

The Current State of Criminality in Russian Metropolises: Main Trends and Methods of Counteraction

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Abstract: The predetermined relevance of crime research in large-scale cities does not raise any doubts among scientists around the world. Despite the existence of typical signs of a megalopolis, all urban agglomerations of the world have their own characteristics which determine, among other things, the unique character of crime on their territory. This background requires attention to the main indicators of crime and introduces a situational way of analyzing them. And although the extremely large-scale cities of Russia differ from the largest megacities of the world, the study of crime indicators in them can make a significant contribution to the process of creating an effective crime prevention system. In Russia, only Moscow is comparable to the generally accepted notion of a metropolis. At the same time, the largest cities of Russia with a population of over 1 million people have trends in evolving crime that are similar to circumstances in foreign cities. In this regard, the proposed study will be interesting for criminologists studying crime dynamics in urban agglomerations. This paper claims that there is scope for counteraction of the most common crimes, taking into account the place and method of their commission. The results obtained are relevant and suitable for a qualitative analysis of the measuring crime.

Keywords: Crime, Metropolis, Drug Situation, Theft, Violence

1. Introduction

Several obvious reasons can be provided to show that the study of the state and dynamics of criminality in metropolises has certain and indisputable relevance. First, the structure of criminal activities and the main types of criminal behavior differ depending on the region, economic and other conditions. In this regard, Russian criminologists distinguish between criminal practices in rural areas and criminality in urban settlements of various types [48]. Quantitative indicators of difference are taken into consideration, such as the number of crimes, their types, intensity, and modes of perpetration.

Second, a modern metropolis or a super large city is the highest form of urban agglomeration, which creates conditions for sustainable development of territories and wellbeing of the population. In the age of globalization, the concentration of economic and labor resources in areas of compact settlement where inhabitants are concentrated seems

inevitable. At the same time, this process carries a number of risks of a criminal nature arising on interethnic, religious or domestic grounds. That is why, for example, the concentration of economic processes in urban agglomerations increases the risk of property owners victimization due to acquisitive and violent acquisitive crimes.

Third, the integration of a large number of people in urban agglomerations contributes indirectly to various types of criminal activities aimed at mass consumers. First of all, that means illegal trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. In conditions of a metropolis, probable markets become quite attractive, and transportation routes of a city start having the potential to serve for stable drug traffic, poorly controlled by authorities.

2. Background

As we know, the first term for a metropolis was introduced into scientific discourse in 1676 by T. Herbert, who used it to

designate capital cities in large countries. Today's urban science refers to large cities with a population of more than one million people as metropolises. International classifications developed by the UN and UNESCO use the number criteria of 8 and 10 million inhabitants [11]. The largest urban agglomerations of the world, which currently number about forty, clearly exceed this number, like Chongqing (49 million people), Tokyo-Yokohama Metropolitan Area (38 million people), Jakarta (34 million people) and others. Moscow is included in this list, given that in 2019 its population was even more than 12 million people. Being a complex socioeconomic territorial system of a super large city, a metropolis is formed as an association of smaller settlements and is characterized by a hierarchical network of enterprises, high population mobility, dynamically developing transportation infrastructure, multilevel service sector and an extensive system of regulatory and administrative authorities.

The peculiarity of Russian urban settlements lies in their mostly small population. Only Moscow, as the capital city, meets the established parameters of a metropolis. However, Russian criminological research often refers to cities with a population of more than 1 million people as metropolises [18]. There are fifteen million-plus cities in Russia, namely Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Samara, Volgograd, Kazan, Omsk, Chelyabinsk, Voronezh, Rostov-on-Don, Perm, Ufa, and Krasnoyarsk. This number tends to increase, as the status is claimed by Krasnodar with a population of more than 900,000, which is constantly growing. Most of these cities do not possess the international metropolis properties in full (such as overpopulation, high traffic load, etc.) due to insufficient socioeconomic development, but the state of criminality in these regions has some common features caused by not only regional, but also all-Russian specifics. In addition, all these cities are centers of various constituent entities of the Russian Federation that occupy a special place in the structure of internal economic relations and serve as centers of attraction for the population of corresponding regions and outsiders.

Interest in the subject is increased by the fact that crimes in the world's metropolises are consistently acquisitive. Many crimes are committed on the streets or in public places, and a large proportion of perpetrators leads a marginal lifestyle (no work, use of drugs, no stable social ties). The majority of foreign metropolises are characterized by socioeconomic growth, which makes them attractive both for tourists and for people who have moved in to permanent residence. At the same time, some super large Russian cities, in spite of extensive development, are in a state of economic degradation, which increases the risks of perpetration.

3. Results

Scientists have studied various parameters used to assess the state of criminality in relation to European [7], American [9], Latin American [35], and Asian [29] metropolises. But,

being mainly related to the specifics of criminal activities in Moscow, they did not receive detailed coverage. This circumstance certainly makes the subject of the proposed article more pressing. In addition, many trends that determine the state of criminality in metropolises do not show the impact of regional specifics, so the conclusions drawn for Russia may be of interest for comparative research.

The analysis of the state of criminality in Russian metropolises is yet more interesting from the following point of view. Today, many countries pay considerable attention to prevention programmes based on the interaction of the police and the public. At the same time, in economically developed European countries, embezzlement is characterized by a significant share and a low solving rate. For example, in 2011 the number of apartment thefts in Germany was 2.2% (while thefts in general accounted for 40% of recorded crimes) and their solving rate did not exceed 16.2% [16]. In 2005-2009, Germany combated this type of crimes with the use of video surveillance systems and contacts with local residents, including the Neighborhood Watch project, within which the inhabitants of one or several neighboring houses agreed on the mutual monitoring of the public order, and the District Surveillance, consisting in the formation of the so-called voluntary groups of a neighborhood residents which carry out visual monitoring of the public order. Today, attention is paid to the creation of biometric databases, processing social networks, and active promotion of personal property insurance. In Russia, in turn, crime solving rates are insufficient, especially for non-obvious crimes, but the technical methods of detection prevail over socially oriented ones. Therefore, it is interesting to investigate the state of criminality in Russian metropolises with reference to crime prevention aspects.

Some foreign works cover the main characteristics of violent [10] and violent acquisitive [19] crime in sufficient detail. However, these types of criminal activity are quite rare in large Russian cities. So the Russian experience of counteraction may be useful in further scientific understanding of the latest approaches to combating crime.

The state of criminality and its dynamics reflect the main social processes. In modern Russia, the negative impact on the life of society is caused by the consequences of a slowdown of the economic development, social inequality that developed in the post-Soviet period, and management errors. In this regard, while the total number of recorded crimes has decreased significantly (from 3,554,700 in 2005 to 1,991,500 in 2018), some qualitative characteristics of criminality remain almost unchanged (for example, the share of embezzlement was 55.7% in 2005 and 51.7% in 2018), and some tend to grow (for example, street crime in Russia increased from 564,100 crimes in 2005 to 702,300 in 2018). The total number of identified perpetrators has decreased for 25% from 1,297,100 in 2005 to 931,100 in 2018, while the share of those who have previously committed crimes among them increased from 23.8% to 29.1%. Overall, these numbers fit into a global trend of a 'great crime drop', but the analysis of the ratio of the number of crime statements to the number

of criminal cases initiated allows us to conclude that the actual criminality, in contrast, has increased by an order of magnitude [36].

Russian criminologists also point out such characteristics as urbanization, feminization and virtualization of crimes [8], as well as an improvement in the criminals' professionalism and conspiracy [30] and the fact that, at the same time, the degree of public danger of committed crimes is reduced [23]. As you can see, these parameters are somewhat contradictory. In this regard, it is interesting to proceed to the analysis of data on individual Russian metropolises.

In the conditions of a metropolis, a number of circumstances are manifested that predetermine the risks of perpetration and the victimization of the population. Here are some of them: 1) commuting towards the city centre in the morning and back to periphery in the evening; 2) a large number of recently constructed housing, where neighbors are often strangers; 3) an extensive network of transportation and communications, which allows the offender to successfully escape from the crime scene; 4) a large number of unemployed, including persons with no legal right to be on the Russian territory; 5) markets for stolen property, such as consignment shops and flea markets; 6) a market of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, which increases the number of persons who need regular cash income and are willing to gain it illegally; 7) opportunities to gather information about the alleged crime scene due to a large population.

It is necessary to pay attention to some subjective factors that contribute to a consistently high prevalence of criminal behavior in metropolises, as estrangement, lack of interest in the lives of other people, and inattentiveness to each other can also become part of a crime situation or contribute to the concealment of a crime.

Within the framework of this article, the state of crime in ten Russian cities will be investigated. The largest million-plus cities are Moscow and Saint Petersburg, where criminal situation is influenced by global trends. The authors also present data on the metropolises of the Volga region, the Ural region, Siberia and the south of Russia, since the state of criminality there is determined by regional trends and unclassified information is mostly unavailable to foreign readers. To analyze the main parameters characterizing criminality in Russian metropolises, we took open information posted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor General's office of the Russian Federation on their official websites and available without restrictions. Information about geographical, economic, and demographic characteristics of Russian metropolises is based on data published in Russia [41].

4. Discussion

4.1. Moscow

Moscow is the largest Russian city, occupying the first place among all Russian metropolises by the number of

inhabitants and hosting a concentration of authorities and commercial structures. These circumstances determine multiple risks of a criminal nature. In 2018, the largest number of crimes across the Russian regions (more than 140,500) was recorded in the capital. This is about 8.5% in the structure of all-Russian crime. The proportion of serious and very serious crimes in the structure of recorded criminality in Moscow is quite high (30.8%). However, preceding the analysis of the state of criminality in other metropolises, we can conclude that this is not the worst possible ratio. Moreover, almost 70% of recorded attacks have a relatively low public danger, which is an indicator of the perception of the police functions by the citizens and a criterion of the effectiveness of police activities.

The peculiarity of Moscow is determined by its capital status, a special legal regulation (Moscow is a federal city), an extremely large area (which also has legal prospects of further increase, as since 2011 a program to unite the city and the surrounding region has been implemented), the concentration of industry, banking and other activities, and the concentration of economic and political structures. Moscow - is one of the largest cities in the world with all the problems of metropolises. It occupies an area of more than 1,081 square kilometers and its population exceeds 10.5 million people, according to the results of the 2010 national census. The 10 administrative districts of the Russian capital comprise 125 districts [17]. 23.5 million tourists visited Moscow in 2018 [39].

Moscow definitely presents an entire complex of socioeconomic, demographic, and legal problems of super large Russian and foreign cities. The situation in the capital is characterized by the development of industry as the main city-forming factor, the high population mobility, and the presence of a large number of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and a transportation network.

As a metropolis with developed transport and social infrastructure, Moscow attracts tourists and migrants. At the same time, recent years have seen emerge a distinctive feature of the settlement of its citizens, i.e. ethnic preferences. Representatives of certain national groups tend to live close to each other in individual urban districts.

The most crime-prone areas of Moscow are Eastern and Southern administrative districts, where the largest number of property crimes is committed. These territories are built up with inexpensive low-budget housing, where the owners pay little attention to the safety of the apartments. From this point of view, the safest districts in Moscow are the North-Western and Central districts, where there is a significant activity of law enforcement services, conditions have been created for the introduction of video surveillance, and the security of citizens and increased security of public gathering places is provided.

In 2018, 339 murders and 836 other very serious crimes against the life and health of citizens were committed in Moscow, constituting about 0.7% of all crimes recorded. For comparison, modern European metropolises show an increase in violent crimes but there are currently no

unambiguous studies of this phenomenon [6]. The number of violent acquisitive crimes in Moscow in 2018 exceeded 1.1%, which allows us to conclude that this method of taking possession of property is less 'attractive' for criminals. At the same time, thefts constituted 44.6% of recorded crimes and fraud constituted 17.3%; accordingly, we can conclude that in this Russian metropolis criminal activities have a pronounced acquisitive orientation and that it is easier here to seize other people's property using hidden or deceptive methods of influence on the victim.

Moscow law enforcement agencies do not publish open information about the number of crimes committed in public places, as well as on the streets. According to the media, in 2012-2018 street crime in Moscow decreased by 47.9% [2].

In 2018, Moscow law enforcement agencies identified 32,100 perpetrators. This means that almost a quarter of offenses remained unsolved. Among the persons brought to criminal responsibility, 5,100 were migrants from the neighboring countries, which is not a significant number and somewhat refutes the popular thesis about the crime-proneness of this milieu [5]. In general, there are more unsolved crimes than solved ones, but in the last 3 years, Moscow law enforcement agencies have improved the situation to some extent (in 2016-2017 there were 120,000 unsolved offenses, compared to only 92,800 in 2018).

12.2% of the detected crimes were related to illegal trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. This is much better than, for example, a similar indicator for Saint Petersburg, although the methods of committing such crimes are largely identical. The risks of drug addiction among different segments of the population in these cities can also be described as similar. In Moscow, as in any other metropolis, drug addicts commit various acquisitive crimes. However, they mostly commit covert embezzlement.

To sum up, we can state that the criminal situation in Moscow remains under control due to a significant number of police officers and other law enforcement agencies employees. Allocation of large resources, allowing for the wide use of video surveillance and facial recognition technologies, as well as various technical means that increase the security of residential and non-residential facilities, enables residents of the Russian capital to feel relative comfort.

4.2. Saint Petersburg

Peculiarities of the state of criminality in Saint Petersburg are determined by its specifics as a metropolis, that is to say, high intensity of economic relations, a significant share of migrants, including people with no permanent source of income, population growth, a large number of cultural, entertainment and other facilities that create public gatherings, attractiveness for tourists, a large share of recently built multi-apartment housing, and a developed transportation system. Scientists highlight shortcomings in the organization of preventive police activities as a factor determining repetition of crimes [15]. In the North-Western district of the Russian Federation, Saint Petersburg has been

ranking first by number of recorded crimes for many years. This is due to its dense population, a large amount of real estate with less than ideal security, and the dispersal of police efforts, the preventive activity being most intense in the center and weaker on the periphery.

When analyzing the current state of criminality in Saint Petersburg, it is necessary to pay attention to the following parameters.

First, in 2018 Saint Petersburg was on the 9th place by the number of recorded crimes (51,400 or about 2.5% of the total number of attacks recorded in Russia as a whole).

Second, the share of serious and very serious crimes in the structure of recorded crimes amounted to a total of about 37.4%, which is a negative indicator compared to the all-Russian share (22.5% in 2018).

Comparing these data, we can conclude that, despite a fairly small share in the total number of recorded crimes, their public danger is higher and criminals commit them more actively. We should also pay attention to the fact that in the conditions of a metropolis, some crimes remain latent (including violent acquisitive offenses committed in public, covert embezzlement, and rape).

At the same time, the number of the most dangerous attacks on the life and health of citizens in Saint Petersburg remains consistently low. For example, in 2018 only 190 murders and attempted murders and 494 cases of causing serious harm to health were recorded in the city. The number of violent crimes involving misappropriation is decreasing steadily [40]. In Saint Petersburg, as in Moscow, there is a consistently low proportion of crimes committed with the use of firearms (less than 10 per 100,000 people).

A large share of street crime (about 25% of the total number of crimes recorded in Saint Petersburg in 2018) is, unfortunately, a common feature, shared by other metropolises of the world. Negative data on the dynamics of crimes committed in public are known to be obtained by criminologists who studied criminality in London [45], New York [24], Paris [27]. Like Saint Petersburg, all these cities are major tourist attractions (in 2018, 8.2 million people, about half of whom were foreigners, visited Saint Petersburg), which increases the level of victimization of persons temporarily staying there and not being sufficiently alert to avoid attacks. If we add crimes committed in public (42% of the total number of crimes), we can conclude that two out of three crimes in the metropolises are committed in conditions where both the criminal acts and the offender can be detected. At the same time, 52% of attacks remained unsolved in 2018.

Embezzlement committed with the use of violence or in other open ways, namely, robbery and burglary, do not have a significant prevalence in Saint Petersburg. Among the total number of crimes recorded in 2018, these constitute no more than 4%. This indicator can not be called favorable, because, first, it is almost twice as high as the all-Russian one (about 2.5%), and second, it demonstrates the presence of an intense *modus operandi* that accompanies acquisitive goal-setting. The commission of violent acquisitive crimes is facilitated by the administrative and territorial organization of the

metropolis (remote areas where daily commuters live).

More than 19,000 thefts committed in Saint Petersburg in 2018 had an extremely low solving rate; only a third of the criminals were found guilty. At the same time, among the covert embezzlements, only 4.8% were committed at residential or other premises or at a warehouse, i.e. in places with restricted access. This leads to conclusion that such crimes are mostly committed spontaneously and in favorable situations that do not require special training or criminal professionalism.

7.5% of embezzlements in the form of fraud recorded in Saint Petersburg in 2018 give reason to believe that deception and abuse of trust as means of illegal communication between the offender and the victim have a relatively stable distribution. In the metropolis conditions, this is favored by a significant number of likely victims, i.e. tourists or visitors from other Russian regions who are not familiar with local specifics.

Almost 20% of the crimes recorded in 2018 in Saint Petersburg were related to illegal drug trafficking (11,400). Analysis of judicial statistics allows us to conclude that most of them do not belong to the most dangerous types of illegal drug trafficking but are committed by drug addicts for personal consumption. In turn, as in other Russian metropolises, quite 'popular' way (and a relatively successfully detected one) of selling drugs in Saint Petersburg is the activity of so-called stash makers who maintain remote contact with drug users and use a system of caches for temporary storage of single doses.

About 27% of the crimes recorded in Saint Petersburg in 2018 were committed by persons who had previously been brought to criminal responsibility. This indicator is slightly better than the all-Russian one (29.1%), but the fact that less than half of the total number of crimes committed has been solved (48% or 24,600) leaves little place for optimism.

Summarizing the data, we can conclude that, as a metropolis, Saint Petersburg is relatively safe for living and temporary stay. Insufficient activity of the police in the detection and suppression of crimes is now a common problem for the entire Russian law enforcement system. However, this pattern can also be observed in European cities. For example, in Paris the number of crimes increased by 70% in 2019, which is associated with an increase in the proportion of immigrants from Africa and Asia who are not adapted to life in a metropolis and need special attention from both social and law enforcement services [14]. For Saint Petersburg, which is focused on receiving a large number of tourists and remains a center of cultural and business activity, this stable, although insufficient, control over crime is a positive characteristic of the criminal situation.

4.3. Metropolises of the Volga Region: Kazan and Nizhny Novgorod

In general, metropolises of the Volga region are economical attractions and well-known centers of social life. Kazan is the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan, playing

quite a huge role in the system of regional economic relations. It owns a registered brand of Russia's third capital. Kazan is one of the oldest Russian cities, its history goes back more than a thousand years.

A dense spatial group of settlements has developed around Kazan, making up one of the largest Russian urban agglomerations. The population of Kazan, ranking sixth among Russian cities, exceeds 1,251,000. Kazan is a well-known industrial, educational and cultural center. It has hosted several international sports events.

In the 1980-90s, criminologists coined a term 'Kazan phenomenon' referring to the crimes committed by young people, mostly of violent nature [1]. Today its occurrence is explained by the lack of a developed social infrastructure focused on young consumers.

Today, these problems have been properly resolved, but the criminal situation in Kazan and Tatarstan as a whole remains quite alarming. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tatarstan, the largest criminal gang (Sukonka organized crime group) counts more than 1,500 people. In 2018-2019, there was an increase in juvenile delinquency [21], but domestic violence decreased by a quarter and the number of serious and very serious crimes decreased by 15%.

In 2018, 18,700 crimes were recorded on the territory of Kazan, 42.9% of which were solved. The number of recorded crimes makes about 40% of all illegal acts detected in the region (43,500). Of these, about 300 are attacks on life, which is quite favorable. At the same time, it should be noted that the law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Tatarstan publish openly a relatively small amount of information about the state of criminality. Thus, in the statistical yearbook for 2018, published on the official website of the Prosecutor's office of the Republic of Tatarstan, the number of crimes recorded on the territory of Kazan is not highlighted [37].

As in other Russian metropolises, crimes in Kazan are predominantly acquisitive. By the state of criminality, Kazan is among the most prosperous cities in Russia (in 2018, the crime rate was 1,505 per 100,000 people). Two-thirds of the crimes recorded in Kazan are embezzlements, committed mainly in the form of theft and fraud.

The share of crimes related to drug trafficking is quite low (1,649 or about 9%). At the same time, only one in four among these is connected with the sale of drugs, which allows us to conclude that persons who fall under law enforcement activities are mainly drug users. The solving rate of violent acquisitive crimes has reached 95%, which is a highly positive characteristic of the police activities. It should be noted that in Kazan foot police patrols are practiced, having a powerful preventive effect against street crime.

In 2018, the number of crimes committed in public decreased by 17%. The head of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs considers the reason to be the widespread introduction of video surveillance technologies and other tools of the Safe City program [44]. There are more than 400 volunteer patrols in Kazan, which is a specific trait of

preventive activities in this region.

The above allows us to conclude that the operational situation remains controlled by law enforcement agencies and is quite calm and stable. At the same time, the disturbing trends related to the resurgence of aggressive juvenile delinquency have not yet been adequately counteracted.

Another Volga metropolis, Nizhny Novgorod, is a regional center, concentrating a number of promising industrial, economic, cultural and other relations. With 1,270,000 people, it is the fifth largest Russian city, boasting almost a thousand-year history. It is part of the Nizhny Novgorod agglomeration and one of the main directions of river tourism in Russia.

By the end of 2018, the crime rate in Nizhny Novgorod decreased by 8.1% and amounted to 1,379 crimes per 100,000 citizens. In the city and the surrounding region, 41,600 crimes were registered, of which 8,600 were serious and very serious. Some parameters, such as the number of crimes against the person, increased (by 17%), but the number of the most dangerous (murders and causing serious harm to health) decreased and did not exceed 600.

The share of property crimes was 59% (more than 24,600). The number of apartment thefts reduced significantly (by more than a third). Positive dynamics was also observed in other forms of embezzlement. More than 3,700 recorded crimes are related to illegal trafficking of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, which corresponds to the indicators for other Russian metropolises. There is also a tendency of street crime reduction, but it still has a significant share (more than 16,000 crimes), and most of the eight districts of Nizhny Novgorod recorded insufficient positive dynamics [33].

As part of the deployment of the Safe City hardware and software system, 987 high-resolution video surveillance cameras were installed in Nizhny Novgorod. During the preparation for the World Cup, 385 additional video cameras were put into operation, including 60 equipped with face recognition. The city has 204 'citizen-police' emergency communication consoles and 30 Imotion digital interactive complexes. This makes it possible to achieve good results in combating street crime and maintain control over crime in general.

As we see, the Volga metropolises have their peculiarities in combating crime, which makes them relatively safe and comfortable to live in.

4.4. Metropolises of the Ural Region: Yekaterinburg and Chelyabinsk

Yekaterinburg is the largest administrative, cultural, scientific and educational center of the Ural region, the capital of a constituent entity of the Russian Federation. Its regional status makes it attractive to migrant workers, which increases its population. In 2012, its population was more than 1,387,000 and in 2019 exceeded 1,483,000, making Yekaterinburg fourth among Russian cities. Yekaterinburg agglomeration is the third in Russia by the number of inhabitants, area and other indicators. At present, the multi-

beam metropolis Yekaterinburg-Chelyabinsk is being formed, based on industrial, economic and logistical prerequisites. The transport attractiveness of Yekaterinburg, in particular, is due to its location near Trans-Siberian railway and six federal highways.

Sixty percent of the population of the Yekaterinburg agglomeration lives directly in Yekaterinburg, which occupies an area of 468 square kilometers. The city has high economic indicators, ranking third among Russian cities and is a major tourist center. In 2018, it received 2,100,000 tourists from different countries and hosted World Cup matches. Employment of the population as a whole is guaranteed, but this factor does not have a decisive influence on the state of criminality. Among the main problems of Yekaterinburg one can name unsatisfactory state of the social sector, roads, housing maintenance and utilities.

The criminal situation in Yekaterinburg is characterized by the following parameters. In 2018, 18,434 crimes were recorded in the city, which is almost three times less than in Saint Petersburg and almost eight times less than in Moscow (primarily due to a much smaller population). Interestingly enough, although the majority of the region's residents live in Yekaterinburg, the number of recorded crimes there is three times less than in the region as a whole (55,434). Two of the seven districts of Yekaterinburg show a significant increase in juvenile delinquency (+76.9% in Oktyabrsky district, +51.1% in Chkalovsky district). In contrast to Saint Petersburg and Moscow, there is a tendency to form youth gangs that commit crimes in public.

The share of serious and very serious crimes in Yekaterinburg is 21.6%, which is slightly better than the national indicator. 40% of illegal actions are committed in public. According to the regional Department of Internal Affairs, 1,907 very serious crimes against life and health were committed in 2018 on the territory of the city and the surrounding region, which is almost three times higher than the number of similar attacks committed in Saint Petersburg. From this we can conclude that the share of the marginalized segments in Yekaterinburg is higher. This is also evidenced by the recurrence rate, which is 63.8%, twice as bad as the national figure.

At the same time, the share of non-violent embezzlement in Yekaterinburg was more than 90% in 2018. In general, embezzlement accounted for 52.8% in the overall structure. From this we can conclude that crimes in this Russian metropolis have a pronounced acquisitive character, as well as in the country as a whole. 44% of the identified embezzlement are apartment thefts, which, as in other metropolises, is due to the commuting and the density of urban buildings.

Every fifth crime related to drug trafficking is committed in Yekaterinburg using a remote method of sale. For this purpose, Internet resources are widely used, and it should be noted that law enforcement agencies have developed a strategy to counter this form of marketing. Every fourth crime solved in this group is related to the sale of narcotic drugs. In total, the share of drug-related crimes in

Yekaterinburg is 10.9%, which is significantly lower than in Saint Petersburg and Moscow.

The number of solved crimes in 2018 exceeded 8,000, which generally corresponds to the national trend. From this we can conclude that the criminal situation has remained stable and continues to be controlled. The crime rate in Yekaterinburg and Sverdlovsk Region is one of the lowest in the Russian Federation (1,346 crimes per 100,000 people, while the national figure is 1,419).

Like Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk is a regional center. It is the seventh largest Russian city by population (1,200,000 people) and the sixteenth largest by area, one of the largest industrial, economic and scientific centers of the country. Although there is currently a trend of migration of its residents to other regions, Chelyabinsk retains a certain attractiveness for labor migrants. The state of criminality is influenced by various factors related to the partial degradation of the economic and social sphere, the deterioration of the environmental situation, and the marginalization of the population.

In 2018, more than 26,000 crimes were recorded in Chelyabinsk, which is about 40% of the total number of illegal acts in the Chelyabinsk region [12]. The share of serious and very serious crimes constituted 5,700, thus not exceeding 20%. There were only 23 attacks on life, and almost all of them were solved, although the overall solving rate is not very high (58.1%). At the same time, a significant increase in juvenile delinquency (by 13%) and the integration of the young into criminal groups is alarming.

The bulk of crimes committed in Chelyabinsk in 2018 are embezzlements (20,000), most of which are thefts. At the same time, the number of apartment thefts decreased by 28.8%, which is a positive circumstance.

Like other Russian metropolises, Chelyabinsk has a rather alarming drug situation. The largest drug traffic route passes through the territory of the Chelyabinsk Region, the so-called northern route of transportation of Afghan heroin to the European part of Russia and the regions of the Far East and Siberia. In addition, the region has its own resource base for the production of plant-based and synthetic drugs. In 2018, more than 2,900 crimes related to illegal drug trafficking were recorded in Chelyabinsk, but we can positively assess a large share of sale among them.

The state of this part of criminality is also determined by the following regional specifics. The border with Kazakhstan is a bare steppe, with no usual attributes, even border markers, for 900 km. A rarely dotted line is marked only with checkpoints on the main roads and railways. Between these, there are many kilometers of open space with a huge number of country roads that are not controlled by anyone. However, even the checkpoints can't fully inspect the constant flow of tens of thousands of cars and trucks and hundreds of trains. There are not enough customs officers, nor technical means. The border guard is also extremely short of people, so local residents are recruited under a contract. Meanwhile, the entire local population is tied by kinship and somehow included in the border business, which makes it especially

difficult to fight drugs smuggling. According to experts, on such a transparent border all services can detain only from 2 to 10 per cent of smuggled goods and illegally entering persons.

The criminal situation in Chelyabinsk and Chelyabinsk Region is characterized by scientists as complex and tense [13]. At the same time, we can conclude that the effectiveness of police activities in the fight against crime allows it to be controlled.

4.5. Metropolises of Siberia: Omsk and Novosibirsk

Siberian metropolises (Omsk and Novosibirsk) have a smaller population, but are also interesting from the point of view of the main trends in the state of criminality.

In particular, Omsk is the fifth out of ten Russian cities in terms of population (1,164,000), but it tends to decrease due to negative socioeconomic processes. Being the seventh among 64 Russian cities in terms of investment attractiveness, Omsk is a major transport hub, located near the Trans-Siberian railway on the navigable Irtysh river. The local industry is based on oil refining and chemistry. Omsk is a scientific, sports and cultural center.

Negative trends that determine the state of criminality in Omsk and Omsk region are primarily associated with the impoverishment of the population and the degradation of the city economy. In 2014 Omsk took the last place in the Superjob rating, which characterizes the city's labor market negatively. Today, the main problems of the region include the out migration of young people, scientists, and businesses. The city has yet not overcome the consequences of a sharp deterioration of the criminal situation in the late 1980's and early 1990's, when it suffered from a wave of racket and multiple open clashes of criminal groups and the binding of crime and power.

In 2016 Omsk was named among five least safe cities in Russia. As of 2018, it ranked 24th among Russian regions by the number of recorded crimes.

In 2018, 26,927 crimes were recorded in Omsk and Omsk Region, of which about 27% were serious and very serious. A third of crimes were committed in public. Despite the above negative circumstances, the share of particularly dangerous attacks on life and health is quite low (no more than 1.5%), as well as the share of violent acquisitive crimes (about 1.6%). Almost half of the recorded crimes are embezzlements, committed either by theft or fraud. 12.5% of crimes are related to illegal drug trafficking.

As in other Russian metropolises, the number of persons brought to criminal responsibility is relatively small, although the rate of crime solving in Omsk is quite high (67.9%, which is 8% higher than the all-Russian figure). More than 11,000 people committed recurrent crimes. Unlike some other Russian metropolises, Omsk has a tendency to reduce juvenile delinquency.

These data allow to conclude that in the context of economic recession and acquisition of features of a depressed region, law enforcement agencies keep control over crime in general and prevent growth of the most dangerous crimes.

Like Omsk, Novosibirsk is located in Western Siberia and is a regional center. Novosibirsk is the most populous city in the Asian part of Russia (1,618,000) and a major scientific and industrial center. The Novosibirsk agglomeration is considered the seventh largest in Russia. It provides economic attractiveness and economic ties for the entire Siberian macroregion. Novosibirsk has a diversified economy with features of post-industrial type. Mc Global Institute includes Novosibirsk in the list of 600 largest cities in the world, producing 60% of global GDP [31].

As of 2018, there was a significant increase in the number of recorded crimes in Novosibirsk and Novosibirsk Region (by 7.6%). At the same time, the crime rate per 100,000 people is higher than the national one (1,710.5). Of the 47,700 recorded crimes (which is almost equal to the number of crimes recorded in Saint Petersburg, whose population is three times bigger), the share of serious and very serious crimes did not exceed 20%. 284 recorded crimes against life characterize the state of violent crime in the region quite positively.

As in other metropolises, crimes in Novosibirsk are predominantly acquisitive. About 60% of them are embezzlements, committed mostly by theft and fraud. About a third of the crimes were committed in public. 8,400, i.e. almost every fifth crime, were committed by persons who were previously brought to criminal responsibility. The majority of people charged with crimes do not have a permanent source of income (64.1%).

As the peculiarity of the region one can point out the excess of the number of detected facts of drug sale over the number of actions of ordinary drug users (purchases and storage for personal use). In 2018, the ratio was approximately 1.7 (1,771 to 1,050). In general, the share of drug crimes in the overall structure is quite low, as in comparison with other Russian regions.

Analyzing these data, we can conclude that in Novosibirsk and Novosibirsk Region, in contrast to Omsk, the regional trends that determine the state of criminality are positive economic conditions and relatively stable well-being of the population. Law enforcement agencies maintain control over crime, but their efforts are currently not producing visible results.

4.6. Metropolises in the South of Russia: Voronezh and Rostov-on-Don

The analysis of the state of criminality in these cities is interesting because they are geographically close to the most unstable Russian regions in the North Caucasus. Nevertheless, here the counteraction to crime is organized somewhat better in certain regards.

Rostov-on-Don is the largest city in the South-Western part of Russia, an administrative, cultural, scientific and educational center and an important transport hub. It hosts a number of representative offices of Russian financial organizations. More than 1,133,000 people live in eight districts of Rostov-on-Don, making it the tenth out of 1,115 cities of the Russian Federation. Since Rostov-on-Don is a

regional center, the regional administration plans to create the Rostov agglomeration, uniting a number of satellite towns in the near future.

The state of criminality in Rostov-on-Don and Rostov Region is characterized quite negatively. Thus, the number of recorded crimes has not shown significant decrease since 2010. The region is in fifth place by this parameter, lagging behind Moscow and the Moscow Region, the Chelyabinsk Region and the Krasnoyarsk Territory. In 2018, 55,500 crimes were recorded in the Rostov Region, which is more than in all other metropolises considered above, except Moscow.

According to World Atlas, in 2016-2017 Rostov-on-Don topped the list of the ten least safe cities in Europe. Although this ranking is sufficiently formal, it can be noted that a certain reliability is given to it by the extensive empirical base used to compile it. In this case, the statistics about the growth of the number of recorded crimes was taken as the basis [3].

It is noteworthy that low-rise buildings are common in Rostov-on-Don, as a result of which the number of private home thefts slightly exceeds the number of apartment thefts. Thefts account for up to half of the crimes committed in the city and the surrounding region annually [43]. According to some authors, the long-term specifics of Rostov life has been the refusal to store significant material values at home, which increases the risk of theft [22].

Among the negative aspects of the state of criminality in Rostov-on-Don, we can note a significant (25.5%) increase in very serious crimes in 2019, as well as in the number of juvenile crimes [26]. In addition, in 2018 Rostov-on-Don took the leading position among the cities of the Southern Federal District in terms of crimes per 10,000 people. Similar indicators were noted for some other super large cities (Novosibirsk, Perm, Ufa, Kazan), but with a smaller number of crimes recorded on their territory. Only in Chelyabinsk and Krasnoyarsk the situation is worse than in Rostov [4]. For Rostov-on-Don and Rostov Region, the current trend of criminality is an increase in the number of attacks on life (by 11% in 2017).

Another problem of the region is the drug addiction. The number of persons convicted by the courts of Rostov-on-Don for illegal acquisition and possession of narcotic drugs is significantly higher than in other cities. Every year, 20 residents of the city per 10,000 are convicted under article 228 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, which, for example, is ten times more than in Voronezh, another South Russian metropolis [38].

Like the Prosecutor's office of Kazan, the Prosecutor's office of the Rostov Region publishes openly only fragmentary information about the state of criminality, so it is quite difficult to draw a detailed picture of its main parameters. Thus, some general data on the region are published on the official website of the Prosecutor's office, including, in particular, data about 20% share of serious and very serious crimes and some types of socially dangerous attacks (44.5% of thefts, 10.9% of drug-related

crimes, 10.7% of frauds). Recording a decrease in the number of recorded crimes in 2018, the regional Prosecutor's office does not explain what efforts of law enforcement agencies made this possible.

Voronezh, another southern Russian metropolis, has an agglomeration with more than 1,300,000 people. As a regional center, Voronezh concentrates a number of industrial enterprises that are part of large holdings but have been stagnating for a long time [25]. The city has its problems in the sphere of housing maintenance and utilities and road construction.

In 2018, 29,300 crimes were recorded in Voronezh and Voronezh Region, which is a relatively small number for a metropolis. The share of serious and very serious crimes constituted 23.1%. 43.5% of crimes were committed in public, and 60.1% were committed by persons who had previously been brought to criminal responsibility. Only 0.4% of recorded crimes were related to attacks on life.

In Voronezh, as in Rostov-on-Don, the three most frequently committed crimes are theft, drug trafficking and fraud. In 2018, the crime rate decreased by 12% and 29,300 thousand crimes were recorded. The same decline took place in 2016-2017. In an interview with a regional media, the Prosecutor of the Voronezh Region suggested that this is due to the process of decriminalization of a number of socially dangerous attacks [47]. In other words, changes in the criminal law resulted in a significant decrease in the number of recorded crimes.

In terms of the number of drug-addicted residents, the Voronezh Region ranks third in Russia after Moscow and Moscow Region. According to the Chief Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian Federation for Voronezh, causes and conditions facilitating illegal distribution and consumption of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances in the city are directly connected with the increased activity of transnational drug groups, organizing channels through which Afghan heroin is brought from Tajikistan and synthetic substances from South-East Asia [46]. At the same time, in 2018 a significant increase in the number of crimes related to drug trafficking was recorded (over 7.5%).

Thus, we can conclude that in the southern Russian metropolises, despite significant differences in the number of recorded crimes, their qualitative characteristics have a significant similarity and the efforts of law enforcement agencies to maintain public order provide general control over crime.

5. Conclusions

Our analysis of the state of criminality in Russian metropolises allows us to conclude that in most of them the main indicators are the same, but not identical. In general, law enforcement agencies keep crime under control, but their preventive activities can be deemed ineffective. This conclusion is caused, first of all, by the proportion of persons who previously committed crimes in the total number of

those brought to criminal responsibility.

In 2019, the number of unsolved crimes increased in such Russian metropolises as Rostov-on-Don, Nizhny Novgorod, and Moscow. In addition, it has increased in the Republic of Tatarstan, the capital of which is Kazan. From this we can conclude that the investigation of crimes still needs optimization. In the conditions of a metropolis, concealment of a crime is facilitated by such factors as dense population, complicating identification of the criminal by witnesses, possibility of criminals disguising themselves as representatives of repair, housing maintenance and utilities or other services (including law enforcement officers), availability of time intervals when criminal activity does not attract attention, technical means applied by criminals. The period of investigation of a criminal case until its suspension due to the failure to identify the person subject to criminal responsibility is quite short under Russian law and equals to two months.

Unfortunately, public statistics published by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's offices can often be fragmentary and incomplete. However, despite this, the main characteristics of crime in Russian metropolises can be presented as follows.

First, a significant proportion of crimes committed in public. This parameter, used for assessing the state of criminality in metropolises, arises from well-developed infrastructure and service sector, increasing the risk of victimization.

Second, a large proportion of embezzlements committed covertly or by deception. This is partly due to the fact that metropolises concentrate a large number of people with a relatively high income, who regularly leave their homes and other property without proper supervision.

Third, like in Russia as a whole, the drug situation in metropolises is quite complex. At the moment, the existing methods of countering the spread of drugs are not sufficiently effective, and drug prevention is partly formal. Medical rehabilitation programs for drug addicts in Russia do not include substitution therapy, so these people often do not have an incentive to undergo treatment. Criminal instruments, providing the relief of drug addicts from punishment under the condition of treatment, are applied in isolated cases and only to subjects who are guilty of illegal acquisition or possession of drugs.

Fourth, although the number of recorded crimes in Russia is decreasing, also in metropolises, the large proportion of people who have previously committed crimes is alarming. This demonstrates low criminal professionalism, on the one hand, and on the other, the inefficiency of the applied penalties that do not achieve the goal of correction of the convicted.

Fifth, the indicators of group crime and juvenile delinquency are quite unfavorable in Russian metropolises. Despite the fact that these are insignificant in the overall structure of recorded crimes, some types of crimes have a stable group character (for example, vehicle theft) and others are committed with the active participation of teenagers, like

some ways of selling drugs through so-called stashes (hidden caches).

Sixth, Russian metropolises have a small percentage of violent crimes, especially attacks on life. On the one hand, this indicates that living there is secure, and on the other, it should be noted that such acts are investigated as thoroughly as possible and tend to get solved.

Seventh, the share of serious and very serious crimes among recorded crimes in most Russian metropolises is relatively small (20-25%), which allows us to conclude that the most dangerous crimes do not show pronounced distribution. This is undoubtedly a favorable characteristic, but it applies only to the identified attacks and not to actual criminality.

The criminal climate of Russian metropolises is in many ways similar to the parameters that determine the state of criminality in large European, American, and Asian cities. However, today many of them record an increase in violent acquisitive and violent crimes. For example, London and other major UK cities see an increase in the number of armed attacks [42]. The problems of marginalization of a part of the population and criminal violence in metropolises, studied by foreign authors [32], have a certain similarity with the Russian reality, but at the moment they have less influence on the state of criminality in Russia. Perhaps this is due to the crisis in the economy, which makes acquisitive crimes prevail.

Violent crimes in metropolises are rather inherent in many public places, which attract the population. All cities of the world have dangerous, crime-prone districts [34], and their 'recovery' from criminal activities is an important social task which should be solved through the combined efforts of the authorities and the public. Social policy and the prevention of unemployment should include countering the marginalization of the population. This problem occurs in both Russian and foreign metropolises [28], and at the moment there is no universal solution.

The average portrait of a perpetrator in a Russian metropolis also does not present significant differences from a foreign one. As a rule, this is a person with previous criminal experience, who has been living in the metropolis for a relatively short time, shows a pronounced acquisitive motivation and leads a parasitic lifestyle. Mention of this type of criminal personality can be found in foreign authors [20].

Russian metropolises have an economic, tourist and social appeal and serve as centers of attraction for internal migrants and visitors from other post-Soviet states. The standard of living in most of them, especially in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, is significantly higher than in a number of Russian regions. It is logical to assume that these factors largely determine the state of criminality in metropolises and its acquisitive nature. Insufficient organization of law enforcement agencies activity in terms of detection and prevention of crimes also contributes to a stable number of acquisitive crimes. Programs of social rehabilitation of persons who were brought to criminal responsibility do not

have a serious impact under today's Russia's criminal policy, so recurrent crimes become almost inevitable.

The current criminal legislation of the Russian Federation provides for liability for the most dangerous attacks on person and property. The practice of its application indicates a significant variability of punishments but does not contribute to the adoption of a law-abiding lifestyle by perpetrators. At the moment, Russia has achieved a stable decrease in the number of recorded crimes, but this is not due to increased control over crime. The existing mechanism for recording crimes has a number of serious shortcomings, and public confidence in law enforcement agencies is still relatively low, although it has grown in the modern period.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical Approval

All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki Declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Informed Consent

Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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