

Violence Defied?

239a

Onderzoek en beleid

Violence Defied?

A Review of Prevention of Violence in the Public and Semi-public Domain

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Onderzoek en beleid

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Foreword

Violence is a complex phenomenon. It can be targeted against individuals, oneself, but also against animals, objects, and organisations. Neither is the question of who does what to whom a simple one. Violence can be short-term or persistent, and the contexts in which it occurs can vary: in the family circle, at school, at work, in the community, on the football field, and in numerous other places.

Tackling violence effectively is accomplished by putting proper prevention or intervention measures in place. It sounds simple, but is it? It is no easy task to find an answer to the question of how to reduce or prevent violence and how to gain sufficient insights into the (social and behavioural) mechanisms underlying interventions. In addition to policy programmes implemented by the government, numerous other social factors play a role in the achievement of the desired effect.

The relationship between policy efforts and policy impacts is the core of evaluation research. This research need not always be geared towards the collection of new empirical data. It is increasingly possible and desirable to gather knowledge on the effectiveness of interventions via syntheses of existing (evaluation) research.

The present study concerns a research synthesis of empirical studies into the effects of interventions designed to prevent violence in the (semi-)public sector. The central starting point is to offer a review of effective and promising preventive interventions and to generate insight into mechanisms that are the mainspring of what makes, or can make, an intervention or a policy programme effective. An overview is then provided of specific situations and contexts in which these mechanisms have been assessed and whether or not they were found to be effective.

This research synthesis followed the approach used by the Campbell Collaboration. First, the internal validity of the studies researched was assessed. Next, working in line with what has come to be referred to as 'realist evaluation', the context-mechanism-output-configurations underlying 36 interventions have been articulated. The aspect of external validity was addressed in particular. In this way, the researchers identified the current status of research into the effects of interventions geared towards combating the violence phenomenon.

Undoubtedly, the findings obtained will play a role in the further progress of the anti-violence policy pursued by the Netherlands Ministry of Justice and other parties. However, I also hope that the way in which this study has been systematised and synthesised will be important for fellow researchers both at home and abroad. This is one of the reasons for the publication of the English-language version of this report.

Prof. Dr. Frans Leeuw
Director, WODC

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Summary

Introduction and research questions

This report provides a synthesis of 48 studies of the effects of the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain. It was announced in the “*Actieplan tegen geweld*” [Action plan against violence] (Tweede Kamer 2005-2006, 28 684, no. 65) and is a result of the conclusion that was drawn in the policy study “*Van afzijdigheid naar betrokkenheid: Preventieve strategieën tegen geweld*” [Getting involved. Preventive strategies against violence] (Van Erpecum, 2005) that little is known about the effects of preventive projects. However, a preventive approach to violence is of great importance and knowledge about the effects of preventive measures regarding violence in the Netherlands and abroad is essential. A research synthesis is a sound method of obtaining this knowledge, because, if carried out correctly, it yields the most complete and reliable information about what does and does not work in a certain field. Among policy makers there is also a need for knowledge about the nature of the mechanisms that underlie effective prevention measures and about the conditions under which those mechanisms work. Such knowledge can be used to adopt proven effective or promising measures to prevent violence in the public and semi-public domain in the Netherlands.

The following research questions were formulated for this study:

- 1 What measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain are known and have been studied for their effects in the Netherlands and abroad?
- 2 What mechanisms underlie effective measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain?
- 3 Under what conditions are the results of effective measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain expected and achieved?

For this project, violence is defined as

The deliberate use of physical strength or power and/or the threat thereof, aimed against another person or group of persons and which results or is likely to result in injury, death, or psychological damage.

By focusing on the public and semi-public domain, we place violence between persons who are close to each other (i.e., [ex-] partners, family members, relatives, and housemates) outside the definition. Relational violence is regarded as domestic violence, regardless of its location (Lünnemann & Bruinsma, 2005). Public domain is taken to mean the public space accessible to all. The semi-public domain consists of places that may be accessible to the public, but only by appointment or with

a ticket, for instance, and places where an owner or supervisor is entitled to refuse someone access.

This study distinguishes between *person-oriented prevention measures*, which try to influence the person of the potential perpetrator, and *context-oriented prevention measures*, which try to prevent crimes by intervening in the potential crime situation. In addition, there are those that combine person- and context-oriented measures and that focus on influencing the potential perpetrator and the crime situation; these are the *person- and context-oriented prevention measures*. Within this distinction, a further division is made into primary prevention of new cases among the entire population and secondary prevention aimed at persons/groups/locations that are at increased risk.

Research method

In order to answer the questions of this study, a research synthesis was carried out. In a research synthesis, relevant evaluation studies are collected and critically evaluated in order to find out which programmes are effective. The current research synthesis attempts to combine the method advocated by the Campbell Collaboration with the model of context-mechanism-outcome of Pawson and Tilley (1997). Following the method of the Campbell Collaboration, the effect evaluations involved in this research synthesis are first assessed for their internal validity using the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS). This is a five-score scale that enables us to decide on the methodological quality regarding the internal validity of effect evaluations (Farrington et al. 2002). On the SMS, score 3 (quasi-experimental design) is the minimum research design required to draw reliable conclusions on the effectiveness of a measure. In addition to internal validity, attention is also paid to external validity. The better the findings from an evaluation can be generalised into other situations (areas, individuals, times, etc.), the higher the external validity. In order to involve external validity in the research, the model of context-mechanism-outcome of Pawson and Tilley (1997) is used. This approach particularly focuses on the theory that forms the basis of a(n) (behavioural) intervention. By finding out for each intervention which mechanisms yield results in which target group and under which circumstances, programme theories can be developed. On the basis of such theories, expectations with regard to the ability to generalise results can be formulated, and by verifying such theories insight can be obtained into the way a measure works. In the current research synthesis, an attempt was made, on the basis of the studied publications, to arrive at a description of the mechanisms that underlie the evaluated prevention measures, and the contexts in which these would be effective or ineffective.

The publications used in this study were collected by searching online databases, consulting websites of relevant organisations and institutes, studying the bibliography of relevant publications, and writing to members of the European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN) requesting information about evaluation studies carried out in their countries. The first selection of studies was made on the basis of titles and abstracts by means of a number of inclusion and exclusion criteria drawn up in advance. The main question was “Does this study concern an evaluation of an intervention to prevent violence in the public or semi-public domain?”. Each study was assessed by two researchers and if the researchers differed as to whether the study was to be selected, they made a decision in mutual consultation. The complete publications of the selected studies were requested. These texts were read by one of the researchers and assessed for their relevance to the current research. The publications selected in this way were summarised and the quality of the research design for each study was assessed on the basis of the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale.

In total, 48 studies of the effects of the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain were included. These 48 publications relate to 36 interventions. The majority of the studies were carried out in the United States. Extra efforts were made to find European studies, but they were rarely available. The majority of publications appeared in the period between 1995 and 2005. By far, most (n = 25) describe the evaluation of a prevention measure applied at school. Ten publications relate to measures applied in the neighbourhood, in the street, or at specific locations in a city, and four deal with interventions for banks or post offices. Only one or two describe interventions in licensed premises, at public events, at the workplace, and in both schools and families.

The effectiveness of the prevention measures in regard to the reduction or prevention of violence was assessed on the basis of the results of the 48 evaluation studies used for this synthesis. The effectiveness of a number of measures was researched in two or more studies, but many included in the current review were evaluated in only one study. In those cases, therefore, we drew on the knowledge about the effectiveness of certain measures gathered previously by other authors. The work of Sherman and his colleagues (2002) was frequently used, as were numerous other meta-analyses and reviews. Based on the information from the 48 publications used in this study and from meta-analyses and reviews by other authors, the prevention measures studied were divided into four categories: 1) effective, 2) potentially effective, 3) potentially ineffective, and 4) ineffective. Not all studies could be grouped in one of the four categories on the basis of the criteria used. If the quality of the design of a study was not good enough for us to decide on the effectiveness of a measure and if

no further information was available from meta-analyses or reviews by third parties, the measure was not categorised. No decisions were made on the basis of some studies that had contradictory results. However, when no decision could be made on the effectiveness of a measure, it did not mean that the measure could not be effective. Further, qualitatively sound research should provide this information.

Results

In chapters 3 and 4, the mechanisms, contexts, and results of the studies involved in this research are described. The following conclusions are drawn on the basis of these descriptions.

Person-oriented prevention measures

On the basis of the available literature, two person-oriented measures presented at schools in order to prevent violence can be regarded as an effective form of prevention. Two other person-oriented school prevention programmes and a community-based intervention are also regarded as potentially effective, and three school programmes are regarded as potentially ineffective. No decisions about effectiveness can be made on five other person-oriented prevention measures.

The effective person-oriented prevention programmes can be distinguished from the potentially ineffective programmes by their intensity. One programme is used throughout the school with continuous activities whereas the other consists of 25 weekly classes, followed by twelve classes at the start of the next school year. The fact that such an intensive approach works was also demonstrated in the meta-analysis of the effects of school programmes to prevent aggressive behaviour conducted by Wilson, Lipsey, and Derzon (2003). They concluded that programmes that are implemented correctly, apply an intensive approach, and are presented by teachers are often more effective than those in which these features are absent. In addition, Wilson, Lipsey, and Derzon concluded that person-oriented prevention programmes yield better results when the target group already displays a certain amount of aggressive behaviour prior to the start of the programme. The most positive effects can be achieved in this group. This is also demonstrated by the evaluations of the effective school programmes: youngsters who displayed more aggressive behaviour prior to the interventions benefited most from the programmes.

Context-oriented prevention measures

Three context-oriented prevention measures proved to be effective: improved street lighting, “hot spots” policing, and targeted surveillance.

A potentially effective measure to prevent violence in bars is training pub staff to prevent incidents. It may also be effective to implement tailor-made situational prevention measures to prevent robberies in shops and businesses. As regards the underlying mechanisms of these measures and the way in which they are implemented, this latter measure seems to show similarities to the policing efforts aimed at hot spots and targeted surveillance: a detailed analysis of the situation can lead to the targeted implementation of opportunity-reducing and deterring measures.

A context-oriented intervention that may be ineffective is the use of a self-help book to prevent sexual violence, and camera surveillance certainly is ineffective when it comes to preventing violence. Camera surveillance seems to have a preventive effect on property offences, but in cases of violent crime the strength of the camera lies in the possibility of coordinating a fast response to incidents and preventing incidents from getting out of control.

Context-oriented prevention measures with regard to which no decisions could be made about their effects on preventing violence are the application of bullet-proof glass in banks and post offices, training bank staff, and preventing crime at large-scale events. Other measures about which no decisions could be made are neighbourhood watch programmes, prevention in extremely violent neighbourhoods, and the agreements signed by Dutch municipalities to restrict nightlife violence.

Person- and context-oriented measures

Training young children (whether or not in school) in combination with parent training is effective in preventing violence during adolescence. The current study only includes two programmes that combine both child and parent training. However, they are not the only ones that appear to have a favourable effect on long-term crime prevention (Farrington & Welsh, 2003). Such interventions are usually aimed at reducing the number of risk factors or negative effects that these factors have on the development of the child. Because multiple negative developmental outcomes often share the same risk factors, such programmes are generally not explicitly aimed at preventing crime. Crime prevention appears to be a side effect. This is why very few evaluation studies of such interventions were included in this synthesis. It is therefore advisable, with regard to early interventions for problem behaviour among very young children, to verify in the literature to what extent effective interventions affect the long-term prevention of violence.

Another effective form of person- and context-oriented prevention is training young people before they start dating so as to prevent victimisation as well as perpetration of dating violence (Safe Dates

and Youth Relationship Programme). Such programmes appear to be ineffective among older adolescents and young adults.

A possible effective person- and context-oriented approach to prevent violence uses targeted measures to reduce specific risk factors. This form of secondary prevention requires proper cooperation between the involved parties to influence varying risk factors.

Based on the available literature, no conclusions could be drawn with respect to the effectiveness of preventing violence in relation to two Dutch person- and context-oriented measures – a nationwide campaign against violence at school and the Marietje Kessels Project. The same applies to a psychodynamic school programme to prevent violence.

Conclusions

The objective of this study was twofold. First, it was designed to provide an overview of effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain in the Netherlands and abroad. Second, it was meant to provide insights into the mechanisms that underlie effective or promising prevention measures and the conditions under which those mechanisms work. However, this study found that the effects of many prevention measures have never been evaluated. In addition, it appears that when a measure is evaluated, the quality of the study design is often not good enough to draw conclusions about its effectiveness. As a result, the overview of effective and promising measures to prevent violence is incomplete.

The second objective of this study (gaining insights into the mechanisms and contexts of effective and promising prevention measures) was only realised to a limited extent. It is striking that only a small number of effect studies pay explicit attention to the underlying mechanisms that should ensure that a prevention measure generates the intended result. The context in which a measure was used is usually not described in sufficient detail, and measures that have been evaluated have often been verified in only a very limited number of contexts.

Despite the fact that the objectives of this study could not be fully realised, a number of recommendations with regard to preventing violence in the public and semi-public domain can still be made.

1 More attention to evaluating prevention projects

More attention must be paid to the evaluation of prevention projects. Many projects are either not evaluated or improperly evaluated, as a

result of which it is unknown how effective they are. This applies to projects abroad as well as Dutch projects. To secure the evaluation of measures in the future, an evaluation study must be in place from the very start of a prevention project. Existing projects must also be studied for their effects.

2 Early interventions for young children

Early interventions for young children with behavioural problems and their parents appear to be effective in preventing violence during adolescence. Such programmes are not explicitly aimed at preventing violence in the public or semi-public domain, but because most of the violence committed by young people takes place outdoors, it is plausible that such programmes will actually have a favourable effect on violence in the (semi-) public domain. Deploying them is therefore recommended. It is also advisable to verify which preschool interventions, such as High/Scope Perry Preschool, have a favourable effect on preventing violence and could be offered in the Netherlands.

3 Prevention programmes in schools

Deploying prevention programmes in schools can make a positive contribution to reducing violence. Programmes that are highly intensive, that are implemented throughout the school, or that comprise more than a limited number of lessons are likely to be given preference. The best effects in this respect can be expected among students already displaying violent conduct. However, if such programmes are to be adopted in the Netherlands, the possibility must be recognised that effects of school programmes in urban contexts are limited to the conduct of students at school and do not include the behaviour of children and young people in the street and at home.

4 Improving street lighting

Improving street lighting in stable neighbourhoods with a homogeneous population can contribute to the prevention of street violence. It is therefore advisable to use improved street lighting in such neighbourhoods.

5 Targeted implementation of secondary prevention measures

When implementing secondary prevention measures in public and semi-public zones, it is advisable to focus on specific targets. To this end it needs to be carefully verified what problems or risk factors are present, after which tailor-made interventions can be implemented. Policing efforts aimed at hot spots and targeted deployment of surveillance (e.g., truancy prevention) are good examples of such a targeted approach. Investigation should determine how these measures can be used more often.

6 Specific prevention measures

Specific prevention measures that appear to be promising include the programme Safer Bars, to prevent violence in pubs; the programmes PeaceBuilders and Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways, to prevent violence in schools; and Safe Dates and Youth Relationship Programme, to prevent dating violence. Whether these measures can be implemented in the Netherlands needs to be considered.

7 Implementation and evaluation of prevention measures

When specific measures are adopted for deployment in the Netherlands, it is obvious that a great deal of attention needs to be paid to their careful implementation and to securing a high degree of programme integrity (Is the measure being carried out as intended?). These conditions are necessary in order to replicate the effects achieved elsewhere. In addition, the implementation of a new measure must be accompanied by a high-quality evaluation study to verify the extent to which the results achieved elsewhere can be repeated.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background to this study

The Dutch policy programme “Towards a safer society” [*Naar een veiliger samenleving*] (hereinafter: the Safety Programme), which was launched in October 2002, aims to achieve a 20 to 25% reduction in crime and nuisance in public areas in the period between 2008 and 2010, compared to the situation in 2002. In this period, the programme also aims to achieve a substantial improvement in the sense of safety citizens experience in comparison with 2002.

In the fourth progress report (Tweede Kamer 2004-2005, 28 684, no. 36), the Minister of Justice and the Minister of the Interior observe, on the basis of victim surveys and recorded police statistics, that progress is being made in combating crime and nuisance. Offences against property are decreasing and the sense of safety among citizens is increasing. However, the number of violent crimes is continuing to show a slight increase and would seem to be stabilising at an unwanted high level. In its interim evaluation of the Safety Programme, the Dutch Cabinet indicates its belief that this situation warrants an intensification of action against violent crime (Tweede Kamer 2004-2005, 28 684, no. 44, p. 18).

In the framework of the above, a policy report on violence against individuals, “Getting involved: Preventive strategies against violence” [*Van afzijdigheid naar betrokkenheid: Preventieve strategieën tegen geweld*] (Van Erpecum, 2005), was published in the spring of 2005. This document looks in detail at the nature, extent, development, causes of, and risk factors for violence. In addition, measures for the intensification of the combating of violence are worked out in detail, and attention is given to the usefulness of – and opportunities for – prevention. The policy report observes that recidivism among violent offenders is relatively high and that a preventive approach is, therefore, essential. However, one important problem is that the effects of prevention projects have often not been researched. Therefore, the “Getting involved” policy report proposes a research synthesis into the effects of prevention measures for violence in the Netherlands and abroad.¹ Policy makers on this subject need to understand the mechanisms that underlie effective prevention measures and the situations in which these mechanisms are effective. On the basis of this knowledge, it should be possible to ascertain which proven effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain can be introduced to the Netherlands, after trials in the Dutch context where necessary. After the “Getting involved” policy report, the Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) was asked to

¹ This research synthesis was also announced in the Action plan against violence [*Actieplan tegen geweld*], which was sent to the Lower House on November 3, 2005 (Lower House 2005-2006, 28 684, no. 65).

perform a research synthesis into effective measures at home and abroad for the reduction and/or prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain. The WODC was also asked to provide insights into the mechanisms that underlie these prevention measures and to report on the situations and contexts in which these mechanisms have been found to be effective. The present report provides the results of this study.

This introductory chapter will look, consecutively, at the definition of the problem, the objective of this study, the research questions, and the definition and description of the terms “violence”, “public and semi-public domain”, and “prevention”. Chapter 2 describes the research method and the literature used for this study. Chapter 3 looks at the mechanisms that underlie the prevention measures studied and the contexts in which these measures are used. Chapter 4 discusses the effects achieved within the contexts in which the mechanisms were assessed, per prevention programme. Chapter 5 concludes this report and contains a discussion of the results obtained.

1.2 Objective and research questions

The objective of the study was twofold:

- 1 To provide an overview of effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain in the Netherlands and abroad.
- 2 To gain insights into the mechanisms that underlie effective or promising prevention measures and the circumstances in which these measures prove to be effective.

Insight into mechanisms and situations that are important for the effective prevention of violence must enable the Ministry of Justice to ascertain which proven effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence could be introduced in the Netherlands.

The two objectives above give rise to three research questions:

- 1 What measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain are known and have been studied for their effects in the Netherlands and abroad?
- 2 What mechanisms underlie effective measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain?
- 3 Under what conditions are the results of effective measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain expected and achieved?

The first question is answered by means of a research synthesis of studies into the effects of measures taken to prevent violence. The method used for this synthesis will be described in the next chapter of this report.

The second question is important because it is not only essential to know whether an intervention works, but also how and why it is effective. What mechanisms ensure that the intervention results in the desired outcomes (Pawson and Tilley, 1997)? Which theory underlies an intervention? Knowledge of how prevention measures work increases the extent to which results can be attributed to interventions.

The third question is relevant because the context in which a mechanism works and through which an intervention leads to the desired result is vital (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). It could well be that the same mechanism yields different effects (or no effects) in different contexts. This does not mean that the mechanism is no good, but it does mean that when using an intervention that works according to the mechanism in question, it must be ascertained whether the mechanism works within a specific context. The Ministry of Justice wishes to use the results of the present study to ascertain which interventions for the prevention of violence can be implemented in the Netherlands. Therefore, insight into the situations in which interventions are effective is essential. The fact that an intervention produces positive results abroad does not necessarily mean that the same will apply in the Dutch context.

1.3 Definition and description of terms

1.3.1 Violence

A number of aspects must be taken into account when defining a term such as “violence”. As Wilterdink (1991) observes, violence is a term that has a normative and emotional connotation, for which the limits of what the term does and does not entail are not fixed. The type of behaviour considered violent changes over time, but also depends on the specific cultural and situational context in which it is manifested. Research by Egelkamp (2002) shows that significantly more minor incidents are qualified as violent offences in police reports and indictments in 1996 as compared to 1986. Minor incidents are defined as acts resulting in slight or (almost) no injury to the victim. In 1996, comparable acts with comparable consequences for the victim were qualified more seriously than in 1986, and were also punished more severely in 1996 than in 1986. According to Egelkamp, the relative increase in the number of minor incidents qualified as violent offences can only be explained by an increased willingness on the part of victims and the police to report and document minor incidents

as well. In 1996, incidents in which a victim sustained little or no injury were considered serious enough to be reported and recorded. Egelkamp's investigation indicates that people's opinions on the definition of violence has changed in the ten years that they were studied.

In addition to the changes in people's opinions, the cultural and situational context also plays a role in the definition of violence. Most people watching a boxing match will not consider a punch an act of violence, nor will a tackle on the football field be defined as violence in most cases. An example of cultural variation can be deduced from differences in the penalising of violence between partners in different European countries. Until recently, Spanish men were permitted to beat their spouses without punishment, and rape did not exist within the context of marriage in Italian criminal law. Besides historical, cultural, and situational influences, various other forms of violence exist. For example, the term "violence" is used if citizens use physical or psychological violence against other citizens, but also if citizens use violence against the state, a state uses violence against citizens, or states use violence against other states (Hoogerwerf, 1996).

The Dutch institute for statistics, Statistics Netherlands (CBS), defines violent offences as those that are characterised "by the intentional use of violence resulting in the infringement of a fellow human being's physical integrity" (CBS, 1990). Since 1978, the CBS has also added armed robbery and extortion to the list of violent crimes; before this time, these offences were categorised as offences against property (Wittebrood, 1998). Wilterdink (1991) states that violence refers to acts in which people deliberately do something that causes harm to other people. According to Wilterdink, the term usually refers to physical harm to other individuals, to their person and/or to their possessions. Likewise, Hoogerwerf (1996) defines violence as the deliberate destruction of or harm to a person or property against the will of the person involved. This includes physical or mental torture and the wounding or killing of another person, but also the violation of the physical integrity of a human being by other means. Violence can be exerted on both the mind and the body; it is not limited to the physical. Violence can also be psychological and verbal. Several forms of these types of violence are threats, humiliation, slander, libel, insults, exclusion from a group, solitary confinement, and the deliberate use of incorrect argumentation. Physical violence directed at human beings can take the form of deliberate torture, wounding, or death. It may also consist of other infringements of physical integrity, such as beating, starvation, physical neglect, sexual harassment, assault, rape, and enforced prostitution.

For the purpose of the present project, the definition used will be the one formulated in the "Getting involved: Preventive strategies against violence" policy report (Van Erpecum, 2005, p. 21). This is a somewhat modified

version of the definition used by the World Health Organization² (Krug et al., 2002). Violence is regarded as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person, or a group of persons, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death or psychological harm.

Therefore, the deliberate nature of violence included in the definitions adopted by the CBS, Wilterdink, and Hoogerwerf is also part of this definition. It should be added here that violence only applies when it occurs against the will of the victim (Hoogerwerf, 1996). Violence against goods, property, or animals is outside the scope of this definition.

1.3.2 Violence in this study

Although the preceding definition encapsulates all forms of physical violence (including sexual violence) and the threat of violence of this nature, this study is limited to violence between citizens. The question of violence by citizens against the state, by a state against citizens, or between individual states is outside the scope of this study, as is strategic violence, such as terrorism and government violence.

In this study, no distinction is made between the reasons for violent behaviour; instrumental violence (which may occur as part of a raid, for example) also falls under this definition. However, the definition is limited to violence targeted at individuals, and damage to or the destruction of someone else's property does not fall within the scope of this study.

The subject of aggression in the present study concerns aggression that transgresses moral standards. Aggression and violence are concepts that overlap, but whereas aggression can both transgress moral standards and be socially accepted – a sport such as boxing is an example of the latter – the term “violent” always refers to aggression that transgresses moral standards (De Vente and Michon, 1998; p. 161).

Despite the fact that bullying is behaviour that transgresses moral standards, this study will not look explicitly at bullying and measures to prevent it. Olweus defines bullying as follows: “A person is being bullied

² The definition adopted by the World Health Organization also includes violence that people inflict on themselves. Therefore, suicide also falls under this definition. Because violence of this nature is considered a public health problem and is not deemed to fall within the policy area of the Ministry of Justice, the WHO's definition is modified in the policy report, and is adopted in the present study in its modified form. In addition, the WHO also considers violence to include the intentional use of physical force or power that results in maldevelopment or deprivation. These outcomes do not fall within the policy areas of the Ministry of Justice either and have not been included in the definition adopted.

or victimised when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons.” (Olweus, 1973, p. 318). He elaborates on the term “negative actions”: “It is a negative action when someone intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort upon another – basically what is implied in the definition of aggressive behaviour. Negative actions can be carried out by physical contact, by words, or in other ways, such as making faces or “dirty” gestures or refusing to comply with another person’s wishes.” (Olweus, 1973, p. 318). According to Olweus, bullying does not apply when two individuals of similar strength (whether physical or psychological) fight or have an argument. Bullying only applies in the event of an inequality in strength (an asymmetric power relationship). A person who is exposed to bullying finds it difficult to defend himself and is, to a certain extent, helpless against the person bullying him. Olweus also regards social exclusion and the ignoring of others as bullying. Bullying does not invariably relate to the use of or the threat of physical violence and, as such, is too broad a subject for the purpose of the present study. Therefore, except where studies explicitly use violence as an outcome measure, data on the prevention of bullying have not been included.

1.3.3 The public and semi-public domain

The public domain is accessible to everyone. The semi-public domain consists of places that are accessible to the public at large, but only by appointment or with an admission ticket, for example, and places to which an owner or supervisor is permitted to deny someone access. In this context, the Dutch Council for Social Development [*Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling (RMO)*] refers to violence within social organisations (1998). These are institutions such as schools, companies, organisations, and hospitals. They offer limited or no public access and their domain is regulated by a committee or board. Supervision is exercised under the responsibility of the committee or board, and the government is only able to indirectly influence the rules applicable within these organisations. The Council for Social Development states that although intimate relationships are not excluded, people within these institutions chiefly enter into functional relationships.

Focusing on the public and the semi-public domain, violence between intimates (i.e. between [former] partners, family members, or housemates), has been placed outside the scope of the definition above. Regardless of the location in which it occurs, relational violence will be regarded as domestic violence (Lünnemann and Bruinsma, 2005).

Environments frequently referred to in the context of violence in the public and semi-public domain are residential areas, the workplace,

schools, traffic, entertainment venues and areas, shops and shopping centres, public transport, and sports facilities (RMO, 1998; Sherman et al., 2002; Terlouw, De Haan, and Beke, 1999; Van Erpecum, 2005). In the workplace, a distinction can be made between violence between colleagues and violence committed against professionals by clients, customers, or patients. Both forms fall within the scope of this study. Table 1 provides an overview of that scope.

Table 1 Definition of the “Violence” Concept in the (Semi-)public Domain

Forms of Violence	Involved in the Study		Not Involved in the Study
	Public	Semi-public	
Violence between citizens	X	X	
Violence against property			X
Violence against the state			X
Violence by the state			X
Government violence			X
Terrorism			X
Aggression that transgresses moral standards	X	X	
Bullying			X
Bullying with violence as an outcome measure	X	X	
Violence between intimates			X
Violence between colleagues	X	X	
Violence by clients and customers	X	X	

1.3.4 Prevention

Prevention measures can be characterised in different ways. One important distinction that is usually made is that among primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention. Regardless of the objective, primary prevention is geared towards the prevention of new incidents among the general population. In such cases, prevention measures must combat potentially negative situations even before a problem actually arises. This might be the prevention of violence among pupils, but might also be, for example, the prevention of driving under the influence of alcohol. General campaigns aimed at preventing driving under the influence of alcohol are an example of primary prevention. Secondary prevention targets groups or contexts in which an increased risk of violence exists and is intended to remove these risks or reduce their influence. To stay with the example about driving under the influence, secondary prevention could include teams of information providers who enter into dialogue with young people in clubs about their (high-risk) behaviour. Tertiary prevention focuses on groups or contexts in which the problem to be prevented has already

occurred. Regarding the prevention of driving under the influence, an example of tertiary prevention is the specific community service orders imposed on drunk drivers in order to prevent recidivism.

Depending on the way prevention measures attempt to exert their influence, a further division into types of measures can be made. For their typology, Van Dijk and De Waard (1991) distinguish among offender-oriented, situation-oriented, and victim-oriented prevention. They base these distinctions on Cohen and Felson's routine activities theory (1979, cited in Van Dijk and De Waard). According to this theory, most offences require the concurrence of three elements in place and time: a motivated offender, a potential victim, and an environment that is guarded insufficiently or is insufficiently secure. In their typology, Van Dijk and De Waard indicate that prevention measures can target one or more of these elements. Polder and Van Vlaardingen (1992) arrive at a similar classification, but distinguish two general ways in which a prevention measure can exert its influence. They refer to this as the orientation of the measure. They define *person-oriented* prevention as prevention that attempts to directly influence the person of the potential offender. These measures could target individuals, but could be aimed at groups as well. A prevention measure could also attempt to prevent offences by an intervention or interventions in the offence situation. Polder and Van Vlaardingen refer to the orientation of a measure like this as *situation-oriented*. They believe that a prevention measure that targets potential victims is *not* person-oriented because this type of measure is not intended to directly influence the potential offender. They refer to this type of measure as *situation-oriented* because, by influencing the "object" of crime, it changes the potential offence situation. An example of situation-oriented prevention is target hardening. Possible targets of violence can be protected using technological prevention measures through building security (defensible space), secure residential projects, and architectural security, for example. Efforts can be made to prevent raids or violence in residential districts and entertainment areas using alarm systems and electronic surveillance. In addition to these physical measures, various forms of formal controls have been developed to combat violence and crime (Tilley, 2005). Situation-oriented measures can also be put in place in the field of administration in order to rule out crime. For instance, administrative preventive measures may target vulnerable parts of a city in which the preventive use of "stop and search" powers is permitted, or a knife ban is enacted. Via various measures in the context of what is sometimes referred to as "armed administrative law," the possibility of crime can be reduced.

Within the situation-oriented prevention approach, in which efforts are made to limit opportunity to commit an offence by reducing the benefits

of offences and increasing the penalty to be paid, a further distinction can be made between object measures (the protection of specific targets such as cars, shops, or homes by alarm systems and security anti-burglary door and window furniture) and area measures, in which the desired effect extends to a greater spatial area (the protection of an entire street or district by camera surveillance, for example) (Bruinsma and Bernasco, 2004). The advantage of these prevention measures is that their effects are relatively easy to assess.³

1.3.5 Prevention in this study

Prevention measures can obviously be defined in different ways. In this study, a categorisation was adopted that combines characteristics from the approaches adopted by Polder and Van Vlaardingen (1992) and Van Dijk and De Waard (1991). In accordance with Polder and Van Vlaardingen, we regard victim-oriented prevention as part of situation-oriented prevention. In order to avoid confusion, the term “context-oriented” prevention will now be used to refer to these prevention measures. This will make it clear that prevention measures can target the victim as part of the context in which an offence occurs. This study also adopts Van Dijk and De Waard’s (1991) combination of the orientation of measures with a distinction among primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention. However, the present study is not aimed at tertiary prevention. At a certain point in the distinction among primary, secondary, and tertiary prevention, a transition occurs – particularly as regards person-oriented prevention – from prevention to treatment. The research questions in this study relate to the prevention of violence. The question of effective treatment of violent offenders is a different one. Because it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between prevention and treatment, it was decided to include secondary prevention in this study. Programmes aimed at offenders for the prevention of recidivism are not included whereas measures aimed at risk groups are.

In this study, a distinction is made between *person-oriented* and *context-oriented prevention measures* on the basis of a measure’s orientation. Within this distinction, a further distinction is made between *primary* prevention (the prevention of new incidents among the entire population) and *secondary* prevention (targeting individuals/groups/places where increased risk exists). Specific prevention measures that pertain to urban facilities, residents’ participation, object measures, technological

3 It must be observed that situational prevention measures can be subject to displacement. The protection of a certain target or the introduction or tightening of area measures may result in a situation where offenders shift their focus to places where fewer or no situational measures have been put in place. The opposite of displacement has also been proved (i.e., diffusion benefit). When crime in a certain area is suppressed, this can result in a reduction in crime in surrounding areas.

prevention, area measures, and area-related police care, for example, are placed in one of the prevention domains. Table 2 shows the categorisation of possible prevention measures resulting from this approach.

Table 2 Categorisation of prevention measures

Orientation	Type of prevention	
	Primary prevention	Secondary prevention
Person-oriented	1	4
Context-oriented	2	5
Person- and context-oriented	3	6

2 Research methods

2.1 Research method

2.1.1 *(Quasi-)experimental designs and realist evaluation*

There are different ways to conduct a synthesis study. For a more detailed discussion of these methods, the reader is referred to Pawson (2002). In the present research synthesis, the method advocated by the Campbell Collaboration is combined with the CMO model developed by Pawson and Tilley (1997). Both approaches are discussed below. The Campbell Collaboration sets out to make information on the effects of interventions in the social, behavioural, and educational arenas available to as many interested parties as possible and to produce systematic reviews (or research syntheses) on studies into the effects of (behavioural) interventions.⁴ The Campbell Collaboration emphasises the importance of outcome evaluations that use a(n) (quasi-)experimental research design. This type of design is important in an evaluation study if it is to be possible to attribute the differences observed in an outcome measure to an intervention. Another object is to reveal the underlying mechanisms that may or may not have resulted in certain effects. This type of design is also important for the achievement of insights into desired or unwanted side effects.

The experimental method aims to determine the extent of the effect achieved by a certain measure by selecting an experimental group that is subjected to a measure or behavioural intervention and then compared with a control group that is not subjected to the measure or intervention in question. The difference between the groups is the effect of the intervention. This design is often used in medical research into drugs or treatments. With the exception of statistical margins, this method allows an unequivocal determination of the effect achieved by the measure in question. However, in practice, the use of this standard in policy research is rarely possible, as various problems may arise. Usually, it is not possible to put together an explicit control group to which the measure does not apply, the quality of the data may be limited or unavailable, insufficient data are often available on respondents who drop out of the sample or during the intervention, and so forth. Often, conditions are not entirely equal, or the basis on which equality is to be determined is unclear. A comparison is usually limited to those aspects that are the object of the analysis. Because it is unclear, within a broader theoretical context, what the comparison is to be based on, there is often an implicit (!) assumption of equality. Often, it *is* possible to construct a control group. The control group may consist of people to which the measure only just does not

⁴ For more information on the starting points and principles of the Campbell Collaboration, see the Campbell Collaboration website (www.campbellcollaboration.org).

apply (for instance, their score on a selection instrument is just below the cut-off value) or who are not participating in the measure, although they are very similar to the group subject to the measure in all other respects. Data on the control group can also be estimated from historical trends. These constructions, which are designed to emulate the pure form of the experimental method, are referred to as quasi-experimental models. All these factors can affect the internal validity of the experiment. Therefore, careful attention should be given to ensuring that this validity is safeguarded.

The Campbell Collaboration places strong emphasis on internal validity as a quality meter for outcome evaluations, but descriptive validity is also very important. A very clear and full description must be given of the research design used, the sample size, measurements of the dependent and independent variables, the research period and the effect size, and so on, as well as a description of the measure and its implementation. The more detailed and precise the reporting, the easier it is to assess the quality of the evaluation. Statistical validity is also relevant, the chief question being whether the measure and the desired effect are actually related, or whether the relationship is based on coincidence. Therefore, it must be possible to calculate the effect size and the corresponding confidence interval. Significance tests are of lesser importance because significant effects can point to both small effects in a large sample and large effects in a small sample. Samples that are too small and those with a high level of heterogeneity in the research group make it more difficult to demonstrate the effects of measures. Construct validity is another important aspect. Ideally, the measurements of the concept must be a proper reflection of the theoretical ideas underlying a measure. This concerns data reliability and validity in particular, but also the need for the measure to reach both the experimental group and the control group (Wittebrood and Van Beam, 2004).

An important contribution in the field of research syntheses is the “Sherman report” from 1997: *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising* (Sherman et al., 1997). In 2002, an updated version of this report was published under the title: *Evidence-based Crime Prevention* (Sherman et al., 2002). This book provides an overview of 675 scientific evaluations of measures from different countries, all focusing on the prevention of crime. As customary in a research synthesis, Sherman and colleagues have collected relevant evaluation studies, which they then subjected to a critical evaluation in order to determine which programmes are actually effective. In the present study, we adopt the method used by these researchers and the Campbell Collaboration. This means that our outcome evaluations are primarily assessed on their internal validity. This assessment occurs on the basis of the Maryland Scientific Methods

Scale (SMS)⁵. This is a five-point scale that makes it possible to draw conclusions on methodological quality in terms of the internal validity of outcome evaluations (Farrington et al. 2002). On the SMS, score 3 (quasi-experimental design) is the minimum research design necessary to be able to draw sound conclusions on the effectiveness of a measure. According to Farrington and associates, evaluations scored as 1 or 2 offer insufficient possibilities for the determination of a causal relationship between the introduction of a measure and the reduction or prevention of violence. This is because too many factors can be attributed to coincidence in studies at levels 1 and 2. Based on the SMS, the following five scores are used:

- *Score 1*: The correlation between a policy measure and violence in the (semi-)public domain at a certain point in time, measured after the introduction of the measure in question.
- *Score 2*: Violence in the (semi-)public domain, measured before and after the introduction of a policy measure without a comparable control condition. At level 2, there is no statistical control for selection bias, but there is a certain form of comparison (for example, a before and after measurement in a treatment group without a comparison group, or a treatment group compared with a non-comparable control group).
- *Score 3*: Violence in the (semi-)public domain, measured before and after introduction of a policy measure in experimental and comparable control conditions (quasi-experimental design).
- *Score 4*: Violence in the (semi-)public domain measured before and after introduction of a policy measure in several experimental and control conditions, controlling for other variables that could influence violence (by means of matching or statistical control, for example).
- *Score 5*: Violence in the (semi-)public domain measured before and after introduction of a policy measure in which units are randomly assigned to experimental and control conditions (experimental design).

The present study draws on evaluations at every level. Because this has consequences for the extent to which effects can be attributed to interventions, the discussion of the results and the conclusion will look specifically at the weight that can be given to the different results.

5 A research design that uses time series data has not been explicitly included in the SMS. An evaluation based on time series will have a higher internal validity than a simple before and after measurement (score 2), whether or not combined with a control group (score 3). An evaluation based on time series will give more consideration to the influence of changes in violence that are not a result of the measure (Wittebrood and Van Beem, 2004).

In addition to attention for internal validity, this study also looks at external validity. The greater the extent to which the findings from an evaluation can be applied to other situations (areas, individuals, times, etc.), the higher the external validity. In order to include the question of external validity in the study, we used the principles of Realistic Evaluation (Pawson and Tilley (1997). This approach focuses particularly on the theory that underlies a(n) (behavioural) intervention. With regard to (behavioural) interventions, Pawson and associates (2004) consider seven different characteristics : (1) the intervention is based on a theory or theories, (2) the intervention supposes that the parties involved (people, offenders, victims, bystanders, etc.) will undertake certain action(s), (3) the intervention consists of a chain of steps or processes, (4) these steps or processes are often not linear, (5) interventions are embedded in social systems, (6) interventions are prone to modification, and (7) interventions are open systems and change as a result of progressive insight. Pawson and Tilley (1997) criticise outcome evaluations that are based on the (quasi-)experimental method and offer an alternative. Their greatest criticism is that quasi-experimental designs focus primarily on the internal validity of the study and give insufficient attention to the external validity or the extent to which the conclusions can be applied to other situations. Their alternative approach is based on the CMO model. One of the core elements of this model is examination of the mechanisms that ensure the effectiveness of an intervention (the “M” from the model) (Pawson and Klein Haarhuis, 2005). The effectiveness of a programme depends on the combined action of the mechanisms supposed to underlie it. Mechanisms are the engines behind behaviour, which are often not immediately recognisable as such. Examples are people’s tendencies to give way to group pressure (“groupthink”), and their attempts to be status-congruent with others, or to avoid or reduce cognitive dissonances (conf. Hedström and Swedberg, 1998; Leeuw, 2003). The action of mechanisms depends in part on the context in which they are used (the “C” from the model). Behavioural change is achieved via the entire system of social relationships (the context) and, therefore, an intervention geared towards the achievement of behavioural change must be aligned with the context in which it is used. The “O” from the model concerns the outcome of interventions, their intended and unintended consequences that follow from the deployment of various mechanisms in different contexts (Pawson and Klein Haarhuis, 2005). By determining which intervention mechanisms in which situations and with which target group result in outcomes, programme theories can be reconstructed. This does not involve scientific theories about the programmes, but the systematisation of the assumptions and hypotheses put forward by policymakers, politicians, and relevant programme managers and implementers on the questions of “why,” “how,” and the (probable) effectiveness of the interventions (Leeuw, 2003). On the basis of these theories, expectations can be formulated about the extent to which the results can be applied to other situations and, by testing these

theories, insight can be gained into how a measure works. In the present research synthesis, an attempt was made, on the basis of the publications studied, to arrive at a description of the mechanisms underlying evaluated prevention measures and the contexts in which they would be effective or ineffective and, in this way, to draw conclusions about their empirical value.

2.1.2 *Design of this study*

When selecting studies for this research synthesis, we adopted, in large measure, the method advocated by the Campbell Collaboration. In research syntheses, relevant evaluation studies are collected and then subjected to a critical evaluation in order to determine which programmes work. Explicit, transparent, and state-of-the-art methods are used for this purpose (Petrosino et al., 2001). Petrosino and associates (2001) describe the criteria that the Campbell Collaboration applies to research syntheses. Research syntheses must contain detailed information on the entire process, including the research question, the criteria to be met by studies, and the methods used in searching for and screening studies. Any analyses performed must be described, as well as how researchers arrived at their conclusions (Petrosino et al., 2001). The greatest advantage of research syntheses, provided they are performed correctly, is that they yield the most reliable information in terms of what works in a certain area.

According to the criteria applied by the Campbell Collaboration (Petrosino et al., 2001), a research synthesis consists of eight steps.

- *Step 1:* First the research questions are formulated. For the present study, this was done in chapter 1 of this report.
- *Step 2:* Following the formulation of the research questions, the inclusion and exclusion criteria are determined. This includes a number of questions. Which target group is the measure aimed at? What types of intervention will be included in the study? What is the outcome measure? At this stage, criteria can also be formulated for inclusion and exclusion of study designs and methodological quality.
- *Step 3:* The studies to be included must be identified and a decision made on the sources to be used. Examples of useful sources are electronic databases, bibliographies of other studies, manual searches in relevant journals, and personal communication with experts in the field.
- *Step 4:* Once the studies have been identified, a number of researchers determine whether a study is eligible and study selection occurs. Because a number of researchers work together, a strategy must be developed to resolve disagreements. A log of excluded studies must be kept along with the reasons for their unsuitability.
- *Step 5:* Following selection of the relevant studies, the quality of these studies must be determined. This too needs to be done by more than one person. Simple checklists are used for this purpose, rather than

quality scales. The checklists include information on the research groups and on the strength of the study. During this step, a decision must also be made on how to respond to study dropout. The best approach is blind assessment, independent of the author, institute, or journal in question.

- *Step 6:* The next step concerns the production of data extracts. At this stage, too, it is better for more than one person to be responsible for the production of summaries, again independent of the author, institute, or journal in question.
- *Step 7:* After extraction, the data are analyzed and presented. This is accomplished by ranking the results of the individual studies. The process and implementation of the interventions are examined. Possible sources of heterogeneity are also studied, and consideration is given to performing a meta-analysis at this stage. A meta-analysis can also be performed using the outcomes of subgroups of the studies.
- *Step 8:* The final step is the interpretation of the results. At this point, researchers consider limitations, the strength of the evidence, applicability, statistical power, economic implications, and implications for future research.

In this study, efforts were made to observe the guidelines formulated by the Campbell Collaboration wherever possible. The rest of this chapter will look at the inclusion and exclusion criteria, describe the search strategy, and explain the study selection process. However, the present study is not a full research synthesis; a meta-analysis was not conducted on the results of the studies described because the time available was too limited for this to be done. In order to overcome this problem, existing meta-studies were compared with the results obtained from this research synthesis. In addition, as indicated above, the methods used by Pawson and Tilley (1997) were adopted when describing and interpreting the results of our research synthesis. The mechanisms of the prevention programmes studied were described per publication. The context for each study was also ascertained. These mechanisms and contexts are discussed in chapter 3. Chapter 4 looks at the effects of the various prevention measures.

2.2 The literature collection process

2.2.1 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

In the selection of studies for this research synthesis, the following inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied:

- Studies must concern the evaluation of the effectiveness of prevention measures.

- At least one of the outcome measures must be “violence” (as defined in chapter 1).
- Evaluated measures must focus on the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain. Measures may be aimed at victims, offenders, and situations.
- No criteria will be stipulated beforehand for the methodological quality of the studies. However, studies must provide empirical results if they are to be included. In order to report on the results, studies will be classified using the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale (SMS) (Farrington et al., 2002).
- Both published and unpublished studies will be eligible.
- Studies in Dutch, English, French, and German will be included.
- The review will not include research into the incidence and prevalence of violence in the public and semi-public domain.
- The review will focus on studies published between 1980 and 2005. However, as subscriptions to a number of important databases are limited to just ten years, most literature is relatively recent.

Prior to the selection of studies, another criterion was formulated: that evaluations of interventions performed in contexts that are impossible to compare with the Dutch situation will not be taken into consideration. The thinking behind this criterion was to ensure, for example, that the evaluation of an intervention focusing on the slums of the Brazilian city Belo Horizonte would not be included in the research synthesis. This criterion was prompted by efficiency considerations. However, in practice, virtually no literature exists outside the Anglo-Saxon regions.

2.2.2 Search strategy

Searches were performed in the following databases: Social Sciences Citation Index, Web of Knowledge, Web of Science, PsycINFO, PubMed, C2-SPECTR, Netherlands Central Catalogue [*Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus (NCC)*], the Ministry of Justice/WODC database, National Criminal Justice Reference Service, Violence Research Literature Database (VIOLIT), and Social Science Research Network.

The following terms were used when searching for studies in these databases:

“geweld”; “pub violence” prevent effect research; “violence prevention” not domestic; (prevent* violen* and eff*) not (domestic); (prevent* violen* and evalua*) not (domestic); (prevent* violen* effect*) not (domestic); (public and [space or domain] and violence); (violen* or aggress*) and prevent* and (eval* or synthes* or meta* or review) not (domestic); (violen* or aggress*) and prevent* and (street* or neighbo* or urban or safe*); (violen* or agress*) and (meta* or effect* or eval*

or syntheses* or review*) and prevent*; aggression prevention research synthesis; geweld* and prevent* and effect*; geweld* and prevent* and evaluation*; violen* preven*; violen* prevent* effect*; violence prevention.

The websites of the following organisations were also searched: International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC), Centre for the Study and Prevention of Violence (in addition to a search in the VIOLIT database), Australian Institute of Criminology (Crime Prevention Register), Canada's National Crime Prevention Strategy (virtual library), European Crime Prevention Network, European Forum for Urban Safety, Council of Europe, and Dutch Centre for Crime Prevention and Safety [*Centrum voor Criminaliteitspreventie en Veiligheid (CCV)*].

An Internet search was performed using Google and Google Scholar. The bibliographies from the various chapters of the book *Evidence-based Crime Prevention* by Sherman and associates (2002) were hand searched, as was the bibliography in the publication *Review of Knowledge on Juvenile Violence*, by FitzGerald, Stevens, and Hale (2004).

In addition to the above, written requests were sent to members of the European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN) for information on evaluation studies conducted in their countries. The same request, but focusing on specific policy areas, was addressed to key figures in a number of Dutch ministries (the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science; the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports; the Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Water Management; the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment; and the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations). Searches were performed from mid-May to mid-August 2005. Literature received after September 1, 2005, was not included, due to the time limitations of this study.

2.2.3 Selection of literature

The researchers performed the initial study selection on the basis of titles and abstracts. These were assessed according to the following question: Does this study concern an evaluation of an intervention for the prevention of violence in the public or semi-public domain? A screening list was used for this purpose (see Appendix 2). Where the researchers held different opinions on whether to select a study, a decision was reached through mutual consultation.

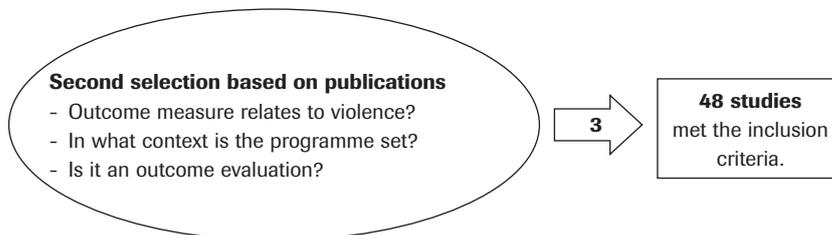
The full publications were requested for the studies selected. These texts were read by one of the researchers and, on the basis of a second screening list (see Appendix 2) were assessed on their relevance for the present

Figure 1 Literature selection

A search resulted in **454 titles** of potentially relevant studies.



233 studies went through to the second selection round of which **169** could be collected and judged.



study. The publications selected in this way were then summarised according to a form designed for this purpose (see Appendix 3). The assessment of the quality of the study designs of the selected publications was initially done by one of the researchers separately. At a later stage, these assessments were compared with existing literature, including the publication by Sherman and colleagues (2002) and a study by Farrington and Welsh (2005), and each assessment was discussed among the researchers.

Figure 1 provides an overview of the literature selection process. It indicates the number of publications assessed for each step and the number of these publications that went through to the next selection round.⁶

Most publications that were eliminated during the initial selection round were rejected because they pertained to prevention measures

⁶ A list of publications that were not selected for the present study can be requested from the first author.

that were not intended for the (semi-)public domain. Studies were also rejected where it was clear that the object of the intervention was not the prevention of violence. At this stage, it was not always easy to determine whether a study constituted an outcome evaluation or a description of a programme. Therefore, selection at this stage was relatively flexible in order to prevent a situation in which an overly strict initial selection would result in the incorrect rejection of relevant literature. Therefore, where an abstract revealed that the outcome measure related to attitude change, for example, and not so much to violence, the study in question was nonetheless put through to the second selection.

During the second selection round, most studies that were eliminated were rejected because they did not constitute an outcome evaluation for a prevention programme. Studies that did not use violence as the outcome measure were also rejected at this stage, as were programmes that had not yet been assessed by means of an outcome evaluation. Ultimately, 48 studies remained, on the basis of which this report provides an overview of best practices in the field of violence prevention in the (semi-)public domain.

2.3 Description of the literature selected

Although every effort was made to ensure that the overview of relevant literature was as complete as possible, true completeness unfortunately was not achievable. The most important reasons for this are as follows:

- Some relevant databases were not accessible (no subscription).
- Subscriptions to certain databases cover only a limited period (generally ten years).
- Because of the time constraints of the study, literature received after September 1, 2005, could not be included.

A total of 48 studies of the effects of the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain were selected. These 48 publications relate to 36 interventions. Table 3 provides an overview of the studies that were ultimately selected for this synthesis, the majority of which were conducted in the United States. A great effort was made to find European studies, but few were available. By far the majority of studies were published between 1995 and 2005. Only six studies were published before 1995. Nineteen relate to person-oriented prevention, eighteen to context-oriented prevention, and eleven to a combination of these orientations. The present study does not include any evaluations that use a research design that scores a 1 on the SMS. The quality of the design of one study could not be assessed on the basis of the information available. The other studies are distributed reasonably equally over scores 2 to 5. There are thirteen studies with a design at level 2, ten with a design at level 3, thirteen with

a design at level 4, and eleven with a design at level 5. By far the majority of publications (n = 25) describe the evaluation of a prevention measure implemented in schools. Ten publications concern measures put in place in a neighbourhood, on the streets, or in specific places in a city, and four relate to interventions for banks or post offices. Interventions in entertainment venues, at public events, in companies, schools, and families are described in only one or two publications.

Table 3 Overview of characteristics for the 48 studies

Characteristic		Number
Country	US	33
	UK	6
	The Netherlands	4
	Canada	3
	Australia	1
	Switzerland	1
Year of publication	1980 – 1989	3
	1990 – 1994	3
	1995 – 1999	14
	2000 – 2005	28
Measure orientation	Person-oriented	19
	Context-oriented	18
	Person- and context-oriented	11
SMS score	1	0
	2	13
	3	10
	4	13
	5	11
	No score	1
Context	School	25
	Neighbourhood, street, or places	10
	Banks or post offices	4
	Schools and families	2
	Entertainment venue	1
	Public events	1
	Businesses	1
	Other	4

2.4 Assessment of the results obtained from the literature selected

The effectiveness of the prevention measures studied was assessed based on the results of the 48 evaluation studies used. In each case, the assessment focused on effectiveness in terms of the reduction or prevention of violence. The effectiveness of a number of measures was

the subject of two or more studies, but many were evaluated in only one study. On the basis of one study, the internal validity of which is generally exposed to a number of threats, it is very difficult to draw hard and fast conclusions on the effectiveness of a prevention measure. Therefore, wherever possible, this study drew from the knowledge already collected by other authors. This particularly involved frequent use of the work of Sherman and his colleagues (2002), but also includes numerous other meta-analyses and overview studies. On the basis of the information from the 48 publications used in this study and from meta-analyses and overview studies by other authors, the prevention measures studied were broken down into four categories: 1) effective, 2) potentially effective, 3) potentially not effective, and 4) not effective. The following criteria were used for this categorisation:

Effective:

- Two or more good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 4) reporting positive effects on the prevention of violence. Further substantiation of this conclusion in other overview studies or meta-analyses was not a condition, but will be reported.
- One or more (reasonably) good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 3) reporting positive effects on the incidence of violence, with the confirmation of this conclusion in meta-analyses or overview studies conducted by other authors.

Potentially effective:

- One or more (reasonably) good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 3) reporting positive effects on the incidence of violence, but substantiation in other overview studies or meta-analyses is not available or is inconclusive.

Potentially ineffective:

- One or more (reasonably) good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 3) reporting no effects or negative effects on the incidence of violence, but substantiation in other overview studies or meta-analyses is not available or is inconclusive.

Ineffective:

- Two or more good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 4) reporting no effects or negative effects on the incidence of violence. Further substantiation of this conclusion in other overview studies or meta-analyses was not a condition, but will be reported.
- One or more (reasonably) good-quality studies (a minimum of SMS score 3) reporting no effects or negative effects on the incidence of violence, with the confirmation of this conclusion in meta-analyses or overview studies conducted by other authors.

3 A description of mechanisms and contexts

3.1 Introduction

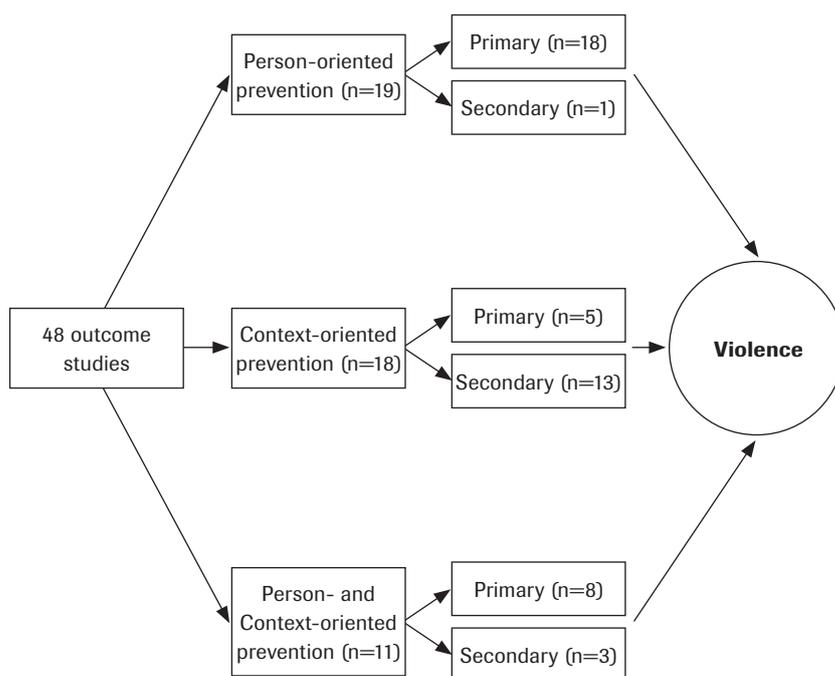
Little systematic knowledge exists about the effectiveness of safety programmes in the prevention and/or reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain. There is no systematic knowledge available on mechanisms or workable components in prevention programmes, the contexts in which they are implemented, and the question of which mechanisms are effective in certain contexts. Empirical and theoretical knowledge of this nature is very important, as this information can be used as the basis for the development of more effective safety policy on violence in the (semi-)public sector. Before proceeding to a description of the effects of the prevention measures in the outcome results in chapter 4, this chapter will analyze the various mechanisms and contexts per measure.

A total of 48 outcome studies were involved in the present study. The selection process for these studies was explained in detail in chapter 2, where it is substantiated step by step. In this chapter, the studies will be separated into three different categories: (1) person-oriented prevention measures, (2) context-oriented prevention measures, and (3) person- and context-oriented prevention measures. These measures will then be divided again into primary and secondary prevention measures.

Figure 2 provides an overview of the categorisation applied to the 48 outcome studies. Nineteen studies relate to person-oriented prevention measures (i.e., the measures are targeted directly at potential offenders). Of these studies, eighteen relate to primary person-oriented prevention measures, and the remaining study relates to a secondary person-oriented prevention measure. In eighteen studies, efforts to combat violence focus on context-oriented measures (including camera surveillance, street lighting, neighbourhood watches, and training programmes for bank staff, for example). Five relate to primary context-oriented prevention measures, thirteen relate to secondary context-oriented prevention measures, and eleven relate to the evaluation of person- and context-oriented measures. Eight relate to primary prevention measures, and three relate to secondary prevention measures.

The remainder of this chapter will outline the significance of mechanisms and contexts for each category of prevention measure. Each paragraph will briefly describe the mechanisms that do or do not ensure the effectiveness of the programme in question and the contexts in which the programme has been implemented.

Figure 2 Overview of the studies into the effects of measures to reduce and prevent violence



3.2 Mechanisms and contexts for person-oriented prevention measures

The sections below will look at primary and secondary person-oriented prevention measures, primary and secondary context-oriented prevention measures, and prevention measures that are both person and context oriented. The same structure will be adhered to throughout. The discussion of the mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective will conclude with a schematic overview of mechanisms and contexts per programme.

3.2.1 Primary prevention

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

The mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective are indicated in Table 4. In the eighteen publications on the evaluation of primary, person-oriented prevention measures, the effects of twelve unique programmes are studied. They generally relate to the following ten mechanisms:

- Improving knowledge of violence and changing cognitions regarding violence and behaviour.

- Teaching individuals new, non-violent behaviour in risk and conflict situations.
- Combining knowledge and skills in the reduction and prevention of violent and impulsive behaviour.
- Increasing insights into an individual's own behaviour and the behaviour of others.
- Learning to assess one's own behaviour and the behaviour of others.
- Learning to opt for non-violent behaviour.
- Promoting the ability to empathise.
- Support from the social environment (e.g., schools and families).
- Bringing in peer leaders and identification with peer leaders.
- Encouraging the expression of emotions and body control through dance and movement in a group context.

These mechanisms can be broken down into five large domains:

- Cognitions (thinking, norms, and knowledge).
- Behavioural change through skill acquisition.
- Empathy and identification with others.
- Opting for alternative behaviour.
- Social support.

In addition to the above, dance and movement are featured as a form of creative therapy designed to reduce and prevent violence.

The contexts in which the measures are carried out are chiefly school and classroom based. Some programmes are delivered by teachers, others by someone external to the school environment. Programmes may be aimed at a specific target group (e.g., children and young people from poor families), or may be implemented throughout a school. Programmes may vary in length.

Table 4 Overview of primary person-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No.</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Context(s)</i>
1	DuRant, Barkin, and Krowchuk (2001)	1	Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to DuRant, Barkin, and Krowchuk (2001), this programme is based on social cognitive theory: - Increasing knowledge about violence. - Creating awareness of the individual's behaviour in conflict situations. - Learning to apply the (non-violent) skills learned in risk situations. - Changing social norms in the group and gaining social support when displaying non-violent behaviour in order to resolve a conflict. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The programme is delivered by someone other than the regular teacher, and consists of 13 lessons. - Two-fifths (41%) of pupils were living in public housing. - 88% of pupils were African American.
2, 3	DuRant et al. (1996)	1	Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents and Conflict Resolution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - According to DuRant et al. (1996), Conflict Resolution is based on social cognitive theory: - Increasing knowledge about violence. - Creating awareness of the individual's behaviour in conflict situations. - Examining practical ways of applying the (non-violent) skills learned in risk situations. - Changing social norms in the group and gaining social support when displaying non-violent behaviour in order to resolve a conflict. <p>According to DuRant et al. (1996), the Violence Prevention Curriculum is based on social cognitive theory:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing knowledge about violence. - Creating awareness of the individual's behaviour in conflict situations. - Examining practical ways of applying the (non-violent) skills learned in risk situations. - Changing social norms in the group and gaining social support when displaying non-violent behaviour in order to resolve a conflict. 	<p>Conflict Resolution:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At school, in class. - The original programme was aimed at young people in out-of-home placement, and consists of more than ten lessons. - A selection of ten 50-minute lessons is offered to pupils in class, with an external instructor. <p>The Violence Prevention Curriculum:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At school, in class. - A selection of ten 50-minute lessons is offered to pupils in class, with an external instructor.

No. Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Context(s)
4 Esbensen et al. (2001)	1	Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At school, in class. - The lessons are delivered by a police officer in nine weekly sessions.
5 Farrell and Meyer (1997) Farrell, Meyer et al. (2003) Farrell, Meyer, and White (2001) Farrell, Valois et al. (2003)	4	<p>Responding In Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP)</p> <p>RIPP was developed for use soon after pupils' transition from primary school to secondary school. This transition coincides with a large number of developmental changes, such as puberty, changes in social perspective, changes in relationships between boys and girls, a shift in the focus from parents to peers. RIPP is said to draw on all these changes by basing its approach on them. A "sensitive period" has been selected in order to maximise potential effect.</p> <p>RIPP consists of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teaching young people alternative ways to respond to violence. - Teaching young people new skills. - Teaching young people new behaviour, so that they can convert their new knowledge and attitudes into less violent behaviour. 	<p>RIPP is provided in school, in a classroom setting, by someone other than the pupils' usual teacher. A programme has been developed for the 6th grade, consisting of 25 weekly lessons, whereas the programme developed for the 7th and 8th grades consists of 12 weekly lessons. RIPP has been implemented in schools in American inner-city areas, in districts where the inhabitants are predominantly poor, and where violent crime is a major problem. RIPP has also been implemented in schools in a rural region, where the composition of the pupil population was more diverse.</p>

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Context(s)</i>
6 Flannery et al. (2003) Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery (1999)	2 PeaceBuilders	The prevention programme aims to reduce aggressive behaviour in children. It is based on the supposition that prosocial behaviour is easier to develop at a young age. The object of PeaceBuilders is to develop individual behavioural change in a social setting. By influencing the school climate and rewarding social behaviour, the programme teaches children to interact with each other in a social manner.	PeaceBuilders is a whole-school violence prevention programme aimed at primary schools, consisting of ongoing activities in both the classroom and at school. The programme's implementation requires the involvement of all school staff. The schools at which the prevention programme has been used, in a large urban region, have a high number of suspensions.
7 Flay, Allred, and Ordway (2001)	1 Positive Action Programme	The Positive Action Programme works on the supposition that when children's actions are positive, they will feel good and have more positive thoughts, which can result in an increase in positive behaviour.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delivered in class. - Lessons almost every day. - Delivered by the pupils' own teacher. - The programme also has a family and community component.
8 Grossman et al. (1997) McMahon and Washburn (2003) Riese (2004)	3 Second Step	The Second Step programme is linked to the social information processing approach ("perceiving, processing, and responding to social situations"). Second Step aims to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote empathy and reduce impulsive behaviour. - Teach young people about violence and about alternatives to violence. - Teach young people new skills (anger management tools). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delivered in class, by the pupils' own teacher. - Pupils of different ages. - Tested at American primary schools and secondary schools.

No. Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Context(s)
8 Orpinas et al. (1995)	1 Second Step in combination with Peerprocessing approach ("perceiving, processing, and responding to social situations"). Leaders	<p>The Second Step programme has been linked to the social information processing approach ("perceiving, processing, and responding to social situations").</p> <p>Second Step aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promote empathy and reduce impulsive behaviour. - Teach young people about violence and about alternatives to violence. - Teach young people new skills (anger management tools). <p>Peer leaders: support from a pupil's environment and friends is fundamental for the achievement of behavioural changes in adolescents.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delivered at school, in class. - By the pupils' own teacher, for a period of 15 weeks, once per week. - Social support and feedback are given by the pupils' own class- mates (peer leaders).
9 Koshiand and Wittaker (2004)	1 PEACE	<p>The starting points for the PEACE programme are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dance and movement improve the physical control required. - Dancing in a group improves social interactions. - Dancing, body control, and good social interactions ensure that children are able to express their feelings and promote self-control. - Children are taught poems to encourage them to use these techniques. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At a Title I school. - In class, over a period of twelve weeks. - Delivered by a dance therapist. - Aimed particularly at children in poverty situations.
10 Meyer et al. (2004)	1 Get Real about Violence	<p>The authors believe that positive attitudes towards violence and towards norms that are sympathetic to violence are the most important risk factors for violence. Therefore, these risk factors must be tackled in order to prevent violence in young people. In order to conceptualise the combined effect of these risk factors on violence, the authors adopt the theory of reasoned action (TRA). According to TRA, a behavioural intention, which is an intention to perform or not perform certain behaviour, is the best determinant for behaviour. A behavioural intention is a joint function of someone's attitude towards performing the behaviour and subjective norms. The latter means what someone thinks others expect of him/her in terms of behaviour. Attitudes are the result of both behavioural beliefs (what a person thinks will be the consequences of certain behaviour) and outcome evaluation (what someone thinks about the desirability of expected outcomes). Subjective norms, finally, are the result of normative beliefs (what someone thinks that relevant others will think that he or she should do) and the motivation to meet other people's expectations. Therefore, by changing attitudes and subjective</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At school, in class, during normal lessons (social studies class). - By their own teacher. - The programme consists of twelve lessons.

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Context(s)</i>
11 Orpinas et al. (2000)	1	<p>Students for Peace</p> <p>norms on violence, the behavioural intention of young people is said to change, making them less inclined to display violent behaviour. The authors state that although the use of violence or an aggressive response can be an emotional response, the decision not to respond aggressively is cognitive.</p> <p>According to Orpinas et al. (2000), Students for Peace is based on social learning theory and on the supposition that changes must be achieved in multiple areas in order to achieve a reduction in violence: behaviour, contextual factors, and personal factors. Participation in this programme requires a number of basic assumptions, such as the ability to observe and empathise with others. Students for Peace aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change behaviour. - Encourage individuals to assess (the consequences of) other people's behaviour and their own behaviour. - Teach new skills that enable young people to resolve conflicts by non-violent means. - Change context factors (sensitising both the school environment and parents) by creating an environment that supports and promotes a non-violent attitude and non-violent behaviour. - Involve young people in the programme as peer mediators, by preventing other young people from using violent behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - At school, throughout the school. - Delivered by a trained teacher. - Ongoing training. - Low-threshold mediation, by training pupils as "peer helpers" and "peer mediators." Making the referral process a simple one.
12 Shapiro et al. (2002)	1	<p>The Peacemakers Programme</p> <p>The Peacemakers Programme aims to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Change the way pupils think about violence, so that they are no longer willing to act violently and find non-violent behaviour more attractive. - Teach pupils skills enabling them to display non-violent behaviour. - Use a combination of thinking differently and the acquisition of skills to achieve a change in behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Delivered in school, in class (in an existing group, in which members of the group know each other well). - Delivered by the class's own teacher. - The programme consists of seventeen lessons. - The content of the lessons must form part of the whole school culture.

3.2.2 Secondary prevention

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

Only one prevention measure is a secondary person-oriented measure. An overview of the mechanisms and contexts that are assumed to be effective for this programme can be found in Table 5. In contrast to the primary prevention programmes, the secondary person-oriented prevention programme focuses on broader objectives. This implies that the mechanisms in the documents consulted are described at a higher level of aggregation.

Aggregated mechanisms:

Three aggregated mechanisms are identified in the programme:

- Reducing both risk factors and their negative effects on behaviour by promoting protective factors lessens young people's vulnerability to the development of criminal behaviour.
- The risk factors exist at both the micro- and macro-level (the individual, the family, the peer group, the school).
- It is assumed that risk factors have a cumulative effect.

The context of this programme is a broad one. Young people who were selected for participation were primarily from socially disadvantaged districts in inner-city Baltimore, and had been referred to community-based clinics as a result of problem and criminal behaviour.

Table 5 Overview of the secondary person-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
13 Hanlon et al. (2002)	1 Community-based intervention	<p>According to Hanlon et al. (2002), a social developmental model applies for this project. This model consists of aspects of both social learning theory and social control theory. The starting point is that deviant behaviour has been "learned" and is caused by a number of risk factors at the level of the individual, the family, peers, school, and the community. Risk factors are cumulative and reinforce each other.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reducing both the number of risk factors and their negative effect by promoting protective factors lessens young people's vulnerability to deviant behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This is a project aimed at young people. - Given the presence of certain characteristics, there is a danger that these young people will develop a deviant lifestyle. - These are young people from socially disadvantaged areas in inner-city Baltimore. - These youth were referred to community-based clinics. - The intervention is provided on an ambulatory basis.

3.3 *Mechanisms and contexts for context-oriented prevention measures*

3.3.1 *Primary prevention*

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

The three programmes described in Table 6 are regarded as primary context-oriented prevention measures. They relate to the following mechanisms, which are assumed to be effective:

- Camera surveillance acts as a deterrent.
- Camera surveillance discourages offenders, as a result of which criminal behaviour can be avoided.
- Camera surveillance increases visibility and the likelihood of being caught due to its direct link with enforcers (control room).
- Street lighting also increases visibility and the likelihood of being caught.
- Street lighting may have an effect on people's mobility and safety: people are less afraid to use the streets. Street lighting reduces vulnerability (i.e., the chance of becoming a victim of crime).
- Street lighting acts as a deterrent.
- Indirectly, street lighting can make a positive contribution to the appearance and perception of the area in which it is used.
- The enhancement of social competencies in individuals may promote an efficient response to situations. Improved social competencies make it easier to interpret stimuli in the external environment; by evaluating a situation better, an individual can more effectively produce response mechanisms and thus respond appropriately to an unwanted stimulus.

These mechanisms can be subdivided into three main components:

- Camera surveillance acts as a deterrent for offenders and has a protective effect for potential victims.
- Street lighting acts as a deterrent for offenders and can give victims a sense of safety. It can also affect perception of the quality of the environment in question.
- Social competencies may improve decision responses.

These measures have been implemented predominantly in city centres, main streets, and shopping streets in cities and in business areas.

Table 6 Overview of the primary context-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
14 Brown (1995)	1 Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) surveillance	<p>In their routine activities theory, Cohen and Felson (1979) claim that three elements must be present for an offence to be committed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A motivated offender. - A suitable victim. - The absence of a guardian. <p>Brown (1995) argues that the presence of CCTV removes one of the above-mentioned elements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This may be the motivated offender element. For the offender, the risk of being caught is greater and a reason to be less motivated. - The presence of CCTV also ensures that a guardian (the police) will be on the scene earlier and as such, a guardian will no longer be absent. - CCTV also affects the third element, (i.e., a suitable victim). Because of the presence of CCTV, the victim feels more secure, will not appear as vulnerable, and as a result becomes less suitable. <p>Given the lack of evidence, it is unclear which of the three above-mentioned elements is influenced by the presence of CCTV.</p> <p>The presence of cameras is expected to force offenders to modify their behaviour and thus prevents crime.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In streets, in the centre of the city of Birmingham, UK. CCTV was also used in the business district. The city centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. The centre and the business area of King's Lynn (a smaller place). - The camera area consists primarily of main streets, shopping streets, and partially open market areas.
14 Sivara-jasingam, Shepherd, and Matthews (2003)	1 Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) surveillance	<p>In this programme too, the presence of CCTV removes one of the three elements that must be present for an offence to be committed, according to the routine activities theory: a motivated offender, a suitable victim, and the absence of a guardian.</p> <p>The expectation was that incidents were less likely to escalate out of control and were less likely to end in injury due to police officers' fast arrival at the scene.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The programme was implemented in five towns/cities in England (Ashford, Eastbourne, Lincoln, Newport, and Peterborough). - In these towns/cities, cameras were installed in order to reduce crime.

No.	Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Contexts
15	Painter and Farrington (1997)	2	<p>Street lighting</p> <p>Painter and Farrington (1997, 2001) cite two approaches: the situational approach and the approach involving social control and cohesion in the community. The situational approach states that crime can be prevented by making changes in the area that directly influence potential offenders' perception in terms of increased risks and reduced possibilities. Improved street lighting results in an increased chance of being seen and thus there is also a greater chance of being recognised, a greater chance that the police will be alerted, a greater chance of being caught in the act and of actually being caught after committing a crime.</p> <p>Improved street lighting would mean that</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People would use the streets more. - The number of people on the streets would increase. - The deterrent effect would be greater. <p>More people means a greater chance of being caught, more natural surveillance, and more informal social control.</p> <p>Finally, improved street lighting can improve the appearance of an area; an investment is made in the area that can result in a more positive attitude towards the area among residents, as a result of which cohesion increases and so does social control. According to the authors, if this mechanism works, crimes committed during the evening hours and at night ought to decrease, as well as crime committed during the daytime. In conjunction with a more positive attitude about the area among residents, a better reputation may also act as a deterrent for offenders. In an improved area, social control is often better and thus there is a greater likelihood of criminals being caught. Improved street lighting can also prevent nuisance and the escalation of minor incidents.</p> <p>The study conducted in 2001 concerns the evaluation of the same project that was evaluated by Painter and Farrington in 1997. In the 2001 study, other informants were used to measure the effects (self-report by young people, whereas interview results were discussed with residents in the 1997 publication).</p>	<p>Due to their layout and the type of home in question, the areas in the study lend themselves to natural surveillance. The authors refer to this as a characteristic that may be important for the successful implementation of improved street lighting.</p>

No. Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Contexts
16 Yeater et al. (2004)	1 Dating 101	<p>This programme involves a self-help book. Yeater et al. (2004) state that this book is based on an information-processing model of social competency (McFall, 1982). According to this model, three types of consecutively used skills are important when responding to a task in a social setting. The first are decoding skills, which enable individuals to accurately receive, perceive, and interpret stimuli from the environment. The second are decision skills. Using these skills, an individual can think of different ways to respond to a task. The third concerns enactment: an effective response to the task. According to the authors, the self-help book is split up into three segments. The first two focus on decoding skills that provide information on rape myths, misconceptions about sexual violence, the identification of high-risk behaviour, and high-risk situations.</p> <p>The claim is that the content of the first two segments of the book would make it easier for women to interpret and decode situations. The third segment focuses on decision skills and enactment skills designed to reduce the risk of becoming a victim.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-help book. - Voluntary "utilisation" of the programme. - Relies very much on an individual's own responsibility, her estimation of her risk of becoming a victim, and her estimation of the book's usefulness in terms of the reduction of this risk. - Assumes that participants will have reading skills (although the book is written for students and language use is at primary school level). - Focuses on potential victims.

3.3.2 Secondary prevention

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

More than half of the twelve secondary context-oriented prevention programmes are vague in their description of potentially effective mechanisms and limit themselves, among other things, to the use of generic concepts, such as situational measures, physical and social changes, and specific protection, without specifically looking at the nature of the mechanism they assume is effective (Table 7). The prevention programmes in this section focus largely on individuals, districts and companies, or public events. A three-part categorisation is used to describe the mechanisms, which relate to individuals, neighbourhood/community, and companies.

Mechanisms relating to individuals are:

- Increasing knowledge about violence.
- Improving attitudes in order to facilitate an effective response to a violent situation.
- Strict enforcement of compulsory school attendance, thus reducing the opportunity for young people to commit acts of violence.
- Introducing and enforcing an evening curfew, thus removing the opportunity to commit acts of violence.
- Involving a community's inhabitants in social control and surveillance activities, with the object of increasing community solidarity.
- Strengthening social bonds between parents and school.

The mechanisms cited in the framework of neighbourhood/community prevention are:

- Surveillance and social control, with the assumption that both measures have a deterrent effect.
- Changing the perception of social norms held by friends in order to reduce the occurrence of acts of violence.
- Strengthening social bonds with parents and school to benefit community cohesion.
- Achieving a change in the way police officers view visitors to a large public event, making it possible to reduce stress and aggression in both citizens and those responsible for maintaining order.
- Getting the police involved in neighbourhoods.
- Carrying out targeted enforcement, with more police deployment in areas where the level of nuisance is great.

Mechanisms that relate to companies are:

- Camera surveillance and the monitoring of individuals entering and leaving the building.
- Improving lighting.
- Removing or limiting the availability of valuables.
- Providing for security measures for banks (not specified in detail).

The contexts in which these prevention measures are carried out are diverse and relate to young people, parents, the school environment, and the community. The community measures relate to districts and cities with a high incidence of violence. Other measures are used to increase security within companies, post offices, and bars. In addition, bank and bar staff are trained in prevention of violence and its escalation.

Table 7 Overview of the secondary context-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No.</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
17	Braga et al. (1999)	1	Problem-oriented policing programme By looking at problems specifically per location and by applying specific interventions, the problems in these areas were resolved. The mechanisms used were based on the rational choice theory and the routine activities theory. The interventions were targeted at twelve locations. A large number of measures were put in place, depending on the specific characteristics of the locations in question. In ten locations, situational measures were taken in order to change the characteristics of these locations. In addition, extra surveillance was introduced in virtually every location.	Collaboration between the police and contacts in the community.
18	Ekblom (1987) Ekblom (1988)	2	Post office security initiative Both publications describe the same evaluation. The 1988 publication is a synthesis of the 1987 publication. According to the author, the training of postmasters at post offices is intended to achieve social changes in the immediate environment. Neither of the publications explains what this training entails. Physical and social changes in the immediate environment of vulnerable targets will make the opportunity for offences less attractive. The risks for offenders will also increase. There will be fewer opportunities for robberies, and thus the chance of a robbery will be reduced.	Post offices.
19	Grandjean (1990)	1	Preventing bank robberies Risks for bank staff are reduced through the increase in physical security measures. The introduction of more security ensures that the likelihood of a bank robbery's success decreases. As a result, (potential) offenders will be less inclined to rob banks.	Banks in Switzerland.
20	Fagan (1987)	1	Violent juvenile offender programme Fagan (1987) states that the programme is based on social control theory. The strength of the bonds to parents, school, friends, and the community determines whether a young person will become involved in criminal activities.	The programme is implemented in schools, with parents, and in the community.

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
21 Fritsch, Caeti, and Taylor (1999)	1 Dallas anti-gang initiative	<p>Fagan also states that the programme is based on the social learning concept. The social norms held by friends and the community may influence the delinquent behaviour of young people. Social control may prevent delinquency. For the programme evaluated, social control and the social learning concept were combined into a social development model. This model predicts delinquent behaviour, shows how it can be influenced by certain factors, and demonstrates how it can change.</p> <p>Social bonds between young people and schools, parents, and the community should be promoted, but increasing social cohesion in the community is one of the objects of the intervention as well. The improvement of both social bonds and social cohesion should increase the formal and informal social control exercised by school, parents, and community, thus also increasing the level of risk involved for individuals committing offences.</p> <p>It could be argued that the opportunity to commit offences also decreases when more social control is exercised in a community. In addition, more (and better) relationships with schools, parents, and the community could also have an immediate beneficial effect on young people.</p>	
		<p>The exact nature of the programme is unclear from the publication.</p> <p>The authors focus chiefly on what is known about the effectiveness of the strategies deployed, but barely discuss what they believe are the working mechanisms underlying these strategies. They limit themselves solely to general observations, (i.e., that suppression is involved as a mechanism). To be more specific, different mechanisms are involved: the strict enforcement of an evening curfew ensures that (younger) gang members cannot be involved in violent acts at certain hours of the day because they cannot leave their homes without adult supervision.</p> <p>At other times of the day, (younger) gang members are also prevented from becoming involved in offences by means of enforced school attendance.</p> <p>According to the authors, non-specific surveillance is intended to ensure the increased likelihood of being caught and the increased likelihood of detection, resulting in a deterrent effect.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Districts with a high level of gang violence. - Extra police deployment.

No. Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Contexts
22 Graham et al. (2004)	1	Safer Bars programme	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Large bars in which aggressive incidents are not the exception in a large Canadian city. - Bar staff were trained.
23 Markus (2000)	1	Omgaan met agressie en bedreigende situaties [Responding to aggression and threatening situations]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make bar owners aware of risks. - Offer ways to reduce risks. - Teach bar staff skills to prevent and control conflicts. Increase bar staff's knowledge about violence and change the attitudes of bar staff towards violence. <p>As experience is gained with the stressor, there will be less unpredictability. As individuals are gradually exposed to the stressor, they do not develop all-or-nothing defence mechanisms (such as dissociation), but recognise the need for active coping at an early stage in the stress process. The object is to achieve an awareness of the situation and for individuals to learn how best to respond.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bank staff are taught how to respond to aggressive customers. - Staff are trained in small groups. - Groups consist of colleagues. - Dutch intervention.
24 Peek-Asa et al. (2004)	1	The Workplace Violence Prevention Programme	<p>Peek-Asa et al. (2004) only refer to crime prevention through environmental design. No explicit reference is made to any underlying mechanisms. The object is to increase the cost for offenders (risks) while reducing the benefits of crime. The effort that an offender has to make and the risks that he faces should no longer weigh up against the benefits of his crime. To be more specific:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing the likelihood that offenders will be recognised through the use of improved lighting and visibility in buildings. - Warning potential offenders that security measures have been taken by means of stickers, and other warning devices. - Limiting availability of valuables and reducing the actual value present by means of "safe management" and cash-handling procedures. - Limiting opportunity by means of entry controls. - Increasing the chance of being caught by training staff, who will then be more alert to possible offenders and, be able to give a better description of them. <p>Participation in the programme is voluntary. Implementation of the recommendations from the Action Plan is also voluntary.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Apart from the time involved in the assessment and the discussion of the Action Plan, this programme requires little investment from participants. - Investments only become necessary when recommendations are adopted.

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
25 Popkin et al. (1999)	1	Anti-Drug Initiative	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Voluntary in nature, the programme offers extensive advice on reducing the likelihood of becoming the victim of a raid or robbery. - Small companies at increased risk of a robbery or raid are eligible for participation.
		<p>Different strategies are utilised. According to the authors, each of these strategies makes a different contribution to the prevention of violence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environmental design: the environment is designed with defensible space so that people have a good overview of the different public areas and regard them as a sort of private territory; the spaces are also designed in a way to ensure that unauthorised individuals are kept out. However, the authors observe that a design of this nature alone will probably be unable to prevent violence and that the inhabitants of areas at which the ADI is aimed are actually the same individuals who are responsible for crime and nuisance situations. Thus, the possibility of keeping out individuals who are not authorised does not apply here. - Situational prevention: measures that limit the opportunity to commit offences in certain locations. The examples given by the authors are camera surveillance, monitoring individuals entering a building, and closing off entrances for anyone other than inhabitants and security staff. An approach of this nature may be effective but brings with it the risk of displacement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The initiative lies with the housing corporation. - They undertake action in their own residential complexes. - Interventions are made in general areas, but there are also initiatives targeting individual tenants. - Very bad areas with a high level of crime and high levels of vacancy are targeted.

No. Authors	Number Programmes of Studies	Mechanisms	Contexts
26	Tweede Kamer der Staten Generaal (2004)	1 Agreements on nightlife violence	Municipalities
27	Veno and Veno (1993)	1 Prevention at the Motor Grand Prix	Municipalities
		<p>- Enforcement strategies: according to the authors, targeted enforcement (hot spots policing) reduces crime. However, they state that action targeting drug dealers is not very effective and is usually exactly what is done in the type of residential complexes applicable in this study. The authors do not say why this is the case. They claim that specific police deployment does work in nuisance situations, making the community more attractive and giving people an increased sense of safety. The authors believe that this could benefit social control.</p> <p>- The involvement of residents in prevention: surveillance by community residents, increased social control, and the enforcement of social norms by a community's residents as a result.</p> <p>- Public-private collaboration. According to the authors, this is not as effective in public housing: community residents do not trust the police (and vice versa) and are too frightened to participate. Nevertheless, this has been tried in a number of flat buildings. It must be observed here that these were apartment buildings in which residents were already well organised.</p>	<p>- Organisation of a large-scale event in which irregularities (violence against the police) have occurred regularly in the past</p>
		<p>Violence can be reduced through efficient collaboration with the municipal parties involved. Each municipality was required to enter into a covenant. The content of the covenants varied from one municipality to another. The publication indicates a number of components that recurred in each of the various covenants.</p>	
		<p>According to the authors, a different approach by the police would provoke less aggression. An aggressive and/or repressive approach by the police results in frustration among visitors.</p> <p>A different police approach would also reduce stress and frustration among police officers, making them less inclined to wrongly anticipate violence and to initiate tough action against visitors.</p> <p>Organisers and visitors themselves taking some of the responsibility for how the event progresses will contribute to the reduction of violence (they become shared owners of the problem). The facilities at the camp site would be subject to less vandalism if there were enough of them and they were in working order.</p>	

<i>No. Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of Studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
28	1 Hyde Park crime prevention effort	<p>According to the authors, sensationalist reporting in the media attracts people intent on provoking a riot. This sort of visitor would stay away if the media were prevented from making exaggerated reports on the event. The attraction of a broader public (including families) was seen as a way of achieving a partial reduction in the conflict between bikers and the police. In the discussion, the authors state: "... it was reasoned that if the police were favourably regarded, then violence involving the police was less likely to occur."</p> <p>According to the author, the tackling of both background and foreground causes reduces crime. He does not specifically discuss the mechanisms that he claims underlie the interventions, nor does he discuss the exact activities undertaken in the framework of the Friedens Haus.</p> <p>According to the author, the effect achieved from the use of mobile surveillance was the result of a combination of increased alertness among inhabitants, increased solidarity among residents, and increased involvement of the police in the district (as a result of collaboration in the framework of mobile surveillance).</p>	<p>- Good collaboration among the police, the organisers, and other parties involved was regarded as a condition for the successful prevention of violence.</p> <p>St. Louis (Missouri) was regarded as one of the ten large cities in America with the highest level of crime (in about 1994).</p>

3.4 Mechanisms and contexts for person- and context-oriented prevention measures

3.4.1 Primary prevention

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

An overview of the mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective in the five primary person- and context-oriented prevention programmes are found in Table 8. The mechanisms below are assumed to be effective in these programmes:

- Efforts are made to change norms pertaining to violence.
- It is assumed that gender stereotyping can promote violence. Efforts are being made to change expectations in terms of gender roles.
- By improving conflict management skills, violence may decrease as young people learn to display different behaviour.
- Improved social interaction may reduce or prevent violence.
- The social developmental model is also used. Strengthening bonds to family, school, and neighbourhood is said to help prevent crime, and could improve the learning process in terms of social interaction.
- Finally, the importance of safe infrastructural facilities is cited as a way of preventing violence.

The contexts in which these measures are carried out are the school, the family, and the community. They provide for training for young people, parents, and teachers. It is important to note that one programme provides training for boys and girls separately.

Table 8 Overview of primary person- and context-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-)public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No. authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
29 Foshee (1998)	4 Safe Dates	In Foshee et al. (1996), the authors state that dating violence can be prevented by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changing norms pertaining to violence against partners. - Reducing gender stereotyping. - Improving conflict management skills. 	- At school, in pupils' own classes (lesson programme and poster competition).
Foshee et al. (1998)		- Improving conflict management skills.	- The programme is provided by pupils' own subject teachers.
Foshee et al. (2000)		By influencing what young people feel is acceptable behaviour and what they feel is normal for boys and for girls (gender role expectations), Safe Date hopes to reverse young people's willingness to use or accept violence.	- Play at school for all of the school's pupils simultaneously.
Foshee et al. (2004)		By teaching young people skills enabling them to display different behaviour, Safe Date expects that they should also become able to convert the willingness to display different behaviour into action. A combination of attitudes, motivation, and capacity.	
30 Hawkins et al. (1999)	1 Seattle Social Development Project	This intervention is based on the social developmental model. The authors believe that strong bonds to school should work to prevent crime. Attachment and commitment are important components of social bonds. When individuals in social groups maintain strong mutual bonds and when these groups set clear norms for behaviour, behaviour that contravenes these norms will decrease. By training teachers to strengthen children's bonds to school; training parents to strengthen children's social bonds with their family, relatives, and school; and training children to take part in social interactions, a change in behaviour can be achieved at school. The authors believe that children would gain a more positive attitude towards school, and their behaviour and performance at school would improve as a result. The authors believe that these changes would have a positive influence on children's development.	This intervention targets children at state primary schools in areas with high levels of crime. Teachers, pupils, and parents are trained.

<i>No. authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
31 Mooij (2001)	1	<p>Campagne De Veilige School [The safe school campaign]</p> <p>The campaign is based on three pillars:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The creation of social bonds: learning to interact socially. - The planned and expert handling of calamities. - The provision of safe facilities in buildings/immediate environment, and the safe use of these facilities. <p>No mention is made of the mechanisms involved in this programme. Based on this publication, it is virtually impossible to ascertain its content. m.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This is a school-based campaign. - The implementation and content of the campaign is largely left to the schools themselves.
32 Van der Vegt et al. (2001)	1	<p>Marieje Kessels project</p> <p>Efforts are made to prevent criminal behaviour in young people by teaching them new or different behaviour, such as a respectful attitude towards others and the avoidance of victim behaviour.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lessons at primary school. - Boys and girls separately. - The programme also relies on the repetition of exercises.
33 Twemlow et al. (2001)	1	<p>Social systems/ psychodynamic anti-violence intervention</p> <p>According to the authors, the effectiveness of this programme is increased by ensuring that it does not result in any stigmatisation (the offender is the "baddy"). The children guide each other in the programme. The sense of being part of a group is used to take effective steps against violence.</p>	<p>Lessons in primary school and also outside lessons (alertness during lunch breaks, etc.).</p>

3.4.2 *Secondary prevention*

Mechanisms and contexts assumed to be effective

Table 9 describes three programmes that are regarded as secondary person- and context-oriented prevention measures. Manifest mechanisms are only indicated in the study conducted by Tremblay and colleagues (1991). For this reason, a distinction will be made between aggregated mechanisms and manifest mechanisms.

Aggregated mechanisms:

Two of the three studies indicate four aggregated mechanisms:

- Reducing risk factors and their negative effects on behaviour by promoting protective factors, thus reducing young people's vulnerability to criminal behaviour.
- The targeted elimination of risk factors (such as drug abuse), providing family services, organising after-school activities and education.
- Case management.
- Increasing the level of enforcement and proper coordination by the judicial authorities.

Manifest mechanisms:

The study by Tremblay and associates (1991) indicates three manifestly defined mechanisms:

- Learning social skills.
- Learning self-control.
- Training parents to perform their parental role effectively (punishing efficiently, rewarding, using problem solving skills, improving parent-child interaction).

The three studies relate to a number of contexts at the micro- and macro-level. The interventions and training courses are offered to young people (at school and at home), parents (chiefly in the home situation), and the communities in which these families live. The studies focus primarily on young people from deprived and socially disadvantaged districts who are growing up in vulnerable families. Law enforcement officials are also involved in one of these programmes (the police and the judicial authorities).

Table 9 Overview of secondary person- and context-oriented programmes for the prevention/reduction of violence in the (semi-) public domain by author, number of studies, programmes, mechanisms, and contexts

<i>No.</i>	<i>Authors</i>	<i>Number Programmes of studies</i>	<i>Mechanisms</i>	<i>Contexts</i>
34	Wolfe et al. (2003)	1	Youth Relationship Project The more young people take part in this programme, the more they learn and benefit from it. In this programme, young people learn through repetition and the close examination of relationship structures.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eighteen lessons, each lasting two hours, for young people referred to the Child Protection Services. - Community-based intervention.
35	Harrell, Cavanagh, and Sidharan (1999)	1	Children at Risk (CAR) CAR is a very broad intervention. The idea behind CAR is that if risk factors are eliminated, drug use and delinquency will be prevented. This intervention consists of case management, family services, after-school activities, activities during the summer holidays, a range of courses, a mentor programme, intensified enforcement, a heavier police presence in the community, and coordination with the judicial authorities. By adopting a problem-oriented approach in the targeted domains, violence will decrease. Specific problems must be tackled, so according to the programme, the use of case managers for the resolution of family problems, an after-school activity designed to keep young people off the streets, or a course to help them finish their school education is the way to achieve a solution/progress. The publication does not provide any information on which specific activities are undertaken with young people.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Community-based intervention in different contexts (school, community, family). - Police and the judicial authorities.
36	Tremblay et al. (1991)	1	Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study This programme consists of intervention aimed at children and parents. - Teaching certain skills (social skills and self-control) and using role-play so that children learn to respond differently to certain situations through repetition and practice. - Training parents in the reinforcement of positive behaviour, effective punishment, the resolution of family crises, the improvement of parent-child interaction. - The ability to assess television images realistically.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Two-year intervention. - Provided by university-educated youth workers. - Training for parents and children (at school).

3.5 Findings

In this chapter, 48 studies of the effects of measures for the prevention and reduction of violence in the (semi-)public sector were described in terms of the mechanisms and contexts in which they are expected to be effective. Of these 48 studies, nineteen related to prevention measures that focused specifically on the behaviour of potential offenders. Eighteen concerned measures focused on influencing the context (the local area, street lighting, etc.). Another eleven concerned measures focused on both potential offenders and the applicable context.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these evaluation studies. First, the publications almost never referred to a comprehensive programme theory as the basis for the interventions studied. Second, a large number of publications (see Tables 4 to 9 inclusive) lacked a full description of the relevant effective components, or no description at all of mechanisms assumed to result in change processes. As a result, it is impossible to reconstruct programme theories on the basis of the publications studied. In the context of a research synthesis or systematic review it is important to present a proper description of the mechanisms that are presumed to underlie behavioural change. The circumstances we encountered limit the ability to form well-founded conclusions on the effectiveness of an intervention (see also chapter 4). It can also be concluded that the description of the contexts is very brief in most studies.

Third, whereas an intervention may focus on the improvement of positive behaviour and the reduction of unwanted behaviour, most prevention measures in this study aim only to reduce or prevent unwanted behaviour. It is striking that only a few programmes aim to strengthen or promote positive behaviour while effecting a decrease in negative behaviour (violence).

Finally, none of the 48 interventions studied provide information on the way behavioural change is achieved over time. In a successful intervention, a role will be played not only by effective mechanisms and contexts, but also by an understanding of the unwanted behaviour in question. Essential to this understanding is knowing what is wrong, estimating the costs and benefits of either changing the behaviour or leaving it unchanged, and insights into the perception of social norms. The intention to change behaviour, the acceptance of responsibility, and the possibility of opting for alternative behaviour influence the process of behavioural change.

4 Effects of prevention

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the effects of the prevention measures that were assessed in the evaluation studies that form part of this account. Based on the criteria outlined in chapter 2, this chapter rates prevention measures as effective, potentially effective, potentially ineffective, or ineffective. If a number of good-quality studies report positive effects on violence, a measure is classed as effective. This also applies if one or more (reasonably) good-quality studies report positive effects and this conclusion is confirmed in meta-analyses or review studies conducted by other authors. If one or more (reasonably) good-quality studies report positive effects on violence, but substantiation of these findings in other review studies or meta-analyses is not available or not sufficiently unambiguous, a measure is classed as potentially effective. Appendix 4 contains a more comprehensive description of effective and potentially effective prevention measures. The same criteria are used to classify a measure as ineffective or potentially ineffective, on the understanding that either no effects or negative effects of the measure are reported.

It was impossible to classify all studies into one of the four categories on the basis of the criteria used. If the design of a study is of insufficiently good quality to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of a measure and no further information from meta-analyses or review studies by other authors was available, the measure was not included in any of the categories, nor were conclusions drawn on the basis of studies with conflicting results. The impossibility of making judgments about the effectiveness of a measure does not necessarily mean that the measure might not be effective. Further (good quality) research would have to determine this. The next chapter will look more closely at what conclusions may be drawn, on the basis of the sub-studies involved in this study, about what is or may be effective in the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain.

4.2 Primary person-oriented prevention

This section discusses the effects of the primary person-oriented prevention measures. Table 10 provides an overview of the main characteristics of the evaluation studies of the effects of these measures.

Measure 1: Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum

The Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum programme is based on the concept that learned (violent) behaviour used in the resolution of conflict can be changed into socially acceptable behaviour by teaching children the relevant skills. The objective is to

teach children to resolve conflicts by means of non-violent behaviour, thus reducing violent crime. The programme is intended for children in the first year of high school (6th grade). On the basis of a quasi-experimental study, DuRant, Barkin, and Krowchuk (2001) report a positive effect on self-reported violent behaviour ($F = 4.8$; $p = .029$) and on the child's ability to predict his/her own violent behaviour ($F = 9.9$; $p = .002$) two weeks after the end of the course. Because no support of the positive results reported by DuRant and colleagues can be found in other sources, the Peaceful Conflict Resolution programme is classed as potentially effective. However, the follow-up period is very short, so further study of the duration of the observed effects is necessary.

The Peaceful Conflict Resolution programme is potentially effective in the prevention of violence.

Measures 2 and 3: Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents and Conflict Resolution

In their 1996 study, DuRant and associates compared two programmes for the prevention of violence, namely the Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents and the Conflict Resolution programme. The first aims to teach students positive ways to deal with anger and conflict. The objective is to make them aware of how conflicts start and escalate, and to show them the choices they have in conflict situations other than fighting. The second programme aims to teach young people how to define a conflict and deals with three basic methods of conflict resolution, after which the effectiveness of each method is highlighted.

DuRant and colleagues evaluated both programmes by implementing them alongside each other: one school taught the Violence Prevention Curriculum and the other school the Conflict Resolution programme. Both schools were junior high schools or middle schools in areas with a relatively high number of students from public housing neighbourhoods. Among the participants in the Violence Prevention Curriculum the use of violence was reduced significantly ($p < .001$). They also fought less than at the time of the pretest ($p \leq .001$). Among the students following the Conflict Resolution programme the researchers also noticed a significant reduction in the use of violence ($p < .001$) and in the frequency of fights ($p \leq .001$).

The DuRant group (1996) concluded that both programmes showed positive effects, but that the Conflict Resolution programme appeared somewhat more effective in reducing the number of fights than the Violence Prevention Curriculum. Based on this study, DuRant and his colleagues combined components from both programmes into a new programme, the Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention

Curriculum (see earlier in this chapter). However, the design of the study of the individual programmes is of insufficiently good quality to permit conclusions about the effectiveness of both programmes. Gottfredson and colleagues (2002) refer to another evaluation of the Violence Prevention Curriculum (Hausman et al., 1996, cited in Gottfredson), but this does not provide any basis for conclusions about the effectiveness of the programme either.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the Violence Prevention Curriculum for Adolescents and the Conflict Resolution programme.

Measure 4: Gang Resistance Education and Training (G.R.E.A.T.)

The G.R.E.A.T. programme aims to desensitise young people to the attraction of gangs, thus reducing gang violence. The programme is run by a police officer who teaches 11- to 13-year-old students problem-solving skills in class, tells them about the negative aspects of life in a gang, and makes them “culturally sensitive.” In their study of the effects of G.R.E.A.T., Esbensen and colleagues (2001) did not find any indications that the intervention was meeting its objectives. The authors reported that a trend of differences between the treatment group and the control group was becoming greater over time, whereby it became clear that the treatment group did not start doing better than the control group until three years after the intervention. Of the seven behaviour-based outcome measures, the difference between the treatment group and the control group was in the expected direction in six of the cases.

Gottfredson and associates (2002) indicate that there are positive effects on six outcome measures of violence, two of which are significant. However, they do not give the study an SMS score because it cannot be methodologically classified. We share this opinion and do not rate the study on the SMS. Therefore it is not possible to draw conclusions about the effects of this programme.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of G.R.E.A.T.

Measure 5: Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP)

Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP) is a programme for the first three years of the American secondary school system (junior high school or middle school). The emphasis in the first year (6th grade) is on reducing violence, in the second year (7th grade) on learning skills for resolving conflicts with friends, and in the third year (8th grade) on a successful transition to high school.

RIPP was developed for use in the period when there are many changes in the lives of young people: the “sensitive period” immediately after the transition from primary school to secondary school. This transition

is accompanied by a large number of developmental changes, such as puberty, changes in the capacity for empathy, changes in the relationships between boys and girls, and a shift in focus from parents to peers. RIPP supposedly copes with all these changes by responding to them and teaching young people different ways of reacting, offering them attitudes that are less conducive to violence, and teaching them new skills that will allow them to transform their new knowledge and attitudes into less violent behaviour.

RIPP-6 is the oldest component of the RIPP “family.” Farrell and Meyer (1997) studied the effects of a predecessor to this component in schools in a large city with a relatively high number of children from disadvantaged families. They report that the programme reduced the risk of boys becoming involved in violence, but not girls. This effect was observed both halfway through the school year ($F(1,585) = 4.71; p < .05$) and at the end of the school year ($F(1,426) = 6.11; p < .05$). The programme appears to be more effective when it is offered at the start of the school year than when it is offered later in the year ($T(300) = 1.58; p < .10$). Farrell, Meyer, and White (2001) studied the effects of RIPP-6 in the same city and in a group comparable to that of Farrell and Meyer. This study shows that, although there are significant differences between the treatment group and the control group with respect to understanding the programme, at six and twelve months after the intervention no significant differences in violent behaviour were observed between the groups. However, if the level of violence at the pretest was taken into account it was clear that at six ($z = 2.57; p < .05$) and twelve ($z = 2.88; p < .01$) months after the intervention there was an interaction effect between the pretest and the study condition. The RIPP-6 programme proved to have a positive effect on young people who exhibited more violent behaviour prior to the programme, but no effect on young people who exhibited little or no violent behaviour prior to the programme.

Farrell, Meyer, and colleagues (2003) studied the effect of RIPP-7 in addition to RIPP-6. Both their treatment group and their control group had followed the RIPP-6 programme, whereas only the treatment group followed RIPP-7 as well. As in the study conducted by Farrell, Meyer, and White (2001), no significant effects of the intervention were observed in self-reported levels of violence. Neither did the Farrell, Meyer group find a difference between the treatment group and the control group with respect to “disciplinary code violations” for violent behaviour immediately after the completion of RIPP-7. However, one year after the intervention a significant difference between both groups could be observed: twice as many code violations resulting from violent behaviour occurred in the control group compared to the treatment group (rate ratio = 2.1; $p < .05$). This study also showed a significant interaction effect between

the pretest violence and the study condition: young people who reported more violence during the pretest benefited more from the intervention than other young people ($z = 2.2$; $p < .05$). This effect was visible at the 6-month and the 12-month follow-up.

In contrast to the studies by Farrell, Meyer, and White (2001) and Farrell, Meyer, and associates (2003), both of which were conducted in schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in large American cities, Farrell, Valois, and co-workers (2003) studied the effects of RIPP-6 and RIPP-7 in rural schools with a much more varied range of students than the schools in the aforementioned two studies. Nine months after the completion of RIPP-7, the Farrell, Valois group found a small but significant difference between the treatment group and the control group with regard to the frequency of self-reported aggressive behaviour ($d = .17$, $p < .05$). In addition, students from intervention schools scored significantly lower than students from the control group with respect to threatening to use a weapon (odds ratio = 1.4; $p < .01$) and hurting someone during a fight (odds ratio = 1.6; $p < .001$). This study showed no interaction effect between violence in the pretest and the study condition. Irrespective of the prior level of violence, students benefited equally from the programme. When this observation is combined with the fact that significant effects of the intervention were noted as to the self-reported aggression of students, the authors conclude that more evidence of the successful functioning of the programme is found in this study than in the studies in which RIPP was carried out in the schools for which the programme was developed: schools in urban (disadvantaged) neighbourhoods. The authors do note that the young people who could have benefited most from the intervention – those who already exhibited a certain level of aggressive behaviour prior to the intervention – clearly dropped out of the study more often than pupils who do not exhibit aggressive behaviour prior to the intervention. This means that the observed effects of the intervention may be smaller than they actually are. Gottfredson and colleagues (2002) noted that the RIPP programme has positive effects on violence and problem behaviour, but their calculations of the size of the effects are not significant. However, they only included the 1997 Farrell and Meyer study in their meta-study. On the basis of the randomised experiments by Farrell, Meyer, and White (2001) and Farrell, Meyer, and associates (2003) we can conclude that RIPP-6 and RIPP-7 achieve positive effects in schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods among young people who exhibit a certain level of violent behaviour. The quasi-experimental study by Farrell, Valois, and colleagues (2003) appears to indicate that, in other contexts, positive effects are possible for all young people. The effects of RIPP-8 were not investigated in these studies.

RIPP is an effective programme for the prevention of violence.

Measure 6: PeaceBuilders

PeaceBuilders is a school-wide prevention programme that aims to change aggressive behaviour, stimulate social behaviour, and provide strategies that help prevent the reinforcement of negative behaviour. It is used in primary schools and focuses on changing individual behaviour in a social setting. All children and staff members at the school learn five simple rules that ensure that the intervention is easy to learn and sustain, (e.g., praising people and avoiding put-downs). In order to help pupils familiarise themselves with these rules the programme incorporates daily rituals, signals, and symbols. The programme is embedded in the daily processes of the school and is not limited to a set number of lessons. Flannery and colleagues (2003) and Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery (2004) have evaluated the effects of this programme. Both publications are based on the same study, which uses a design with a waiting list group. This means that one year after it was introduced in the intervention schools, PeaceBuilders was also introduced in the control schools.

The study by Flannery and colleagues (2003) focused on whether PeaceBuilders was effective in reducing aggressive behaviour. In the three follow-up measurements they report a significant difference with regard to the aggression teachers observed in the group that was first to participate in this project. These differences are significant for children in grades 3–5 ($t_1 \beta = 0.017, p < .01$; $t_2 \beta = -0.026, p < .001$; $t_3 \beta = -0.019, p < .01$), but not for those in kindergarten and grades 1 and 2. The social competence, based on the intervention, that the teachers observed in the children, however, is greater for the younger children than for the older children. With regard to self-reported aggression, no differences were observed between the children from the treatment group and the children from the waiting list group.

Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery (2004) specifically focused on the extent to which the programme achieves different results in children who have a low, medium, and high risk of exhibiting violent behaviour in the future. Based on the teacher-reported aggressive behaviour and socially competent behaviour in the pretest, children were classified into these three risk categories. The results show that those with a high risk of future violent behaviour benefit most from the intervention: their social competence increased ($d_{\text{boys}} = .36$; $d_{\text{girls}} = .44$) and their aggression decreased ($d_{\text{boys}} = -.13$; $d_{\text{girls}} = -.24$). Children with a medium-to-high risk were more competent after the intervention than before ($d_{\text{boys}} = .34$; $d_{\text{girls}} = .31$), but there was no difference in the level of aggression. Children with a low risk remained as competent as they were at the pretest, but started to exhibit more aggressive behaviour ($d_{\text{boys}} = .31$; $d_{\text{girls}} = .15$). Nonetheless, this increased aggression remained restricted to a level where the children remained in the low risk category.

The study by Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery (2004) did not find any differences for self-reported aggression either. This leads the authors to speculate about whether the effect of the intervention remains limited to the behaviour at school, which can be observed by the teachers, and does not extend beyond the school to behaviour at home and in the street, on which the pupils would be able to self-report. Gottfredson and associates (2002) refer to an earlier evaluation (SMS score 4) of the PeaceBuilders programme (Krug et al., 1997, cited in Gottfredson et al., 2002). This study also shows a positive effect on the reduction of fights in the schools where PeaceBuilders was introduced and, despite the lack of effects on self-reported aggression, we may conclude that this programme is an effective measure for preventing violence because positive effects are achieved in the schools.

PeaceBuilders is an effective programme for the prevention of violence.

Measure 7: Positive Action Programme

The Positive Action Programme is based on the idea that a positive self-concept will contribute to a reduction in violent behaviour. It incorporates a comprehensive curriculum with lessons almost daily and a school-wide programme to improve the atmosphere within a school. There are also aspects aimed at increasing the involvement of families and the neighbourhood, but it is not clear what they consist of and, in the evaluation study that Flay, Allred, and Ordway (2001) carried out into the effects of the programme, these aspects were not considered. This evaluation related to primary school pupils and was carried out in Nevada. Flay, Allred, and Ordway report significant effects with regard to violence among pupils (87% less than in the control schools, $p = .048$) and violence from pupils to staff members (100% less than in the control schools, $p = .022$). There are also fewer violent incidents at school (86%, $p = .028$) and fewer violent incidents per 1000 pupils (85%, $p = .013$). However, because of the lack of a pretest we cannot draw conclusions from these results about the effectiveness of the Positive Action Programme.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the Positive Action Programme.

Measure 8: Second Step

Second Step is a popular American school programme for the prevention of violence. There are versions for children from kindergarten through 9th grade in the American school system. The basis of the programme is the same in every version. The training is expected to promote empathy on the one hand and reduce impulsivity on the other. In addition, young people are taught about violence, about alternatives to violence, and new problem-solving skills. Four evaluations of Second Step were involved

in this study, two of which evaluated a Second Step version for primary school pupils (Grossman et al., 1997; Riese, 2004) and two of which evaluated a version for students in secondary education (McMahon & Washburn, 2003; Orpinas et al., 1995).

In their study among pupils in the 2nd and 3rd grades of primary education (where the average age is 8) Grossman and colleagues (1997) used multiple informants. Teachers and parents completed questionnaires about the behaviour of the children and trained researchers observed them in the classroom, the playground, and the canteen. Based on the information provided by teachers and parents, no differences were observed between the treatment group and the control group with respect to social competence and aggressive behaviour. There were no significant differences between the treatment group and the control group with respect to physically negative and generally negative behaviour in class. However, two weeks after the intervention, significant differences emerged in physically negative behaviour between the treatment group and the control group in the playground and the canteen (-1.11 incidences per hour, $p = .03$). Combined observations (classroom, playground, and canteen) showed a significant difference in physically negative behaviour (-0.46 incidences per hour, $p = .03$). However, six months after the pupils had completed the intervention, no further significant differences were reported, apart from a difference in physical aggression in the classroom; this was significantly lower for the treatment group than for the control group ($p = .03$). Gorman (2002) discusses the study by Grossman and co-workers and states that, because only one of the twenty assessed differences is significant, these results are fairly weak. This is confirmed by the non-significant effect size of -.02 that Gottfredson and colleagues (2002) calculated on the basis of the Grossman study.

Riese (2004) studied the effects of the Second Step programme among primary school pupils in 3rd to 5th grade. Two weeks after the intervention, teachers in Riese's study reported significantly less aggressive behaviour on the part of the pupils in 5th grade only ($F(1,98) = 9.8$; $p = .002$). Pupils from grades 3 and 4 who followed the programme did not exhibit behaviour that was any more or less aggressive than that of the pupils from the control group ($F(1,142) = 0.01$; $p = .84$ and $F(1,129) = 2.9$; $p = .09$, respectively). With regard to antisocial behaviour, only the difference between 5th grade pupils from the intervention and control groups was significant ($F(1,98) = 19.6$; $p < .001$), but not differences among grades 3 and 4 pupils ($F(1,142) = 1.08$; $p = .30$ and $F(1,129) = 0.44$; $p = .51$ respectively). In addition to this teacher data, Riese attempted to examine official figures on the number of suspensions and the extent to which violent behaviour was their cause. However, the number of suspensions was too small to draw conclusions about the effect of the programme.

In the study by Orpinas and colleagues (1995), Second Step for children in 6th grade (average age is 11½) is evaluated. In addition, the Peer Leaders programme is implemented in a number of intervention classes to assess whether this combination provides any added value. The results of the study show that, one week after the intervention, boys from both treatment groups exhibited less aggressive behaviour than boys from the control group. However, these differences were not significant; no significant differences in aggressive behaviour were found at the three-month follow-up either. Even the addition of Peer Leaders, a programme that aims to change social standards with respect to violence by means of “class leaders,” on the assumption that the support from environment and friends is fundamental to changes in the behaviour of adolescents, did not produce the desired effects. Gottfredson and colleagues (2002) discuss the study in their overview, but were unable to calculate an effect size.

Finally, this review looks at the study by McMahon and Washburn (2003) into the effects of Second Step in two different schools for secondary education (junior high school, students aged 11–14) in violent inner-city neighbourhoods with many students from poor families. They concluded that the programme did not reduce aggressive behaviour. Because the quality of the study design is insufficiently good, it is unfortunately impossible to draw conclusions on the basis of these results. McMahon and Washburn (2003) note that although the programme is extremely popular in American schools, little is known about its effects.

The aforementioned studies into the effects of the Second Step programme were performed in different contexts and used varying designs. The three studies that at least used a pretest and a posttest in a treatment group and a control group (Grossman et al., 1997; Orpinas et al., 1995; Riese, 2004) report negligible or no differences between the groups. On the basis of these results, but failing substantiation from meta-analyses or review studies by other authors, the conclusion that Second Step is potentially ineffective appears justified.

Second Step is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence.

Measure 9: PEACE

The PEACE programme combines dance and movement exercises with stories and discussions in the classroom. It is aimed at socialisation, self-control, and dealing with disruptive behaviour, and focuses on three skill areas: self-control, emotion regulation, and problem solving. In their study among children in the 6–9 age group, Koshland and Wittaker (2004) evaluated the effects of the programme. Although teachers and an observer noticed a reduction in aggressive behaviour among the children after the dance therapy ($\chi^2(1,53) = 26.55; p < .001$), the design of the

study is of insufficiently good quality for drawing conclusions about the effectiveness of the programme.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the PEACE programme.

Measure 10: Get Real about Violence

Meyer and associates (2004) evaluated the Get Real about Violence programme, which was developed for young people in the 7th grade of the American school system (average age 13) and whose objective is to reduce verbal and physical aggression and the behaviour that provokes or escalates it. The programme consists of twelve lessons that can be divided into three themes: vulnerability to violence, contributors to violence, and alternatives to violence.

After the conclusion of the intervention, no significant differences emerged between the treatment group and the control group with respect to aggressive behaviour (fighting). Although the authors state that the programme mainly influenced the behaviour-based intentions of young people, there appear to be no indications that the intervention is successful in reducing physical violence among young people. Because no substantiation of the results of Meyer and colleagues (2004) can be found in other literature, the most we can conclude is that Get Real about Violence is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence.

The Get Real about Violence programme is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence.

Measure 11: Students for Peace

Further substantiation of the conclusion that Second Step is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence is supplied by the study carried out by Orpinas and associates (2000). In addition to Second Step this study used several other intervention methods in the selected schools (middle schools in a large urban school district in Texas). The first of these methods was a School Health Promotion Council that coordinated the different intervention aspects. In addition, some fifty to sixty students in the intervention schools were trained as "Peer Mediators," to promote non-violent norms among their fellow students and to suggest alternative ways of resolving conflicts. Finally, attempts were made to involve parents in the school's efforts by keeping them informed through newsletters in order to encourage them to supervise their children more closely and to be less accepting of aggressive behaviour.

Orpinas and associates (2000) did not observe any differences between the treatment group and the control group. Even when the level of implementation of the programme was taken into account there were

no differences. The authors therefore concluded that it is better to offer programmes for the prevention of violence in primary schools than in secondary schools. Because no substantiation of the results of the Orpinas study could be found in other literature we can only conclude that Students for Peace is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence.

The Students for Peace programme is potentially ineffective in the prevention of violence.

Measure 12: The Peacemakers Programme

The initial lessons in this programme are aimed at changing the attitude of young people towards violence: attempting to make non-violence more appealing and motivating young people to learn specific skills that are offered in subsequent lessons. The focal point in these initial lessons is the Golden Rule that says “treat others as you want others to treat you.” Shapiro and colleagues (2002) studied the effects of this programme among students ranging in age from 9 to 14. The treatment group reported significantly less aggressive behaviour than the control group ($F(1,1,568) = 7.97; p < .005$). Their teachers also reported significantly less aggressive behaviour for the treatment group than for the control group ($F(1,1,584) = 22.10; p < .0001$) and significantly fewer aggression-related incidents for the treatment group than for the control group ($F(1,1,543) = 14.80; p < .0001$). The intervention proved to be more effective for boys than for girls ($F(4,572) = 7.22; p < .01$) and age also showed an important interaction effect with the study condition ($F(4,572) = 27.18; p < .0001$). The authors state that their results indicate that the programme is more effective for boys and older students.

Gottfredson and associates (2002) refer to another study that shows that the programme has a significant effect on suspension for violent behaviour and on four outcome measures for aggression. However, the Gottfredson group was unable to calculate an effect size. For this reason, and because the effects of the programme in this study are measured immediately after completion of the programme and longer-term results are unavailable, we conclude that the Peacemakers Programme is potentially effective.

The Peacemakers Programme is potentially effective in the prevention of violence.

Table 10 Primary person-oriented prevention

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
1. <i>Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum</i> DuRant, Barkin, & Krowchuk (2001)	Pretest and posttest, intervention school and control school, statistical control.	4	704 students in total	Positive effect on the reporting and predicting of violent behaviour after two weeks.
2. <i>Violence Prevention Curriculum</i> DuRant et al. (1996)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group.	2	Treatment group: n = 151	Significant decrease in the use of violence and the frequency of fights.
3. <i>Conflict Resolution</i> DuRant et al. (1996)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group.	2	Treatment group: n = 74	Significant decrease in the use of violence and the frequency of fights.
4. <i>G.R.E.A.T.</i> Esbensen et al. (2001)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group and control group.	-	Unknown	Positive effects on six outcome measures of violence, two of which are significant.
5. <i>RIPP</i> Farrell & Meyer (1997)	Pretest and posttest, intervention school and control school.	4	Treatment group: n = 221; Control group: n = 231	Violence among boys is reduced, but not among girls.
5. <i>RIPP</i> Farrell, Meyer, & White (2001)	Random assignment of classrooms to treatment and control groups. Pretest, posttest, and several follow-up assessments.	5	Treatment group: n = 13 classrooms (305 students) Control group: n = 14 classrooms (321 students)	No main effects of the intervention on violent behaviour. Positive effect on the behaviour of young people who exhibited more aggressive behaviour prior to the intervention.
5. <i>RIPP</i> Farrell, Meyer, et al. (2003)	Random assignment of classrooms to treatment and control groups. Pretest, posttest, and several follow-up assessments.	5	Treatment group: n = 10 classrooms (239 students) Control group: n = 11 classrooms (237 students)	Significant reduction in violence one year after the intervention. Effect greater on young people who exhibited more aggressive behaviour prior to the intervention.
5. <i>RIPP</i> Farrell, Valois, et al. (2003)	Pretest, two midpoint tests and two posttests. Intervention school and control school, statistical control.	4	Treatment group: n = 752 Control group: n = 735	Significant reduction in aggressive behaviour and violence.

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
6. <i>PeaceBuilders</i> Flannery et al. (2003)	Random assignment of schools after matching. Pretest and posttest, several follow-up assessments. Matched treatment group and waiting list group as control group.	4	4 intervention schools (n = 2411) 4 control schools (n = 2268)	Teachers report significant reduction in aggressive behaviour for the oldest group.
6. <i>PeaceBuilders</i> Vazsonyi, Belliston, & Flannery (2004)	Random assignment of schools after matching. Pretest and posttest, several follow-up assessments. Matched treatment group and waiting list group as control group.	4	4 intervention schools 4 control schools n _{maximum} = 1170	Children with a high risk of future violent behaviour benefit most from the intervention.
7. <i>Positive Action Programme</i> Flay, Allred, & Ordway (2001)	Posttest, matched treatment group, and control group.	2	12 intervention schools 24 control schools	Significant reduction in violence between students and violence from students towards staff.
8. <i>Second Step</i> Orpinas et al. (1995)	Pretest and posttest, follow-up assessment. Two treatment groups and control group.	3	Treatment group: n = 142 (2 treatment groups with different interventions) Control group: n = 81	No significant differences in aggressive behaviour three months after the intervention. No effect for Peer Leaders.
8. <i>Second Step</i> Grossman et al. (1997)	Random assignment of schools after matching. Pretest and posttest, follow-up assessment. Treatment group and control group.	4	Treatment group: 6 schools (n = 418) Control group: 6 schools (n = 372)	A significant effect on one out of twenty outcome measures that were evaluated six months after the intervention.
8. <i>Second Step</i> Riese (2004)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group and control group.	3	Treatment group: n = 269 Control group: n = 209	Significantly less aggressive and antisocial behaviour in pupils in 5th grade, but not pupils in grades 3 and 4.
8. <i>Second Step</i> McMahon & Washburn (2003)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group.	2	Treatment group: n = 156	No reduction in aggressive behaviour.
9. <i>PEACE</i> Koshland & Wittaker (2004)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group and non-comparable control group.	2	Treatment group: n = 54 Number of students in control group not given.	Reduction in aggressive behaviour among children.

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
10. <i>Get Real about Violence</i> Meyer et al. (2004)	Pretest and posttest, follow-up, treatment group and control group.	3	Treatment group: n = 168 Control group: n = 125	No effect on violent behaviour, but effect on intentions and attitudes.
11. <i>Students for Peace</i> Orpinas et al. (2000)	Pretest and posttest, follow-up. Matched treatment group and control group.	4	Treatment group: n = 1020 Control group: n = 1226	No effects of the programme observed.
12. <i>The Peacemakers Programme</i> Shapiro et al. (2002)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group and control group.	3	Treatment group: n = 1294 Control group: n = 529	Significantly less aggressive behaviour in young people from the treatment group.

* The size of the studied groups at the pretest is provided. Attrition may cause the size of the groups to differ at the time of the posttest(s).

4.3 Secondary person-oriented prevention

Measure 13: Community-based intervention

Hanlon and colleagues (2002) evaluated the effects of a community-based intervention for young people who are clearly at risk for the development and progression of a deviant lifestyle. The objective of the intervention is to reduce this risk by means of early intervention, which takes the form of individual counselling and mentoring projects using representative role models from the community. Attempts were also made to organise informal discussion meetings and activities for parents and young people but these attempts did not meet with much success. Hanlon and colleagues refer to early intervention, but the target group they focus on consists of young people who are, on average, over 13 years of age and who have been referred to community-based clinics. In their evaluation study they found evidence of the effectiveness of this programme and conclude that the most important effects of the intervention were related to delinquent behaviour in general ($\chi^2(1) = 12.40$, $p = .0004$) and violent delinquent behaviour in particular ($\chi^2(1) = 9.08$, $p = .0026$). The difference between the treatment group and the control group for delinquent behaviour in general was greater for younger adolescents than for older ones ($\chi^2(1) = 9.33$, $p = .0023$). This also applied to the effect on violent delinquent behaviour: the effect of the intervention was greater for younger adolescents than for older ones. This group also exhibited a smaller range of delinquent behaviour than the control group ($\chi^2(1) = 8.02$, $p = .0046$). Once again this effect was stronger for younger adolescents than for older ones ($\chi^2(1) = 5.01$, $p = .0253$). The intervention was apparently not early enough: it was difficult to prevent older adolescents from dropping out and the effects of the intervention were clearly more

Table 11 Secondary person-oriented prevention

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
13. <i>Community-based intervention</i> Hanlon et al. (2002)	Pretest and posttest, intervention clinic and control clinic, random assignment of clinics (not of subjects).	4	Treatment group: n = 235 Control group: n = 193	Significant difference in violent behaviour

* The size of the studied groups at the pretest is provided. Attrition may cause the size of the groups to differ at the time of the posttest(s).

successful for younger participants. Furthermore, the authors point out that the young people in the control group received treatment as usual. Supposedly, therefore, the effect of the intervention was mainly achieved through the more intensive approach compared to treatment as usual (see Table 11).

Because no further substantiation of the Hanlon findings was found in other studies we must conclude that this community-based intervention is potentially effective.

This community-based intervention is potentially effective in the prevention of violence.

4.4 Primary context-oriented prevention

This section discusses the effects of the primary context-oriented prevention measures. Table 12 at the end of the section provides an overview of the main characteristics of the evaluation studies on the effects of the primary context-oriented measures.

Measure 14: Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) surveillance

Based on a study of the effects of CCTV surveillance in three British cities, Brown (1995) concludes that CCTV appears to have little effect on violent crimes in large cities like Birmingham and Newcastle. In the smaller town of King's Lynn, on the other hand, Brown sees indications that the number of street crimes was reduced as a result of CCTV surveillance. However, the number of incidents is small and the reduction occurred after the cameras had been in place for some time. With regard to street robberies, CCTV appears to have no effect and there are indications that this type of crime is moving from areas with CCTV to areas without CCTV. The same effect does not appear to occur with regard to crimes against property. Brown suggests that this may be explained because potential robbery

victims are also outside the area covered by the cameras, whereas in the case of crimes against property (e.g., theft from cars) this is much less often the case.

According to Brown, the usefulness of CCTV surveillance with regard to violence lies mainly in the opportunity that it offers the police to respond quickly to situations that could get out of hand. Furthermore, video images can be used in the collection of evidence in a criminal case. Sivarajasingam, Shepherd, and Matthews (2003) largely arrive at the same conclusions. They evaluated the effects of CCTV surveillance on violence in nightlife areas. Five British cities used CCTV in the city centre streets where nightlife occurs. Five other cities acted as the control group. Over a four-year period data were gathered on reported violent crimes (police statistics) and on reported violence-related injuries for which people were treated in emergency departments. Based on the results of their study, Sivarajasingam and colleagues conclude that CCTV does not act as a deterrent in the prevention of violence (in the intervention cities the number of crimes reported to the police did not decrease), but that it did allow the police to intervene much more quickly in conflicts, which meant that the conflicts got out of hand less often and fewer people needed to be treated at emergency departments for violence-related injuries. However, the results also showed that CCTV surveillance had different effects in the cities that were involved in the study. The authors suggest that the police deployment based on the video images differed among the cities. If the police do not respond to the images, CCTV loses its value.

As an explanation for the fact that the number of violent incidents in the five intervention cities did not decrease but did in fact increase, Sivarajasingam and colleagues suggest that the impulsive nature of violence in nightlife areas, and the role often played by alcohol in such incidents, nullifies the assumed deterrent effect of CCTV surveillance. Armitage (2002) offers the same explanation in her review of the knowledge about the effectiveness of CCTV. She states that CCTV uses a rational choice mechanism. In situations where this rational choice is influenced by emotions (anger) or, for example, alcohol, cameras will not deter people from committing crimes.

In a research synthesis, Welsh and Farrington (2004) conclude that CCTV surveillance does not have a significant effect on the prevention of violent crimes. They report an odds ratio of 1.05 (95% reliability interval 0.83-1.34, $z = 0.44$, n.s.) on the basis of six studies that report on the effects of CCTV surveillance on violent crimes. Their conclusion, based on their summary of all nineteen studies they investigated, is that CCTV may have a significant and desired effect on crime, but the deployment of cameras is mainly effective in parking garages and is most effective in

combination with improved lighting. The effect of CCTV surveillance in city centres, neighbourhoods, and public transport is extremely small and in none of these contexts does there appear to be a significant effect on the prevention of violence.

CCTV surveillance is ineffective in the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain.

Measure 15: Street lighting

In two publications, Painter and Farrington (1997, 2001) report on a study into the effects of improved street lighting in Dudley (United Kingdom). The 1997 publication reports on the effects as assessed by interviewing residents, who were asked about the prevalence and incidence of crime in the neighbourhood, the cohesion in the neighbourhood, the lighting in the neighbourhood and the fear of crime. In addition, the numbers of pedestrians in the streets at night in both intervention and control neighbourhoods were counted before and after the improvement of the street lighting. The 2001 publication reports on the effects of improved street lighting on the behaviour of youths. In the context of this study young people were interviewed and asked how often they were involved in street violence. Both the responses of local residents and the self-reports of young people show a significant positive effect of the improvements to the street lighting. The crime reported by local residents decreased both in the intervention neighbourhood and in the control neighbourhood, but at 23% the decrease in the intervention neighbourhood is significantly greater than in the control neighbourhood, where crime rates decreased by only 3%. The decrease in violent crime in particular is also significantly greater in the intervention neighbourhood than in the control neighbourhood. The incidences of violent crime (presented as the average number of victimisations per 100 households with a maximum of 10 per household) decreased significantly in the intervention neighbourhood; this decrease was also significantly greater than the decrease in the control neighbourhood. The main result of the survey among young people was that there was a greater reduction in offences in the intervention neighbourhood than in the control neighbourhood. The biggest change was related to the number of violent incidents in which young people were involved during the hours of darkness.

The authors did not find any indications of displacement of crime to another time or place, from night to day, or from the intervention neighbourhood to the control neighbourhood. A possible explanation they offer for this fact is that, in the intervention neighbourhood, young people were not deflected from the area but were in fact out in the street more frequently after the street lighting was improved. This increase could have resulted in more crime, but it didn't: apparently the risk of committing

crimes, as perceived by the young people, increased as a result of the increased natural surveillance in the streets.

In their review of American and British studies on the effects of improved street lighting, Farrington and Welsh (2002b) report that, in American studies (mostly outdated), this only had significant results if the effect was measured both during the day and at night. The studies using both these measurements reported an average odds ratio of 1.28 ($z = 3.05$, $p = .002$). The average effect of improved street lighting in more recent British studies was significantly positive for crime in general (odds ratio of 1.42, $p < .05$) and for violent crime in particular (odds ratio of 1.41, $p < .05$). This latter odds ratio means that violent crime in the control areas increased by 41% or, in other words, decreased by 29% in the intervention areas.

Farrington and Welsh did not have sufficient information available about stability in neighbourhoods to be able to draw definite conclusions about where improvements in street lighting had the most effect. They do, however, submit the hypothesis that improved street lighting is mainly effective in stable neighbourhoods with a homogeneous composition. They conclude that none of the studies contradicts this hypothesis and that four studies actually support it. Based on their review, Farrington and Welsh conclude that improved street lighting probably results in an increase in community pride and informal social monitoring, which, in turn, results in a reduction in crime. This conclusion is supported by the finding that crime decreases both during the day and at night. Farrington and Welsh cannot definitely refute the alternative hypothesis that an increase in community pride precedes the improvement of the street lighting, but in two studies (including Painter and Farrington's evaluations [1997, 2001] of the project in Dudley) this explanation is excluded.

Painter and Farrington believe that further research is necessary to determine to what extent this effect can be replicated in other neighbourhoods; perhaps improving street lighting works better in certain contexts. Another point the authors feel needs further investigation is the extent to which a certain intensity ("dose-response") is relevant; perhaps this measure works only if the improvement to the lighting is particularly substantial.

Improving street lighting is an effective measure for the prevention of violence in the public domain.

Measure 16: Prevention of sexual violence against young women

Yeater and colleagues (2004) describe the evaluation of a programme called Dating 101, which aims, with the use of a self-help book, to prevent young women from becoming the victims of sexual violence. The book is supposed to give students knowledge and skills that will render them

less at risk of becoming victims of sexual violence. At two points in time after the intervention, self-reports were used to measure to what extent the women in the intervention and control groups became the victims of sexual violence.

No significant differences were found between the two groups. The study was a randomised experiment and the results can therefore be interpreted with a high degree of certainty. However, the research groups were relatively small and the follow-up period was somewhat short. The first posttest took place one week after the participants were supposed to have finished the book, the second posttest eleven weeks after that.) Because the authors conclude that the intervention is effective in reducing self-reported attitudes and behaviour that are related to the chances of being raped, we can ask to what extent the underlying programme theory of the intervention is correct. It may be that the participants do not actually change their behaviour on the basis of what they have learned, or perhaps it is not possible to reduce the risk of sexual violence for potential victims and the intervention should be aimed at potential perpetrators. The authors also note that their findings correspond with the findings of others in similar studies, further indicating that it is not possible to prevent women from becoming the victims of sexual violence this way. However, definite conclusions cannot be drawn on the basis of our research synthesis.

The Dating 101 programme for the prevention of sexual violence against women is potentially ineffective.

Table 12 Primary context-oriented prevention

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
<i>14. CCTV surveillance</i> Brown (1995)	Longitudinal pretests and posttests, intervention areas and control areas.	3	CCTV was studied in three cities.	No effect on assaults in big cities, reduction in the number of assaults in smaller town.
<i>14. CCTV surveillance</i> Sivarajasingam, Shepherd, & Matthews (2003)	Longitudinal pretests and posttests, intervention cities and control cities.	3	CCTV was studied in the nightlife areas of five cities. Five control cities.	No significant effect on the number of violent crimes reported.
<i>15. Street lighting</i> Painter & Farrington (1997, 2001)	Pretest and posttest in experimental and control areas, controlling for any differences between the groups prior to the intervention.	4	One intervention neighbourhood, one control neighbourhood.	Significant reduction in the number of violent crimes as reported by residents and young people from the neighbourhood.

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
16. <i>Dating 101</i> – prevention of <i>victimisation</i> Yeater et al. (2004)	One treatment group, one control group; random assignment to study conditions; pretest and two posttests.	5	Treatment group: n = 53 Control group: n = 57	No significant effect on victimisation.

* The size of the studied groups at the pretest is provided. Attrition may cause the size of the groups to differ at the time of the posttest(s).

4.5 Secondary context-oriented prevention

This section discusses the effects of the secondary context-oriented prevention measures. Table 13 at the end of the section provides an overview of the main characteristics of the evaluation studies into the effects of the secondary context-oriented measures.

Measure 17: Hot spots policing

Using a randomised experiment, Braga and associates (1999) studied the effects that hot spots policing has on violence. In twenty-eight high-violence areas in New Jersey (U.S.) specific interventions were used that were selected after a thorough analysis of the problems in those areas. On the basis of official police figures and the number of incidents reported to the police by telephone, the Braga group concluded that the total number of offences registered by the police and the number of people calling in to report an incident decreased significantly in the intervention areas when compared to the control areas. The interventions resulted in a significant decrease in violent crimes (street fights, $\chi^2 = 5.79$, $p = .016$; robberies, $\chi^2 = 4.61$, $p = .032$), crimes against property, and drug-related offences. There is little evidence that hot spots policing encourages crime to move elsewhere: Braga and associates report such displacement only with respect to crimes against property and not for other types of offences. The authors point out that the results of this study cannot simply be generalised for other places and that it is impossible to verify what specific police strategies are effective in reducing violent crimes. It was also impossible to formulate conclusions about what strategies are responsible for the effect of hot spots policing on the basis of a research synthesis of five randomised experiments (Braga, 2005). Hot spots policing is effective. Farrington and Welsh come to the same conclusion in a research synthesis into the prevention of crime (2005), but it is not known what police strategies are effective and under what conditions.

The targeted use of specific police interventions in hot spots is an effective measure for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain.

Measures 18 and 19: Prevention of robberies in banks and post offices

Grandjean (1990) and Ekblom (1987, 1988) report positive effects of the installation of bullet-proof screens at service desks in banks and post offices with respect to preventing robberies. In a study involving over 300 Swiss banks, Grandjean reports that there were 52% fewer robberies in banks with bullet-proof screens than in banks without them. Ekblom estimates that similar measures in London post offices resulted in a 55 to 65% reduction. In both studies displacement effects were found, but even when these effects were taken into account a reduction in the number of robberies resulted. Because the design of the Grandjean study (an SMS score of 2) did not meet the minimum standard necessary for drawing sound conclusions on the effectiveness of the measure and the Ekblom study (an SMS score of 3) does not report on significance, no conclusions about whether bullet-proof screens really work in preventing robberies can be drawn (see also Eck, 2002).

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effects the installation of bullet-proof screens in banks and post offices have on robberies.

Measure 20: Neighbourhood-based prevention of violence by young people

Fagan (1987) reports on a study into the effects of a neighbourhood-based intervention aimed at reducing violence committed by youths by means of resident mobilisation to strengthen neighbourhood cohesion. In six American cities, neighbourhood residents were mobilised to prevent juvenile violence. Schools, parents, and neighbourhood organisations were involved with the objective of improving both the social cohesion in the neighbourhood and the young people's bonds with their school, parents, and community. These measures are expected to result in a reduction in juvenile crime. Fagan states that in three of the six cities the programme was successful in reducing the number of serious violent crimes committed by young people. However, it is not clear whether the results in the other three cities were actually studied (see also Welsh & Hoshi, 2002), and Fagan does not report on the significance or effect sizes.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the neighbourhood-based prevention measure evaluated by Fagan.

Measure 21: Prevention of gang-related violence

In the period from June 1, 1996 to May 31, 1997, attempts were made to reduce gang-related violence in five neighbourhoods in Dallas by allocating additional funding to the police (Dallas anti-gang initiative). The main activities begun by the various precincts consisted of extremely strict enforcement of the evening curfew for young people, extremely strict enforcement of the compulsory school attendance of young people up to the age of 17, and very intensive surveillance with high police visibility

during which possible gang members and other suspect persons were stopped and searched. Fritsch, Caeti, and Taylor (1999) evaluated this project and concluded that the strict enforcement of the evening curfew and compulsory school attendance resulted in a reduction of gang-related violence. This was demonstrated by the differences among the five intervention neighbourhoods. There was a significant decrease ($t_1 = 3.69$, $p < .05$; $t_2 = 4.33$, $p < .05$; $t_3 = 3.04$, $p < .05$) in gang-related violence in three of them compared to the control neighbourhoods, whereas in the two other intervention neighbourhoods no decrease was observed. Fritsch and colleagues explain these differences as the result of additional funding in the neighbourhoods that saw a reduction in gang-related violence used mainly to enforce the evening curfew and compulsory school attendance. In the two intervention neighbourhoods in which there was no significant decrease in gang-related violence the additional funding was used mainly for non-targeted, intensive surveillance. Based on these results, the authors conclude that the enforcement of both an evening curfew and compulsory school attendance is effective in reducing gang-related violence and that the use of non-targeted surveillance does not contribute to its reduction. Because the expected increase in the number of arrests for possession of weapons did not occur, the Fritsch group concludes that the surveillance could have other effects (e.g., gang members leaving their weapons at home and behaving less conspicuously in the street). However, the authors do not have data to support this supposition.

Based on their review study, Sherman and Eck (2002) conclude that surveillance aimed at so-called hot spots may have a positive effect on reducing crime. In addition, they support the conclusion drawn by Fritsch and associates that this effect can be considerably enhanced if the surveillance is targeted very specifically (e.g., on the enforcement of an evening curfew or compulsory school attendance).

Targeted surveillance is an effective measure for the prevention of violence.

Measures 22 and 23: Prevention of physical aggression through training staff members in bars and banks

Based on their study of the effects of a programme for the prevention of physical aggression in larger bars, Graham and co-workers (2004) conclude that training bar staff may be an effective method for reducing the number of incidents of physical aggression. In a randomised experiment the researchers evaluated the effects of the *Safer Bars* programme and noted that violence committed by customers was reduced significantly in the experimental bars compared to the control bars (average number of incidents per observation: $t = 5.23$, $df = 28$, $p < .001$; percentage of observations with at least one incident: $t = 4.45$, $df = 28$, $p < .001$). The authors point out that the effects of the programme become

less significant if there is a high turnover of staff and/or management. The number of bars in the experimental and control conditions is relatively small for a randomised experiment (18 and 12 respectively) and the authors note that there was not much violence during the observation period and that this could be partly the result of extra effort on the part of the proprietors and managers. However, the results of this study are encouraging, and other studies also show that bar staff can play a role in the prevention of violence (Eck, 2002).

In an entirely different context, a programme that aims to reduce aggressive behaviour by training personnel in dealing with customers is described in the doctoral thesis of Markus (2000). Customer service personnel at a Dutch bank (ABN Amro) are trained in handling potentially stressful situations with aggressive customers with the objective of learning how to defuse situations. In the evaluation of this training programme, entitled Aggression and Threatening Situations [Agressie en Bedreigende Situaties], Markus used simulated situations in which actors played angry customers. Trained employees were compared to untrained employees, but there was no pretest or posttest. More extreme forms of customer aggression were observed more often in the untrained group than in the trained group, and calmer forms of customer behaviour, in contrast, occurred more frequently in the trained group. The average aggression level of customer behaviour was significantly lower in the trained group than in the untrained group ($p < .005$, $\eta = .39$) and the outcome of the conflict was more often positive among trained employees than among untrained employees ($p < .005$, $\eta = .33$). According to Markus, the results show that training bank staff contributes to preventing public aggression. However, because there was no pretest, we cannot conclude that the observed differences are the result of the training.

The Safer Bars programme is potentially effective as a measure for the prevention of violence in bars.

It is not possible to draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of training bank personnel.

Measure 24: Prevention of robberies and violence in shops and hospitality establishments

In order to prevent robberies and violence in shops and hospitality establishments, a programme was developed in Los Angeles toward the end of the 1990s aimed at small companies with a high risk of being robbed: neighbourhood shops, gas stations, supermarkets, off-licenses, bars, restaurants, and hotels. The programme consisted of a comprehensive assessment of the establishment on the basis of which a customised action plan was developed and provided by a trained

security specialist. The action plan gave recommendations relating to seven different subjects, including training personnel, lighting on the premises, access control, and recommendations relating to equipment such as security cameras and alarm systems. The number and nature of the recommendations differed depending on the characteristics of the companies. Participation in the programme was voluntary, as was the implementation of the recommendations in the action plan. The programme therefore offers reasonably obligation-free and very comprehensive advice relating to reducing the risk of becoming the victim of robberies and violence.

The evaluation by Peek-Asa and associates (2004) showed that the percentage of companies that were victims of a violent crime in the year following the intervention increased in both groups. For intervention companies an increase of 17% was reported and for control companies an increase of 32%. Companies with a high level of implementation saw the number of violent crimes decrease by 5%, those with a low level of implementation saw the number of violent crimes increase by 28%, and those that had not taken any advice at all saw the number of violent crimes increase by 94%. If we examine only robberies and attempted robberies, we see that intervention companies experienced an increase of 11% and control companies an increase of 38%. Here too, the rule applies that the number of robberies of companies that implemented a significant part of the advice was reduced by 19% and that the number of robberies of companies that implemented little or none of the advice increased by 50% and 42% respectively. It is notable that companies in neighbourhoods with low crime rates and those in neighbourhoods with high crime rates took the advice more often than those in neighbourhoods with an average level of crime.

Because the Peek-Asa group does not (sufficiently) report on the significance of the results it is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the programme. Eck (2002) describes the results of a randomised study of the effects of a similar intervention (Crow & Bull, 1975, quoted in Eck, 2002). Based on the specific characteristics of individual shops it was determined what measures for the prevention of robberies should be taken. Crow and Bull report 30% fewer robberies in shops that had been robbed on two occasions or more prior to the intervention compared to shops from the control group that had also been robbed on two occasions or more. Eck concludes that prevention measures have little effect on the prevention of robberies of shops that are rarely or never the target of robberies, but that such measures may be effective for shops that are more frequently targeted. However, it is not possible to verify what specific prevention measures have the desired effect in these cases.

Customised prevention in shops and companies is potentially effective in preventing robberies and violence.

Measure 25: Prevention of violence in disadvantaged neighbourhoods

In the 1990s the Chicago Housing Authority used a number of measures to try to reduce crime in inner city neighbourhoods with public housing and to wrestle back control of these neighbourhoods from gangs. Popkin and colleagues, who report on the evaluation of the effects of these efforts (1999), describe these neighbourhoods as among the most dangerous in America. The programme is composed of an in-house police unit for the housing projects (trained and with the same powers as the regular police), an in-house security force and external security, aid centres for drug and alcohol addicts manned by residents, and neighbourhood patrols, also manned by residents.

The authors report initial improvements in several areas in a number of housing complexes. However, further analysis showed that in the two complexes with the highest level of crime the changes could be attributed primarily to one building within the complex and the achieved progress did not persist. Outside events (flare-ups of gang wars and changes in the policy of the housing association with regard to urban renewal) proved to be much more influential on the extent of the observed problems than the efforts made by the housing association to combat crime and nuisance. These efforts also lost momentum because the housing association started to use its funds for other purposes. The Popkin group states that the most positive effects were achieved in the complex where crime rates had previously already been the lowest and where the cohesion among residents was high. However, even here it proved very difficult to sustain these effects. As soon as the efforts became less concentrated the situation deteriorated. The authors also comment that, in some cases, the gangs and drug dealers actually took advantage of the situational prevention measures (access doors and gates, cubicles for security personnel at the entrance to the building). Furthermore, although the measures were generally aimed at keeping out "outsiders," the drug dealers, gang members, and other delinquents actually lived in the complexes. Finally, the firm handling of the gang leaders proved to result in power vacuums, whereby new battles decided who would take the place of an apprehended gang leader.

Because the design of the study was of insufficiently good quality (there was no control group) it is not possible to draw conclusions about the effect of the intervention on the basis of these results or about whether any side effects were truly achieved as a result of the intervention.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the approach of the Chicago Housing Authority.

Measure 26: Agreements on nightlife violence

Dutch municipalities with more than 25,000 inhabitants and with a contiguous nightlife area were supposed to have developed a structural approach to the problems associated with violence in these areas, documented in a signed agreement between local partners, no later than 2002. This process was supposed to guarantee that there is a structural approach to nightlife-associated violence at the local level. In the 2003/2004 session year the Court of Audit reported to the Lower House on an evaluation of the effects of these agreements (Tweede Kamer 2003-2004, 29 661 no. 2). Based on the violent crimes in nightlife areas registered by the police, the Court of Audit made a comparison between municipalities that use an agreement and those that do not use an agreement or that did not submit the agreement to the Court of Audit on time.

Based on its analysis, the Court of Audit concluded that the existence of an agreement has no demonstrable effect on the number of registered incidents of nightlife violence in a municipality. However, agreements that incorporate two of three success factors – a fixed point of contact, other monitoring (including the use of private security organisations, the use of so-called “susploegen”, which roughly translates into “appeasement teams”, or of community elders), and linking consequences to an evaluation – appear able to positively influence the registered number of minor incidents of nightlife-related violence.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the agreements on nightlife violence.

Measure 27: Prevention of violence at a motor sport event

Veno and Veno (1993) evaluated the efforts aimed at preventing violence during the Australian Motor Grand Prix. Traditionally, this has been an event during which considerable violence has occurred between visitors and the police and among visitors themselves. In 1989, to prevent this situation, a range of measures were implemented, the main one of which was perhaps the considerable broadening of the target group for the event. In the year in question the organisation specifically focused on attracting more families to the Grand Prix. It was also agreed that the police would take a less obtrusive position. During the 1989 event significantly fewer people were arrested for violent incidents than during previous events ($\chi^2(3) = 2485.18, p < .001$). Visitors were also more positive about the way police handled the event than they were in the past. The authors state that the implementation of the measures significantly reduced the occurrence of violence during the Grand Prix. However, the character of the Grand Prix has changed to such an extent (it became much more family oriented and by consequence possibly less violent) that it is impossible make a good

comparison. In view of the quality of the research design the authors' conclusion is therefore not supported by sound evidence.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the approach for preventing violence that was used for the Australian Motor Grand Prix.

Measure 28: Community crime prevention

In order to reduce crime in the Hyde Park neighbourhood in the American city of St. Louis, Missouri, attempts were made to deal with both the background and the foreground causes of crime. To deal with the background causes a broad initiative was formulated in which the local church, the local school, a number of private welfare organisations, and the local residents themselves participated: the Friedens Haus project. This project comprises a range of interventions: after-school childcare, mentoring programmes, dance lessons, vocational training, teenage groups, and so forth. To deal with the foreground causes neighbourhood surveillance was organised through a neighbourhood initiative. This is a kind of neighbourhood watch whereby local residents drive through the area on Fridays and Saturdays between 7 p.m. and 1 a.m. The evaluation by Ward (1997) relates only to this last programme component. The author states that the results of the trend analyses of crime frequencies are a strong indication that the surveillance is effective. Until the start of the surveillance, the number of robberies in Hyde Park had been on the increase; after it was implemented, the number decreased. After the surveillance ceased, the robbery numbers increased again, but only slightly. In the control neighbourhoods the figures continued to increase steadily. With regard to aggravated assault and burglary the trend analyses do not appear to give any indication that the surveillance was effective. The author explains the fact that there was an effect on robberies but not on aggravated assault and burglary as follows. Robberies are more visible and occur more often in the street, which means they are easier to influence by street surveillance. Most aggravated assaults are between family members, friends, and acquaintances, and therefore often occur inside various establishments; burglaries are by definition indoors.

It remains unclear to what extent the control groups are comparable to the intervention neighbourhood. It is therefore not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of neighbourhood watches on the basis of Ward's study. Bruinsma and Bernasco (2004) note that research shows that in many respects the neighbourhood watch is not very effective because the neighbourhood watch organisations are the hardest to start up in areas where crime rates are the highest, among other reasons.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the community crime prevention approach in Hyde Park in St. Louis.

Table 13 Secondary context-oriented prevention

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
17. <i>Hot spots policing</i> Braga et al. (1999)	Random assignment to intervention and control group, pretest and posttest.	5	Intervention places: n = 12 Control places: n = 12	Significant reduction in violent crimes.
18. <i>Bullet-proof glass in post offices</i> Ekblom (1987, 1988)	Longitudinal pretests and posttests, no control group	3	All London post offices.	Reduction in robberies.
19. <i>Bullet-proof glass in banks</i> Grandjean (1990)	Treatment group and control group, no pretest.	2	Treatment group: n = 152 Control group: n = 152	Fewer robberies in treatment group.
20. <i>Neighbourhood-based approach</i> Fagan (1987)	No control group, pretest and posttest.	2	Six American cities.	A decrease in violent crimes committed by young people in three of the cities.
21. <i>Prevention of gang-related violence</i> Fritsch, Caeti, & Taylor (1999)	Matched treatment group and control group, pretest and posttest.	3	Five intervention neighbourhoods four control neighbourhoods	Significant reduction in gang-related violence.
22. <i>Training of bar personnel</i> Graham et al. (2004)	Random assignment to treatment group and control group, pretest and posttest.	5	Intervention bars: n = 18 Control bars: n = 12	Significant reduction in violence committed by customers.
23. <i>Training of bank personnel</i> Markus (2000)	Treatment group and control group, no pretest.	2	Treatment group: n = 75 Control group: n = 75	Less aggression on the part of customers in the treatment group than in the control group.
24. <i>Prevention in companies</i> Peek-Asa et al. (2004)	Random assignment to treatment group and control group, pretest and two posttests.	4	Treatment group: n = 345 Control group: n = 96	Lower increase in robberies in treatment group than in control group. As more prevention measures were implemented the effect of the intervention became greater.
25. <i>Prevention in disadvantaged neighbourhoods</i> Popkin et al. (1999)	Pretest and several posttests, no control group.	2	Three large public housing complexes.	Initial improvements in the violence level, but these improvements did not persist.

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
26. <i>Agreements on nightlife violence</i> Tweede Kamer (2003-2004)	Pretest and posttest, treatment group and control group.	3	Treatment group: n = 75 Control group: n = 91	No reduction in the number of registered violent incidents. Favourable effects on the number of registered light incidents if specific items are included in agreements.
27. <i>Prevention at motor sport event</i> Veno & Veno (1993)	Pretests and posttests, no control group.	2	A single event.	Fewer arrests as a result of violence than at previous motor sport events.
28. <i>Neighbourhood watch</i> Ward (1997)	Longitudinal pretests and posttests, intervention neighbourhood and control neighbourhoods.	2	One intervention neighbourhood, seven control neighbourhoods	Reduction in the number of robberies.

* The size of the studied groups at the pretest is provided. Attrition may cause the size of the groups to differ at the time of the posttest(s).

4.6 Primary and secondary person- and context-oriented prevention

This section looks at the effects of the primary and secondary person- and context-oriented prevention measures. At the end of the section, Table 14 gives an overview of the main characteristics of the evaluation studies into the effects of the primary and secondary person- and context-oriented measures.

Measures 29 and 34: Dating violence

Safe Dates is an intervention offered in a classroom format in schools to adolescents between ages 13 and 15, with the objective of preventing dating violence – both perpetrator behaviour and victimisation. In a number of publications, Foshee and her colleagues describe the results of a longitudinal, randomised study of the effects of the programme (Foshee, 1998; Foshee et al., 1998; Foshee et al., 2000; Foshee et al., 2004). One month after completion of the intervention Foshee and colleagues (1998; Foshee, 1998) note that participation in the programme was linked to a decrease in self-reported acts of psychological violence ($b = -.08, p < .001$), a decrease in self-reported acts of sexual violence ($b = -.06, p < .009$), and a decrease in self-reported acts of physical violence ($b = -.06, p < .014$). The analyses controlled for gender, variables associated with attrition, and the results of the pretest. These effects are related to changes between the pretest and posttest with respect to the programme objectives. No effect on victimisation was observed. One month after the intervention, participation did not appear to reduce the incidences of young people's victimisation.

One year after the intervention Foshee and associates (2000) reported no effect at all on the behavioural outcome measures (self-report of perpetration and victimisation with respect to psychological violence, physical violence, serious physical violence, and sexual violence). However, significant differences were found between the intervention group and the control group. Based on these results, the authors conclude that the behavioural effects of Safe Dates cease to have an impact after one year whereas the cognitive effects are sustained. At the same time they note that it is possible that changes in attitude precede changes in behaviour and that it is therefore also possible that effects on behaviour may be measurable at a later time.

In a 2004 article Foshee and colleagues report on the effects of the Safe Dates programme on part of the original research group. This publication only reports on young people who were in 8th grade at the start of the longitudinal study and not on those who were in 9th grade at that time. The study design was expanded with an additional intervention condition. A randomly selected part of the treatment group was given a booster between two and three years after the original intervention. This consisted of sending an 11-page newsletter and phoning afterwards to check whether the newsletter was received and read. Four years after the intervention the group that only participated in Safe Dates and did not receive the booster reported significantly fewer acts of physical, serious physical, and sexual violence than the control group ($\beta = -1.11$, $p = .02$; $\beta = -.42$, $p = .01$; $\beta = -.10$, $p = .04$). The Safe Dates group also reported significantly less victimisation with respect to sexual violence than the control group ($\beta = -.23$, $p = .01$). The effect of Safe Dates on victimisation as regards physical and serious physical violence was related to the level of earlier victimisation. Young people from the treatment group who had previously been victimised reported significantly less victimisation in the area of physical and serious physical violence than those from the control group who had previously been victimised. The booster, then, does not enhance the effect of Safe Dates. Quite the contrary: concerning victimisation, the youths who had received the booster reported more violence than those who had only participated in the Safe Dates programme. The authors believe that the booster may have acted as a kind of prompt, motivating young people to attempt to terminate violent relationships, which resulted in more violence. Despite these negative effects of the booster in comparison to the group that only participated in the Safe Dates programme, it was apparent that the booster group did not report any more perpetration or victimisation than the control group that did not follow a programme.

The authors' main conclusion is that, four years after the intervention, the effects of Safe Dates still persist (the treatment group is doing better than the control group) but the booster should not be used. The positive effects

are attributed to the Safe Dates programme. The authors checked whether there was selective attrition but this was not the case and, because of the long follow-up term, they believe it cannot be a matter of socially desirable response behaviour either. The authors believe that Safe Dates shows these positive effects because the programme is offered to young people who are still at the start of their dating career.

The effects of another programme for the prevention of dating violence – the Youth Relationship Project – were evaluated by Wolfe and colleagues (2003). This group programme is offered to young people between ages 14 and 16 who have a history of child abuse. The objective of the programme is to prevent abusive perpetration and victimisation among young people who participate in the intervention. A second objective is to promote healthy, non-violent relationships.

Participation in the intervention was a significant predictor for the reduction of reported acts of physical abuse ($\beta_{\text{CONTRAST}} = -.01, p < .05$). The decrease in the perpetration of physical abuse was greater for girls than for boys. In the treatment group the decrease in acts of physical violence proved to be greater among young people who were rated as listening more during the intervention and smaller for young people who were more involved in the group. Young people participating in the intervention experienced less emotional abuse and threatening behaviour than those in the control group ($\beta_{\text{CONTRAST}} = -.02, p < .01$ and $\beta_{\text{CONTRAST}} = -.007, p < .05$ respectively). As for physical abuse, there was an interaction between the intervention and gender with respect to victimisation: boys benefited more than girls. Wolfe and colleagues conclude that the intervention is very useful; acts of physical abuse decreased significantly, as did victimisation associated with physical and emotional abuse and threatening behaviour. The study had a randomised design and collection of data about violence was begun only when young people actually had a boyfriend or girlfriend. It would appear that, like Safe Dates, this intervention targets young people who are at the start of their “dating career.” Based on these two randomised experiments we can draw the cautious conclusion that violence between young people in intimate relationships can be partially prevented by offering young people a skills programme early. However, it is advisable to look more closely at the size of the observed effects in a follow-up study.

The prevention of dating violence is possible with the aid of programmes that target adolescents at the start of their dating career.

Measures 30 and 36: Training for children and their parents

Early in the 1980s, a longitudinal study was started in Seattle on the effects of a prevention programme that focuses on teachers, primary

school pupils, and their parents (Seattle Social Development Project). The programme was implemented in eighteen primary schools in Seattle neighbourhoods with high crime rates, and a large proportion of the pupils in the schools were from poor families. Its objective was to reduce physically aggressive behaviour, improve the children's performance in school, and enhance the parents' parenting skills. The programme was offered throughout all the primary school years.

Six years after it ended, Hawkins and colleagues (1999) studied its long-term effects on young people who had completed the entire programme and those who had only participated in their last two years of primary school. The effects in these groups were compared to a control group. Six years after the intervention the full intervention group had committed significantly fewer violent crimes than the control group (48.3% vs. 59.7%, difference = -11.4; CI = -21.3 to -0.4, $p = .04$).

This intervention was only provided in primary schools, and in the six years between the intervention and the last posttest no follow-up programmes or boosters were offered. The Hawkins group believes it is quite possible that the effects were sustained over this period of time because the intervention is aimed at improving the children's bonds to school and school performance, rather than learning skills or changing norms. The authors explain that the development of strong bonds to school in their primary school years could put children on a developmental path towards finishing school, where the efforts they put forth are reinforced by the responses of teachers and their own success. The results for commitment and attachment to school (significantly greater in the complete treatment group than in the control group), the school performance (significantly better performance in the full intervention group than in the control group), and conduct in school (significantly better in the full intervention group than in the control group) are in line with this explanation.

Although there are no indications that there was selective attrition, the proportion of pupils dropping out of the study was higher among those who did not do well and/or did not behave well in school. It is therefore advisable to be careful with generalisations when it comes to these kinds of pupils. The intervention proved to be more effective for children from poor families. Unfortunately it is not possible to evaluate which parts of the programme were most effective.

Also in the 1980s, a similar intervention was implemented in Montreal (Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study). One important difference from the Seattle initiative is that the intervention offered in Montreal relates to secondary prevention. Although the Seattle programme focuses on children from disadvantaged neighbourhoods and poor families, it is

classed among the primary programmes because all children in the project schools were eligible to participate. The participants in the intervention in Montreal were selected on the basis of scores on a behaviour questionnaire. All boys (average age of 6) who scored highly in this questionnaire with regard to behavioural problems, and were therefore at risk of developing violent behaviour, were eligible. The programme provides three treatments: parental training, social skills training for the children, and exercises in fantasy games and dealing with television. The training for parents consisted of a reading programme, a course about monitoring the behaviour of their children, a course that taught them how to enhance their children's social behaviour, and instruction on dealing with family crises. The training for the children consisted of lessons in social skills and self-control. By means of fantasy game exercises the children used role playing to learn socially acceptable alternative ways of dealing with aggression. The television intervention dealt with themes like visual effects, the effect television has on children, violence on television, publicity, and how to make choices. Tremblay and associates (1991) evaluated the programme and found that, two years after the treatment, the boys in the treatment group reported significantly fewer fights than the boys in the control groups. Tremblay and his colleagues followed the research groups for more than the two years on which they report in their 1991 publication. The publications about the subsequent years are not included in this study, but Farrington and Welsh (2005) calculated that the difference in self-reported apprehensions to the age of 15 between the treatment group and the control groups is 53%. They also calculated an effect size, which is significant ($d = .54$, $p < .05$). This makes the programme a demonstrably effective measure for the prevention of violence.

Based on their review of six methodologically very strong evaluations of school programmes for children combined with training for their parents, Farrington and Welsh (2002a) conclude that such programmes have a positive effect on aggressive behaviour, delinquency, and other forms of antisocial behaviour. The authors believe it is more than likely that this success can be attributed to the programmes. Training children in school in a non-stigmatizing manner and high-quality training for parents are special features of these programmes, which also include the programmes that were evaluated by the Hawkins (1999) and Tremblay (1991) groups.

Offering training to young children and their parents is an effective way to prevent violence.

Measure 31: The "Safe School" campaign

In 2000, the Dutch national "Safe School" campaign was evaluated (Mooij, 2000). The three pillars of this campaign were: 1) promoting social bonds and teaching students to interact with each other, 2) the planned

and expert handling of calamities, and 3) providing safe facilities on and around the premises and the safe use of these facilities. In order to assess whether violence in schools decreased as a result of the campaign a comparison was made between results of the 1993 study of violence in schools and the responses of students in 2000 to questions about perpetration and victimisation as regards violence. Mooij's conclusion is that, after corrections for other relevant characteristics, there is no difference in violent behaviour between the years of 1993 and 2000. He notes that it is possible that the campaign was able to prevent an increase in violence, but because of the design of the study it is not possible to draw any conclusions about this.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the Dutch national "Safe School" campaign.

Measure 32: Marietje Kessels project (MKP)

Van der Vegt and colleagues (2001) evaluated the effects of the Marietje Kessels project. This Dutch programme, which is aimed at increasing children's assertiveness in order to prevent their becoming victims of power abuse, is provided to children in groups 7 and 8 in primary schools (which correspond to American grades 5 and 6). The project also aims to counteract behaviour by the participating children that is intimidating or oversteps acceptable boundaries.

The effect of this project that was most evident is a short-term outcome with regard to the number of children being hit or kicked by other children. In the MKP schools this number decreased more dramatically than in the control schools. In addition there are indications that, in the short term, the Marietje Kessels project affects the responses of pupils to confrontational behaviour on the part of their fellow pupils. After they have followed the project pupils in project schools will ask for help more frequently and will hit other children less frequently. Another indication for one of the project's effects relates to the feelings of perpetrators about their own aggressive behaviour. Perpetrators in project schools experience positive feelings about such behaviour less often and negative feelings more often, both immediately after the incident and after some time has passed. However, the authors indicate that it is difficult to draw definite conclusions about the effect on skills and behaviour on the basis of this study. Pupils, teachers, and parents say that they can see an effect, but it is not confirmed by an analysis of the questionnaires completed by the pupils. Because of this contradiction in the findings it remains unclear exactly what the effects of the Marietje Kessels project are with regard to skills and behaviour.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the Marietje Kessels project for the prevention of violence.

Measure 33: Social systems/psychodynamic anti-violence intervention

Twemlow and associates (2001) researched a programme aimed at preventing violence in primary schools. The intervention aims to influence the behaviour of victims, their victimisers (the bullies), and bystanders (observers), all of whom are approached in the same way in order to prevent stigmatisation. The intervention consisted of a training course for teachers that taught them to prohibit violent behaviour and to involve the perpetrator, the victim, and any bystanders in their response to violent behaviour; a physical education plan to teach pupils self-control; and a mentoring programme for adults and children. In the second year after the implementation of the programme the number of incidents involving physical aggression in the intervention school decreased from 74 to 34. In the control school the number of incidents remained the same at 63 per year. This reduction in the intervention school persisted into the third year following the implementation of the intervention and the level of incidents in the control school remained the same. Although a quasi-experimental design was used, the study has too many limitations to be able to draw conclusions about its effectiveness on the basis of the findings. Neither are levels of significance reported.

It is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of the Social systems/psychodynamic anti-violence programme.

Measure 35: Children at Risk

The Children at Risk (CAR) programme is based on the concept that specific problems must be targeted as such. There is a case manager for family problems, after-school activities to prevent children from roaming the streets, education support to help young people finish their schooling, and checks of the young people by police on their way to school. Harrell, Cavanagh, and Sridharan (1999) evaluated the programme and concluded that CAR youths committed significantly fewer violent crimes in the year after the completion of the programme. Further analyses showed that the risk factors relating to peers showed the biggest change in the treatment group. These young people socialised with delinquent peers less often, felt less pressure from their peers to participate in criminal behaviour, and reported more positive support from their peers. The risk factors relating to parents, individual characteristics, and the neighbourhood showed only negligible changes after the intervention. A possible explanation for this fact is the low participation of parents in the programme and the low participation of youths in the mentoring programme that was part of the intervention.

Farrington and Welsh (2005) calculated the effects of this programme in a meta-analysis. They believe it is effective in reducing offences, but the effect size they calculated was not significant.

Children at Risk is a potentially effective programme for the prevention of violence.

Table 14 Person- and context-oriented prevention

	Design	SMS score	Sample size*	Results
29. <i>Safe Dates</i> Foshee (1998), Foshee et al. (1998), Foshee et al. (2000), Foshee et al. (2004)	Random assignment of schools to treatment group and control group, pretest and several posttests.	5	Treatment group: n = 7 schools Control group: n = 7 schools ⁷ Number of young people in total research group in pretest: n = 1886	Reduction in perpetration and victimisation four years after the end of the intervention.
30. <i>Seattle Social Development Project</i> Hawkins et al. (1999)	Random assignment to first treatment group and control group, second matched treatment group, pretest and posttest.	4	First treatment group: n = 156 Second treatment group: n = 267 Control group: n = 220	Significantly fewer violent crimes committed by the treatment group that followed the entire programme.
31. <i>The "Safe School" campaign</i> Mooij (2001)	No control group, comparison with previous study (no real pretest).	2	58 schools, maximum number of pupils is 9,948	No effect on violence in schools.
32. <i>Marietje Kessels project</i> Van der Vegt et al. (2001)	Different intervention and control groups, pretest and two posttests.	4	41 intervention schools (908 pupils) 46 control schools (1360 pupils)	In the short term: reduction in number of children being kicked or hit. No effects in the long term.
33. <i>Social systems/psychodynamic anti-violence intervention</i> Twemlow et al. (2001)	Treatment and control group, pretest and multiple posttests.	3	Treatment group: n = 48 Control group: n = 28	Reduction in physical aggression.
34. <i>Youth Relationship Project</i> Wolfe et al. (2003)	Random assignment to treatment and control group, pretest and posttest.	5	Treatment group: n = 96 Control group: n = 62	Significant reduction in perpetration and victimisation.
35. <i>Children at Risk</i> Harrell, Cavanagh, & Sridharan (1999)	Random assignment to treatment group and control group, pretest and posttest.	5	Random 5 intervention cities selected (338 young people), 5 control cities matched to these intervention cities (333 young people)	Significantly fewer violent crimes.
36. <i>Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study</i> Tremblay et al. (1991)	Random assignment to intervention, placebo and control group, pretest and posttest.	5	Treatment group: n = 46 Placebo group: n = 84 Control group: n = 42	Significant reduction in aggressive behaviour in treatment group.

* The size of the studied groups at the pretest is provided. Attrition may cause the size of the groups to differ at the time of the posttest(s).

7 The 2004 publication by Foshee and associates reports on only ten of the original fourteen schools. In this study the treatment group and control group consist of five schools each.

5 Conclusion and discussion

5.1 Introduction

This report describes the results of a systematic review of the effects of measures for the prevention of violence. The objective of this study was twofold:

- 1 To obtain an overview of effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence in the public and the semi-public domain, both in the Netherlands and abroad, and
- 2 To gain insight into the mechanisms that underlie effective or promising prevention measures and into the circumstances in which these measures prove to be effective.

A total of 48 publications relating to 36 measures were used in the study. Chapter 3 describes the measures and looks at the mechanisms and contexts involved. Chapter 4 provides an overview of what is known about the effects of these measures. In this final chapter we attempt to integrate the findings of chapters 3 and 4 in order to determine what mechanisms are at the base of effective measures for the prevention of violence and under what circumstances the results of these measures were achieved. We must emphasise that it is not known whether a large number of prevention measures are effective or not. The reason for this is the scarcity of evaluation studies and the fact that the design of a number of studies involved in this review did not allow us to draw conclusions about their effectiveness. If the measure is not classed in one of the four categories (effective, potentially effective, potentially ineffective, ineffective) it does not necessarily mean that it might not be effective, but only that it is not possible to draw conclusions about its effectiveness on the basis of the available literature in this study.

The chapter concludes with a discussion that indicates to what extent the objectives of the study were achieved, and offers recommendations on the prevention of violence.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 *Person-oriented prevention*

The findings with regard to person-oriented prevention are schematically reflected in Table 15. For each measure that could be classed in one of the effectivity categories, this table shows the underlying mechanism, the context in which the measure was evaluated in the reviewed study/ studies, and the assessment as to whether the measure is effective. Based on the available literature, two person-oriented measures for the prevention of violence can be considered effective: Responding in

Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP) and PeaceBuilders. Potentially effective person-oriented prevention measures are the Peacemakers Programme, the Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum, and a community-based intervention. We have reservations about the potentially effective Peacemakers and Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention programmes because, so far, only the short-term effects of both programmes have been evaluated. Potentially ineffective programmes are Second Step, Students for Peace, and Get Real about Violence.

The effective PeaceBuilders and RIPP programmes distinguish themselves from the potentially ineffective programmes by their intensity. PeaceBuilders is a school-wide programme with ongoing activities and RIPP-6 consists of 25 weekly lessons, followed by RIPP-7, which consists of 12 lessons at the start of the following school year. The fact that such an intensive approach reaps benefits was also shown by the meta-analysis Wilson, Lipsey, and Derzon (2003) carried out on the effects of school programmes for the prevention of aggressive behaviour. They conclude that programmes that are properly implemented, use an intensive format, and are taught by teachers are effective more often than those that lack these elements. Gottfredson and colleagues (2002) state that another condition for the effective prevention of violence by means of programmes for students is the teaching of skills with a cognitive behavioural approach. Although the available publications did not always make it totally clear what approach was used by effective and potentially effective programmes, they all focus on teaching new skills or new behaviour. However, the results that can be expected from effective programmes are minor. Gottfredson and associates (2002) calculated an effect of 0.11 ($p < .05$) for all studies they included in their meta-analysis. This may have something to do with the fact that many school interventions are primary prevention programmes. In their meta-analysis Wilson, Lipsey, and Derzon (2003) concluded that person-oriented prevention programmes have better results if the target group is already exhibiting a certain level of aggressive behaviour prior to the start of the programme. The greatest effects can be achieved with this group. This also proves to be the case in the evaluations of PeaceBuilders and RIPP: children and young people who exhibited more aggressive behaviour prior to the interventions benefited most from the programmes. Interestingly enough, this did not apply when RIPP was implemented in schools in a rural area. Another remarkable finding in the evaluations of both effective programmes is that when offered in schools in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods, they only affected the behaviour reported by teachers or for which the school sanctioned young people. The interventions did not appear to affect self-reported aggression. This led Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery (2004) to speculate that the effect of the intervention is limited to behaviour at

school and does not extend to the home and the street, locations on which the students could self-report.

In a letter to the editor of the NRC Handelsblad newspaper on August 20, 2005, De Winter expresses an interesting view on the provision of programmes for the prevention of violence in inner-city schools. In his letter to the editor he quotes the book *Code of the Street: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City*, by American author Elijah Anderson (1999). Anderson describes the lives of parents, children, and young people in the black ghettos of Philadelphia. Because in these types of poor neighbourhoods aggression and violence are the order of the day, the residents (particularly children and young people) are at great risk. They learn to arm themselves against the dangers of the street from a young age. According to De Winter, the way people behave is therefore often functional in their daily context. When programmes aimed at teaching children or young people other skills are used, there is a chance that, if the skills that are taught are far removed from the “code of the street,” these children or young people will have to make a choice as to what behaviour gets them further. The answer to such a consideration could well be street behaviour.

Of course Dutch cities cannot really be compared to the inner-city areas of large American towns, but behaviour that is functional in the day-to-day context must be taken into account when considering the use of any measure within a particular context. The possibility that the skills that need to be learned are too different from the functional behaviour must be recognised.

In their study, Guerra, Attar, and Weissberg (1997) describe different types of violence prevention in inner-city communities. Generally speaking, the literature from their study shows that prevention programmes must focus on reinforcing the psychological, cognitive, social, and emotional development of children. This is best done by offering broad programmes during the child’s early development. The most effective programmes focus on increasing individual competence or skilful functioning in a specific developmental phase, thus forming the basis for a successful transition to the subsequent phase. The authors conclude that although they are the most expensive, the most effective interventions are likely to target several causal factors, are applicable in several contexts, and span the duration of the development. Family, friends, schools, and neighbourhoods must work together to create opportunities for children to learn prosocial behaviour and put it into practice within an environment in which such behaviour can be developed and reinforced.

Based on the collected literature, it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the effects of the G.R.E.A.T., Conflict Resolution, Positive Action, and PEACE programmes and the Violence Prevention Curriculum.

Table 15 Person-oriented prevention of violence

	Mechanisms	Contexts	Effects
<i>5. Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A combination of increased knowledge about different ways to react, a less tolerant attitude with regard to violence, and new skills must lead to different behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Lessons in class format in 6th and 7th grade by someone other than the children's own teacher - Evaluated in schools in American inner cities and in rural region 	Effective
<i>6. PeaceBuilders</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating a favourable school climate - Teaching children to interact in a social setting - Social behaviour is rewarded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Continuous activities both in class and in school as a whole - Involvement of all school staff members - Primary schools with a high rate of suspensions in an American urban region 	Effective
<i>7. Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A combination of increased knowledge about violence, changed norms with regard to violence, and new skills must lead to different behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Lessons in class format by someone other than the children's own teacher - The first year of American middle school in one of the larger cities 	Potentially effective
<i>12. The Peacemakers Programme</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A combination of changed motivation (attitude) and increased skills must lead to different behaviour - Cognitive behavioural approach to increasing children's skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Lessons in class format by the children's own teacher - The last grades of primary schools and the first year of secondary schools in a large, American urban region 	Potentially effective
<i>13. Community-based intervention for young people with behavioural problems</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reducing the number of risk factors in several areas and reducing the influence of the risk factors by promoting protective factors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Young people (average age 13) from socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods in large American city, who are at risk of developing a deviant lifestyle - Community-based individual counselling in combination with mentor group sessions 	Potentially effective

	Mechanisms	Contexts	Effects
<i>8. Second Step</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The motivation for exhibiting violent behaviour must be reduced by promoting empathy and by increasing knowledge about violence - By reducing impulsivity the opportunity for the child to think about his/her behaviour must be created - Learning new skills must make different behaviour possible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Lessons in class format by the children's own teacher - Evaluated in American primary and secondary schools 	<i>Potentially ineffective</i>
<i>10. Get Real about Violence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changing attitudes toward violence and changing subjective norms with respect to violence is supposed to change the behavioural intention of young people, which makes them less inclined to exhibit violent behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Lessons in class format by the children's own teacher - Secondary schools (7th grade) in medium-sized American city 	<i>Potentially ineffective</i>
<i>11. Students for Peace</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teaching new skills that enable young people to resolve conflicts in a non-violent way - Creating an environment that supports and promotes a non-violent attitude and non-violent behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Secondary schools (6th–8th grade) in large American urban region - Lessons in class format by teacher (not necessarily the children's own teacher) - Fellow students act as mediators in conflicts - Involving the parents by means of newsletters 	Potentially ineffective

5.2.2 Context-oriented prevention

Table 16 provides an overview of the effectiveness of context-oriented measures for the prevention of violence and the mechanisms and contexts involved in these measures. Three measures prove to be effective: improving street lighting, hot spots policing, and targeted surveillance. The first measure is different from the other two in that improving street lighting is a primary prevention strategy. The mechanisms that underlie this measure also appear to differ from those of the other two measures. Although improving street lighting also has an opportunity-reducing and deterrent effect, this effect is probably achieved because improved street lighting is likely to increase community pride and informal social control, which, in turn, results in a reduction in crime (Farrington & Welsh,

2002b). A characteristic of hot spots policing and targeted surveillance is that immediate opportunity-reducing and deterrent measures are used in a very focused manner, in contrast to general measures such as non-targeted surveillance.

As previously discussed in chapter 4, there are indications that improving street lighting is mainly effective in stable neighbourhoods with a homogeneous population (Farrington & Welsh, 2002b). Painter and Farrington (1997) point out in addition that, because of their layout and types of homes, the neighbourhoods in their study are suited to natural surveillance. They consider this a possibly important characteristic for the success of improving street lighting.

Potentially effective measures for the prevention and management of violence in bars, shops, and businesses are the training of bar staff and the implementation of customised situational measures aimed at preventing robberies and violence in shops and businesses. With regard to the underlying mechanisms and the way in which the measures are deployed, this latter measure appears to have some similarities to hot spots policing and targeted surveillance: a careful analysis of the particular situation results in the targeted use of opportunity-reducing and deterrent measures. The Safer Bars programme, which uses a combination of a risk-specific approach and the training of bar staff, was studied in a randomised experiment and proved to be effective. Because this is the only study thus far on the effects of the programme, it is not possible to draw a definite conclusion other than that it is a promising programme. One potentially ineffective intervention is the use of a self-help book to help women avoid becoming the victims of sexual violence. Because users of the book did report changes in their own views and behaviour, the question arises whether it is possible to reduce the risk of sexual violence by focusing on potential victims.

One measure that does not work in the prevention of violence is closed circuit television surveillance (CCTV). CCTV mainly proves to have a preventative effect on crimes against property, especially when used in specific, enclosed spaces (such as parking garages), but not on violence against persons (Welsh & Farrington, 2004). Armitage (2002) suggests that the reason may be that CCTV uses a rational choice mechanism and that, in situations in which this rational choice is influenced by emotions (anger) or, for instance, alcohol, cameras do not stop people from committing offences. When combating violent crime, the power of the camera lies mainly in the opportunity to quickly coordinate a response to incidents, thus preventing escalation (Bruinsma & Bernasco, 2004; Sivaraasingam et al., 2003). One positive aspect, however, is that the camera images are monitored and that action is taken in response.

Context-oriented prevention measures for which it is not possible to draw conclusions about effectiveness are the installation of bullet-proof glass in banks and post offices, training for bank personnel, and prevention of violence during a large-scale public event. Other measures for which it is not possible to make judgments are neighbourhood watch, prevention in extremely violent neighbourhoods, and the agreements on nightlife violence signed by Dutch municipalities.

Table 16 Context-oriented prevention of violence

	Mechanisms	Contexts	Effects
<i>15. Improving street lighting</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase in community pride and social control result in natural surveillance, which has a deterrent effect on potential perpetrators 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - The layout of the neighbourhood lends itself to natural surveillance - Stable neighbourhoods with a homogeneous population 	Effective
<i>17. Hot spots policing</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The problem-oriented deployment of police tactics, using several mechanisms based on rational choice theory and the routine activities theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Selected places 	Effective
<i>21. Targeted surveillance</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Targeted at specific groups - Reducing the opportunities for committing offences - Increasing the chances of being arrested 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Neighbourhoods with considerable gang-related violence in a large American city 	Effective
<i>22. Safer Bars</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making bar proprietors aware of the risks - Offering opportunities to reduce risks - Teaching bar staff skills that will allow them to prevent and manage conflicts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Larger bars in which aggressive incidents are not uncommon, in a large Canadian city 	<i>Potentially effective</i>
<i>24. Customised prevention measures within businesses</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Targeted use of prevention measures, using several mechanisms based on rational choice theory and the routine activities theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Shops and businesses that are likely targets for robberies and violence 	<i>Potentially effective</i>

	Mechanisms	Contexts	Effects
16. <i>Dating 101 –preventing women from becoming the victims of sexual violence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By changing the attitudes, knowledge, and skills of potential victims they are expected to change their behaviour, putting them less at risk of becoming a victim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - Aimed at potential victims (female students) - Self-help book, individual's own responsibility 	<i>Potentially ineffective</i>
14. <i>CCTV</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deterrent - Increasing the chances of an arrest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention - City centres, business districts 	Ineffective

5.2.3 *Person- and context-oriented prevention*

Table 17 gives an overview of the effectiveness of person- and context-oriented measures for the prevention of violence and the mechanisms and contexts involved in these measures. Training for young children (at school or elsewhere), combined with training for parents, is effective in preventing violence during adolescence. This is especially significant for children who have behavioural problems, and thus are at risk of exhibiting violent behaviour at a later stage, but these programmes are also effective for children growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Such interventions have the most effect on children for whom actual risk factors are present in early childhood (Farrington, 2001). Aos and colleagues (2004) calculated the cost–benefit ratio of a number of projects for young children and their parents and concluded that such projects generally have a positive cost–benefit ratio. We must take into account the fact that, in their calculations, Aos and associates included only benefits related to delinquency; other positive effects were not included.

This study incorporates only two programmes that combine training for children with training for their parents. However, there are several such programmes that appear to have a long-term favourable effect on the prevention of crime (Farrington & Welsh, 2003). Such interventions generally focus on reducing the number of risk factors or reducing the negative influence these factors may have on the development of the child. Because several negative developmental outcomes often share the same risk factors, such programmes are generally not specifically aimed at preventing violence (it is an added benefit). For this reason, evaluation studies of these interventions are rarely included in this study. It is therefore advisable to review the literature on early interventions for problem behaviour in very young children to see to what extent proven effective interventions also have had a long-term effect on the prevention of violence.

What applies to interventions for young children and their parents also applies to pre-school interventions. Because these interventions usually do not specifically target the prevention of violence, they are not included in this study. However, research shows that these interventions can most certainly have a positive effect on the prevention of violence (Farrington, 2001; Farrington & Welsh, 2003). One of the best-known and most effective examples in international literature is the High/Scope Perry Preschool programme. The latest publication (Schweinhart et al., 2005) on the results of the longitudinal study (randomised experiment) of the effects of this programme shows that, at age 40, members of the experimental group had been arrested for violent crimes significantly less often than members of the control group.⁸ This effect was also observed for crimes against property and drug-related crimes. In addition to a positive effect on crime reduction, the programme also proved to have a beneficial influence on the educational level of the participants, their labour participation and improved economic situation, their health, and their private lives. Schweinhart and colleagues also conducted a comprehensive cost–benefit analysis and concluded that the Perry Preschool programme has a very favourable cost–benefit ratio. Even at the least favourable discount rate the Perry Preschool programme returns \$5.67 for each dollar invested.

Another effective person- and context-oriented prevention measure is training for potential perpetrators and victims of dating violence (Safe Dates and Youth Relationship Programme). In such programmes the intervention must be provided *before* young people actually start dating (see also Cano et al., 1998). Such programmes do not appear to be effective for older adolescents and young adults.

A potentially effective person- and context-oriented measure for the prevention of violence is the American Children at Risk project, which uses an approach in which targeted measures are deployed to reduce specific risk factors. This is combined with strict enforcement on the part of the police and the justice system. Although the qualitatively good evaluation indicates positive effects of CAR, similar interventions do not always appear to achieve the desired effects (Gottfredson et al., 2002). A meta-analysis by Farrington and Welsh (2005) also shows that the scope of the observed effects is rather small.

Based on the available literature it is not possible to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of two Dutch person- and context-oriented prevention measures: a school-wide campaign against violence and the Marietje Kessels projects. This also applies to a psychodynamic school programme for the prevention of violence.

⁸ Because the researchers received this publication too late it was not possible to *include it in this study*.

Table 17 Person- and context-oriented prevention of violence

	Mechanisms	Contexts	Effects
<i>30 & 36. Training for young children and their parents</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teaching parents parenting skills - Teaching young children social and cognitive skills and interpersonal problem-solving skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary prevention: long-term intervention during primary school years. Training for children at school and training for parents - Secondary prevention: two-year training course for parents and children (average age 7); children are trained in small groups of prosocial peers at school and with his siblings at home 	Effective
<i>29 & 34. Prevention of dating violence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness and changing norms - Learning conflict management skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Primary and secondary prevention - Aimed at potential perpetrators and potential victims - Young people who are not dating yet 	Effective
<i>35. Children at Risk</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Targeted approach to risk factors in several domains - Strict enforcement by the police and the justice system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary prevention - Young people (ages 11-13) from disadvantaged neighbourhoods - Collaboration between several partners is a requirement 	<i>Potentially effective</i>

5.3 Discussion and recommendations

The objective of this study was twofold. First, it was intended to provide an overview of effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain, both nationally and abroad. Second, it was projected to provide an insight into the mechanisms at the base of effective or promising prevention measures and the circumstances in which these measures prove to be effective. The Ministry of Justice needed to be able to use the study to determine what proven effective or promising measures for the prevention of violence could be implemented in the Netherlands. However, this study has shown that the effects of many prevention measures were never evaluated. This applies both to measures used in the Netherlands and abroad and results in the fact that there is no evidence as to whether many of them are effective. The overview provided in chapter 2 (Figure 1) shows that, despite the search

terms aimed at evaluation, only 48 of the 169 publications describing prevention in the public or semi-public domain relate to the evaluation of effects. In this respect it is also remarkable that the majority of those 48 publications relate to the evaluation of school programmes, whereas other contexts in which many initiatives for the prevention of violence are also implemented are virtually absent. Consider, for instance, bars, restaurants, nightlife areas, and public transport. It is also evident that if a measure *is* evaluated, the quality of the study design is often inadequate to be able to draw conclusions about its effectiveness. The fact that evaluation studies often do not meet minimum quality requirements is not a new observation – it has been made repeatedly in relation to many subjects – but combined with the fact that many measures are not evaluated at all it does mean that the overview of effective and promising measures for the prevention of violence is incomplete.

Like the first objective of this study, the second objective – to gain insight into the mechanisms and contexts of effective or promising prevention measures – was only realised to a limited extent. It is notable that only in a small number of effect studies is specific attention given to the underlying mechanisms that are supposed to ensure that a prevention measure achieves the intended results. Most publications give a concise description of the theoretical background of the evaluated measure and clarify what components the measure consists of. In a number of publications even this is missing and hardly any studies refer to a defined programme theory at the base of the researched intervention. The context in which a measure is implemented is usually not described in any detail either and, as a result of the lack of evaluation studies, an evaluated measure is also assessed in a very limited number of contexts. Knowledge about mechanisms and contexts in which certain effects are achieved is important because it offers the opportunity to determine whether a certain measure will achieve the same effects in a different context under the same programme conditions. Furthermore, such knowledge provides us with insight into *how* a measure works and *why* it is effective. Without this insight an intervention remains a black box and it will be impossible either to justify or refute its effectiveness. That such a situation is far from ideal can be illustrated using the point that, in the 1960s, the lack of such knowledge in the United Kingdom resulted in the cessation of randomised experiments (Leeuw, 2005). Knowledge about mechanisms and contexts is therefore vital to the process of making judgments about the generalisability of results and obtaining insight into the functioning of a measure.

Although it was not possible to fully realise the objectives of this study, a number of recommendations can still be made with respect to the prevention of violence in the public and semi-public domain.

1 More attention for evaluating prevention projects

It is advisable to pay more attention to the evaluation of prevention projects. Many projects are not evaluated or are evaluated using poor quality methodological designs so that it cannot be determined whether they are effective. This applies both to projects abroad and to Dutch projects. For instance, numerous initiatives are implemented in bars, restaurants, and nightlife areas, but Dutch evaluation studies for such projects are not available. In order to guarantee the evaluation of measures it would be useful if the evaluation study could be provided for at the start of a prevention project. Existing projects must also be evaluated for their effects. A good example is the Marietje Kessels project, which is offered by many municipalities. However, only one evaluation study of the project is known and, based on this study, it is not possible to draw conclusions about its effectiveness in terms of the prevention of violence.

2 Early interventions for young children

Although early interventions for young children with behavioural problems and their parents are primarily aimed at averting the risk of deviant development, they also prove to be effective in preventing violence in adolescence (longer-term effects). Such programmes, which combine training for children with training for their parents, are not only effective for children who are clearly at risk of deviant development, but also for those in disadvantaged situations. The programmes may not explicitly focus on preventing violence in the public or semi-public domain, but because most violence perpetrated by young people occurs outside the home, we can assume that such programmes will certainly have a positive influence. Their use is therefore recommended. It is also advisable to explore which pre-school interventions, such as High/Scope Perry Preschool, have a favourable effect on the prevention of violence and could be offered in the Netherlands.

3 Prevention programmes in schools

The use of prevention programmes in schools can make a positive contribution to reducing violence. Programmes such as the PeaceBuilders programme or RIPP, both of which are used on a school-wide basis or are very intensive and do not consist of only a limited number of lessons, would be the preferred option. The greatest effect is to be expected among students who are already exhibiting a certain level of aggressive behaviour. However, if such programmes were to be adopted in the Netherlands it would be advisable to be aware of the possibility that the effects of school programmes in urban contexts may be limited to the behaviour of students at school and may not extend to the street and the home.

4 *Improving street lighting*

In stable neighbourhoods with a homogeneous population, improved street lighting can make a contribution to preventing violence in the streets. It is therefore advisable to use improved street lighting in neighbourhoods that would be suited to this measure.

5 *Targeted use of secondary prevention measures*

When using secondary prevention measures in public and semi-public spaces it is advisable to do so in a specifically targeted manner. A careful assessment must be made of exactly which problems or risk factors are present, after which customised interventions can be used. This applies to neighbourhoods, to specific areas, and to shops and businesses or institutions. Hot spots policing and the targeted use of surveillance (e.g., enforcing compulsory school attendance) are good examples of such a targeted approach. The feasibility of more frequent use of such measures should be assessed.

6 *Specific prevention measures*

Specific prevention measures that appear to be effective or promising are the Safer Bars programme for the prevention of violence in bars, and Safe Dates and the Youth Relationship Programme for the prevention of dating violence. It must be considered whether these measures could be applied in the Netherlands.

7 *Implementation and evaluation of prevention measures*

If an existing measure is adopted it is advisable to use a specific search to determine whether further information about this measure is available in the international literature and, if so, to study this literature. Finally, it should go without saying that, like any other type of intervention, a measure must be carefully implemented and a high degree of programme integrity (Is the measure being carried out as intended?) must be secured. Because measures tend to be complex systems with a sizeable number of components (Pawson & Klein Haarhuis, 2005) the implementation process must pay specific attention to this complexity so that it is clear to all involved what is important for the proper realisation of the measure. A careful implementation and programme integrity are essential conditions for replicating effects achieved elsewhere. Nevertheless, even when carefully implemented and realised, there is no guarantee that the measure will have the same effect in a new (Dutch) context as it had elsewhere. It is therefore important to accompany a new measure with a good quality evaluation study. Prior to such a study it is necessary to focus on the reconstruction of the programme theory that underlies the measure. Based on this theory it is possible to give direction to the evaluation study and, if the measure is effective, to obtain insight into *how* and *why* the intervention is successful.

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Violence and Victims, volume 19, no. 5, 2004, pp. 593-612

Appendix 1

Advisory group

Chairman

S. Bogaerts, PhD
Head of the Crime Prevention & Sanctions Division and the Law Enforcement Research Division of the WODC (*Research and Documentation Centre*).
Professor of Forensic Psychology, University of Tilburg

Members

H.B. Ferwerda, PhD
Director and researcher, Beke Advice and Research Group

J. de Waard (member of the Advisory group until 01/08/05)
Development Team member, Dutch Centre for Crime Prevention and Safety

N. N. de Ridder, MA (member of the Advisory group from 01/08/05)
Programme staff member, Dutch Centre for Crime Prevention and Safety

L.J.M. Tonino, LL.M.
Senior policy staff member Public Crime Prevention, Directorate for Sanction and Prevention Policy, Ministry of Justice

Appendix 2

Screening lists

Screening list for initial literature selection

Assessor

Author

Title

Effect evaluation? **yes/no/not enough information**
if no, meta-evaluation/review study:
yes/no
clarification, if any:

Prevention of violence? **yes/no/not enough information**
clarification, if any:

Public or semi-public domain? **yes/no/not enough information**
if no, what alternative
if yes, what

Year of publication

Language

Select this publication? **yes/no**
if not, don't select it because

Comments

Screening list for second literature selection

Assessor

Title of programme

Outcome measure **violence, namely****other, namely**

Context

Type of publication

 Effect evaluation Review study
(narrative review) Meta-analysis Otherwise relevant, namely: Description of mechanisms Source of references Background piece/description of
a programme Critical piece, suitable for
discussion General piece, suitable for
introduction Other, namely

Select this publication?

yes/no

Clarification

Appendix 3

Schedule for summarising selected publications

General

Publication number	
Name of person who prepared the summary	
Any other publications used in summarising this publication (e.g., descriptive publications about the prevention programme)	

Title information of the publication

Author(s)	
Title	
Publication year	
Other reference information (magazine, book, publisher, etc.)	
Type of publication	1 Journal article 2 Book 3 Chapter in a book 4 Study report 5 Unpublished, namely 6 Other, namely
Where was the study done?	
When was the study done?	Year started: Year completed:

Description of the programme

Name of the programme	
Type of prevention programme	1 Primary prevention, person-oriented 2 Primary prevention, context-oriented 3 Primary prevention, person- and context-oriented 4 Secondary prevention, person-oriented 5 Secondary prevention, context-oriented 6 Secondary prevention, person- and context-oriented
Programme objective	
Programme target group	

Description of the content of the programme	
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	
Context in which the programme was carried out	
Who delivers or provides the programme?	
Is information available about programme integrity? If yes, specify.	
Description of types of treatment and control groups	
Type of intervention carried out with the control group	
Was the evaluation carried out by the developers of the programme?	

Characteristics of the treatment and control group(s)

<i>Interventions aimed at persons</i>	
Gender distribution in treatment group	
Gender distribution in control group	
Average age in treatment group (+ range and standard deviation)	
Average age in control group (+ range and standard deviation)	
Total N in treatment group	
Total N in control group	
Other relevant characteristics of treatment group	
Other relevant characteristics of control group	
Comments	

<i>Interventions NOT aimed at persons</i>	
Type of study 'units'	
Number of 'units' in treatment group	
Number of 'units' in control group	
Relevant characteristics of treatment group	
Relevant characteristics of control group	
Comments	

Methodological description

Study design	
Definition of violence used	
Outcome measure of violence	
Were pretests with regard to violence performed?	

SMS score	1 Correlational data (low level of violence correlates with intervention at a single moment in time)
	2 No statistical control for selection bias but there is a certain form of comparison (e.g., pretest and posttest in a treatment group without a control group or a treatment group compared to a non-comparable control group)
	3 Violence before and after the intervention measured in a treatment group and a comparable control group.
	4 Levels of violence before and after the intervention in several treatment and control groups, controlling for other variables that could influence violence (e.g., by means of matching or statistical control).
	5 Random assignment of 'units' to treatment and control condition.
	0 None of the aforementioned characteristics
Comments with SMS score	

<i>If control groups were used</i>	
How was the assignment to the treatment group and control group made?	
Does the study report on differences between the groups at the pretest? If so, what were the results?	
Does the study control for differences between intervention and control groups (prior to the intervention)?	
Were intervention and control groups matched?	
What variables were used to control for differences between the intervention and control groups or to match groups?	

Were specific selection criteria used in the selection of the intervention and control groups?	
Attrition analysis in the treatment group? If so, specify.	
Attrition analysis in the control group? If so, specify.	

Results of the study

How were the effects of the intervention studied and reported?	
Are the differences between the intervention and control group significant (according to the authors)?	
Further comments relating to the results.	
Based on the raw effect (ignoring statistical significance), which group performs best?	1 Neither
	2 The treatment group
	3 The control group
	4 Not unambiguous
	5 Not known
Based on the raw effect (with statistical significance), which group performs best?	1 Neither
	2 The treatment group
	3 The control group
	4 Not unambiguous
	5 Not known

Conclusions

What conclusions do the authors draw?	
Comments relating to methodology, results and conclusions.	

Appendix 4

Summaries of effective and potentially effective prevention measures

Effective prevention of violence

Measure 5. Responding in Peaceful and Positive Ways (RIPP)

(Farrell & Meyer, 1997; Farrell, Meyer, & White, 2001; Farrell, Meyer, et al., 2003; Farrell, Valois, et al., 2003)

Type of prevention programme	Person-oriented, primary prevention.
Programme objective	Reducing the number of violent incidents committed by young people.
Programme target group	Students in the first three years of the American secondary school system (grades 6–8, ages 11–14).
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The full RIPP programme consists of three programmes, one for each year. Students in grade 6 are offered the RIPP-6 programme, which consists of 25 weekly lessons distributed throughout the entire school year and focuses mainly on the prevention of violence. The RIPP-7 programme consists of twelve weekly lessons at the start of the school year and focuses mainly on the use of skills to resolve conflicts between friends. RIPP-8 consists of twelve weekly lessons at the end of the school year and focuses on a successful transition to high school.</p> <p>RIPP-6 is based on a model of social cognitions and emotional processes that are related to aggressive behaviour and social competence. The programme is based on a problem-solving process that consists of seven steps. During the lessons the students are encouraged to use this model and to make effective choices based on the situation they are in. Through the frequent use of these methods the students learn to choose a strategy that is likely to be the most successful in a given situation. The initial sessions focus mainly on team building and the translation of knowledge. The subsequent sessions focus specifically on accumulating skills and critical analyses. In addition, specific violence prevention skills are practiced by means of experimental and didactic activities.</p> <p>RIPP-7 is based on the same starting points as RIPP-6 and is intended to teach students to resolve conflicts with friends. The assumption is that students who are able to resolve conflicts with friends will use these same skills to resolve conflicts with others. The curriculum focuses on the following skills:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Show respect for others (listening). – Speak clearly. – Listen to yourself (“What you want is important”). – Value friendships. <p>No further information on RIPP-8 is available in the studied publications.</p>

Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	RIPP was developed for use in a period when there are many changes in the lives of young people: immediately after the transition from primary school to secondary school. This transition is accompanied by a large number of developmental changes, such as puberty, changes in the capacity for empathy, changes in the relationships between boys and girls, and a shift in focus from parents to peers. RIPP supposedly deals with all these changes by responding to them. In the formulation of the programme for use in this period of change, a sensitive developmental period was chosen in order to maximize the effect of the programme. In this sensitive period young people are taught awareness about different ways of responding, they are offered attitudes that are less tolerant of violence, and they are taught new skills that will allow them to translate their new knowledge and attitudes into less violent behaviour. Through repetition the young person learns to recognize opportunities for applying a suitable strategy to individual situations. By looking at violence in a classroom format a safe environment is created in which young people respect each other and want to share their thoughts. This way they benefit more from the training and their behaviour is supposed to change for the better.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	A combination of increased knowledge about other ways of responding, less tolerant attitudes with regard to violence, and new skills are supposed to result in changed behaviour.
Context in which the programme was carried out	RIPP is taught in schools, in a classroom format by a teacher who is not the usual teacher. There is a programme for the 6th grade, which consists of 25 weekly lessons, and programmes for the 7th and 8th grade, which consist of twelve weekly lessons each. RIPP was implemented in schools in American inner cities, in neighbourhoods where residents are mostly poor and where violent crime is a major problem. RIPP was also implemented in schools in a rural region with a diverse student body.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Trained people from different population groups with comprehensive teaching experience.
Where was the study done?	In five rural schools in Florida (U.S.) with an ethnically diverse student body and in public secondary schools in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Richmond, Virginia (U.S.).

Measure 6. PeaceBuilders

(Flannery, et al. 2003; Vazsonyi, Belliston, and Flannery, 2004)

Type of prevention programme	Person-oriented, primary prevention.
Programme objective	The programme focuses on individual behaviour change in interpersonal and social settings. The objective is to reduce aggressive behaviour in children by starting prevention early.
Programme target group	Primary school pupils

Description of the content of the programme	<p>The programme is incorporated into everyday school life and is not offered in separate settings. The programme consists of activities during each lesson that can be implemented by each teacher.</p> <p>All children and staff members in the school learn five simple rules that ensure that the intervention is easy to learn and sustain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Praise people. - Avoid put-downs. - Seek wise people as advisors and friends. - Notice and correct hurts we cause. - Right wrongs. <p>To help the children learn these skills the programme uses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Daily rituals that are intended to foster a sense of belonging. - Cues and symbols that can be applied in different contexts in school. - Specific prompts to “transfer” across people, behaviours, and time. - New materials and strategies that are introduced for certain times and circumstances in which positive behaviour could otherwise turn into negative behaviour.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	If more prosocial cues and models are given in a school and this sociable behaviour is consistently reinforced and rewarded, the social skills of the children will improve over time and the frequency and intensity of aggressive behaviours will be reduced.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	The objective of the prevention programme is to reduce aggressive behaviour in the childhood years, based on the assumption that sociable behaviour is more easily developed at a young age. By influencing the atmosphere at school and rewarding sociable behaviour children are taught to interact in a civilized manner.
Context in which the programme was carried out	PeaceBuilders is a school-wide prevention of violence programme in primary schools, consisting of continuous activities both in the classroom and in the school as a whole, which are implemented with the aid of all school staff members. The schools, in a large urban area, impose many suspensions.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	All staff members in the schools.
Where was the study done?	Pima County, Arizona (U.S.)

Measure 15. Improving street lighting

(Painter and Farrington, 1997; Painter and Farrington, 2001)

Type of prevention programme	Context-oriented, primary prevention
Programme objective	The general objective is reducing crime in the neighbourhood where the street lighting has been improved.
Programme target group	Neighbourhoods with bad street lighting.

Description of the content of the programme	Replacement of old street lighting with new street lighting. The street lighting was replaced along residential roads in the intervention area. The alleys between the houses were not given new street lighting. During a four-week period, bright white street lighting was installed over 1,500 meters of roadway. The distance between the light halos radiated by the new lampposts was smaller than in the old situation (33 meters instead of 40 meters). The old street lighting did not meet the minimum requirements imposed by the British government; the new lighting complied with requirements that were actually more stringent than the minimum. The improvement to the street lighting was therefore clearly noticeable.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	<p>Two approaches are given: the situational approach and the perspective of social control and cohesion in the neighbourhood.</p> <p>The situational approach is based on the assumption that crime can be prevented by making adjustments to the environment that will directly affect potential offenders' perceptions of increased risks and reduced opportunities. Improved street lighting means that the chances of a perpetrator being seen and recognized are greater, that the police will be alerted, or that the perpetrator will be disrupted.</p> <p>Improved street lighting is supposed to result in people being out in the street more often. This increases the number of people out and about in the neighbourhood, which has a deterrent effect. More people means more chance of being seen, more natural surveillance, and more informal social control.</p> <p>The final assertion is that improved street lighting can give the neighbourhood a better image. Investments are being made in the neighbourhood that may result in a more positive attitude towards the neighbourhood on the part of the residents, thus increasing social cohesion and also social control. If this mechanism works, crime should be reduced both at night and during the day. Combined with a more positive view of the neighbourhood on the part of the residents, an improved reputation can also have a deterrent effect on perpetrators; in a better neighbourhood the social control is often stronger and a perpetrator will have a higher risk of being caught. Improved street lighting can also prevent minor trouble, thus preventing small incidents from escalating into major problems.</p>
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	Same as above.
Context in which the programme was carried out	The intervention and control neighbourhoods are comprised mainly of public housing and, through their layout and the types of homes, lend themselves to natural surveillance. Both intervention and control neighbourhoods were disadvantaged areas with high unemployment figures.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	The municipality.
Where was the study done?	Dudley, West Midlands (U.K.)

Measure 17. Hot spots policing: The problem-oriented policing programme

(Braga et al., 1999)

Type of prevention programme	Context-oriented, secondary prevention
Programme objective	Reducing problems in specific places by using targeted interventions per problem area that are most suitable to the area in question (problem-oriented policing approach).
Programme target group	Places where there is considerable violence (hot spots)
Description of the content of the programme	Twenty-eight types of interventions are implemented in twelve hot spots. The interventions are aimed at the specific problems in that area. Several interventions may be used per area. In addition, extra surveillance is used almost everywhere. If it became clear that the interventions did not work they were changed. It was always recorded how the areas were responding and what could be improved, until such time as the problem areas were no longer problem areas.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	By specifically looking at the problems in each area and by using targeted interventions, the problems in question are resolved.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	The problem-oriented use of specific interventions, whereby several mechanisms are used based on the rational choice theory and the routine activities theory.
Context in which the programme was carried out	Collaboration between the police and contacts in the neighbourhood.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	A police officer is in charge of the programme per hot spot.
Where was the study done?	Jersey City, New Jersey (U.S.)

Measure 21. Targeted surveillance: Dallas anti-gang initiative

(Fritsch, Caeti, and Taylor, 1999)

Type of prevention programme	Context-oriented, secondary prevention
Programme objective	Reducing gang-related violence in five target areas.
Programme target group	Neighbourhoods with considerable violence perpetrated by gangs.
Description of the content of the programme	From June 1, 1996 to May 31, 1997, the Dallas police force was given additional funding for combating violence committed by gangs. The main activities this funding was used for, were: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A very strict (aggressive) enforcement of the evening curfew for young people. Dallas has an evening curfew for young people to the age of 17: unless they are accompanied by a parent or guardian they cannot be on the street on weekdays (Sunday through to Thursday) between 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. and on weekends (Friday and Saturday) between midnight and 6 a.m.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aggressive truancy enforcement. In Texas young people between the ages of 7 and 16 are required to be enrolled in and attending school. The police patrolled with the specific aim of looking for truants on weekdays between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m. - Saturation patrol: extremely intensive surveillance whereby there was a highly visible police presence and possible gang members and other suspect persons were stopped and searched (and arrested if there was cause to do so).
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	The authors specifically look at what is known about the effectiveness of the strategies used, but hardly discuss what they believe are the mechanisms that are at the basis of strategies, apart from some general comments to the effect that the mechanism used is suppression.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	In more concrete terms there are different mechanisms: the strict enforcement of the evening curfew means that (the younger) gang members do not have the opportunity to commit violence during certain hours of the day because they are not permitted to go outside. During other hours of the day the (younger) gang members are also unable to commit offences because they have to be in school. The saturation patrol is supposed to ensure that there are more chances of being caught, which has a deterrent effect.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neighbourhoods with considerable violence committed by gangs. - Additional police deployment.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	The police. To enforce the compulsory school attendance the police work together with the schools in the neighbourhoods.
Where was the study done?	Dallas, Texas (nine police precincts) (U.S.)

Measure 29. Prevention of dating violence: Safe Dates

(Foshee, 1998; Foshee et al., 1998; Foshee et al., 2000; Foshee et al., 2004)

Type of prevention programme	Person- and context-oriented, primary prevention
Programme objective	Prevention and reduction of dating violence among adolescents
Programme target group	Adolescents of around 14 years of age
Description of the content of the programme	<p>Safe Dates consists of three activities that are implemented at school:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 A play performed by young people. 2 A curriculum consisting of 10 lessons. 3 A poster competition. <p>First, the play was staged in the schools in the treatment group. The play was performed by eight students who took acting classes in school. It was 45 minutes long and dealt with the way a young person who was a victim of dating violence looked for help.</p> <p>Two months after the play the curriculum started. The lesson programme was implemented during the regular (and compulsory) health education classes. This lesson programme was very thoroughly prepared by means of focus groups, pilot tests, interviews, and submissions to a commission. Each lesson lasted 45 minutes.</p>

	<p>The lessons related to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Defining caring relationships. 2 Defining dating abuse. 3 Why do people abuse? 4 How to help your friends (being sensitive to the fact that it is difficult to ask for help, empathy). 5 Helping friends (how to recognize problems, discussion skills). 6 Images of relationships (awareness that certain views influence behaviour, discussing and understanding gender stereotyping). 7 Equal power through communication (learning communication skills, devising non-violent alternatives). 8 How we feel – how we deal (discussing the importance of acknowledging feelings, responding to anger). 9 Sexual assault (defining sexual assault and rape, reducing the attitude whereby the victim is blamed, talking about the children's own boundaries with regard to sex, discussing how to reduce the risk of date rape). 10 Summary and introduction of the poster contest. <p>One month after the start of the curriculum the students participated in the poster competition. The objective of the poster competition was to expose the students to the programme message one more time. Students who enjoyed doing so created a poster about themes from the programme. The posters were then put up in the classroom and all the students selected the best posters. The creators of the posters could win a prize (the first three received a cash prize).</p> <p>A booster was also used in the form of an 11-page newsletter containing information and five assignments. This newsletter was sent to the home addresses of the young people and around four weeks after the newsletter was sent a health educator contacted the young people in the booster group by telephone. During this telephone conversation the health educator answered questions the young person might have relating to the newsletter, provided additional information where necessary, and made sure the young person had finished his assignments. However, the use of the booster did not affect the results of the programme.</p>
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	Safe Dates is aimed at preventing dating violence by (1) changing the norms with respect to violence against a partner, (2) reducing gender stereotyping, and (3) improving conflict-handling skills.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	<p>By influencing what young people consider to be acceptable behaviour and normal for boys and girls (gender role expectations) the Safe Dates programme aims to change young people's willingness to use or accept violence.</p> <p>By teaching young people skills to exhibit different behaviour the programme also empowers them to convert their preparedness to exhibit different behaviour into action - a combination of influencing attitudes, motivation, and ability alike.</p>
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In school, in the students' classroom (lesson programme and poster competition). - The programme is provided by the students' own health education teacher. - Play performed at school for all the students together. - The programme was assessed in 14 schools in a rural state.

Who delivers or provides the programme?	Safe Dates: the lessons were provided by health education teachers. Prior to the programme the teachers were prepared by means of 20 hours of training by the Safe Dates staff. Booster: the newsletter was sent by the developers of the programme, and the telephone contact was made by the health education teacher of the school in question.
Where was the study done?	Johnston county, North Carolina (U.S.)

Measure 30. Training for young children and their parents: Seattle Social Development Project
(Hawkins et al., 1999)

Type of prevention programme	Person- and context-oriented, primary prevention
Programme objective	The objective of the intervention is reducing the empirically distinguished risk factors for health and behavioural problems among adolescents. These factors are: persistent physically aggressive behaviour in early elementary school grades; poor performance in school; poor family management practices including unclear rules, poor monitoring of behaviour, and inconsistent or harsh discipline. Because growing up in poverty puts children at a higher risk there was specific focus on children from low-income families.
Programme target group	Primary school pupils from age 6 (1st grade), their teachers, and their parents.
Description of the content of the programme	For each year of the intervention the teachers in the treatment group are trained in proactive classroom management, interactive teaching, and cooperative learning. The training takes five days. In 1st grade the children received training from their own teacher. The curriculum focused on learning social, cognitive, and interpersonal problem-solving skills. The children were taught to think about alternative ways of resolving problems with their peers. In addition, they were taught how to behave in social situations without exhibiting aggressive or other problem behaviour. In 6th grade the children received four hours of training from the project staff (strangers, therefore) in skills to recognize and resist social influences to engage in problem behaviour, and to generate and suggest positive alternatives to stay out of trouble while keeping friends. In grades 1 and 2 the parents of the children were given the opportunity to participate in a programme which, based on the work of Gerald Patterson, focuses on the interactions between parents and children and on preventing these interactions from becoming coercive. In grades 2 and 3 they could participate in a programme that taught them how to support their children in their school development. In grades 5 and 6 the parents could participate in a programme aimed at learning skills to help reduce the risk of their children using drugs. The parent training was conducted by professional moderators.

Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	The intervention is based on the social developmental model. Strong bonds to the school are believed to constitute some protection against delinquency. Attachment and commitment are important components of social bonds. If individuals in social groups maintain strong bonds and if these groups set clear norms for behaviour, behaviour that conforms to these norms is enhanced and behaviour that contravenes these norms is reduced. By training teachers to reinforce the bonds children have to the school, by training parents to reinforce the social bonds children have with their family and the school, and by training children in social interactions, it is possible to effect a change of behaviour in school. Children are expected to have a more positive attitude toward school, which would improve their behaviour and their school performance. These changes should then have a positive effect on the development of the children.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	Same as above.
Context in which the programme was carried out	The intervention is aimed at children in public primary schools in neighbourhoods with a great deal of crime. Teachers, pupils, and parents are trained.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	In 1st grade the children are trained by their own teacher. Every year the teachers in the treatment group were trained in the use of certain lesson methods. In the last year of the intervention children also received four hours of training by members of the programme (project staff).
Where was the study done?	Seattle, Washington (U.S.)

Measure 34. Prevention of dating violence: Youth Relationship Project (YRP)

(Wolfe et al., 2003)

Type of prevention programme	Person- and context-oriented, secondary prevention
Programme objective	The objective is to reduce the incidence of victimisation or perpetration of abuse or assault for young people. The intention is also to help them develop more skills for maintaining a healthy relationship.
Programme target group	Young people aged 14–16 with a history of child abuse.
Description of the content of the programme	The programme consists of eighteen (2-hour) sessions and uses the promotion of health as an approach to deal with violence in relationships. Positive alternatives for resolving problems with others are provided. The curriculum consists of three components: – Education and awareness of abuse and power dynamics within a relationship. – Skill development. – Social action. This is an interactive programme with guest speakers, videos, and visits to neighbourhood agencies and the social action project in the community.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	The more often the young people participate in the programme, the more they learn and benefit from it: in other words, learning by repetition and deepening the relationship structures.

Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	Same as above.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eighteen 2-hour lessons for young people who are registered with the Child Protection Services. - Community-based intervention.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	A man and a woman model the skills that can be used in a positive relationship.
Where was the study done?	Canada

Measure 36. Training for young children and their parents: Montreal Longitudinal Experimental Study
(Tremblay et al., 1991)

Type of prevention programme	Person- and context-oriented, secondary prevention
Programme objective	Preventing aggressive behaviour at an older age
Programme target group	French-Canadian children in kindergarten from families with a low socioeconomic status, who exhibit aggressive behaviour.
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The programme consists of components for children and components for parents.</p> <p>Components for children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the first year the children received lessons in social skills within small groups of prosocial peers in school. - In the second year the children participated in ten sessions about self-control (within small groups of prosocial peers in school). - In twelve sessions the children were taught to deal with aggression in a different (social) manner by participating in role-play (fantasy-play). - A television intervention that consisted of nine sessions and dealt with themes like special effects, the effect television has on children, violence on television, publicity, and how to make a choice. <p>Because of a lack of funding only part of the research group participated in the last two components.</p> <p>Components for parents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The parents participated in a reading programme. - Parents were trained in monitoring their children's behaviour. - Parents were trained in giving positive reinforcement for prosocial behaviour. - Parents were taught how to punish effectively without being abusive. - Training parents in managing family crises. - Helping parents to generalize what they have learned. <p>The intervention was spread over two school years. The parents participated every two weeks.</p>
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	<p>The result of training parents is that they will deal with their children differently, which will positively affect the behaviour of the children.</p> <p>By learning certain skills and by participating in role play children learn to respond to certain situations differently (through repetition and practice).</p>

Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	The programme consists of components for children and components for parents. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By learning certain skills and by participating in role play children learn to respond to certain situations differently (through repetition and practice). - Training parents in reinforcing positive behaviour, effective punishment, resolving family crises, and improving the parent-child interaction. - Being able to evaluate television images realistically.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Two-year intervention. - Organized by university-educated youth workers. - Training for parents, training for children.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Two university-educated youth workers, one psychologist, and a social worker.
Where was the study done?	Montreal (Canada)

Potentially effective prevention of violence

Measure 1. Peaceful Conflict Resolution and Violence Prevention Curriculum

(DuRant, Barkin, & Krowchuk, 2001)

Type of prevention programme	Person-oriented, primary prevention.
Programme objective	The objective is to teach children to resolve conflicts by means of non-violent behaviour, thus reducing violent criminality.
Programme target group	First year in the American secondary school system (6th grade).
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The programme consists of thirteen modules. Each module was developed for use during health education lessons and lasts approximately 50 minutes.</p> <p>The themes of the thirteen modules relate to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction to violence. - The conflict cycle. - Avoidance, confrontation, and problem solving. - Communication and its impact on violence. - Angry words. - Dealing with peer pressure. - Conflict resolution step by step. - Planning for problem solving. - Setting the tone. - Finding a good resolution. - Practising conflict resolution (several role plays). - Expressing anger without fighting. - What happens before, during, and after a fight? <p>These themes are discussed with the aid of fact sheets, exercises, and role play with video recordings. During every lesson, time is also made available to discuss whether students have had a chance to put what they have learned into practice and what the situation in question was.</p>

Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	Violence is learned behaviour and can therefore also be unlearned. Based on social cognitive theory the programme focuses on the following components: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increasing knowledge about violence. - Awareness of one's own behaviour in conflict situations. - Reviewing practical options for using learned (non-violent) skills in high-risk situations. - Changes to social norms and receiving social support when exhibiting non-violent behaviour in order to resolve conflicts.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	The combination of increased knowledge about violence, changed norms with respect to violence, and new skills are supposed to result in different behaviour.
Context in which the programme was carried out	50-minute lessons during health education classes.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	An African-American male instructor.
Where was the study done?	Secondary schools (6th grade) in Augusta, Georgia (U.S.) with mainly African-American students who live mostly in or near public housing.

Measure 12. The Peacemakers Programme

(Shapiro et al., 2002)

Type of prevention programme	Person-oriented, primary prevention.
Programme objective	Prevention of violence committed by students.
Programme target group	Students aged 10 to 14.
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The programme consists of seventeen lessons given by teachers. Each lesson lasts approximately 45 minutes. The initial lessons are aimed at changing young people's attitude to violence; these lessons must make non-violent behaviour attractive and young people must be motivated to learn the skills that are the subject matter in the subsequent lessons. The focal point in these initial lessons is the Golden Rule "treat other people the way you want them to treat you."</p> <p>The skills that are learned in the subsequent lessons relate to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Anger management techniques to reduce impulsivity and to strengthen self-regulation of emotions. - Training in self-perception to increase sensitivity to the potentially provocative effects of one's own behaviour on others. - Instruction on avoiding conflicts before they begin. - Problem-solving skills. - Assertive behaviour in the sense that you stand up for yourself without pushing other people around. - Communication skills. - Conflict resolution skills. - Learning to walk away from fights in situations in which conflict management proves impossible. - Resisting negative peer pressure and acting as an agent of positive peer pressure. <p>The programme is carried out using instruction by the regular teacher, discussion in class, the Socratic method, role play, handouts, experience exercises, and written assignments. The goal is for Peacemakers' principles and strategies to become part of the school culture.</p>

Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	By making students think differently about violence they are expected to no longer be prepared to commit violent acts and to prefer non-violent behaviour. In addition, students are taught skills to actualize this non-violent behaviour. In other words: a combination of a change in motivation and increased skills/capacities must result in different behaviour.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	Same as above.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The programme is offered at school, in the classroom (thus in an existing group, the members of which know each other well). - Taught by the regular teacher. - Consists of seventeen lessons. - The content of the lessons must form part of the overall school culture.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Teachers.
Where was the study done?	A large urban public school in the Midwest of the U.S.

Measure 13. Community-based intervention

(Hanlon et al., 2002)

Type of prevention programme	Person-oriented, secondary prevention.
Programme objective	Using an early intervention to reduce the risk of young people who are clearly at risk of developing a deviant lifestyle.
Programme target group	Young people who are at risk of developing a deviant lifestyle. These young people were all referred to community-based clinics either by their family, school, other community service agencies, or the Maryland Department of Juvenile Justice.
Description of the content of the programme	<p>Individual counselling with the aid of a case management approach in which an analysis of tasks and skills is formulated (needs assessment) and in which mutually agreed treatment objectives are continuously evaluated. An active referral policy was also implemented. A manual was developed and counsellors were given assistance in finding the correct agencies to refer the young people to if necessary. The counselling usually lasted less than three months.</p> <p>In addition to the individual counselling a mentor project was also part of the intervention. Role models from the young people's (African-American students) environment were involved to act as mentors. Four or five meetings a week were organized on a group basis after school hours. On average the groups consisted of approximately twenty young people, with at least one mentor per ten participants. In addition to providing help with school problems (including learning basic school skills and help with homework), group mentoring sessions also included regularly scheduled structured activities and presentations in such diverse topics as social skills, problem-solving skills, promoting feelings of self-worth, preventing drug and alcohol use (including smoking), and information about public and social facilities. Day trips, both educational and recreational in nature, were also organized (e.g., to museums). After the second year of existence of the intervention the remedial teaching activities were undertaken by part-time teachers hired especially for the purpose, as the young people's need for extra assistance with their schoolwork proved to be so great that specialist help was required.</p>

	Finally, the original intention was to organize regular, frequent sessions for parents to discuss their interaction with adolescents. However, because the attendance was disappointing, the sessions were replaced by more informal discussion meetings and by activities for the youths and their parents, organized through the intervention. Throughout the intervention, staff members maintained contact with parents and offered assistance in problems with bringing up their children if required. A regular newsletter was also sent to the parents.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	The programme is based on the social developmental model. This model contains components from both social learning theory and control theory. The basic assumption is that deviant behaviour is learned and is produced by continued exposure to multiple risk factors associated with problems or deficits within the individual, family, peers, school, and community. Risk factors are cumulative and enhance each other's effects. Reducing both the number of risk factors and the negative influence of these risk factors by promoting protective factors makes young people less vulnerable to the development of deviant behaviour.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	Same as above.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - This was a project for young people. - The presence of certain characteristics means that these young people are at risk for the development and progression of a deviant lifestyle. - These are young people from socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Baltimore's inner city. - As a result of problem behaviour they were registered with a youth care agency. - The intervention is community-based.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Counsellors from the intervention agency (counselling only), research staff and students (mentors).
Where was the study done?	Baltimore, Maryland (U.S.).

Measure 22. Safer Bars

(Graham et al., 2004)

Type of prevention programme	Context-oriented, secondary prevention.
Programme objective	Reducing the frequency and seriousness of physical aggression in bars.
Programme target group	Bars and nightclubs in Toronto, Canada.
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The programme consists of two components.</p> <p>1. Risk assessment workbook</p> <p>This workbook contains information about what is known - from research on alcohol-related aggression - about environmental factors that affect aggressive behaviour (space, body language, etc.). The objective of the book is to make the bar owner more aware of the factors that (may) play a role in the origination of violence. The book consists of 92 questions about the way the bar is operated. It gives tips on minimizing risk factors but it also points out that it would be unrealistic to expect that all risks can be eliminated. The owner is encouraged to make those changes that are feasible in view of the character and customers of the bar.</p>

	<p>2. Three hours of training for bar personnel and management.</p> <p>The training draws on bar-room research to identify common types of incidents of aggression and staff behaviours contributing to aggression as well as examples of staff behaviour that are effective in avoiding and defusing aggression. The trainer follows a structured training guide with a standard set of overheads, video clips, and a workbook supplied to each participant. The following subjects are discussed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognizing the early signs of aggression and intervening on time. - Evaluating the situation well and planning a response. - Learning techniques to prevent anger and rage. - Learning body language and non-verbal techniques. - Responding to problem situations. - Dealing with aggression and problem behaviour.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	Increasing the knowledge of bar personnel about violence. Changing the attitude of bar personnel with regard to violence. Learning to prevent escalation and dealing with violence on the premises will ensure that there is less violence in bars. If violence does occur it will be curbed as much as possible so that it does not escalate.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Making bar owners aware of the risks that may play a role in violence. - Offering possibilities for reducing the risks that may play a role in violence. - Teaching bar personnel skills for preventing and managing conflicts.
Context in which the programme was carried out	Larger bars in which aggressive incidents are not uncommon, in a large Canadian city.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Four professional trainers from an independent agency.
Where was the study done?	Toronto, Canada.

Measure 24. Customised prevention within companies: The Workplace Violence Prevention Programme (WVPP)

(Peek-Asa et al., 2004)

Type of prevention programme	Context-oriented, secondary prevention.
Programme objective	Preventing robberies and violence in shops and businesses, thus reducing injuries resulting from robberies and violence.
Programme target group	Small high-risk businesses: convenience stores, petrol stations, supermarkets, off-licenses, bars, restaurants, motels.
Description of the content of the programme	If businesses (randomly assigned to the intervention condition) wanted to participate in the study a comprehensive baseline assessment was performed. Based on this assessment a tailor-made Action Plan was developed and implemented by one of three specially trained Certified Protection Professionals. These people would visit the business owners at their premises, discuss every recommendation from the Action Plan, and stress the importance of implementing the recommendations. They were also available for consultation.

	<p>The WVPP issued recommendations on seven subjects: employee training, cash-handling procedures, safe and safe management, interior lighting, visibility, access control, and safety procedure notices (by means of stickers, for example). Depending on the relevance, recommendations were also made with regard to safety and surveillance equipment (such as CCTV cameras and alarm systems).</p> <p>In addition to the Action Plan, businesses in the treatment group also received a manual, staff training materials in the form of brochures and a video, and stickers to put on cash registers, safes, and front doors to make people aware of the measures that have been taken.</p>
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	Only Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design is referred to. The mechanisms that are at the basis of this programme are not specifically included.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	<p>The intention is to increase the cost (risk) for the perpetrators on the one hand and to reduce the benefits of robbery on the other. The trouble the perpetrator would have to go to and the risks he would have to take are supposed to outweigh the potential benefits. Or, more specifically:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To increase the chances of perpetrators being recognized by means of improved lighting and visibility on premises. - To warn potential perpetrators that safety measures are in place by means of stickers and the like. - To restrict the availability of the loot and to reduce the amount that can potentially be stolen by means of safe management and cash handling procedures. - To reduce the opportunities by means of access control. - To increase the chances of a perpetrator being arrested by training personnel to observe potential perpetrators more closely, allowing them to give the police a better description.
Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in the programme is voluntary, as is following the recommendations from the Action Plan. - Apart from the time required for the assessment and discussion of the Action Plan, this programme requires little investment on the part of the participants. - Only if the proprietor wants to implement the recommendations are investments required. - With relatively little obligation the programme offers comprehensive advice with respect to reducing the risk of becoming the victim of robberies or violence. - The businesses that are eligible for participation are small businesses with an increased risk of becoming the target of robberies or violence.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Specially trained security professionals. Training is provided by a number of specialists in the field of workplace safety and by a specific institute.
Where was the study done?	Los Angeles, California (U.S.).

Measure 35. Children at Risk (CAR)

(Harrell, Cavanagh, and Sridharan, 1999)

Type of prevention programme	Person- and context-oriented, secondary prevention.
Programme objective	Reducing drug use and delinquent behaviour by reducing the risk factors to which young people are exposed.
Programme target group	At-risk adolescents aged 11–13 who live in a disadvantaged neighbourhood.
Description of the content of the programme	<p>The publication does not provide specific information about exactly what the young people were exposed to. The programme consists of eight components:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Case managers: they assessed the service needs of the participating youths and their families and developed and implemented plans to provide for those needs. – Family services: case managers worked together with all family members to resolve problems in the home environment. Family services included a wide range of therapeutic services and skills training to help families and adult caregivers to function better. – After-school and summer activities. – Mentors for one-on-one relationships or for a small group of young people. – Education services: CAR offered tutoring and homework assistance to all participating youths and referrals to other services as needed. – Incentives: at the end of every week good behaviour was rewarded with a small amount of money (\$10), a visit to sporting events, vouchers for pizza, or tickets for the cinema. – Community policing and enhanced enforcement: CAR included the direct participation of police officers, especially in and around school grounds and on major routes to school. – Criminal and juvenile justice interventions: case managers worked together with criminal and juvenile justice authorities when CAR youths became involved with the courts. Case managers did so by sharing information about young people and undertaking joint service planning.
Assumed effective mechanisms (according to the literature)	By focusing problem-oriented solutions in the right areas violence is expected to be reduced.
Assumed mechanisms according to the author of the summary	<p>CAR is a very broad intervention. The idea behind the intervention is that, if risk factors are dealt with in several areas, drug use and delinquency will be prevented. The intervention consists of case management, family services, after-school activities, activities during the summer holiday, education opportunities, a mentor programme, increased enforcement, a higher police presence in the neighbourhood, and coordination with the Justice department.</p> <p>By focusing problem-oriented solutions in the right areas violence is expected to be reduced. Specific problems must be dealt with in a targeted manner; this means a case manager for family problems, after-school activities to prevent young people from being out on the streets, learning assistance to help young people finish school, and so forth. . This is the way to achieve a solution/progress according to the programme.</p>

Context in which the programme was carried out	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Family, school, the neighbourhood, community-based. This is an intervention within different contexts. - The police and the Justice department. - Collaboration between different parties is required.
Who delivers or provides the programme?	Case workers, in conjunction with the police.
Where was the study done?	Austin, Texas; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Memphis, Tennessee; Savannah, Georgia; Seattle, Washington (U.S.)

WODC-rapporten

Om zo veel mogelijk belanghebbenden te informeren over de onderzoeksresultaten van het WODC wordt een beperkte oplage van de rapporten kosteloos verspreid onder functionarissen, werkgroepen en instellingen binnen en buiten het ministerie van Justitie. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van een verzendlijst die afhankelijk van het onderwerp van het rapport opgesteld wordt. De rapporten in de reeks Onderzoek en beleid (O&B) worden uitgegeven door Boom Juridische uitgevers en zijn voor belangstellenden die niet voor een kosteloos rapport in aanmerking komen, te bestellen bij Boom distributiecentrum, postbus 400, 7940 AK Meppel, tel.: 0522-23 75 55, via e-mail: bdc@bdc.boom.nl.

Een complete lijst van de WODC-rapporten is te vinden op de WODC-site (www.wodc.nl). Daar zijn ook de uitgebreide samenvattingen te vinden van alle vanaf 1997 verschenen WODC-rapporten. Volledige teksten van de rapporten (vanaf 1999) zullen met terugwerkende kracht op de WODC-site beschikbaar komen. Hieronder volgen de titelbeschrijvingen van de in 2002, 2003, 2004 en 2005 verschenen rapporten.

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