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Crime and Criminality in North Macedonia During COVID-19 Restrictive Measures

The pandemic and restrictive measures taken by governments have radically changed our daily lives. The impact on mental health, image, behaviour and conduct as a result of the restrictions on movement and everyday activities is significant. What is more, these changes are happening not only in the field of permissible conduct, but also in prohibited conduct. What should we expect regarding the volume and structure of criminal behaviour? The answer is a drop in crime in most cases. But why? Because we have fewer people going out, empty streets and closed stores. Restrictive measures and lockdown meant a fall in street crime, but not all crime is street crime. As every crisis is an opportunity, these circumstances offer a breeding ground for other types of criminal behaviour. The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted criminal behaviour in the Republic of North Macedonia. Based on daily bulletins from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, we were able to conclude that domestic violence cases increased compared to the same period in 2018 and 2019, but not significantly. Furthermore, there has been a rise in property crimes, especially fraud, due to increased online shopping. What has drastically increased, however, are crimes against public health, which is expected given the current situation.

Keywords: COVID-19, crime, North Macedonia, restrictive measures

Verbrechen und Kriminalität in Nordmazedonien während der COVID-19 Restriktionsmaßnahmen

Während der Pandemie und der restriktiven Maßnahmen der Regierungen hat sich unser tägliches Leben radikal verändert. Die Auswirkungen auf die psychische Gesundheit, das Image, das Verhalten und das Benehmen sind aufgrund der Einschränkungen der Bewegungsfreiheit und des täglichen Funktionierens erheblich. Und diese Veränderungen finden nicht nur im Bereich des erlaubten Verhaltens statt, sondern auch im Bereich des verbotenen Verhaltens. Was können wir in Bezug auf Umfang und Struktur des kriminellen Verhaltens erwarten? In den meisten Fällen – Rückgang der Kriminalität. Und warum? Weil wenig Leute ausgehen, die Straßen leer sind, die Geschäfte geschlossen sind. Restriktive Maßnahmen und Abriegelung bedeuteten einen Rückgang der Straßekriminalität, aber nicht jede Kriminalität ist Straßekriminalität. Da aber jede Krise auch eine Chance ist, sind diese Zeiten ein Nährboden für andere Arten von kriminell Verhalten. Die COVID-19 Pandemie hatte ihre Auswirkungen auf das kriminelle Verhalten in der Republik Nordmazedonien. Anhand der täglichen Bulletins des Innenministeriums konnten wir feststellen, dass die Fälle von häuslicher Gewalt im Vergleich zum gleichen Zeitraum in den Jahren 2018 und 2019 gestiegen sind, jedoch nicht signifikant. Auch gibt es einen Anstieg bei den Eigentumsdelikten, vor allem bei den Betrugsdelikten, aufgrund des vermehrten Online-Shoppings. Aber was wirklich drastisch zugenommen hat, sind Straftaten gegen die öffentliche Gesundheit, was entsprechend der aktuellen Situation erwartet wird.

Schlagwörter: COVID-19; Kriminalität; Nordmazedonien; Einschränkende Maßnahmen

1. Introduction

Starting December 2019, the World Health Organization (WHO) informed that the new Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has developed into a worldwide pandemic. As of 6th of December 2020, there are 65 870 030 cases, with 1 523 583 confirmed deaths (WHO, 2020). The start of the pandemic had an important effect on the global health situation, strong social and economic effects, and in many countries resulted in large – scale enforcement of restrictive measures and curfews (Anderson et al., 2020).

Using the experience of China at the beginning, other countries started to use different types of reactive and proactive measures to limit the spread of the novel coronavirus. These measures, mostly known as “containment measures” have its goal to limit the spread of the virus in between individuals, and involved: travel restrictions, border controls, quarantine, social isolation, physical distance, closure of businesses, other services, and educational facilities (Payne & Morgan, 2020).

As all areas of human life and behavior, also crime has been a target of changes as everything else changed and adapted to the new “normal” way of living.

Worldwide restrictive measures, because of the COVID-19 pandemics, resulted in many negative outcomes, such as unemployment, financial crisis, mental health issues, increasing death toll, increased number of cases of domestic violence, etc. This serious societal and economic impact raised questions for potential increase of organized crime (Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, 2020), cybercrime (Europol, 2020), violent crime (Eisner & Nivette, 2020), especially domestic violence (Fitz-Gibbon & Meyer, 2020; van Gelder et al., 2020). Opposite to this, it is expected a reduction of property crimes (Farrel & Tilley, 2020), because of lockdown measures and people spending more time in their homes.

Also, there is research of how the measures impacted correctional facilities and incarcerated population (Kinner et al., 2020), law enforcement (Rossner & Tait, 2020) and courts.

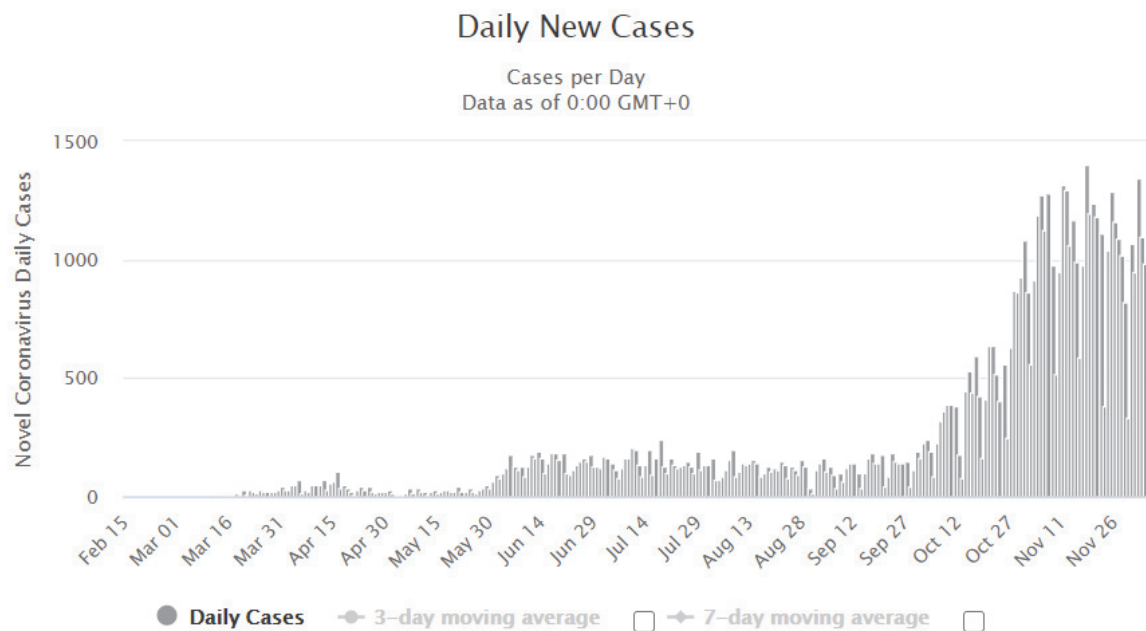
Although, most of the results were and are negative for human beings, lockdowns brought up many positive things for Planet Earth, such as notable drop of air pollution, which means lower carbon based emissions, and less respiratory problems connected to air pollution and quality. The paper outlines initial data regarding crime during restrictive measures in North Macedonia. The data used is from the Daily Bulletins of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The direction to where crime is changing could be understood when more data becomes available and after we see towards where, also, the pandemic will continue its progress.

The limitation of the research is result of the lack of data and only the availability of the Daily Bulletins of MOI. Why? The events published in the bulletins are reported crimes, meaning they do not necessarily end with accusation and court decision.

2. The COVID-19 Situation and Restrictive Measures in North Macedonia

The new SARS-CoV-2 virus reached North Macedonia in February, 2020, with the first case verified on the 26th of February. And later with two other on the 6th of March, where a wider cluster was identified. Until 6th of December 2020, in North Macedonia there are 67 968 confirmed cases (22 398 active) and 1 924 confirmed deaths (Ministry of Health, 2020).

Figure 1: Novel Coronavirus Daily Cases in North Macedonia



Source: *Worldometers.info*

Restrictive measures in North Macedonia, started on the 11th of March with releasing workers with chronic diseases from their working places and on the next day, with closing schools, libraries and universities. Few days later, on the 18th of March, 2020, the President of North Macedonia, issued a decision for 30 days of state of emergency in the country.

Later on, the state of emergency was prolonged for additional 30 days until 16th of May, afterwards, because of the election date, it was prolonged another two times and ended on the 12th of June 2020.

During these days of state emergency, restaurants and café bars were closed, and police curfew was imposed between 9pm and 6am, and later between 6pm and 5am. Also, there were over 80 hours long curfews for Easter weekend (85 hours), Labor Day (1st of May), and Eid-al-Ftr (23rd of May).

There was limitation to movement for all categories of citizen, with stricter limitation for those under 18 and after 65 years of age. They could leave their homes in strictly imposed time frame during the day, which was different for different age groups.

Borders were closed, also airports, and there was no intercity transportation. Only Macedonian citizen could enter the country, and the Government started to organized humanitarian flights and convoys to return its citizens at home. Everyone was advised not to travel if there are no important and serious reasons to do that.

Cinemas, theaters and museums were closed, and group gatherings were banned. Public gatherings were limited to only two citizens (non-family with 1.5 meters physical distance). Also, the number of people who were allowed to attend weddings and funerals was limited.

3. The Crime, COVID-19 and Restrictive Measures

The new normal way of life showed a complexity of changes and choices, societies must implement and accept. Most of the criminological expectations are directed towards lowering the level of residential burglaries, because of stay-at-home policies, and increasing of crimes, such as commercial burglaries (lack of protection of closed businesses) and domestic violence (quarantine measures) (Miller & Blumstein, 2020).

The change in routine activities, limited and low social interaction, strain on family and intimate relations, fear and anxiety as result of lockdown measures and isolation, and strain because of financial stress, the possibility of losing jobs and income sources, can and have been factors which could influence criminal activity, especially violent criminal acts (Payne & Morgan, 2020).

The alterations of the way of life is expected to change the volume and distribution of crime, making domestic violence one of the most common crimes in these stay-at-home times. Why? Because of its correlation to quarantine measures, financial stress, and forced isolation (Usher et al., 2020). What is also expected to increase are sex crimes, illicit markets, and property crimes (on commercial buildings) (Miller & Blumstein, 2020). And the last three months since the impose of restrictive measures, what has also increased is hate speech, and hate crimes. There were violent attacks on people with Chinese origin, but also against infected people or people who had contact with someone infected or were coming back in their countries from countries with high risk of COVID-19 infections.

Crime changes during specific circumstances, such as natural disasters, have been researched in the last years (Elmes et al., 2014).

As previously mentioned, restrictive measures at first impacted the routine activities of individuals. The routine activities theory explains criminal behavior using every day, routine activities, with three crucial elements that should be simultaneously present: the presence of a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of a capable guardian or other preventative conditions. Calculating the risks and the value of the target, the offender makes a decision to commit the crime (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Being less outside, in limited number of social contacts, the number of opportunities for criminal acts is also reduced, but the time spent at home is an important factor in increase of some types of crimes.

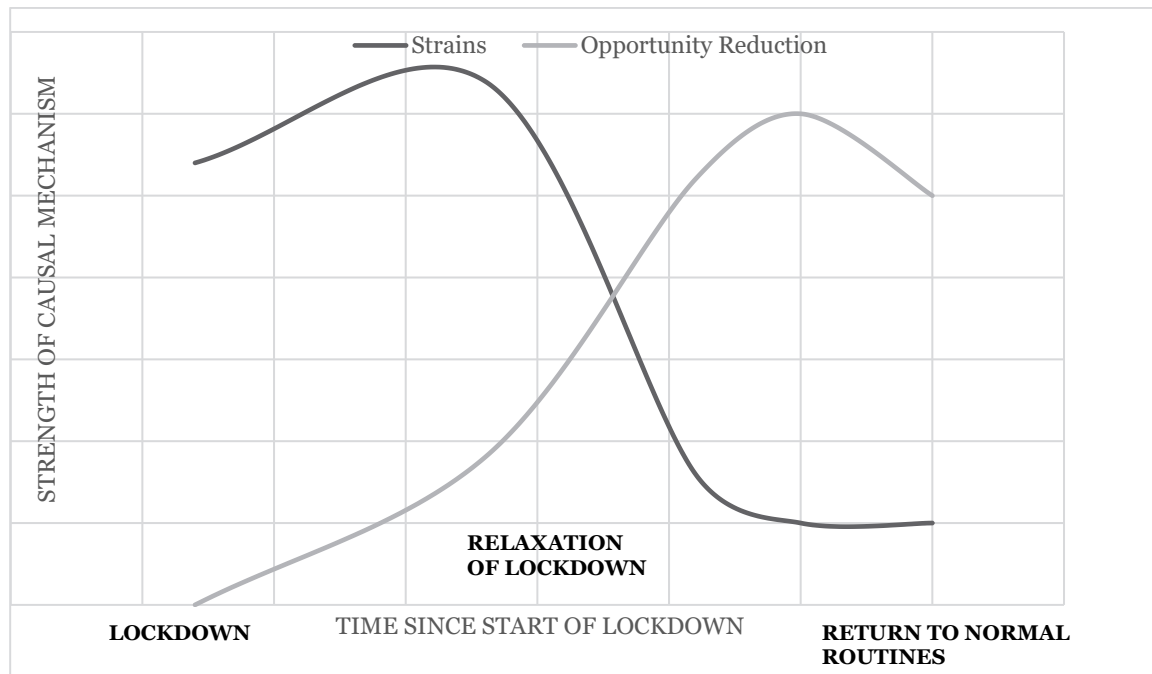
If there are no victims, there is less crime. When people stay indoors, opportunities for crime decline (Abt et al., 2020).

The most relevant mechanism connected to violence in the times of pandemic were the physical and social distancing; closure of bars, restaurants, schools, businesses, factories, etc.; prohibition of public gatherings; constriction of national and international travel; and possibilities (and somewhere even used) electronic surveillance of movement – mostly using mobile applications to gather information regarding the previous movement of those who have been infected (Eisner & Nivette, 2020).

Actually, the imposed measures transformed routine activities patterns and changed their consequences, because there were limited social face to face interactions; there were no opportunity patters to violence (as unsupervised time for teenagers); but there was emergence of many others, such as presence of many violence related emotions and states– anxiety, fear, anger; poorly protected properties; potential victims of domestic violence locked at home together with offenders; unemployment and hunger; loss of loved ones; many changes in infor-

mal and formal social control segments, especially in the areas of surveillance, that was increased especially the one of movements and social interactions; and accented importance of solidarity and obligation to help most vulnerable categories (Eisner & Nivette, 2020).

Figure 2: The correlation between strains and opportunity reduction before, during and after lockdown



Source: Eisner & Nivette, 2020: 3

Using some of the causal mechanisms and theoretical explanations we could underline some of the possible hypotheses on why some types of crime decline and others increase during lockdown measures. Namely, changing routine activities and staying at home results in declining street violence, but increased domestic violence cases. Also, the introduction of mobile apps and other types of surveillance on social contacts, especially on those infected, declines the possibilities of public violence' cases. But, the locking down meant losing jobs, hunger and despair for the future, increasing possibilities for anti-government protests and violence; and increased occurrence of street crime acts. Being locked down with curfew and no possibilities to leave your home, sometimes brings up mental health issues, emerging emotions, such as anxiety and anger, which connected to strains, result in deviant behavior, in this case mostly acts of domestic violence. And because of the many unanswered questions about the novel coronavirus, and the imposed measures of compulsory physical distance between individuals, there is reduced level of physical violence between strangers. What actually lockdown changed in direction of violent (criminal) behavior is the reduce of its occurrence outside of the home (in between strangers or non-family members) and it increased the cases inside the home (in between family members) (Eisner & Nivette, 2020).

During the lockdown measures, more than 80 % of the world population was spending most of its time inside their homes, opening many discussions and concerns that these measures are making suitable ground for domestic violence. Emotional labyrinths during curfews increased the level of emotional factors, such as the feelings of anger, anxiety, fear, depression, but also the frustration for being locked inside and the lack of possibilities for victims.

During human history, pandemics were time of spreading conspiracy theories and accusing and attacking minorities. Namely, in the time of the Black Death, citizen of Strasbourg attacked and burned a Jewish community, because they believed Jews were poisoning their wells.

Today, in the 21st Century, during the novel coronavirus pandemic, there are so many conspiracy theories, starting with 5G network and destroying its equipment, but also with hate speech and hate crimes. There were many anti-Chinese attacks, because of the origin of the virus, and the constant blaming of China for its spread. Also, attacks against infected were recorded, or against individuals that have been in contact with an infected person or were coming back home from a trip in another country. All these categories were blamed that they are spreading the virus, or brought it back with travelling abroad.

4. Data and Methodology

In the research we are using data from the Daily Bulletins of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia (www.mvr.gov.mk). The data inserted in the Daily Bulletins is collected by police officers or citizens who called to report a criminal activity. It includes daily criminal activities from all eight sectors on internal affairs. Every criminal event is explained in direction of what happened, is the offender known, which crimes have been committed, and other characteristics of the criminal act.

The period of interest is the one between 10th March and the 22nd of June. Why? Because in 2020, the start of preventive measures was on the 10th of March (18th of March was the start of state of emergency), and the end of the restrictive measures was on the 27th of May (the state of emergency ended on the 22nd of June).

This period is analyzed during three consecutive years, and beside 2020, we also analyzed the criminal acts during the same period in 2018 and 2019.

As limitation to the research, at first is the lack of available data from another institution, not only the Ministry of Interior. Also, things would have been more clear, if the MOI Daily Bulletins had information, strictly, for all prohibited activities which are reported, and their perpetrators will be accused and sanctioned (if guilty). The second is also a limitation, because, maybe we will use an act, characterized as criminal behavior, but not classified as crime.

The key research questions are whether crime had changed in its structure as result of the imposed restrictive measures; which crimes have changed at most; and how possible changes are connected to COVID-19 restrictive measures.

The nature of the impact of the pandemic on crime will vary depending of the nature of the crime.

5. Results and Discussion

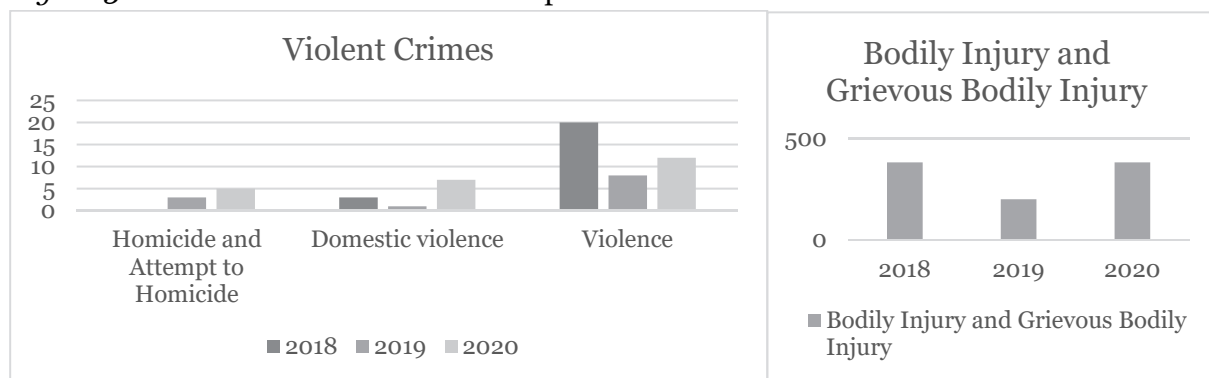
The study reveals change in most of the types of crimes which were analyzed, with some of them decreasing and others increasing.

Violent crimes (homicide and attempt to homicide, domestic violence cases, “violence”, bodily injury and grievous bodily injury) have shown an increase in comparison to the same period of 2019. The analysis of the Daily Bulletins has shown that these cases in most of the cases in the

urban areas were happening between family members and closer relatives, because of the restrictive measures, but it is not the case with violent acts in rural areas, where the phenomenology is the same as before the restrictive measures, meaning that in most cases, people living in villages were not acting according the measures of lockdown and physical distancing. We should also point out that during the restrictive measures, people from rural areas could get a permit to move during curfew, because of agricultural activities.

Violence reduction in times of restrictive measures is a normal consequence to limited face-to-face contacts. People have less possibilities and limited time frame to go out of their homes, must avoid close physical contacts with other people (outside their family), which does not allow many situations of conflict. At the same time, Parkinson and Zara (2013) have concluded that there is always gendered impact of natural disasters and pandemics, for example, the sexual and domestic violence was increased during the Ebola epidemic. But, Roman et al. (2007) have found that violence generally decreased after Katrina, and then rising to a higher level. Characteristic for critical times, even in times of global health is financial stress. During COVID-19 restrictive measures, many people lost their employment, and there's been change in income. In such cases, financial stress has been pointed out as the main precursor, domestic violence, femicides and filicides (Monash Gender and Family Violence Prevention Centre, 2020).

Figure 3: Volume of the most common reported violent crimes

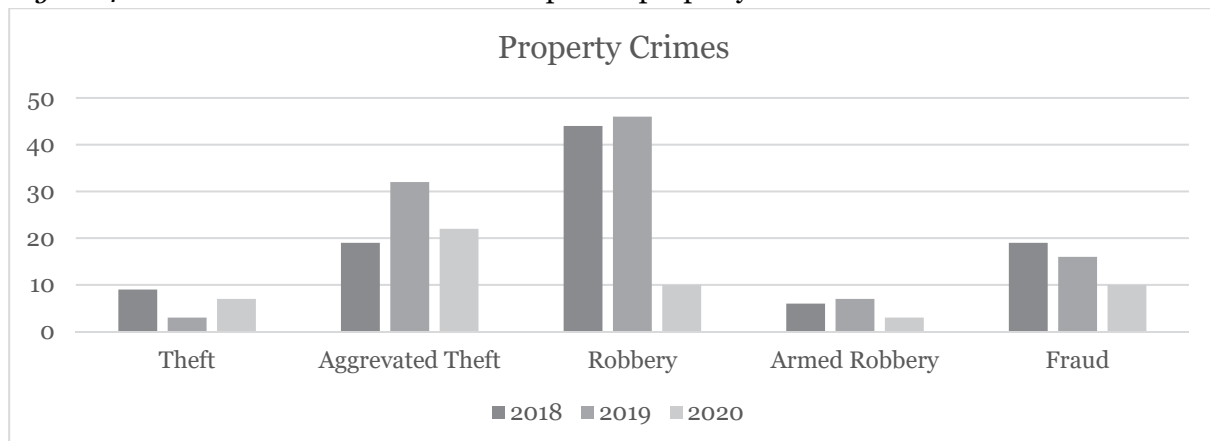


Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

Domestic violence cases have increased during the analyzed period, but not significantly higher than the ones in the same periods in 2019 and 2018 (see Figure 3). Therefore, based on the limited available data and evidence, we could not conclude that the recent rise of cases could be directly connected to restrictive measures.

What was really important for the analyzed period in 2020 is that after public reactions from NGOs working on prevention of gender based and domestic violence, authorities informed possible victims of domestic violence, that they could go out during curfew hours to report violence without being sanctioned.

Murders, bodily injury and grievous bodily injury have approximately same numbers compared to last year at the same period of time, with higher number of bodily injury and grievous bodily injury in 2018 (see Figure 3). This volume and distribution is result to less possibilities for social interaction, bars and restaurants were closed during restrictive measures, lower number of potential conflict situation (and maybe, even presence of alcohol).

Figure 4: Volume of the most common reported property crimes

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

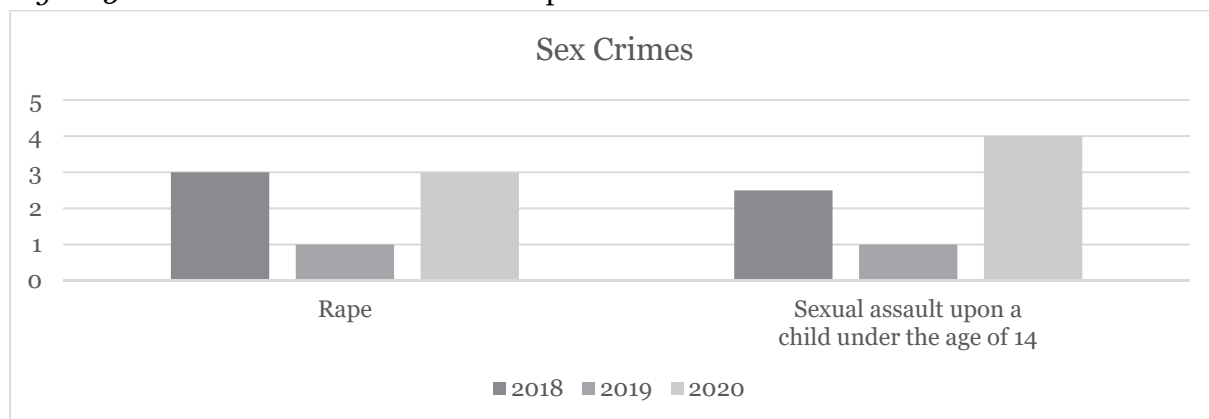
Lebeau (2002) and Frailing and Harper (2017) have found that burglaries increased in the aftermath of hurricanes. Brantingham and Brantingham (1995) explain that crime happens when the activity space of the offender (the territory where the offender visits most often) intersects with the one of the victim. The crime is precipitated when a triggering event occurs. Being opportunistic in nature, property crime in most cases is in the course of everyday activities.

But, as not being equally distributed over time and space, and is marked by crime attractors and crime generators. The first ones are places where large number of people are present, opening opportunities for intersection between offenders and victims (an example, public transport). Most of these places were impacted by containment measures, lowering possibilities of contact between victims and offenders. And many of them being crime hotspots, have a disproportionate impact on crime effects (Payne & Morgan, 2020).

Limited contact between potential victims and offenders is expected to decrease the number of thefts, considering they are happening in situations of human interaction. In places where shops and other commercial objects were closed, and where they were open, there were imposed severe security measures, which is expected to result in decrease of commercial burglary. What was also happening, was increase of guardianship, because of people confined in their homes. Such situation is expected to result in declining the numbers of residential burglary, vehicle thefts and thefts from vehicles (Reynard & Elffers, 2015).

The type of crime which is expected to increase and is subject of growing concerns is fraud. Why? Especially, because during restrictive measures, people most of the time are online, shopping or working from home. Also (see Figure 4), prevention of infection with the new coronavirus increased the use of credit cards compared to cash, which opened more possibilities to offenders.

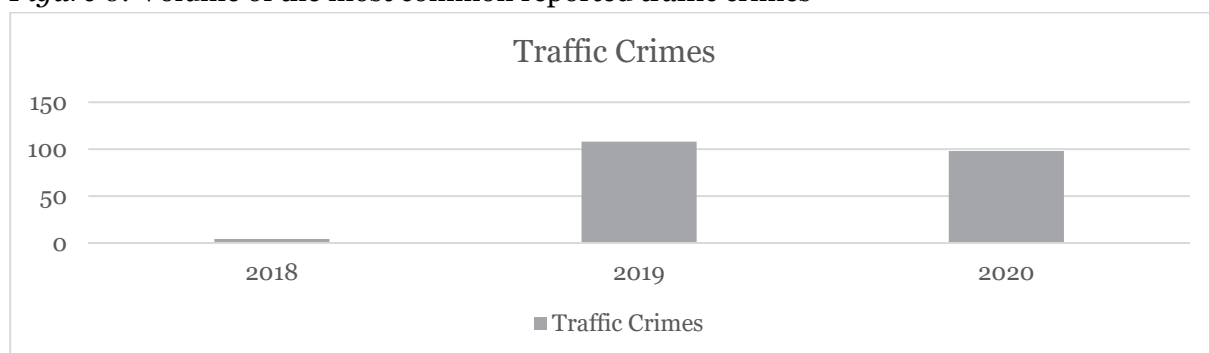
Primary analysis of our data has shown that, during the period of restrictive measures in the Republic of North Macedonia, burglaries were in most cases commercial, happening in shops or other non-residential places. Also, all types of property crimes, which were analyzed, show a declining trend. Such change is expected, and is presumed to be a result of curfews and confinement measures, and people being at home all the time.

Figure 5: Volume of the most common reported sexual crimes

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

The authorities' pressure during restrictive measures to stay at home and to avoid social contacts, has also increased the risks of sexual violence, which this year is the silent pandemic, existing shoulder to shoulder with COVID-19 and domestic violence. As presented (in Figure 5), most often sexual offences in North Macedonia (rape and sexual assault upon a child under the age of 14) are not declining (in the researched period) in comparison to the same period in 2018 and 2019. Such trends, presumably, are expected to be a consequence of stay-at-home measures, and also, because of the most often criminal situation in these crimes, that the offender and the victim were in a close personal relationship, have known each other, or were close family members.

What is really important to be discussed and measures to be taken to prevent it is the illegal online sexual behavior, especially in times when children will stay online for long hours. Offenders use chat groups in apps, phishing attempts via email, trying to make contact through social media, and also through some educational applications (which are not or are less secure) (Europol, 2020, <https://www.europol.europa.eu/covid-19/covid-19-child-sexual-exploitation>).

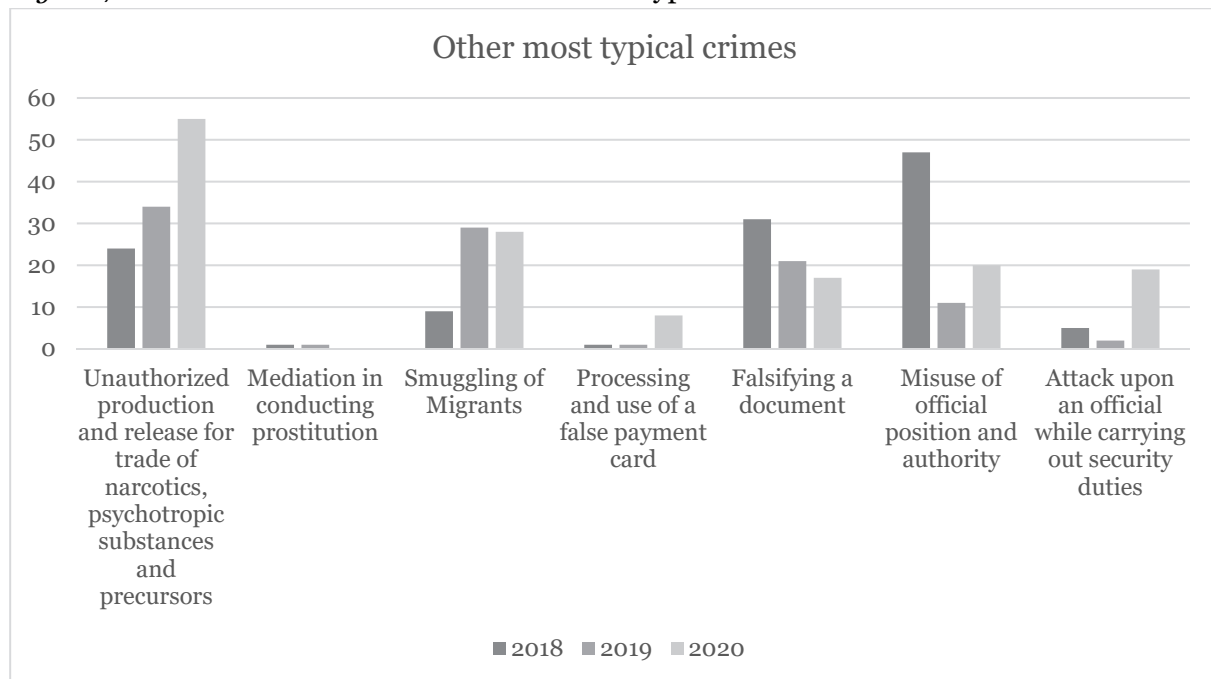
Figure 6: Volume of the most common reported traffic crimes

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

Traffic accidents during the period with restrictive measures in 2020, have declined compared to the same period last year. Such distribution and volume is expected, because of curfews, closed borders and less possibilities for citizens to travel inside the country. But, what has been given as a data from the Ministry of Internal Affairs was that although the number of traffic

accidents and crimes declined, still that number is high for a period when people must stay at home starting in 4 pm or 9 pm or in some cases during three consecutive days. What has been used to explain such situation was psychological pressure on drivers to get to their homes before police curfew starts and other psychological conditions, such as anxiety and depression, which have been result to long lasting curfews and other containment measures.

Figure 7: Volume and distribution to other most typical crimes



Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

Smuggling of migrants and trafficking in human beings' volume and distribution have been shaped by many factors, such as international political and security landscape to macro socio-economic dynamics, and national law enforcement capacity. All of these factors have been directly or indirectly affected by the global pandemic (UNODC, 2020). Travel and movement restrictions as part of the measures to stop the spread of SARS-CoV-2, did not significantly affect the movement of people fleeing conflicts, violence and other dangerous living conditions. Actually closing of borders increased the need of smugglers and their services, prices are higher, there is increased exposure of refugees and migrants to exploitation, abuse and possibilities to be trafficked.

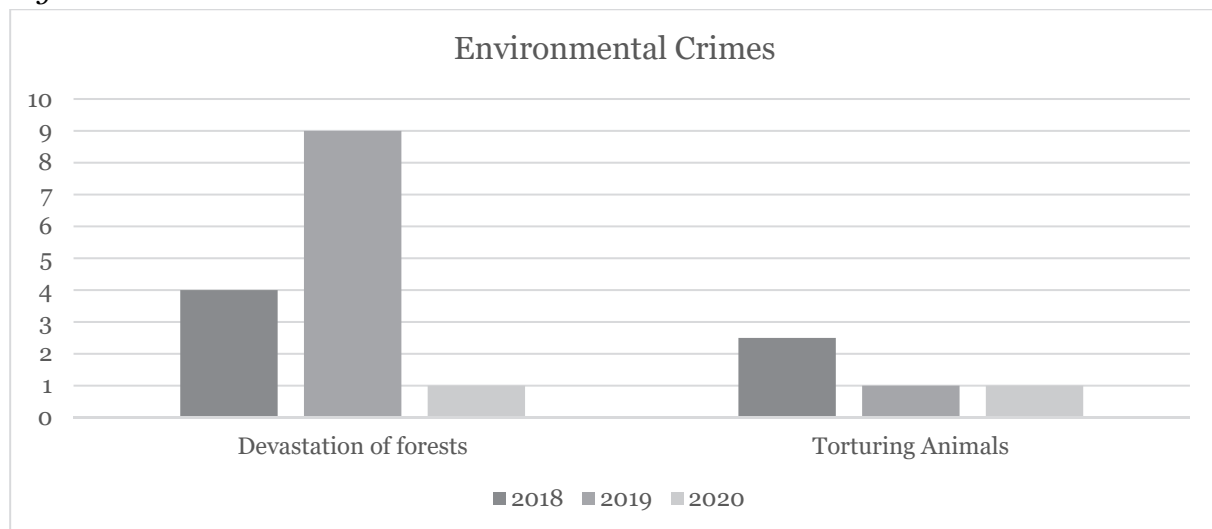
The start of the COVID-19 pandemic had different impact on all different routes, resulting in differences between smuggling of people who are fleeing violence and war conflict, and smuggling of those who are migrating for another reason. There has been an increase of movement detected on the Central Mediterranean route (Libya to Italy), decrease on the movement on the Eastern Mediterranean route (Turkey to Greece) and no significant changes on the Western Mediterranean route (Morocco to Spain) (UNODC, 2020).

The economic recession and unemployment as result of the global pandemic increases the interest among potential migrants looking for employment and the options which unfortunately are even more limited than before. Such momentum could, as we already mentioned, increase

the need for smuggling services, but also could put refugees and migrants into difficult situations, from being stranded between borders or *en route* or to be trafficked.

Smuggling of migrants' cases during the analyzed period in the Republic of North Macedonia declined in volume, but for only one recorded case compared to 2019. It means, as UNODC underlines in its reports and briefs (2020) that refugees and migrants are still moving, going towards Europe, and using smugglers' services even more than before. Such situation is expected, knowing that North Macedonia is along the Balkan route and has been inevitable point on the migratory path during 2015 and 2016.

Figure 8: Volume and distribution of most common environmental crimes



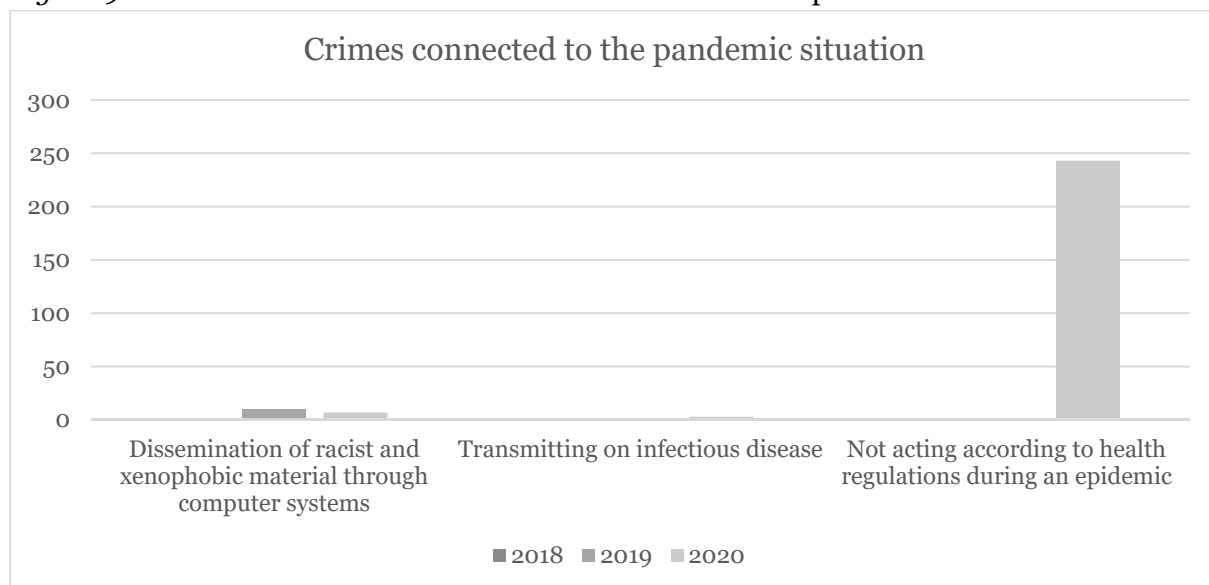
Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

SARS-CoV-2 appeared at a live animal market in Wuhan, China, and is result of the human destruction of nature and animal world. As it was before highlighted, illegal markets actually increase the risk of transmission of zoonotic diseases (Global Initiative against Transnational Organized Crime, 2020, <https://globalinitiative.net/covid-environment/>).

World Health Organization has concluded that around 75 % of the infectious diseases in the last three decades originated from animals. Factors as urbanization, human population density, climate change, and speed of trade and travel, wildlife trafficking, deforestation. If humans haven't interfered in the process of capturing, slaughtering, selling, trafficking, trading and consuming of wild animals, then we wouldn't have this situation at the moment (<http://www.emro.who.int/about-who/rc61/zoonotic-diseases.html>).

The confinement measures closed borders, restricted possibilities to travel, which helped for declining dangerous and damaging air pollution. But, on the other hand, the lockdown measures in some countries asked for higher number of police officers, which lowered the number of officers in forests, and other protected places.

During the lockdown period in the Republic of North Macedonia, the number of crimes connected to environment (the most common ones) has declined for around 90 %. We could connect this to either curfews or to dark figure of these crimes as result of the higher number of police officers working on restrictive measures.

Figure 9: Volume and distribution of crimes connected to the pandemic situation

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Macedonia

After rapid spread of the new coronavirus from China to Europe and USA, there were reported cases of hate crimes involving physical violence and harassment, but also everyday hate speech cases. The pandemic situation resulted in stigmatization and etiquette of people with Asian descent (Gover et al., 2020). Worldwide there were also many cases of hate speech directed to infected people, or people returning home from other countries at the beginning of restrictive measures, especially countries with high number of infected people.

In the Republic of North Macedonia, during January 2020 there was a documented case of hate speech, when a Macedonian citizen was filming himself while he was harassing South Korean citizens who were at a professional visit of Skopje. He was yelling: "Corona, corona. Go home, infected". During the researched period, there was a documented case of hate speech on social media, especially in a case, where a Facebook user was calling for burning a whole hotel of people (Macedonian citizens) coming home with humanitarian flights from other countries, where they have been stranded, because of the enforcement of restrictive measures, closed airports and borders.

At the end, but not with less importance, there are the crimes against public health, especially two crimes which are most typical for epidemic and pandemic situations as this one. These two were not documented during 2018 and 2019, which is a normal situation, because there was no new coronavirus back then. The transmitting on infectious disease was reported in three cases and it is rarer than the other one, because the people that had contact with the offender must be infected as result of such contacts. On the other hand, the not acting in accordance to health regulations during an epidemic was documented 243 times, and it is more often, because most of the acts are connected to not respecting curfew hours, being in a group (with more people than permitted), celebrating family events, such as weddings, christenings, but also funerals, etc. Such distribution and volume of these type of criminal activity has shown that, unfortunately, there are still citizens in North Macedonia that do not believe in the existence of the SARS-CoV-2 virus and its deadly nature.

What is of high importance in both cases (the one of hate speech and hate crimes, and the other one of crimes against human health) is public discourse. People should listen from professionals, but also from politicians that the virus is among us and we have to take precautions and learn to live in a different way, but also that we should not try and find a guilty side in this situation. Humans must understand the value of nature and to stop interfering in its cycle. Infected people, even if they did not respect the protective steps, should not be condemned, but accepted and helped. We should learn from our mistakes, not make new ones. What could be concluded at the end is that restrictive and confinement measures, and curfews had certain impact on criminal behavior, and volume and crime distribution, but there is a need of more deep researches in future so we can find out how strong this impact was and what should be expected in future national, regional and global crime trends.

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