vol. 76(4)/2022, pp. 68–83 DOI:10.15804/athena.2022.76.04 www.athenaeum.umk.pl ISSN 1505-2192

CRIMINALITY OF FOREIGN NATIONALS IN SWITZERLAND IN THE YEARS 2009–2015 AS A THREAT TO PUBLIC SECURITY: A RISK ASSESSMENT

PRZESTĘPCZOŚĆ CUDZOZIEMCÓW W SZWAJCARII W LATACH 2009–2015 JAKO ZAGROŻENIE BEZPIECZEŃSTWA PUBLICZNEGO: OCENA RYZYKA

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— ABSTRACT —

The scientific objective of the study was to assess the risk associated with crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland in the years 2009-2015 as a threat to public security, including predictions concerning the development of the analysed phenomenon in the future. The practical purpose of the study was to recommend a strategy for the management of the analysed issues. In the research process, the author applied qualitative research methods, including query of the sources and analysis of statistical data, as well as analysis of risk using the FEMA methodology based on data from the years 2009-2015. The research fills a gap in studies on crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland. Article not only constitutes a diagnosis of the current nature and scale of crime of foreign nationals, but it also includes an

– ABSTRAKT —

Celem naukowym pracy była ocena ryzyka związanego z przestępczością cudzoziemców w Szwajcarii w latach 2009-2015 jako zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa publicznego, w tym sformułowanie prognoz dotyczących rozwoju analizowanego zjawiska w przyszłości. Utylitarnym celem badań było zarekomendowanie strategii zarządzania analizowanymi zagadnieniami. W procesie badawczym autor zastosował jakościowe metody badawcze, w tym kwerendę źródeł i analizę danych statystycznych oraz analizę ryzyka z wykorzystaniem metodyki FEMA opartej na danych z lat 2009-2015. Przedstawione treści wypełniają lukę w badaniach nad przestępczością cudzoziemców w Szwajcarii. Artykuł stanowi nie tylko diagnozę aktualnego charakteru i skali przestępczości cudzoziemców, ale zawiera rów-

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Keywords: Switzerland; crime of foreign nationals; risk analysis; public security nież predykcję arytmetyczną dotyczącą ewolucji zjawiska w przyszłości, w kontekście potencjalnego zagrożenia bezpieczeństwa publicznego w Szwajcarii.

Słowa kluczowe: Szwajcaria; przestępczość cudzoziemców; analiza ryzyka; bezpieczeństwo publiczne

INTRODUCTION

Due to its high standard of living (\$62,100 of GDP per capita – 16th place in the world in 2019) (CIA, n.d.), Switzerland is commonly considered to be a certain "European enclave of prosperity". Like other countries with favourable economic indicators, Switzerland also "attracts" migrants from different countries (people who move to improve their standard of living). As a result, foreign nationals make up a significant portion of the Swiss society. They currently constitute nearly 30% of the Swiss population, among 8,292,809 residents (CIA, n.d.).

These data indicate that Switzerland is a country with a relatively high proportion of foreign nationals in its population. This situation determines the question: to what extent does this relatively high percentage affect the security of this country? Since security is an extremely broad concept and the potential negative consequences of migration have an impact on a number of its sectors, for the purposes of this study the author focused on the area of public security (which is understood as all conditions and institutions that act to protect health, life, and public property, as well as the system and the sovereignty of states from phenomena that threaten their legal order and the functioning of their society (Ścibiorek et al., 2015)) and a case study of the main threat thereto (and, simultaneously, one of the most widespread threats of anthropogenic nature – caused by the activity of man), namely crime – crime of foreign nationals, in the analysed case. At the same time, the author did not forget about the importance of another public threat, i.e., terrorism, however, due to the voluminous nature of this phenomenon, separate studies are needed to assess its impact on security.

The outlined problem situation prompts us to answer the following questions based on the results of the conducted research: What is the scale of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland? What percentage of the totality of crime does it represent? To what extent does the scale of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland affect public security in this country, and how is this phenomenon predicted to evolve?

Based on the query of literature sources, we can observe that studies on criminality in Switzerland, including criminality of foreign nationals, have been present in the scholarly discourse for many years. The problem of crimes committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland has been noticed, for example, by M. Killias (1997) (in the context of criminality of foreign nationals in Switzerland, focusing in particular on the cultural, economic and social factors as the determinants of criminality), by the same author (2009) (in the context of updating the studies conducted in 1997), as well as by A.T. Vazsonyi and M. Killias (2001) (in the context of juvenile crimes committed by foreign nationals and their descendants in Switzerland), B. Jann (2013) (in the context of investigating correlations between the socio-demographic characteristics of foreign nationals in Switzerland and the scale of delinquency), Ch. Koller and D. Fink (2013) (in the context of exploring criminality of foreign nationals in particular cantons), A. Kuhn (2013) (in the context of exploring the socio-demographic characteristics of foreign nationals as a determinant of criminality in Switzerland), and M. Perkowska (2019) (in the context of exploring criminality of foreign nationals in Switzerland). The authors of the cited publications focused primarily on diagnosing the phenomenon of criminality of foreign nationals in Switzerland, and in particular, on identifying its main forms and scale. It should be noted that in the context of investigating the impact of foreign nationals on criminality (as a threat to public security), researchers present diverse research approaches. For example, A. Kuhn (2013) believes that nationality should not be equated with criminality, which means that the independent variable, i.e., nationality, has no impact on the dependent variable, i.e., the scale of criminality.

These are cognitively interesting publications, mainly of diagnostic and descriptive nature (case study). However, apart from the publication by B. Jann (2013), we lack more recent publications investigating the threat of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland in the context of an arithmetic estimation of the risk. There are also no publications that would include an arithmetic prediction of the phenomenon in the future, in the context of its impact on public security in Switzerland.

To fill this gap, deepen the exploration and complement the scholarly discourse conducted so far by predictions concerning the analysed phenomenon in the future, the author of this article decided to conduct risk assessment and estimate the probability of it becoming a threat in the future.

METHODOLOGY

Criminality of foreign nationals in Switzerland, consituting a threat to public security of this country, constitutes the subject of the research. The scientific aim of the study was to assess the risk associated with criminality of foreign nationals in Switzerland as a threat to public security that demonstrates the effectiveness of the migration policy conducted by this country. The practical purpose of the study was to recommend a strategy for the management of the analysed issues to administration bodies, with regard to:

- the scale of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland;
- the forecasts concerning the evolution of the analysed phenomenon, including a potential increase in the threat.

To achieve the research objective, the author formulated the following research problem: "What is the level of threat related to crime of foreign nationals as a crime that poses a threat to public security in Switzerland?". Due to the use of qualitative research only, no hypothesis was formulated. In the research process, the author referred to the paradigm of the Copenhagen School as a critical school of security, exploring the subject of research from a sectoral perspective (in the analysed case, exploring crime as a threat to public security) rather than holistically, as in the case of the Paris School concept that focuses on general state security.

For the purposes of the conducted research, the author focused on the area of public security in Switzerland and a case study of its main threat, i.e., crime – in the analysed case, crime of foreign nationals (bearing in mind the significance of another threat to public security, i.e., terrorism, although due to the voluminosity of this phenomenon, separate studies are needed to investigate its impact on security). The main limitation of the study was the fact that the latest official statistics concerning crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland, published after 2015, could not be accessed.

In the research process, the author applied qualitative research methods, including query of the sources – the criterion for source collection consisted in choosing primarily the papers (results) published by Swiss researchers, followed by researchers from other countries – and analysis of statistical data (using the desk research technique), as well as analysis of risk using the FEMA methodology based on statistical data from the years 2009–2015. The method used to expand the exploration of the phenomenon with future predictions was the risk analysis model used by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). It is an

American agency, under the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, whose main task is to report on hazards and to plan and manage measures to prevent and mitigate catastrophes and natural disasters (FEMA, n.d.).

This method assesses hazards on the basis of an arithmetic analysis of four factors and their respective weighting assigned by FEMA: history of the event (weight 2), population's vulnerability to the event (weight 5), maximum threat of adverse effects of the event (weight 10), and probability of the event occurring within a year (weight 7) (Grocki, 2012). Then, according to the resulting total of those factors, the level of risk is determined, as well as the choice of response method to the given level of risk. The scale of each factor can be determined by assigning it a weight according to the system: low = 1, medium = 5, high = 10. The analysis included an assessment of the threat based on the years 2009–2015 (i.e., six years), related to the available data, as well as an arithmetic prediction of its development until 2023, i.e., within two years counting from 2021, when the research was carried out. The research results are presented in the next section.

RESULTS

Risk identification

The scale of crime in Switzerland between 2009 and 2015 was relatively small, counting the total 2,701,006 of confirmed cases (Eurostat, n.d.). The percentage value was obtained by calculating the ratio of the average number of a given crime from the analysed six-year period to the number of Swiss citizens (8,292,809). The value was obtained using the following formula: 8,292,809 = 100%, annual average from 2009–2015 = x%. It should be pointed out that this only applies to detected crimes, so their actual scale is larger.

After presenting the total scale of crime in Switzerland between 2009 and 2015, the first step of the research process was to explore identical statistical data but concerning the crime of foreign nationals. Table 1 presents data on recorded cases of crime committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland in 2009–2015 by type of crime. Years for which no cases of a particular type of crime were recorded are marked with "X" in the table.

Crime by foreign nationals in Switzerland between 2009 and 2015 accounted for about 10.58% of all crime (all recorded cases out of the total).

Type of crime	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Annual average
against life and health	10,336	9,971	9,705	9,840	9,833	9,503	9,268	9,779
against property	20,212	20,513	21,258	24,246	24,103	22,204	20,351	21,841
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy	2,900	3,032	3,534	4,132	4,159	4,288	4,628	3,810.4
against liberty	9,635	9,579	9,792	11,641	11,538	10,850	10,241	10,468
against sexual integrity	1,751	1,747	1,736	1,951	2,127	1,949	2,025	1,898
against the family	443	393	425	469	498	528	524	468.57
relating to public security concerns	449	476	398	422	436	437	373	427.29
against public health	19	14	14	20	14	18	17	16.57
against public transport	82	110	118	144	149	138	116	122.43
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights	325	292	250	271	260	188	196	254.57
forgery	2,223	2,337	2,289	2,568	3,004	2,919	3,266	2,658
against public order, genocide, war crimes	274	245	140	201	189	247	175	210.14
against the sta- te and national defence	Х	5	6	3	4	Х	3	3
against the will of the people	0	1	Х	4	2	Х	1	1.14

 Table 1. Recorded Cases of Crime Committed by Foreign Nationals in Switzerland in 2009–2015 by Type of Crime

Type of crime	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Annual average
against authorities	2,685	2,884	2,830	3,528	3,362	3,233	3,283	3,115
detrimental to foreign relations	6	0	Х	Х	5	Х	0	1.57
against the course of justice	1,070	910	761	837	837	884	889	884
relating to official duties	25	23	36	19	35	28	34	28.57
bribery	45	9	8	4	6	62	24	22.57
violations of federal law	1,532	1,944	2,301	2,594	2,556	2,510	2,785	2,317.43
Total	38,431	38,714	39,439	43,521	43,758	41,583	40,316	40,823
Total for 2009–2015	285,762							

Source: compiled based on M. Perkowska (2019, p. 98).

In the context of the issues discussed above in the analysis of statistical data, it should therefore be concluded that the percentage of crime committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland has been steadily increasing, but due to its relatively small percentage of all recorded crimes, it does not currently (as of October 2021) significantly affect the public security of this country. In scholarly consideration, equally important, and perhaps even more important than the analysis of this phenomenon in its contemporary form and scale, is how it will potentially evolve in the future.

Risk analysis

The first step of the analysis was to examine the factor of the history of recorded criminal acts committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland.

Individual criminal acts in the context of their history of occurrence were classified according to the following criteria relating to frequency:

- 0 times: low level;
- 1–4 times: moderate level;
- >4 times: high level.

The results of the analysis of the history of crime committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland in 2009–2015 are presented in Table 2.

Table 2.	History of the Occurrence of Recorded Criminal Acts Committed
	by Foreign nationals in Switzerland in 2009–2015

Incident/type of crime	History of incidents (weight 2)
against life and health	10 x 2 = 20
against property	10 x 2 = 20
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against liberty	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against sexual integrity	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against the family	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
relating to public security concerns	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against public health	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against public transport	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights	10 x 2 = 20
forgery	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against public order, genocide, war crimes	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against the state and national defence	5 x 2 = 10
against the will of the people	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
against authorities	$10 \ge 2 = 20$
detrimental to foreign relations	5 x 2 = 10
against the course of justice	10 x 2 = 20
relating to official duties	10 x 2 = 20
bribery	10 x 2 = 20
violations of federal law	10 x 2 = 20

Source: Author's own elaboration.

As can be observed, except for crime against the state and national defence and crime detrimental to foreign relations, all categories of crime were assigned the highest severity -10 – according to FEMA's classification. This is because crime, unlike natural hazards (such as floods), is committed in every analysed administrative area (especially country) relatively often, which does not necessarily have to reflect a significantly negative impact on security.

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The second step of the analysis was to examine the factor of population exposure to criminal acts committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland.

Individual criminal acts in the context of exposure were classified according to the following criteria relating to frequency:

- <1%: low level;</p>
- 1–10%: moderate level;
- >10%: high level.

The percentage result was obtained by analysing the ratio of the averaged number of cases of a particular type of crime in the analysed six years to the number of Swiss citizens (8,292,809). The values were obtained using the following formula: 8,292,809 = 100%, average value from 2009-2015 = x%. Exposure values for individual types of crime are presented in Table 3.

Incident/type of crime	Exposure value	Exposure (weight 5)
against life and health	x = 0.12%	1 x 5 = 5
against property	x = 0.26%	1 x 5 = 5
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy	x = 0.05%	1 x 5 = 5
against liberty	x = 0.13%	1 x 5 = 5
against sexual integrity	x = 0.02%	1 x 5 = 5
against the family	x = 0.01%	1 x 5 = 5
relating to public security concerns	x = 0.01%	1 x 5 = 5
against public health	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
against public transport	x = 0.001%	1 x 5 = 5
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights	x = 0.003%	1 x 5 = 5
forgery	x = 0.03%	1 x 5 = 5
against public order, genocide, war crimes	x = 0.002%	1 x 5 = 5
against the state and national defence	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
against the will of the people	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
against authorities	x = 0.04%	1 x 5 = 5
detrimental to foreign relations	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
against the course of justice	x = 0.01%	1 x 5 = 5
relating to official duties	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
bribery	x ~ 0%	1 x 5 = 5
violations of federal law	x = 0.03%	1 x 5 = 5

Table 3. Exposure of Population to Criminal Acts Committed by Foreign national	s
in Switzerland in 2009–2015	

Source: Author's own elaboration.

As can be seen, the exposures in all cases were < 1% (~ 0% in six cases) and were therefore assigned the lowest weight – 5 – according to FEMA's classification.

This means that despite the widespread nature of the threat of crime (in the case of the analysed foreign nationals), the percentage of the Swiss population that could potentially be in the area at risk of exposure is relatively low.

The third analysed factor was vulnerability, which is the percentage of the exposed population directly affected by the event.

In the context of vulnerability, individual acts of crime were classified as follows, with reference to the percentage of crime committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland relative to all recorded cases:

- <15%: low level;</p>
- 15-20%: moderate level;
- >20%: high level.

As already mentioned, according to official statistics, 2,701,006 identified criminal acts were committed in Switzerland between 2009 and 2015, while foreign nationals committed 285,762 of them, accounting for approx. 10.58%.

Therefore, the population's vulnerability to all criminal acts committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland was classified as low, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4.	Vulnerability of Swiss Society to Crimes Committed by Foreign nationals
	in 2009–2015

Incident/type of crime	Vulnerability (weight 10)
against life and health	
against property	
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy	
against liberty	
against sexual integrity	
against the family	
relating to public security concerns	$1 \ge 10$ (in all analysed cases)
against public health	
against public transport	
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights	
forgery]
against public order, genocide, war crimes	

Incident/type of crime	Vulnerability (weight 10)	
against the state and national defence		
against the will of the people	1 x 10 = 10 (in all analysed cases)	
against authorities		
detrimental to foreign relations		
against the course of justice		
relating to official duties		
bribery		
violations of federal law		

Source: Author's own elaboration.

The final step in risk assessment using methods proposed by FEMA was to determine the probability of committing criminal acts by foreign nationals in Switzerland.

Determining the values for the probability of an incident in a designated time interval involves the mathematical prediction of future incidents (in the analysed case – of criminal acts by foreign nationals in Switzerland). It was calculated with the application of Bernoulli's equation (Grocki, 2012) (assuming that a particular incident/type of crime ($p(x_t=0)$) will occur within (t) years: $T = 1 - (1 - 1:t)^T$). A perspective of 6 years was substituted for the (t) value (starting with the most recent data for 2015 until 2021 – the time when the study was conducted), while a period of 2 years (until 2023) was substituted for the T value, therefore t = 6; T = 2.

Probability was determined to be low, moderate, or high, as follows:

- $p \le 0,005 low;$
- 0,005
- p > 0,1 high (Grocki, 2012).

The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. P	bability of Committing Crime by Foreign Nationals in Switzerland	
ir	2022–2023 Based on an Analysis of 2009–2015 Statistics	

Incident/type of crime	Probability pt (for 2 years – until 2023) (weight 7)	
against life and health		
against property	t = 6; T = 2 $p_t = 0.36$ (high) $10 \ge 7 = 70$	
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy		

Incident/type of crime	Probability pt (for 2 years – until 2023) (weight 7)			
against liberty				
against sexual integrity				
against the family				
relating to public security concerns				
against public health				
against public transport				
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights				
forgery	t = 6; T = 2			
against public order, genocide, war crimes	$p_t = 0.36$ (high) 10 x 7 = 70			
against the state and national defence	10 X / - / 0			
against the will of the people				
against authorities				
detrimental to foreign relations				
against the course of justice				
relating to official duties				
bribery				
violations of federal law				

Source: Author's own elaboration.

It appears that the probability of committing crimes by foreign nationals in Switzerland over the next two years (i.e., 2021–2023) is high. However, this results from the already mentioned widespread nature of the analysed security threat because crime (including foreign nationals) is inevitable in any country in the world, unlike, for example, natural threats such as floods or earthquakes whose occurrence depends solely on geography (for example, the location of the country in question). The final stages of the conducted analysis of the risk of crime committed by foreign nationals in Switzerland were its estimation, followed by the final risk assessment.

RISK ESTIMATION

The penultimate step of the analysis was a summary risk assessment by substitution into the following formula: (H = history, E = exposure, V = vulnerability, Pr = probability) 2 x H + 5 x E + 10 x V + 7 x Pr = Σr .

The final stage of the analysis was to select a method of procedure in the context of responding to the received value of threat. FEMA's methodology provides four options:

- reduction R (reducing the probability and impact of an incident),
- transfer T (sharing responsibility for the threat with another entity),
- acceptance Acc (taking no action),
- avoidance Av (taking no risk related to response or changing the nature of the procedure to non-risk generating tasks) (Grocki, 2012).

A summary of the crime of foreign nationals risk assessment in Switzerland using FEMA methodology is presented in Table 6.

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Incident/type of crime	History of incidents (weight 2)	Exposure (weight 5)	Vulnerability (weight 10)	Probability pt (for 2 years – until 2023) (weight 7)	Total	Decision in view of the scale of risk			
against life and health	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against property	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against honour in the scope of state secrecy or privacy	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against liberty	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against sexual integrity	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against the family	20	5	10	70	105	R			
relating to public security concerns	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against public health	20	5	10	70	105	R			
against public transport	20	5	10	70	105	R			
counterfeiting of money, forgery of official seals, falsification of marks, measures and weights	20	5	10	70	105	R			

 Table 6. A Summary Analysis of the Crime of Foreign Nationals Risk Assessment in Switzerland Using FEMA Methodology

Incident/type of crime	History of incidents (weight 2)	Exposure (weight 5)	Vulnerability (weight 10)	Probability pt (for 2 years – until 2023) (weight 7)	Total	Decision in view of the scale of risk
forgery	20	5	10	70	105	R
against public order, genocide, war crimes	20	5	10	70	105	R
against the state and national defence	10	5	10	70	95	Acc
against the will of the people	20	5	10	70	105	R
against authorities	20	5	10	70	105	R
detrimental to foreign relations	10	5	10	70	95	Acc
against the course of justice	20	5	10	70	105	R
relating to official duties	20	5	10	70	105	R
bribery	20	5	10	70	105	R
violations of federal law	20	5	10	70	105	R

Source: Author's own elaboration.

RISK ASSESSMENT

As can be observed in Table 6, the summary risk assessment score for the vast majority of crime types was 105 (95 in two cases). The FEMA methodology specifies that threats with a summary score above 100 indicate a high level of risk.

However, it should be noted that in this methodology it refers to a oneyear analysis. In connection with the analysis of the threat of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland over a six-year period, it should be considered that the summary value is not high in the context of such a period, and therefore the risk reduction method is recommended for crimes for which the summary risk score exceeded 100. However, due to the relatively insignificant exceeding of the abovementioned maximum acceptable risk score (by 5) and the widespread nature of the threat of crime as mentioned before, it should be considered relatively low and relatively easy to be "moved" to the sphere of acceptable risk (< 100) using available forces and resources, such as the activities of the Swiss police.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the analysis of the data obtained as a result of the risk assessment of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland conducted in accordance with the FEMA methodology, the overall assessment from the perspective of public security threats should be considered positive. This is mainly evidenced by the low level of exposure and vulnerability of the Swiss society to the analysed phenomenon. The overestimation of the score was most influenced by the history factor (due to the widespread nature of the analysed threat) because if the resulting risk sum r = 105 is divided by 6 (the number of years analysed), the average annual risk would be barely 17.5. As a result, under FEMA's methodology, the annual risk value would mean that the risk is fully acceptable.

This is also supported by the fact that as can be observed from the analysis of the statistics presented earlier, between 2009 and 2015, the most violent crimes such as murder, grievous bodily harm, rape, and robbery accounted for less than 5% of all recorded criminal acts.

The results of the study are of a two-sided nature. On the one hand, they show that the probability of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland is high, although it stems from the widespread nature of the threat of crime, compared to other threats, for example, floods. On the other hand, the results indicate that compared to other countries with a similar proportion of foreign nationals in the society, the scale of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland is relatively low, which may reflect positively on the assumptions and implementation of the Swiss migration policy and, thus, the lack of threat to public security in Switzerland.

In context of public security related to the crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland, the main focus should be directed towards constant monitoring of the scale of migration that gradually increases over the years, since it has the potential to determine the increase in the scale of crime of foreign nationals. As shown by the content of the article, the scale of crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland has been decreasing in recent years, and therefore, despite the overwhelming prevalence of foreign nationals among inmates in Swiss prisons (71.4% in 2017) (Islas, 2019), considering that the reported average crime of foreign nationals rate between 2009 and 2015 was 10.58%, it should be regarded as a relatively low risk. In the context of public security, it shows that crime of foreign nationals in Switzerland does not pose a significant threat to public security.

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