Chongqing?**

- a.) what type of crime happens the most with youth?
- b.) are youth crime a big or small problem within this city?
- c.) is there a specific area of the city where youth crime happens most? And why?

### **3. What do you believe are the causes of youth crime in Chongqing? And what do you think of the risk factors that are identified by western scholars and intergovernmental organizations?**

### **4. What do you think is the best solution for combating the problem of youth crime? And what do you think of the crime prevention initiatives that I have proposed regarding youth crime? Do you think that they could work in a city as big as Chongqing?**

### **5. Does Chongqing have any crime prevention responsibility centre?**

- If it does, please explain the structure, the name and what kind jobs they are doing and what kind of results they already gain to me.
- If not, do you have any suggestions for establishing a responsibility centre dedicated to crime prevention in Chongqing?

### **6. Summarize what was covered in the interview**

## Appendix A: 采访指南 (Chinese)

鉴于您的工作性质可能会帮助我准确的评估重庆青少年的犯罪情况，我希望能借这次采访的机会了解您对于这个问题的看法。我希望能占用您 30-45 分钟的时间，在您指定的地点和日期和您探讨这个话题。

### **1. 被采访人背景:**

- a.) 目前或曾经担任过的与青少年工作有关的职位
- b.) 工作内容
- c.) 请描述您所在的部门结构

### **2. 请您简单介绍重庆的青少年犯罪情况:**

- a.) 哪种犯罪类型在青少年中最常见?
- b.) 青少年犯罪对重庆市的危害如何?
- c.) 青少年犯罪最集中于重庆市的哪个地区? 为什么?

### **3. 您认为造成重庆青少年犯罪的原因主要有哪些? 此外您如何看待以下由西方学者和国际组织所总结出的导致青少年犯罪的危险因素分析?**

### **4. 您认为哪些是解决青少年犯罪的最佳措施? 您如何看待我所提出的关于预防青少年犯罪的措施? 您认为是否能在重庆实施?**

### **5. 目前重庆是否设有任何类似于犯罪预防责任中心的机构或组织?**

- 如果有, 请描述以下它的名字, 机构设置, 工作内容, 以及所取得的成就。
- 如果还没有, 请问你认为是否有任何关于在重庆市设立这样一个中心的建议?

### **6. 总结本次采访的内容**

## **Appendix B: Interview Outline**

### **Identified Risk factors**

1. Being born into a family in relative poverty and inadequate housing;
2. Being brought up with inconsistent and uncaring parenting;
3. Witnessing of intra-familial violence;
4. Possessing limited social and cognitive abilities;
5. Presenting behavioural problems in primary school;
6. Exclusion from or dropping-out of school;
7. Frequently being unemployed and with relatively limited income; and
8. Living within a culture of violence on television and within the neighbourhood.

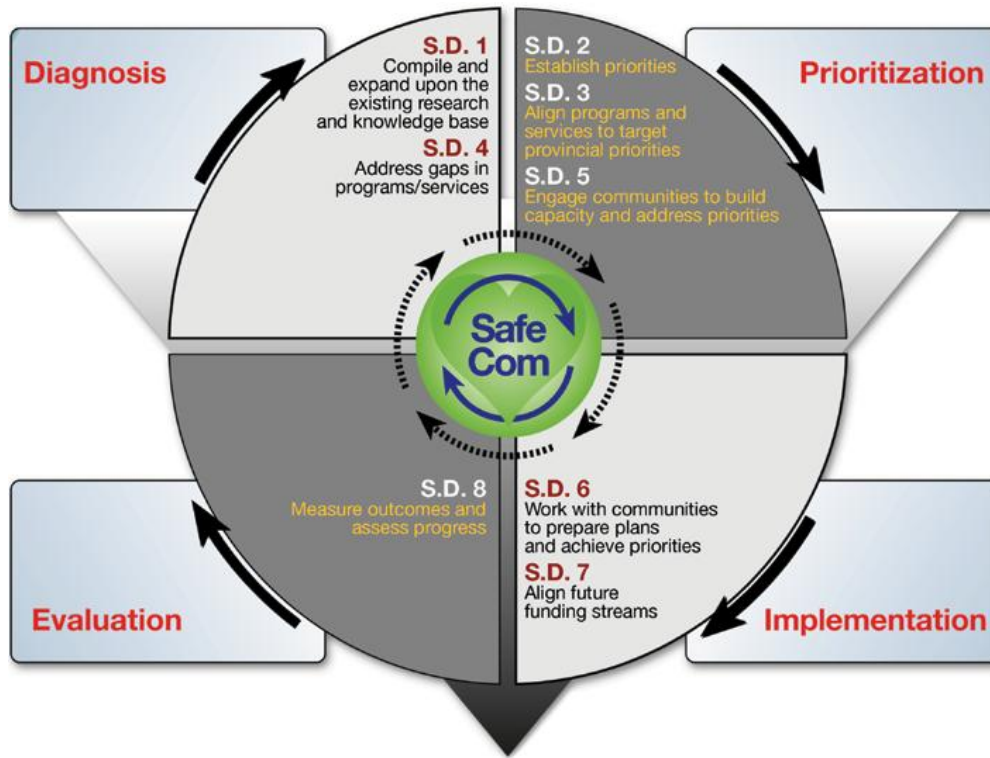
### **Evidence-based crime prevention programs**

The Perry Preschool program developed randomized control trial (RCT) to show that children who went through the program when they were 3 and 4 years old were much more likely to stay crime free when they were adolescents. The program itself consisted of enriched child care that would help the children develop without the disadvantages of inconsistent and uncaring parenting. The child care was provided by qualified child-care workers (many with university degrees) who focused on a maximum of eight children for at least two and half hours a day. It provided self-initiated learning activities that encourage sound intellectual and social development.

The RCT started with 123 low-income African American children who were at high risk of school failure. Half of the children were randomly assigned to the program and half were left as a control group. The scientific evaluator then compared what happened to the children who experienced the preschool program with the comparison group in their adolescent years and indeed now up to age 40.

The powerful scientific method demonstrated that only 36% of those going through the program had five or more arrests by age 40 compared to 55% for the comparison group. That is, the program at age 3 and 4 caused a 34% reduction in arrests by age 40. This amazing result suggests that a policy would significantly reduce crime and victimization if it multiplied the numbers of these preschool programs in neighbourhoods that have many children at risk in terms of the factors identified in the longitudinal surveys. The crime prevention effect was equally powerful in adolescence and early adulthood up to age 27. This reduction in arrests nationally saved \$15 in the costs of police, prisons, and judges for every dollar originally invested.

# Alberta Crime Prevention Framework



## Appendix B: 采访提纲 (Chinese)

### 影响青少年犯罪的危险因素

1. 家庭环境相对贫困；
2. 成长过程中缺乏适当的家长管教，包括家庭暴力；
3. 缺乏社交能力和认知能力；
4. 在小学已经出现了不良行为的问题；
5. 在中学阶段被退学或开除；
6. 经常处于失业状态并且收入有限；
7. 生活在一个暴力文化泛滥的社区。

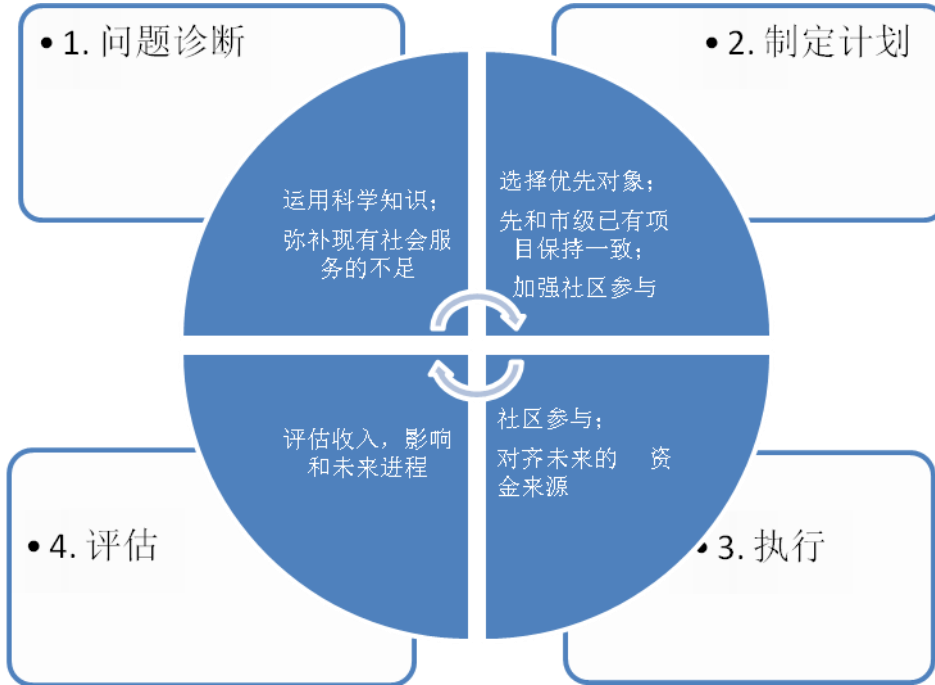
### 实证的青少年犯罪预防项目

美国的“佩里学前教育项目”运用随机抽样（RCT）这一科学实验法证实了强化儿童教育能够有效的预防犯罪。该项目主要内容是强化儿童保育，帮助家庭条件差，被父母忽视的孩子们接受统一，稳定的教育。工作人员都是职业儿童保育者，很多人有大学文凭，每个人最多管理 8 个孩子，每天照看孩子至少两个半小时。该项目培养了孩子自主学习的能力，并鼓励他们健康成长。

项目开始时随机选取了 123 个美国黑人家庭的成绩很差的小孩。其中随机抽取一般的孩子参与该项目，另一半孩子留下作为控制对照组，并对他们成年后的各种表现进行对比，最新的研究已经到他们 40 岁了。

研究结果显示，参与该项目的孩子里只有 36%的人到 40 岁时有超过 5 次得拘捕记录，而控制组的孩子里该项比例高达 55%。也就是说，这个针对 3-4 岁年龄组的犯罪预防项目能够成功减少 34%的人到 40 岁时被拘捕。也就是说如果能出台一项政策增加类似的社区项目，帮助那些具备青少年犯罪危险因素的孩子，就能够极大的减少犯罪，这种犯罪预防的效果可以一直持续到他们的 27 岁。从美国的全国范围来讲，投资于这种项目的每一美元可以节省警察、监狱和法官 15 美元的开支。

## 阿尔伯特塔犯罪预防体系



**Appendix C: SafeCom Recommendations Action Plan**

**SafeCom Recommendations Action Plan**



**Safe families, safe communities in a strong and vibrant Alberta**

**Appendix D: World Health Assembly *Resolution 56.24***



世界衛生組織執行委員會決議

قرار المجلس التنفيذي لمنظمة الصحة العالمية

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WHO  
RÉSOLUTION DU CONSEIL EXÉCUTIF DE L'OMS  
РЕЗОЛЮЦИЯ ИСПОЛНИТЕЛЬНОГО КОМИТЕТА ВОЗ  
RESOLUCION DEL CONSEJO EJECUTIVO DE LA OMS

111th Session

EB111.R7

Agenda item 5.9

23 January 2003

## Implementing the recommendations of the *World report on violence and health*

The Executive Board,

Having considered the report on implementing the recommendations of the *World report on violence and health*,<sup>1</sup>

RECOMMENDS to the Fifty-sixth World Health Assembly the adoption of the following resolution:

The Fifty-sixth World Health Assembly,

Recalling resolution WHA49.25, which declared violence a leading worldwide public health problem, and resolution WHA50.19, which endorsed and requested continued development of the WHO plan of action for a science-based public health approach to violence prevention and health;

Noting that a meeting of bodies of the United Nations system on collaboration for the prevention of interpersonal violence (Geneva, 15-16 November 2001) invited WHO to facilitate a better coordinated response to interpersonal violence, as a result of which WHO published the *Guide to United Nations resources and activities for the prevention of interpersonal violence*,<sup>2</sup>

Recalling that WHO is a core partner, with UNICEF and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights of a working group to support the United Nations Study on Violence against Children, and that WHO is active in the prevention of violence against young people, women and the elderly;

Recognizing that the prevention of violence is a prerequisite of human security and that urgent action by governments is needed to prevent all forms of violence and reduce their consequences for health and for socioeconomic development;

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<sup>1</sup> Document EB111/11.

<sup>2</sup> *Guide to United Nations resources and activities for the prevention of interpersonal violence*, Geneva, World Health Organization, 2002.

Noting that the *World report on violence and health*<sup>1</sup> provides an up-to-date description of the impact of violence on public health, reviews its determinants and effective interventions, and makes recommendations for public health policy and programmes,

1. TAKES NOTE of the nine recommendations for prevention of violence contained in the *World report on violence and health* and set out in the Annex to this resolution and encourages Member States to consider adopting them;
2. URGES Member States to hold national launches or policy discussions on the *World report on violence and health* and actively to make use of the conclusions and recommendations of the Report to improve activities to prevent and expose instances of violence, and to provide medical, psychological, social and legal assistance and rehabilitation for persons suffering as a result of violence;
3. ENCOURAGES all Member States that have not already done so to appoint within the ministry of health a focal point for the prevention of violence;
4. ENCOURAGES Member States to prepare within one year a report on violence and violence prevention that describes the magnitude of the problem, the risk factors, current efforts to prevent violence, and future action to encourage a multisectoral response;
5. REQUESTS the Director-General:
  - (1) to assist Member States in establishing science-based public health policies and programmes for the implementation of measures to prevent violence and to mitigate its consequences at individual and societal levels;
  - (2) to encourage urgent research to support evidence-based approaches for prevention of violence and mitigation of its consequences at individual and societal levels, particularly research on multilevel risk factors for violence and evaluation of model prevention programmes;
  - (3) in collaboration with other organizations of the United Nations system and other international agencies, to continue work on integrating a science-based public health approach to violence prevention into other major global prevention initiatives;
  - (4) using the resources available and benefiting from opportunities for cooperation:
    - (a) to support and coordinate efforts to draw up or revise normative documents and guidelines for prevention policy and programmes, as appropriate;
    - (b) to provide technical support for strengthening of trauma and care services to survivors or victims of violence;
    - (c) to continue advocating the adoption and expansion of a public health response to all forms of violence;

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<sup>1</sup> *World report on violence and health*, Geneva, World Health Organization, 2002.

(d) to establish networks to promote the integrated prevention of violence and injuries;

6. FURTHER REQUESTS the Director-General to report to the Fifty-eighth World Health Assembly, through the Executive Board, on progress towards implementing the *World report on violence and health*.

ANNEX

**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE**

1. Create, implement and monitor a national action plan for violence prevention.
2. Enhance capacity for collecting data on violence.
3. Define priorities for, and support research on, the causes, consequences, costs and prevention of violence.
4. Promote primary prevention responses.
5. Strengthen responses for victims of violence.
6. Integrate violence prevention into social and educational policies, and thereby promote gender and social equality.
7. Increase collaboration and exchange of information on violence prevention.
8. Promote and monitor adherence to international treaties, laws and other mechanisms to protect human rights.
9. Seek practical, internationally agreed responses to the global drugs trade and the global arms trade.

Seventh meeting, 23 January 2003  
EB111/SR/7

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世界衛生組織執行委員會決議

قرار المجلس التنفيذي لمنظمة الصحة العالمية

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WHO  
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RESOLUCION DEL CONSEJO EJECUTIVO DE LA OMS

第一一一届会议

EB111.R7

议程项目 5.9

2003 年 1 月 23 日

## 实施《世界暴力与健康报告》的建议

执行委员会，

审议了关于实施《世界暴力与健康报告》建议的报告<sup>1</sup>，

**建议**第五十六届世界卫生大会通过下述决议：

第五十六届世界卫生大会，

忆及宣告暴力是全世界一个主要公共卫生问题的 WHA49.25 号决议以及认可并要求继续制定世界卫生组织关于以科学为基础针对暴力预防与健康的公共卫生措施行动计划的 WHA50.19 号决议；

注意到联合国系统各机构关于预防人际暴力问题合作工作的一次会议（2001 年 11 月 15–16 日于日内瓦）请世界卫生组织促进针对人际暴力作出更协调的反应，世界卫生组织据此发表了《联合国预防人际暴力问题资源与活动指南》<sup>2</sup>；

忆及世界卫生组织是支持联合国关于针对儿童暴力问题研究的联合国儿童基金会/联合国难民事务高级专员办事处/世界卫生组织工作小组的核心伙伴，以及世界卫生组织积极参与了针对青少年、妇女和老年人的暴力预防工作；

认识到预防暴力是人类安全的一个先决条件，政府必须迫切地采取行动预防一

<sup>1</sup> 文件 EB111/11。

<sup>2</sup> 《联合国预防人际暴力问题资源与活动指南》，日内瓦，世界卫生组织，2002 年。

切形式的暴力并减少健康和社会经济发展方面的后果；

注意到《世界暴力与健康报告》<sup>3</sup>提供了关于暴力对公共卫生影响的最新介绍，审议了其决定因素以及有效的干预措施，并为公共卫生政策和规划提出了建议，

1. **注意到**《世界暴力与健康报告》中包含的并在本决议附件中列出的暴力预防 9 项建议并鼓励会员国考虑采纳这些建议；

2. **敦促**会员国在全国发表《世界暴力与健康报告》或开展有关的政策讨论；

3. **鼓励**在卫生部内尚无暴力预防归口单位的所有会员国任命归口单位，并积极利用报告的结论和建议，以促进预防和揭露暴力事件并向暴力受害者提供医疗、心理、社会和法律方面的援助及康复；

4. **鼓励**会员国在一年之内制定关于暴力和暴力预防的报告，介绍问题的规模、危险因素、当前为预防暴力作出的努力以及鼓励作出多部门反应的今后行动；

5. **要求**总干事：

(1) 帮助会员国建立以科学为基础的公共卫生政策和规划以实施预防暴力并减少其在个体和社会水平上后果的措施；

(2) 鼓励紧急开展研究以支持以依据为基础预防暴力并减轻其个体和社会水平上后果的措施，尤其是关于暴力多层次危险因素的研究以及预防样板规划的评价；

(3) 与联合国系统其它组织及其它国际机构合作，继续努力把以科学为基础预防暴力的公共卫生措施纳入其它重大全球性预防行动；

(4) 使用现有资源并利用合作机遇，做到：

(a) 酌情支持和协调为制定或修订用于预防政策和规划的规范文件与准则所作出的努力；

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<sup>3</sup> 《世界暴力与健康报告》，日内瓦，世界卫生组织，2002 年。

- (b) 提供技术支持以加强对暴力存活者或受害者的创伤和护理服务；
- (c) 继续倡导采用和扩大针对所有形式暴力的公共卫生反应；
- (d) 建立网络以促进全面预防暴力和伤害；

6. **进一步要求**总干事通过执行委员会向第五十八届世界卫生大会报告实施《世界暴力与健康报告》的进展情况。

## 附 件

### 预防暴力的建议

1. 创建、实施和监测预防暴力的国家行动计划。
2. 加强收集暴力方面数据的能力。
3. 确定对暴力起因、后果、代价和预防的研究重点并支持研究工作。
4. 促进初级预防反应。
5. 加强针对暴力受害者的反应。
6. 把暴力预防纳入社会和教育政策并从而促进性别和社会平等。
7. 增加暴力预防方面的合作和信息交流。
8. 促进和监测遵守国际条约、法律及保护人权的其它机制的情况。
9. 探索针对全球毒品贸易和全球武器贸易的国际上商定的实用反应。

第七次会议，2003年1月23日

EB111/SR/7

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