

European Crime Prevention Network

Good practice template

The European Crime Prevention Network (EUCPN) serves as a conduit for good practices in crime prevention. These good practices rely on current evidence and other quality criteria that assist the target groups in selecting effective preventive action to address their own crime problem in their own context. It simultaneously facilitates efforts at knowledge synthesis across projects.

This template serves as a formal framework for extracting information on the nature of potential good practices. All questions are to be completed in English.

With this completed template, the applicant aims to

Share good practice for inclusion on the EUCPN's channels (Knowledge centre, newsletter, publications, etc.)

Participate at the European Crime Prevention Award (ECPA)¹

The applicant gives permission to publish this information and her/his contact details on the EUCPN's website.

General information

1. What is the name of the intervention?

Primus Motor ('Driving Force')

2. Country of application

Denmark

3. Who is responsible for completing this template?

Organisation responsible for this application:

Contact person: Lise Lind

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If different, please provide contact details to ask for additional information:

4. Timing

Start date of the intervention: 1/01/2015

Is the intervention still running: Yes No

If not, please provide the end date of the intervention: Click or tap to enter a date.

5. Where can we find more information about the intervention? Please provide links to the intervention's website or online reports or publications (preferably in English).

You can find more information about the intervention here:

- The intervention's website: [Primus Motor | Røde Kors \(rodekors.dk\)](http://Primus Motor | Røde Kors (rodekors.dk))
- RCT study by Flemming Balvig (2021) [Primus Motor - Effektundersøgelse - 29 nov 2021 - Final \(afford.dk\)](#)
- Qualitative evaluation by Oxford Research (2020) [Evaluering af Primus Motor \(afford.dk\)](#)

6. Please give a **short summary** of the intervention (**Max. 600 words**).

Primus Motor ('Driving Force') is an innovative and well-structured prison-based mentoring program aiming to reduce recidivism. While mentoring schemes usually offer only a one-on-one-relationship, each participating inmate is carefully matched with two volunteer mentors from the inmate's release area. In order to ensure a qualified effort, mentors have been trained and are offered supervision. They persistently support and motivate mentees' skill-building and law-abiding behavior during frequent prison visits and throughout the well-documented particularly vulnerable transition period of release.

Primus Motor is especially targeted at repeat offenders and inmates, who are usually the most unreachable for resocialization measures. The intervention has a holistic approach to the reintegration of inmates into society by considering both e.g. health-related, educational, work-related, housing and social needs in cooperation with the Danish Prison and Probation Service and municipal actors.

The specific design of Primus Motor has been based on the best possible criminological expertise on what might potentially work, and this expertise has contributed to implementing the initiative. Primus Motor is impact-evaluated - in the form of an RCT study - in collaboration between Danish Red Cross and a criminological research environment (the University of Copenhagen). The study shows that recidivism is more than halved for high-risk offenders, defined as inmates with several convictions and serving full sentence.

In Primus Motor, inmates are offered mentor-support up to 18 months. Building the relationship takes place before release. Typically, the mentee is referred to Primus Motor 4-6 months before release. Volunteer mentors are expected to continue their support after release, as research point out the significance of enduring relationships to growth and measurable effects.¹ The volunteers provide psychosocial and practical aid, and they take part in strengthening the five influenceable factors that reduce recidivism: Housing, economy, employment, health (physical and mental) and network. Additionally, they provide a trusting relationship, support, guidance, and they challenge criminal thought patterns and contribute to normality.

Primus Motor is built on volunteerism. The program consists primarily of ordinary people as volunteer mentors who give their time and commitment to the target group. Volunteering is a key part of Primus Motor's success. The fact that neither the program nor mentors are "authorities" or "experts" has proven to be a significant reason for the interest in the program among the high-risk offenders. Volunteer mentors offer genuine voluntary commitment, a non-criminal-network, a wide diversity of experiences and flexibility and a compassionate, humanitarian meeting - all positively received by the target group. A former participant describes the volunteerism's effect on him:

"They were my safety net. They were passionate about it because they did it of their own free will. That made me step up."

Since 1985, Danish Red Cross has collaborated with the Department of Prison and Probation Service, enabling the Red Cross prison visitation service. Primus Motor began in 2015 after an evaluation of the prison visitation service highlighted the need for additional support targeting the pitfalls of being released without a plan or safety net. From the start, the Department of Prison and Probation Service supported the idea of this mentoring program.

Each year, over 6,000 individuals are released from Danish prisons. Statistics show that 30% of those convicted reoffend within two years, rising to 46% for those who do not achieve parole. High-risk offenders, often with multiple convictions and serving full sentences, are usually the most unreachable for resocialization measures and are often released without significant support from authorities.

Description of the crime problem(s) the activity wishes to address

7. What problem does the intervention wish to address? Please elaborate on its nature, scale, context, involved actors (offenders, victims, other involved parties), causes, risk and protective factors, etc. **(Max. 200 words)**

Each year, over 6,000 individuals are released from Danish prisons. Statistics show that 30% of those convicted reoffend within two years, rising to 46% for those who do not achieve parole. High-risk offenders, often with multiple convictions and serving full sentences, are usually the most unreachable for resocialization measures and are often released without significant support from authorities. Primus Motor makes the biggest difference for this high-risk group.

Research indicates that recidivism is linked to poor or no attachment to the labor market, financial instability, insecure housing, health problems including substance abuse, and a limited or unstable social network. Primus Motor aims to address these issues through volunteer mentoring.

The period immediately after release is high-risk for reoffending. Many newly released inmates feel isolated and unsupported by society, perceiving themselves as mere pawns in the system. Primus Motor intervenes during this critical transition from prison to freedom. It is crucial that volunteer mentors establish a strong relationship with inmates while they are still serving their sentences.

The primary actors are the incarcerated individuals who are released. Other involved actors include victims of crimes, as reducing crime is assumed to create fewer victims.

8. Was the problem and its context analysed before the intervention was initiated and in what way (How, and by whom? Which data were used)? If so, in what way did this analysis inform the set-up and implementation of the intervention? **(Max. 150 words)**

Since 1985, Danish Red Cross has offered visits to inmates in Denmark's jails and prisons through the prison visitation service to alleviate loneliness and break isolation among inmates. The background for Primus Motor was an evaluation of the prison visitation service in 2012, which pointed to a need for support from Red Cross in connection with release. Based on the evaluation, Red Cross entered into dialogue with the Danish Prison and Probation Service, which agreed that Danish Red Cross could play an active role in the release effort.

The specific design of Primus Motor has been based on the best possible criminological expertise on what might potentially work, and this expertise has contributed to implementing the initiative.

9. What is/are the objective(s) of the intervention? Please, if applicable, distinguish between main and sub-objectives.¹ (**Max. 150 words**)

The main objective of Primus Motor is to prevent reoffending among inmates.

The sub-objectives of the intervention is to:

- Strengthen participants' ability to avoid criminal behavior by supporting them in factors that strengthen inclusion and reduce recidivism, such as attachment to work/education and positive networks.
- Reduce participants' experience of chaos upon release.
- Provide participants with a sense of being in a trusting and safe relationship with mentors who are not a representative from authorities.

Description of the way in which the intervention addresses the identified problem(s) and why it is expected to be effective

10. What is the target of the intervention? Please motivate your answer (**Max. 150 words**)

Universal prevention: the intervention targets potential offenders and victims in the general population, or general places or systems.

Selective prevention: the intervention targets groups whose members have a higher risk of committing deviant behaviour or being victimised, or specific places or systems that are at an increased risk of becoming the scene of a crime.

Indicated prevention: the intervention targets individuals who are already exhibiting problem behaviour, with the aim of preventing re-offending, or those systems or places that are the scene of crime.

There are several reasons why the target group is inmates upon release.

Firstly, as Red Cross we have a unique possibility given our presence in prisons in Denmark; and in this role, we have seen the need for support transition from prison to freedom.

¹ **Main objectives** define what changes you desire with respect to the previously defined problem and/or within the target group. In other words, if you achieve these strategic goals, then the project achieves its purpose of preventing and/or reducing crime or fear of crime.

Sub-objectives are more short-term and establish the objectives of specific actions. Achieving these goals is necessary to achieve the main objectives.

Secondly, people with a prison sentence, especially high-risk offenders with multiple convictions and serving full sentences, are usually the most unreachable for resocialization measures and are often released without significant support from authorities. This group often feels betrayed and left behind by the system and are skeptical of what another person from the authorities can do. Often volunteers have a better chance to connect to the released inmates and create the close relation that can help them build and believe in a new future.

Thirdly the Red Cross are experts in people in crisis and difficult situations where vulnerable people undergo big changes in their lives.

11. How is the intervention expected to achieve its goals on a practical level? In other words, what are the activities of the intervention, its outputs and its outcomes? If possible, you can describe the **Logic Model**² of the intervention here. (**Max. 200 words**)

The inputs are funding, recruiting and educating of volunteers, information to employees (especially social workers) in prisons, matching of mentor and mentee.

The activities are the weekly contact between mentor and mentee. The mentor support with practical (concerning housing, economy, meeting in the municipality etc.) and psychosocial support (creating hope, safety and belonging) in the time leading up to and during release.

The output is a total of 258 mentorship courses since the beginning of Primus Motor in 2015 until August 2024, of which 40 are currently active.

The outcomes for the released is a role model, a stable situation, job or education, retention in addiction treatment, a life with meaning, better contact with relatives etc. And above all a sense of belief that a life without crime is achievable.

The impact is that the released inmates stay out of crime and the recidivism rates go down.

In short, the intervention is expected to reach its goals because the released get a close relation to another person who see their potential; and on a practical level help them build a life where they have something to lose if they return to a criminal career.

² A **Logic Model** represents the relationship between the project's key activities and the intended outcomes in a way that shows the underlying logic behind the project. It usually presents this relationship in a diagram that plots the resources that the intervention employs (i.e. inputs), the action designed to achieve the outcomes (i.e., activities), the expected and unexpected changes produced by the activities (i.e., outcomes), and the units of service or products (e.g., the number of workshops with young people to prevent juvenile delinquency, the number of talks with elderly people to prevent victimisation through fraud and theft, etc.) that the activities generate (i.e., outputs).

12. How is the intervention expected to have an effect on the identified problem? In other words, is the intervention based on any particular **crime prevention/reduction mechanism(s)³ or principle(s)**? Please, also explain if and how the activation of this/these crime prevention mechanisms is dependent on the particular context of the intervention (**Max. 200 words**)

Primus Motor encourages desistance from crime and rehabilitate inmates in the transition from prison to freedom, helping them reintegrate. Researchⁱⁱ underlines which factors influence re-offending. Accordingly, the program focusses on strengthening education/work, housing, economy, health, and network. When these factors are strengthened, individuals have more to lose by committing new crime.

Mentors play a crucial role in presenting mainstream society to the mentees, providing them with the opportunity to reflect on something other than the criminal environment. This creates an important contrast and helps promote positive development and reintegration into society. In this way Primus Motor is establishing and maintaining normative barriers to committing criminal acts.

Moreover, research in mentoring show that the length of the program is important when it comes to the impact. Hence, the commitment of the volunteer for up to 18 months is an important mechanism in the intervention.

Description of outcome evaluation results or indications of theoretical plausibility

13. Has there been an outcome⁴ or impact⁵ evaluation? and what were the main results? Please, also describe which indicators were used to measure the effects of your intervention. (**Max. 300 words**)

The evaluations of Primus Motor conclude on both expected outcomes and impact.

On outcome level, the survey and qualitative interviews document that participants' output depends on the mentor-mentee relationship. In line with the intervention's theory of change, participants describe the mentoring as empowering, enabling mentees to take action in their own lives. Outcome measures were qualitative inquiries and survey responses

³ **Mechanisms** are how the intervention has its effects on a particular problem, within a specific context. For a list of potential mechanisms, see final page of this document.

⁴ **Outcome evaluation:** Measures the **direct effect** (i.e., extent of the changes) **of the intervention on the target group, population, or geographic area**. The information produced by the outcome evaluation determines at what level the **objectives were achieved**.

⁵ **Impact evaluation:** Measures **long-term effects** of the intervention on the target group, as well as **indirect effects** on the broader community. The information produced by the impact evaluation determines at what level the **ultimate goals** of the intervention were achieved.

about participants' subjective outcomes.

On impact level the RCT study measures impact on recidivism. Recidivism is measured as a new unconditional sentence or conditional sentence with supervision, measured within a 2-year period from the time of release or the commencement of supervision, as defined by the Danish Prison and Probation Service.ⁱⁱⁱ The study proves that the intervention group on average was convicted after one year. For the control group, the average was after 9 months. The same difference was evident regarding the first conviction. In the intervention group, the first participant was convicted after 2 months. In the control group, the first participant was convicted after 2 weeks. Research shows that a postponement of reoffending like this eventually can predict a shorter criminal career.^{iv} The study also finds that among the high-risk group, the percentage that committed new crime was 27% in the intervention group and 67% in the control group. Hence, despite the small number of participants, the study showed a statistically significant effect on both the time of reoffending and more than a 50% reduction in recidivism regarding the group with the highest risk of reoffending.

The thorough evaluation was a significant part of why Primus Motor won the Danish 'Crime Prevention Award 2023,' given annually by the Danish Ministry of Justice for significant crime prevention efforts.

14. If applicable, please provide more information on the quality of the evaluation(s). For example: who conducted the evaluation (internally or externally?), what evaluation approach (pre-post-test design, randomised controlled trial, theory-based evaluation,...) was selected, what data and data collection method(s) were used, etc. **(Max. 150 words)**

The quality of the evaluation is on the highest level, hence the RCT study. The RCT study is designed to be unbiased and have less risk of systematic errors. The RCT study measuring the impact of the intervention is supported by survey data and qualitative data. These data reveal what the mechanisms are, and which preconditions are important in the intervention. Only with both qualitative and quantitative measures it is possible to comprehend all aspects of the intervention.

Finally, it underlines the impartiality that both the RCT study and the qualitative evaluation is carried out by external evaluators. Unfortunately the RCT study ended up with a smaller number of participants than expected. However, fortunately the Professor behind the study could – by comparing known predictors of recidivism conclude that the two groups were comparable despite the smaller number. Hence the randomization was successful, and the RCT study is valid.

15. If no outcome or impact evaluation has been conducted, are there any theoretical indications that the intervention might be successful? If applicable, please motivate these indications. **(Max. 150 words)**

Not relevant

16. Has a cost-benefit analysis⁶ been carried out? If so, describe the results of this analysis, including how and by whom it was carried out. **(Max. 150 words)**

Based on the results of the RCT study, the price of one participant in the mentoring program (33.400 DKK) and calculations from the Ministry of Justice (Justitsministeriet 2021), Professor Emeritus Flemming Balvig calculated a simple cost-benefit factor for the intervention.

The result is that for every 1 DKK Danish Red Cross spend on the program the Danish society has lesser expenses on 1,6 DKK. Looking at only the high-risk participants where the reduction in recidivism is more than 50 % the cost benefit factor is 8,2, meaning that society saves 8 times the expenses spend on the program. The calculation is simple but does imply that the mentoring program is worth the investment – not only because it prevents crime and create better lives for former incarcerated - but also financially.

Description of the nature of the intervention, its original context, and its implementation

17. What are the costs of the intervention in terms of finances, material and human resources? If needed, please provide an adequate timeframe to contextualise the costs (e.g. cost per participant, cost per month of keeping the project running, cost including/excluding personnel costs) **(Max. 150 words)**

In the 2021 RCT study, Primus Motor's annual cost is estimated at 2 million DKK, enabling 60 mentorship programs for the target group nationwide.

Primus Motor is organized with one paid consultant. The mentoring effort is carried out annually by approximately 120 volunteer mentors, organized in regional networks. The

⁶ **Cost-benefit analysis:** A type of economic evaluation that compares the direct and indirect cost of the resources employed in the intervention, with the equivalent economic value of the benefits. If no outcome evaluation has been conducted, a cost-benefit analysis is simply not possible.

volunteers are supported by 15 volunteer leaders, who are supported by the consultant.

The calculated price covers everything from the consultant's salary, training of the volunteers, transport, phones and phone subscriptions for the mentors, advertisements for recruiting volunteers, and funds for refreshments and small activities in each mentoring program.

The price per inmate participating in a Primus Motor mentoring program is app. 33,400 DKK (4,460 €).

Our assessment is that the price is lower today because we have streamlined workflows and created more synergy between our efforts where possible.

18. Were external reviewers, evaluators or researchers involved in the evaluation, and if so, what was their role in the evaluation? (**Max. 150 words**)

External researcher Professor Flemming Balvig was responsible for the entire RCT study:

- Balvig handled the randomization. The social worker sent the consent and registration to Flemming Balvig when an inmate agreed to participate in Primus Motor. Flemming Balvig assigned the inmate randomly to the control group or to the intervention group.
- Balvig ran the calculations and analyzed all data.
- Balvig wrote the final report.

The evaluation by Oxford Research is a collaboration. The Danish Red Cross collected most of the data as The Danish Red Cross has a unique access to the inmates, the volunteers, and the collaborators. Oxford Research supplemented with an interview with the project manager. Oxford Research analyzed the data and wrote the evaluation report.

19. Which partners or stakeholders are involved in the intervention and why? What is the level of their involvement? What was their role in the evaluation? How well does this partnership function in practice? (**Max. 200 words**)

Since 1985, the Danish Red Cross has collaborated with the Department of Prison and Probation Service on the Prison Visit Service, and since 2015, on Primus Motor. The Red Cross's efforts are formalized in a framework agreement with the Directorate of the Department of Prison and Probation Service, cooperation agreements with the Department's regional offices, and procedural agreements with prisons, remand houses and halfway houses.

Primus Motor works daily with social workers in prisons and halfway houses, relying on their

cooperation to recruit participants and assess suitability. Social workers identify and motivate inmates to join Primus Motor, ensure necessary documents are completed, and act as liaisons until mentors are assigned. In the RCT study, social workers motivated inmates to sign up, but hesitated due to the 40% chance of being placed in the control group, a common RCT challenge.

Staff and resource shortages in the Department of Prison and Probation Service have posed challenges, affecting support for the initiative.

Primus Motor also collaborates with other civil society organizations in the field to jointly ensure the best assistance for released individuals.

20. Describe the implementation of the intervention's activities and its outputs⁷.
(Max.200 words)

Danish Red Cross continuously recruits and supports around 15 volunteer activity leaders in Primus Motor, divided into five regional groups. These leaders are onboarded by a consultant and receive peer training. Their tasks include development, quality assurance, volunteer recruitment and care, and administration. They conduct initial interviews with inmates, match volunteers with inmates, introduce new volunteers to Primus Motor, support relationships between participants and volunteers, and organize theme evenings. Annually they support approximately 120 volunteer mentors.

All volunteers complete a mandatory two-day basic course covering e.g. Red Cross principles, prison service rules, and the effects of isolation. The Red Cross offers two annual basic courses, several online theme courses, psychosocial support courses, and an annual volunteer gathering. All volunteers are security cleared.

Mentors receive three annual supervisions or structured experience exchanges and ongoing follow-up conversations. There are four or more annual mentor meetings in groups of 10-20 mentors. Mentors meet with participants for 1-2 hours about 3-4 times a month, from a few months before release up to a year after.

The Red Cross collaborates with the Danish Department of Prison and Probation, which assesses inmate eligibility for Primus Motor. In 2023, Primus Motor had 71 active mentorship courses.

⁷ **Outputs** refer to the units of service or products (e.g., the number of workshops with young people to prevent juvenile delinquency, the number of talks with elderly people to prevent victimisation through fraud and theft, etc.)

21. Has there been a process evaluation⁸ and what were the main results? Please, also describe what indicators were used to measure the implementation of your intervention? **(Max. 300 words)**

Oxford Research conducted an evaluation of Primus Motor. Among other things the implementation of the initiative is evaluated. The indicators are primarily the experiences among employees in The Department of Prison and Probation Service and the Red Cross, the volunteers and the participants. Furthermore, it is an indicator of a successful implementation that we are able to motivate participants, recruit volunteers and reach the quantitative goals for the program.

Inquiries on implementation

The intervention is dependent on a collaboration with The Department of Prison and Probation. However, when Primus Motor was implemented, it coincided with a reorganization within the Department. Therefore, the capacity for the new collaboration was initially limited. However, the collaboration was consolidated during the period from 2015 to 2020, with locally written agreements and regular meetings between the Red Cross and The Department of Prison and Probation.

During the period 2015-2020, Primus Motor received fewer inquiries than expected. The evaluation finds that this is due to the RCT study. Social workers were hesitant to refer to the program because they knew that after a motivation of the program there was a 40 % chance of being assigned to the control group. This is a known obstacle in RCT design. Furthermore, lack of staff and resources in The Department of Prison and Probation Service has been challenging. The evaluation indicates that a strained staff has affected the support for the initiative.

Primus Motor was locally organized at the time of the evaluation. The evaluation indicated a need to rethink this organization of the program in Red Cross. Since then, Primus Motor has been reorganized and is now centrally organized.

22. If applicable, please provide more information on the quality of the evaluation(s). E.g., what data and data collection method(s) were used, what research methodology, etc. **(Max. 150 words)**

⁸ **Process evaluation:** A process evaluation documents **how the activities were implemented** in order to determine any deviations from the original planning. It facilitates finding explanations for when the results of the intervention are not as expected.

Flemming Balvig's 2021 evaluation of Primus Motor is a randomized controlled trial. He randomly assigned participants to either the intervention or control group upon interest. With the use of National Statistics it was possible to measure whether there was a difference in recidivism in the two groups.

Oxford Research (2020) "Evaluering af Primus Motor Røde Kors' mentorordning for løsladte" is based on the following data collected by Danish Red Cross:

- Survey Responses: Evaluation schemes with 808 responses filled out by mentors, pre surveys among participants with 92 responses and post surveys among participants with 54 responses.
- Qualitative Interviews with 7 participants, 4 mentors and 1 group interview with 2 mentors, 3 voluntary leaders, 2 social workers, 2 resocialization consultants, 2 municipal partners and 1 consultant from the directorate.
- Background Material e.g. project description and mentor guide.

23. What, if any, contextual factors/circumstances may have caused this project succeed in your own country/region/locality that won't necessarily exist when practitioners in other places try to replicate it? If applicable, mention organisational, institutional, and socioeconomic contextual factors. **(Max. 150 words)**

Firstly, the Geneva Convention gives the Red Cross a special mandate to visit incarcerated persons worldwide. Secondly, the Danish Red Cross has been present with voluntary visitation friends in Danish prisons since 1985. Thus, the collaboration with the prison service was established, and the staff had experienced the value of volunteerism. Furthermore, Department of Prison and Probation Service supported the idea of Primus Motor from the start. Overall, the initiative requires that the public prison authority can and will cooperate with a civil society organization. Thirdly, the Red Cross as an organization has great credibility in the Danish population. This can make it easier to recruit volunteers and participants. Finally, Denmark has a high level of volunteering. A limited tradition regarding volunteering might be a barrier in regards to implement the intervention.

Additional ECPA questions

24. How is the intervention innovative in its methods and/or approaches? **(Max. 150 words)**

The mentoring program is unique and innovative, initiated through a collaboration between Red Cross and a criminological research environment (the University of Copenhagen). It has

the greatest impact on high-risk offenders who typically avoid contact with authorities and parole, significantly reducing recidivism among participants. Despite major challenges, the program has been scientifically validated through a randomized controlled trial (RCT), ensuring reliable results.

Primus Motor offers mentors for up to 18 months, with a particular focus on the vulnerable transition period, supporting mentees both during imprisonment and after their release from prison. The program is based on volunteerism, with mentors being “ordinary people” who are unpaid. This aspect is crucial as participants feel valued when mentors dedicate their own time. Each participant is assigned two mentors to manage the workload and minimize the risk of disappointment, which is vital for this target group that often experiences letdowns in close relationships.

25. How is the intervention relevant for other Member States? (**Max. 150 words**).

Overall, the mentoring program is relevant for other member states as it reduces recidivism. Recidivism is a global issue, and it is expensive for the societies. Furthermore, the initiative is a relevant example of a successful collaboration between public authorities and civil society – for the benefit of vulnerable citizens. Lastly, the intervention is relevant due to the unique RCT study. The ambitious evaluation design and, not least, the results have received significant attention. The RCT study might inspire other member states to invest in more research.

List of potential crime prevention mechanisms⁹

- **Establishing and maintaining normative barriers to committing criminal acts**
 - e.g. 'Offenders, we are watching you' campaigns
- **Reducing recruitment** to criminal social environments and activities by eliminating or reducing the social and individual causes and processes that lead to criminality
 - e.g. social and financial support for disadvantaged families
- **Deterring** potential perpetrators from committing crimes through the threat of punishment
 - e.g. decreasing the time between arrest and punishment
- **Disrupting** criminal acts by stopping them before they are carried out
 - e.g. increasing police patrols in vulnerable areas
- **Protecting vulnerable targets** by reducing opportunities and make it more demanding to carry out criminal acts
 - e.g. placing locks and cameras
- **Reducing the harmful consequences** of criminal acts
 - e.g. initiatives to recover stolen goods
- **Reducing the rewards** from criminal acts
 - e.g. restorative justice programmes
- **Incapacitating** (or neutralising) perpetrators by denying them the ability (capacity) to carry out new criminal acts
 - e.g. imprisonment of key gang members
- **Encouraging** desistance from crime and rehabilitating former offenders so they are able to settle back into a normal life
 - e.g. prison rehabilitation programs



This tool was funded by the European Union's Internal Security Fund — Police.

ⁱ Danish Crime Prevention Council (2012), Mentoring and Leisure-Time Activities for Youth at Risk. A Systematic Review <https://dkr.dk/materialer/materialer-paa-engelsk/mentoring-and-leisure-time-activities-for-youth-at-risk>

ⁱⁱ Hirschi, Travis, (1969), Causes of delinquency, University of California Press. Balvig, Flemming, (2020) Fra kriminologi til kriminalprævention, AFFORD/Trykværket.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Danish Prison and Probation Service, Recidivism Statistics 2015 (2016), p. 6.

^{iv} Flemming Balvig, RCT study (2021), p. 19.

⁹ T. Bjørgo, *Preventing Crime: A Holistic Approach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.