

# REGIONAL SEMINAR ON PLANNING FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT

Addis Ababa, 3-12 June 1987  
DISCUSSION GUIDE

(SEMINARIO REGIONAL SOBRE PLANIFICACION  
PARA LA PREVENCIÓN DEL DELITO Y LA JUSTICIA  
PENAL DENTRO DEL CONTEXTO DEL DESARROLLO  
GUIA DE DISCUSION)  
Adis Abeba, junio 3-12, 1987

(NOTA DE ILANUD: Como puede apreciarse por la lectura del "sumario", la presente Guía, que fuera preparada por Irene Melup, asesora de Naciones Unidas sobre prevención del delito y justicia penal, es un valioso instrumento para la discusión y capacitación en materia de planificación de la prevención del delito y la justicia penal en los países en vía de desarrollo, y, por ende, en América Latina y el Caribe. Las especiales referencias al caso africano a lo largo del documento, enriquecen a éste con la problemática y ejemplificaciones de dicha región).

*Note from ILANUD: The following Discussion Guide, prepared by Ms. Irene Melup, of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations, is a valuable instrument for discussion and training in planning in crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development, and, therefore, in Latin America and the Caribbean. Special references to the African case throughout the document enrich the discussion with the problems and illustrations of said region.*

## SUMARIO

*Delito y Desarrollo. Necesidad de la prevención del delito y la planificación de la justicia penal dentro del contexto del desarrollo. Nuevas formas y dimensiones de la criminalidad dentro del contexto africano. Planificación intersectorial de la prevención del delito. Urbanización. Industrialización. Desarrollo y conservación de recursos humanos. Planificación del sistema de justicia penal: legislación; aplicación de la ley; tribunales; penitenciarías; justicia juvenil; prevención del delito; el lugar de la víctima. Participación de la comunidad en la prevención del delito y la justicia penal. Capacitación en prevención del delito y planificación de la justicia penal. Cooperación regional en prevención del delito y justicia penal. Intercambio de información, experiencia y conocimientos. Investigación orientada a la acción. Iniciativas en materia de capacitación. Servicios de consultoría. Estrategias conjuntas y otras formas de cooperación regional en materias de mutuo interés. Identificación de necesidades de investigación en materia de políticas y planificación de la prevención del delito y la justicia penal. Previsión de las tendencias futuras. investigación-acción. La investigación evaluativa como guía para la política y planificación de la prevención del delito/justicia penal. Organización de la investigación. Utilización de la investigación. Entrenamiento en investigación.*

## SUMMARY

*Crime and Development. The need for crime prevention and criminal justice planning in the developmental context. New forms and dimensions of criminality in the African context. Planning for crime prevention across the sectors. Urbanization. Industrialization. Human resource development and conservation. Planning the criminal justice system: legislation; law enforcement; courts; corrections; juvenile justice; crime prevention; the place of the victim. Community participation in crime prevention and criminal justice. Training in crime prevention and criminal justice planning. Regional cooperation in crime prevention and criminal justice. Exchange of information, experience and expertise. Action oriented research. Training initiatives. Advisory services. Joint strategies and other forms of regional cooperation in matters of mutual concern. Identifying crime prevention and criminal justice policy and planning needs for research. Gauging future trends. Action research. Evaluative research as a guide to crime prevention/criminal justice policy and planning. Organization of research. Utilization of research. Training in research.*

## DISCUSSION GUIDE

The establishment of the U.N. African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and The Treatment of Offenders is a milestone for the region and for the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme and its institutional framework. This framework includes the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the Social Development Division, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs in Vienna, regional institutes in Asia, Latin America and Europe, an affiliated centre for the Arab States, and an interregional research institute in Rome. More attention will be given to this network later on, but it should be noted, at this stage, that the creation of the UN African Institute (UNAFRI), which has been called for repeatedly and is long overdue, is an event not only of regional but of world-wide importance, given the pivotal role of Africa and the lessons to be learned from its age-old practices and traditions, its profoundly human approach to social problems and its mutual support systems.

It has been said that crime prevention and control is an area in which no country is really developed. Some of the most affluent countries are the most seriously afflicted and we are finding that higher standards of living, better health, education, social services, etc. have not of themselves served as preventives against crime. They are also finding the remedial measures may be to little avail when crime problems have escalated beyond manageable proportions. There is thus a widespread questioning of the validity and applicability of existing policies, an increasing emphasis on the community as the prime force for crime control and on the importance for crime prevention rather than ineffective

"treatment" palliatives. In some cases it almost seems too late to stem the tide of crime which is exacting a tremendous human toll, siphoning of material resources and impairing the quality of life.

Africa has a rare opportunity, for although in certain areas crimes are proliferating, overall the situation is not yet out of hand. Drawing on its wealth of custom and experience and on its precious values, as well as on the lessons to be learned from the mistakes made elsewhere, and on some promising approaches, much can be achieved. While it is unrealistic to think that crime can be eliminated, it can be considerably reduced, allowing for more wholesome development whose benefits are not subverted through negative side-effects such as crime. If appropriate measures are taken in good time, the potential effects of decisions taken today foreseen, and wise choices made in a coherent manner, the criminogenic potential of development can be assuaged, social peace preserved and a truly better life for people assured. It is the purpose of this Seminar to explore how this challenge can be met.

## CRIME AND DEVELOPMENT

While it is impossible to say that development causes crime, or even that there is some kind of inevitable correlation between them, it seems evident that dysfunctional, unplanned development tends to have criminogenic consequences. It is also clear that there is a two-way relationship between development and crime, though its exact nature is yet to be determined. Development takes different forms, and proceeds at different rates, while crime varies in time and place, with socio-economic systems, legal definitions and changing realities. In

both cases, innumerable factors are involved, interfacing in complex patterns and having a variety of ramifications. Even a factor analysis is unlikely to yield the requisite knowledge because of the shifting character of the phenomena involved and their often camouflaged nature but still certain conclusions can be drawn.

It can be noted, for example, that increases in crime often accompany the process of urbanization, migration, physical and social mobility, loosening of traditional social controls and shifting of values. The demographic structure and population trends have an impact, since the younger age groups are known to be more crime-prone: this has special relevance for African States most of whose population is below 25 years of age. Furthermore, the legal system, with its definitions of what is crime, and often differential law enforcement, affects the picture, as does the incidence of crime reporting/recording or non reporting/recording. Those in power can make their own laws and enforce them, and Africa's colonial heritage is painful testimony to this, as is South Africa. Laws can be fashioned to criminalize or to render immune, and whether and how they are applied affects the crime picture, as well as the respect for, and observance of, the law. Alien, dysfunctional prototypes, ill-suited to African realities and circumstances have not served its development needs and often compounded rather than resolved its crime problems.

Development has brought with it also advances in transport and communications, helping crime to transcend national frontiers and to internationalize itself. Economic offences, drug-trafficking, smuggling and other forms of organized crime, terrorism and other forms of violence, environmental offences, etc. are among transnational crimes which proliferate in a shrinking world; scientific progress brought by development has also given rise to new types of offences, such as computer crimes.

Economic and other crises which stymie development and threaten lives may have long-term consequences, and the impact of Africa's critical situation is painful evidence of this. Apart from the immediate human cost, the social disruptions wrought by the famine, refugee flows and other population movements, family separations, etc. are already showing their effects. Decreasing commodity prices, rising inflation and related hardships have added to deprivation; yet it is "relative deprivation", where some are "haves" and others "have-nots", that is likely to exert a criminogenic effect. It also contravenes the objectives of the Third UN Development Decade

which is to assure that all members of the population participate equitably in, and share the fruits of, development.

Not only does development affect the direction and forms of crime, but it is also affected by crime and the fear of crime. The social cost of crime is hard to determine, but there is evidence that it is of a significant order of magnitude.<sup>1</sup> Crime destroys human and material resources and forcibly reallocates others outside the normal workings of the economic and legal systems. The cost of the criminal justice system consumes a considerable share of scarce revenues. A UN study found that the proportion of public operating expenditures budgeted for crime control activities ranged from less than 2 per cent to 26 per cent, with a median of 3 per cent in the large budgets of rich, developed countries, but of 9 per cent of the small budgets of poor developing ones. Official statistics showed that in some countries budget appropriations for internal order exceed those for education and health combined, and in others more persons are employed in crime control than in education.

Crime also has an indirect, although not necessarily measurable impact on development as a deterrent to effort, investment, mobility and capital accumulation. A UN technical assistance mission reported some years ago that agricultural production in one country could not expect to be raised until farmers could be sure that their produce would not be stolen. If corruption, economic and organized crime are included in the estimates, then the cost to the economy may be staggering. And this does not include the damage to the social fabric, the moral climate, the confidence of people in their institutions, and the general feeling of insecurity whose cost is incalculable.

#### **THE NEED FOR CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE PLANNING IN THE DEVELOPMENTAL CONTEXT**

It is clear that economic development and the often rapid social changes accompanying it carry with it the danger of negative side-effects such as social breakdown, including crime, unless they are anticipated, fully understood and planned for. Yet, though as far back as 1965, the United Nations urged countries to include crime prevention and criminal justice considerations in their national plans (ECOSOC.res.1086(XXXIX)D), and though repeated admonitions have been made to this effect by the quinquennial UN Congresses

and other UN meetings, the inclusion of such elements in national planning endeavours is still the exception rather than the rule. Where appropriate provisions exist, they are seen as recurrent overhead expenditures rather than developmental investments. There is as yet little meaningful dialogue between planners and criminal justice professionals, and few mechanisms for mutual input and feedback. And, yet, if potentially criminogenic imbalances in sectoral rates of growth are to be avoided, the matter cannot be ignored and crime prevention policies must be incorporated in the planning process. This does not mean that crime prevention must be the main goal of planning, but it does mean that it should be duly taken into account. If, as has been suggested, the crime rate acts as a barometer for safe sailing on the course of development and, conversely, as a signal of troubled waters ahead, then attention to it can play a critical role, and efforts to forestall its increases beyond tolerable limits can make the difference between viable and dysfunctional national growth.

Planning for crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development has two basic aspects: the intersectoral and the sectoral one. Crime prevention elements can usefully be built into investments in nearly every sector. It is a factor to be borne in mind in dealing with agriculture (e.g. crop security), in planning new towns (e.g. industry location to facilitate employment and available amenities), in building housing estates (e.g. community spaces, street lighting), in health planning, education, labour and social welfare, particularly in view of the relationship between human development, training, work opportunities and crime. However, not only is it a question of building crime prevention elements into these sectoral investments, but also of maintaining an essential harmony between them so that potentially criminogenic imbalances are not created.

The planning process must also be applied to the criminal justice sector itself. Too often have its different parts (law-making, law enforcement, courts, corrections, juvenile systems, preventive services) operated in isolation and often at cross-purposes with each other. Police increases have tended to flood already crowded court schedules; stiffer sentences have contributed to prison overcrowding; obsolete or unsuitable laws and procedures, and their uneven application, have undermined confidence in and the effectiveness of the whole criminal justice system (or rather, non-system). Integrated planning of the various sub-systems of criminal justice, in a coherent framework, with consistent objectives is clearly called for if it is to fulfil its basic purpose.

The following questions might help to focus the discussion on the issues raised in this introductory section. Participants should feel free to amend and/or expand them in any way they wish.

## **NEW FORMS AND DIMENSIONS OF CRIMINALITY IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT**

Although comprehensive statistics on African crime trends are lacking, and some countries are only beginning to collect them systematically, it is nevertheless evident from various indicators that crime in the region has been increasing, and that the problem is worsening. As eminent African authorities have recently observed "this increase in criminality has not only been a prominent phenomenon of the African societies of the 1970s and 1980s, but is predicted to possibly reach the dimensions of riots and 'misery' by the turn of the century if something is not done to arrest the situation".<sup>2</sup> The United Nations periodical world crime surveys have also found rising African crime rates, especially for certain types of offences which tend to increase with development, such as economic crimes. Efforts to upgrade crime data collection in the region are envisaged under the leadership of UNAFRI, including the adaptation of the UN manual for the collection and analysis of crime statistics and other guidelines to African needs, and pilot projects designed to facilitate information-gathering and yield further data on the subject. The existence of mounting crime problems was confirmed by the representatives of African States participating in the quinquennial United Nations Congresses and in the regional meetings held in preparation for them, who called for urgent steps to prevent their further escalation, which is likely to take place, particularly with the continent's economic and social difficulties and their political repercussions.

While the forms of crime are largely culture-specific and vary in time and place, certain kinds of offences seem to be multiplying in various States, including theft, burglaries, housebreaking, and white-collar crimes such as forgeries and other-types of fraud, embezzlement, fraudulent bankruptcy and corruption. Robberies, with an increasing use of firearms, drug abuse and prostitution, involving growing numbers of young persons, seem to be proliferating in urban areas. With a shrinking world, due to improvements in transport and communications and widening crime networks, transnational forms of crime are spreading across frontiers, including smuggling, drug trafficking and other forms of organized crime, terrorism,

theft of cultural patrimony, environmental offences, etc. The offences and quasi-licit practices of multinational companies, including price-fixing, appropriation of natural resources, transfer-pricing, export of hazardous products and other acts harmful to consumers, are also causing serious concern, although they may not be easily discernible since their effect is cumulative and spread over many people, particularly the disadvantaged.

The perpetrators of such offences, who often wield considerable economic power and/or use increasingly complex organizational forms and sophisticated means, tend to profit from loopholes and differences in national legislations and/or lax enforcement, especially where countries lack enforcement means. Regional and international collaboration in order to promote more uniform legislation can offset this tendency, and other means of joint action, such as mutual judicial assistance, extradition, freezing of bank accounts, cooperation between the various services concerned, etc. can foster the kind of concerted approach that has the best chance of countering transnational criminality — as will be noted in somewhat greater detail later on. Suffice it to say at this point that just as integrated national planning is essential to prevent and mitigate crimes committed on a national scale and those which — though wider in scope — have their noxious local effects, regional and international cooperation are indispensable aspects of overall crime prevention and criminal justice planning. Such cooperation permits States to adopt joint strategies in dealing with problems of common concern and fosters the exchange of expertise and experience which is of mutual benefit in the fight against all forms of criminality. The United Nations and the UN African Institute have a special role in promoting it and in encouraging the application of UN standards and guidelines on which countries can draw in their respective and collaborative planning ventures. Some possible lines of such planning are indicated in the pages ahead, but it will be the participants themselves who, in light of their countries' and their own concerns and experience can bring to bear in-depth knowledge and invaluable suggestions which would make this a really meaningful and relevant exercise.

Some basic planning needs at the national level will be considered in the next section from an inter-sectoral and sectoral perspective.

Participants may wish to consider the following **questions** (please feel free to add others that you deem particularly significant)

1. What has been the impact of development on criminality in your country and what aspects of development have played a particular role?
2. What relationships between socio-economic factors and crime do you consider particularly significant and why? What linkages to the critical situation facing Africa?
3. How serious and extensive is the crime problem in your country and what has been its economic and social impact? How has it been assessed (subjective impression, via criminal statistics, effect on life-styles or other social indicators, economic indicators relating to consequences for national development, etc.) Have any cost-of-crime studies been conducted?
4. If development has had negative side-effects such as crime, or if crime has impaired the development process, could this have been avoided? How?
5. Have differential rates of development of certain sectors of development created any imbalances that have proved criminogenic, or be apt to become criminogenic in the future?
6. If criminogenic imbalances have occurred or are likely to, what could have been done to prevent this, and what action could still be taken to do so?
7. What kinds of crimes, especially new forms of criminality, have been causing particular concern, and has any systematic action been taken to control and forestall them?
8. What do you consider to be the main constraints and possible short-comings of measures taken to date to deal with crime in its present context in your own and other countries of the region? How could this be remedied?
9. Have any forecasts been made of the prospective crime situation in your country, based on past and present trends, including the strategies necessary to prevent its exacerbation, and if not, then how could forward planning be instituted to anticipate and forestall further problems at the national and broader levels?

## PLANNING FOR CRIME PREVENTION ACROSS THE SECTORS

The rationale for incorporating crime prevention considerations in the various facets of development and in the range of sectoral investments has been noted before. It may now be helpful to concretize the discussion with references to specific aspects and relevant illustrations.

## URBANIZATION

The relationship between rapid urban growth and rising criminality has been expounded so often that it need not be reiterated here. The accelerated flow of people to towns in the "rural push" and "urban pull" has been widely described, as have the consequences — the growth of city slums, shanty towns, or bidonvilles; the concentration of often unattached single males separated from their families and lacking basic social supports; the weakening of traditional social controls, the depersonalizing effect of urban anonymity; the polarization of classes and alienation of the unemployed as underprivileged; the lack of appropriate amenities and services, etc. The projections forecasting the quadrupling of the urban population in the last quarter of this century have increased the concern and led some countries to undertake urban planning as well as agricultural development which would stem the exodus of the young and revitalize the countryside.

The interdependence of the various development processes and sectors is clearly reflected here, as is the need to avoid imbalances in the relative rates of growth which may prove criminogenic. It has been found for instance that it is not the fact of urbanization, but its rate, as well as the rate of attendant social change; that furthermore it is not urbanization per se, but urbanization without a corresponding degree of industrialization (to provide work opportunities) that exerts a disruptive effect. Similarly, it is the massing of unattached and often frustrated idle or underemployed youth for whom not even basic services have been provided that may become easy prey to delinquency. Exposed to urban lifestyles and the increased risk of criminal associations, as well as visible consumer goods in a juxtaposition of affluence and deprivation, they may well be attracted to illicit shortcuts in order to obtain them.

The irreversible character of urban spread and deterioration of social life, with its anomic consequences, coupled with increasing unemployment and imbalances in income distribution, also involve considerations of social equity and the possibility of social unrest. Economic crises such as the one facing Africa, accentuate the problem and add other dimensions which must also be tackled if viable solutions are to be found and the situation prevented from escalating further. It is apparent that a comprehensive perspective taking the various factors into account, and seeking to prevent problems rather than to remedy them when they may have become recalcitrant, carries the best

prospect for success. Yet a delicate balance must be preserved, for instance in monitoring and controlling migration while not infringing fundamental human rights. Town planning policies which have sought to create "growth poles" and/or to site industries and develop urban centres coherently, with the necessary amenities and services, have in various countries met with success, especially where crime preventive elements have consciously been built into the urbanization process.<sup>3</sup>

This is true also of housing policies, which may well-meaningly exacerbate a problem if this aspect is not taken into account. For instance, it has been found in some slum clearance projects that rather than reducing criminality, the result has been an increase in crime. What the policy-makers failed to take into account is that their programmes destroyed the social cohesion of the slum-dwellers which served as a crime preventive. The emphasis on "defensible space"<sup>4</sup> in housing projects of certain developed countries is not only an architectural means of promoting safety but also a way of recapturing the possibility of community involvement and supervision, which is a mainstay of traditional societies. The contagious effect of urban blight and deterioration has often been described, but the communicative effect of urban renewal deserves greater mention and should be capitalized upon.

The relationship between urbanization and crime is also reciprocal. Not only do urban policies (or their lack) affect crime, but they may also be affected by it. Falling real-estate prices in high-crime areas, act as a disincentive to business investment (and bring higher rates of insurance); the reluctance of people to move into high crime areas, the questionable value of improvements (e.g. parks) which may not be used out of fear, these are some examples of the constraints imposed by crime on housing and town planning policy which must seek to cut the vicious circle which limits options and perpetuates unhealthy urban patterns inconsistent with wholesome growth.

Experimental urban policies and pre-investment projects including crime prevention elements may yield considerable returns. Industrial and housing schemes could be planned differently in similar regions, or similarly in different regions, studying *inter alia* their effect on the incidence of criminality. This could include pilot projects differing in size, location, age and sex structure, social services, etc. Some beginnings in this direction have already been made<sup>5</sup>, but other options could be explored. On the premise that it is the pace of urban

development which is most directly associated with crime, it might be possible on existing data to prepare tentative estimates of probable crime growth with certain rates of population concentration, and given age and sex structures, which would be rather speculative at first but could be checked by experience.

## INDUSTRIALIZATION

Industrialization may be linked to crime in various ways. The criminogenic potential of its lag behind urbanization has been noted, as must the false expectations that its prospect may engender in those who gravitate to the towns. Industrial complexes, with their large stocks or warehoused materials offer new possibilities for theft and other crimes during processing and distribution procedures. Where a sluggish economy has shut down industry, the unemployed and the underemployed may create a "floating" unattached population with considerable potential for crime.

There is scope for criminal activities in various facets of industrialization, including land speculation, contracting, and all stages of production, distribution and marketing. Changes in the means of production brought by industrialization, shifts in the labour forces, use of new techniques and new lifestyles, all have criminogenic potential. Shoplifting is a phenomenon associated with the opening up of self-service department stores. Confidence games and other kinds of commercial fraud proliferate with trade and business expansion. Banking offences, tax evasion and avoidance can exact a tremendous cost, and other economic offences may divert to private pockets funds sorely needed for development purposes. The introduction of electronic money processing procedures and other technological innovations complicates the detection process and requires additional safeguards. Some will have to be borrowed from the purview of industry and business themselves so as to reduce the range of opportunities for crime. Others can be adopted if the potential for crime is analysed and counteracted.

The increased interfacing between legitimate businesses and organized crime in various areas, especially drug trafficking and its proceeds, has caused complex new problems and requires ingenious preventive strategies. As crime has become increasingly sophisticated and assumes new organizational forms, so must the response. Practices such as money laundering, use of legitimate business fronts for illegitimate activities, etc, call for incisive counter-measures, and for planning foresight. In situations where even

relief supplies are not safe, when black markets operate creating a "shadow economy" to undermine already fragile national economies, planning for crime prevention is not a luxury but an urgent necessity.

Some of the questionable practices of transnational corporations, such as restrictive business practices and transfer pricing as well as others, including overpricing, the sale of dangerous products or obsolete technologies, the development of artificial tastes for worthless goods through advertising, and the unfair exploitation of natural resources or impairment of the environment, are not only the prerogative of powerful business partners, but their multinational base facilitates their operatives, also acting transnationally, deplete countries of their cultural heritage for real profit. These practices and others will not be detailed here since they are described in a special report available to the participants, which also outlines the action requirements at various levels. It should be noted here, however, that organizational and technological advances in the perpetration of crimes require a commensurate response and wide-ranging preventive planning encompassing the various sectors concerned. It also necessitates concerted action at the regional and international levels to avoid differences in legislation and enforcement of which the perpetrators take advantage, as well as other preventive measures, in a planned, collaborative response of the authorities and services concerned.

## HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION

The health, education, employment and social service sectors ought to be considered together under this broader heading, though its conventional meaning is narrower, and its real ambit is wider still, covering the most vital aspect of development and national life, its human potential. It has been mentioned before that as valuable as the investments in these sectors are in their own right, they are not, automatically, an insurance against crime - indeed, their scope as an antidote to it has been grossly overestimated, as some developed countries have painfully found out, and some developing ones are increasingly realizing. This does not mean that judicious investments in these sectors cannot be crime preventive but, rather, that sheer quantitative increments - as has often been the case - will not serve the purpose, and that unless their relationship and possible imbalances are taken into account, negative consequences may ensue, including those which are crime-related.

The need for joint educational and employment planning offers a case in point. The laudable goal of universal primary education has given rise in many countries to secondary (or other) school leavers whose aspirations have been raised, and who want to obtain white-collar jobs, which may be unavailable. Furthermore, their education may not have prepared them adequately for the technological requirements and social transformations brought by development. Frustrated in the attainment of their aims and exposed to the pressures of their rootless urban life, they may resort to illicit shortcuts to meet their acquired taste for consumer goods or other accoutrements of status. In some countries even university graduates cannot find a suitable job, and the public sector has often become inflated beyond its needs, yet this has not solved the problem. Evidently, education must be more functional and suited to development priorities and needs; at the same time, only integrated planning of the educational and employment sectors can help to avoid the imbalances which may well produce acriminogenic effects. The expansion of legitimate opportunities for meaningful development-related work for the nations' youth is a necessity which planners are well aware of but must pursue jointly with their counterparts in the other sectors concerned; the criminologist or crime prevention specialist can make a useful input to facilitate their task and alert them to the aspects requiring special attention.

In the respective sectors, also, crime prevention considerations can be incorporated directly or indirectly. The schools can be the carrier of traditional African values and ethical norms, and teach good citizenship. They can be facilitators of adaptation to social change as well as preparers for it. They can seek to maximize the qualities of kinship, social solidarity and community concern which are the hallmark of African life, and counteract the stress on material acquisitions and status symbols promoted by the multinationals, the media and expanding tourism. They can also emphasize cooperative rather than competitive modes of conduct and teach the young non-violent means of conflict resolution as well as moral precepts. By encouraging activities such as sports, which encourage a team spirit, they can lay the foundations for other forms of group cohesion and emphasis on fair play. They can, finally, build confidence in the capacity to fulfil individual potential without infringing moral distates and help youth to participate constructively in the realization of a nations's destiny and a continent's hope.

## POSSIBLE QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Have any aspects of crime prevention and criminal justice been included in your country's development plans? And if so, please give details.
2. Has there been any planning in your country for crime prevention and criminal justice as part of overall national planning, or is any envisaged:
  - (a) On a sectoral basis - i.e. criminal justice system planning (including the subsystems of legislation, law enforcement, courts, corrections, juvenile justice, crime prevention, etc.)? Is this governed by a comprehensive policy or done on an ad hoc basis?
  - (b) On a cross-sectoral basis (by incorporating crime prevention elements in planning the educational, employment, health, environmental, urbanization, industry, social welfare, etc. sectors, and by trying to maintain a balance in the development of the different sectors, e.g. education and employment through integrated human resources planning, urbanization and industrialization concordance, etc.)?
3. What methods have been utilized in crime-related planning to date or could be utilized in such efforts in the future?
  - (a) To what extent have quantitative planning methods and techniques used in other areas of national development been applied to crime prevention and control, or could be applied to it? (e.g. target-setting, allocation of resources, choice from among options on the basis of their perceived cost/benefit, PPBS, etc.)
  - (b) How has the efficacy of the policies and programmes adopted been evaluated? On what basis are new ones being introduced? How is their success assessed? Is there any provision for monitoring the implementation of the plans, policies and programmes adopted? Are the results of assessments being used in plan, policy and programme modifications? How?
4. What do you consider your contry's crime prevention and criminal justice planning priorities which would help to minimize the cost of crime and promote more wholesome national development? The region's?
5. How could the fulfilment of this objective best be integrated into strategy for resolving





the socio-economic difficulties facing the region and for promoting the kind of sustained, self-reliant growth that was urged by the special session of the UN General Assembly on the Critical Situation in Africa, and other regional and international policy directives?

#### PLANNING THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The criminal justice system has, unfortunately, in most cases operated more as a non-system. Its various elements, such as the process of law-making, law enforcement, courts and judicial administration, corrections - including prisons and community treatment - juvenile justice mechanisms, the treatment of victims, and crime preventive services, have rarely functioned as an integrated whole, within a comprehensive framework and joined by a common philosophy. Rather than operating in unison and mutually reinforcing each other as instruments of a coherent and consistent criminal policy, the criminal justice subsystems have all too often operated at cross-purposes or in a piece-meal fashion. There has been a lack of clearcut aims - understandable in view of the complexity of the problem areas encompassed: is the goal of the criminal justice systems retribution, segregation, rehabilitation, etc.? Actually it is probably all of this, but the lack of clearly articulated aims has served to obfuscate the activities undertaken and to rationalize punitive approaches under the guise of "treatment".

The result has been a dispersion, and often, ineffectiveness of efforts, with problems frequently being exacerbated rather than resolved. Failure to take into account the systemic nature of criminal justice operation and the mutual interaction of its various parts has all too often created bottlenecks and imbalances which have stymied the operation of the entire system. For instance, where under the motto of "law and order" the numbers of police have been substantially increased, crowded court schedules have been further taxed and, with the dearth of judges, long trial delays occurred. Such delays are also the result of cumbersome criminal procedures which, together with obsolete and largely inappropriate laws drawn from alien prototypes, have contributed to the dysfunctionality of many systems. Furthermore, a formal, unfamiliar system of justice may have little real meaning for local populations, especially those in rural areas, where it may be superimposed on the customary justice system or run parallel to it. Evidently, indigenous practices must be fully taken into account and drawn upon wherever possible so as to make justice more meaningful and responsive to the needs and values of the people.

But criminal justice systems must not only function in an integrated manner; they must also be dynamic and flexible enough to adapt to social and economic change, and foster rather than hinder development.

#### LEGISLATION

This is particularly true of the law-making process and of the laws themselves which so often suffer from the social lag between changing realities and antiquated provisions. This adjustment process will create some dilemmas between the often emphasized need to reduce the overreach of the criminal law and the new situations and practices brought by development which require legal control. Maintaining this delicate and often precarious balance is a critical task for the law-maker. In some countries legal policy has made increasing use of research results, and researchers play a significant role in legal policy formulation. A dialogue between practitioners and legislator, in the context of a broader policy and planning perspective, should enhance the viability of criminal laws.

To rationalize the process, it is safe to say that the legislative focus should be on those forms of noxious conduct which exact the greatest social cost, usually denoted as "serious crime". While there is consensus as to the precepts of positive law

by which especially heinous acts are prohibited, industrialization and technological advances can complicate the picture, especially where the seriousness of certain acts is camouflaged by being spread over large numbers of people (e.g. economic crimes) or by the having delayed consequences (e.g. environmental offences). But a comprehensive analysis, taking these various ramifications into account, and viewing the legislative process as part of the overall development planning process, with its particular immediate and longer-term goals, can help to make it more organic and more effective. Experimental innovation and adaptation through feedback - a tool of planning - can also usefully be applied to law-making and the revision of existing statutory provisions.

With the focus on crimes exacting the greatest harm, other forms of conduct which do not inflict particular damage may well be left outside the purview of the criminal law and dealt with through other means. Above all, the law must be an expression of the will of the people and serve their interests. The subversion of the legislative process can be caused by legislators who wield power in the name of justice but without regard for the will of the people and thereby undermine the very purpose of the criminal law.

A comparative law perspective, drawing on the experience of other countries, and particularly that of other African States, can help to avoid some of the pitfalls and to optimize legislation, as can the development of model laws and guidelines particularly suited to the African context. Furthermore, by achieving greater consistency in their legislation, African and other developing States can help to prevent offenders - specially those with a transnational capability - from taking advantage of loopholes or the absence of legislative controls by shifting their operations where no prohibitions exist, or where they are not strictly enforced, intentionally or because of the lack of enforcement means.

## LAW ENFORCEMENT

As the front-line service of the criminal justice system, the police in developing countries has a pivotal, and often particularly difficult, role. This is especially true of African police services because of the repressive colonial legacy, but also because of some more recent police practices. Given the ambivalence with which the police are usually viewed, a special effort must be made to bring it closer to the people and the communities which it serves. By emphasizing its helping

function and not only its role in preserving "law and order", police orientation and its image can be changed to make it an active agent of constructive change and guardian of the people's rights.

The new expectations and minimum standards of performance to be met by the police must be accompanied by increased accountability. Observance of international standards, such as the UN Code of Ethics for Law Enforcement Officials, can provide a yardstick against which police viability is gauged, and a useful training instrument. Proscriptions against the undue use of force and against corruption can help to optimize the police function and up-grade its status as a guardian of society and defender of this ethical values, as well as life and property. To rationalize its operations, the police - like the law - needs to focus on the more serious offences and to perform its functions in context - both of the criminal justice system as a whole and of the society in which it serves.

The danger of a compartmentalized approach to law enforcement has been mentioned before, as has its repercussions on other criminal justice agencies such as the courts. Since the police is the intake point for the system, it has a pivotal role to play in its harmonious operation. It is also the system's main link with the community and other service systems (e.g. health, education, social services) through appropriate referrals where alternatives to the criminal justice process seem indicated. The increasing involvement of the police in "crisis intervention" and other mechanisms for conflict resolution underline its potential role which needs to be further reinforced.

To help make the police an organic part of the community's capability for social control, its links with the local populace must be established and preserved. Its awareness of and responsiveness to the needs, customs, values, expectations, etc. of its constituency must be consistently enhanced. At the same time, the police must steer clear of factionalism, especially where tribal conflicts or other kinds of polarization exist, so as to function and be seen as an impartial arbiter rather than a threat. To be able to draw on wide community support, which is a prerequisite for broadening the base of social control, the police must enjoy public confidence and fulfil the public trust. This, as much as the efficient utilization of law enforcement resources, will determine its basic effectiveness and its contribution to the viability of the criminal justice system as a whole.

Within the service itself, integration of efforts must be achieved. Where several kinds of police exist, with some duplication or lack of coordination, a rationalization of tasks, clearer delineation

of authority, and cooperative efforts within a common framework can help to effect economies and to optimize operations. Appropriate training for all Police cadres and auxiliaries can help to maximize their potential for responsiveness to national and human needs. Specialized police units, to deal with juveniles or special types of criminality (e.g. economic offences) need adequate preparation, in addition to the common training, and planners working with policy-makers can determine the priorities to be observed in this respect.

In the age of expanding transnational crime which is crossing African borders, as it is all over the world, the police cannot function in isolation from its counterparts elsewhere. By joining forces, establishing effective communications and following joint strategies in dealing with common problems, successful results may be obtained where national efforts alone may be insufficient. Regional collaboration offers particular scope in this regard, and UNAFRI has a special role to play in fostering it.

## COURTS

The courts are at the heart of the criminal justice process, and their functioning is inextricably linked to the other criminal justice subsystems. Their operation is affected by the existing legislation and intensity of law enforcement and, in turn, governs the interpretation of laws and the sentences meted out. In many countries obsolete laws and cumbersome criminal procedures have contributed to the long delays in the disposition of cases. In some parts of the world more than 80 per cent of those incarcerated are prisoners awaiting trial. Crowded court dockets, overtaxed judges having to make hasty decisions, the bureaucratic technicalities, the ceremonial formality of the proceedings and their remoteness from people's experience are factors detracting from the formal judicial process as a felt reality and effective means of social control. No-where is this probably more true than in Africa, with its impressive customary justice traditions which have been sidelined or overlaid by foreign justice models ill-suited to the people's orientation and needs. A critical assessment of the efficacy of the existing system of formal justice can usefully be combined with a more integrative approach drawing on traditional practices and problem-solving mechanisms.

For justice to be more appropriate and more real to the people it must be brought closer to them. It needs to draw on models other than the adversarial, and could capitalize on the indigenous reliance on mediation, restitution to victims, etc.

Adaptations of comradeship courts, of informal juvenile proceedings, etc. might also offer scope. A truly social criminal justice would serve to humanize and democratize the judicial process and, by making it more meaningful, help to make it more effective. At the same time, the bottlenecks, delays and other problems could be more easily resolved and cases expedited.

Judges play a key role in the entire process: their status and independence, as well as professional preparation and responsiveness to the community - as well as the laws - are of critical importance. Observance of international standards, such as the UN Basic principles on the independence of the Judiciary, can be particularly helpful in this regard, as can guidelines to structure sentencing discretion, sentencing institutes and other forms of in-service training, particularly those on dealing with new forms of crime. Special courts have been used in some countries to deal e.g. with economic crimes, and while this might not be feasible for African States, judges could specialize in certain areas.

The internationalization of crime also calls for a commensurate response from the judiciary. Mutual judicial assistance in criminal investigations across borders, extradition proceedings, etc. can be extremely helpful to all sides. The establishment of an integrated framework for such cooperation on both the bilateral and regional levels can help to ensure comprehensive coverage and consistency. Drawing also on UN norms in this respect and other international standards, a system of judicial cooperation to deal with transnational crimes could be developed, particularly suited to African problems and needs and focusing especially on those crimes which exact the greatest developmental cost. UNAFRI can play a pivotal role in developing such a model and in helping to put it into effect.

## CORRECTIONS

Correctional treatment - both institutional and non-institutional - is a pivotal aspect of criminal justice, geared to the reintegration of offenders in society and the prevention of recidivism. As such, it has close links with other subsystems of criminal justice, especially the courts which make the sentencing dispositions, and with the community. The concept of "treatment" has been questioned in recent years in some countries because of its frequently discretionary character and questionable success. The principle of individualization of treatment, in accordance with the offender's background, needs, prospects and conduct during the execution of the penalties (e.g. indeterminate

sentence) has given way there to reliance on flat sentences, in accordance with the nature and severity of the offence, but the debate as to the approach continues.

However, while admittedly offenders must be dealt with in some manner, and dangerous ones prevented from inflicting harm, there is considerable unanimity in the professional community that prisons are not an effective means of "rehabilitating" offenders and that incarceration should only be made use of as a treatment of last resort. In most cases institutionalization, which may expose younger and minor offenders to hardened criminals, has a detrimental effect, and may coopt novices into criminal careers. The symptom of "prisonization" has been described and it is evident that one cannot readily prepare people for life in the community by separating them from it. At their worst, prisons are human purgatories which exact an enormous human and material cost; at their best, they still deprive inmates of scope for their initiative and of an opportunity to make amends in a constructive way. Even where prison labour has been geared to development needs, prisoners seldom have the possibility of engaging in meaningful, remunerated work that would help them to become self-supporting, responsible citizens.

Although in some cases - for instance of economic crimes by higher status offenders the shock of imprisonment may have a corrective and preventive effect, the overall rates of recidivism would seem to indicate that the threat of imprisonment has little deterrent effect. It is the certainty and swiftness of punishment, rather than its severity, that is more likely to serve as a crime preventive. Furthermore, it is generally agreed that prisons almost everywhere are filled with the poor, disadvantaged and powerless members of society, and that those with leverage usually manage to avoid it, though this may well be changing.

If they do go to prison, they may be able to buy better treatment - a situation contrary to the basic principles of equity guaranteed by the law. While prisons are still with us, they must be administered fairly and humanely, in conformity with basic human rights norms, such as the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners and the UN Convention against Torture. Further victimizing those who have already been penalized by the deprivation of their liberty is both morally untenable and counterproductive, undermining the very foundations of justice. The African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights thus provides that "Every individual shall have the

right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of is legal status [and that] all forms of exploitation and degradation of man, particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment shall be prohibited".

Other practices, such as preventive detention, widely employed in South Africa and sometimes used elsewhere on the grounds of possible dangerousness of the person, also contravene the basic principles of justice, which holds that everyone is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. Incommunicado detention and other infringements of basic rights have to be curtailed wherever they occur. Prisoners, have an inherent right to communicate with the outside world and to maintain their family and community ties, and indeed, where antisocial behaviour has occurred, these links can facilitate the offender's social readaptation. Regular inspection of prison conditions, the possibility of judicial review and the establishment of a democratic social structure, such as prison self-government, can promote account-ability of the system and help instil a sense of responsibility in its clients.

But it is better still if the social links are fully maintained. Treatment in the community is thus vastly to be preferred and in the African context it offers particularly viable options. Practices such as probation and parole can utilize new variants, such as supervision by the tribe, by village elders, or by others enjoying the community's respect, or by it as a whole (e.g. in Ujaamaas) in a kind of group probation. Not only would they reduce the need for scarce trained personnel but, by building on traditional forms of social control, maximize treatment effectiveness, while minimizing costs. Teachers, religious leaders and other authority figures can also help to fulfil this role within an overall framework.

## JUVENILE JUSTICE

There seems to be wide agreement that juveniles should not be treated in the same way as adult offenders, though there are differences of opinion as to the particulars, and in some countries recently a tendency to treat young offenders who have committed serious crimes more severely. On the whole, however the age limits on criminal responsibility and belief in the malleability of the young has led to special treatment. Its particular forms depend largely on the historical, cultural and developmental circumstances of a country, the traditional and changing relationships of juveniles to the adult criminal justice system, and overall

approach to social issues. There are several main approaches to ensuring justice for juveniles: (1) the due process model, which stresses the protection of the substantive and procedural rights of young persons in the legal process; (2) the welfare or *parens patriae* model, which considers juvenile justice primarily in terms of interventions to promote the economic and social well-being of young persons coming into contact with the legal system; and (3) the "participatory" model, which views juvenile justice as requiring the active participation of the community in containing the harmful behaviour of young persons, and stresses the integration of marginalized youth or young offenders into the mainstream of social life and the minimization of formal legal intervention. These principles are not mutually exclusive or characteristic of particular countries, and can be drawn upon and/or supplemented as appropriate. For example, while the participatory model falls largely within the African tradition, it is increasingly being drawn upon by developed countries, with certain modifications. The African countries have special scope to develop their valuable traditions in this respect and to adapt them to today's realities, introducing such other elements as they see fit.

Creative attention to the young in this and other connections is vital for the region where the young constitute such a large proportion of the population and are increasing further while opportunities for them seem to be decreasing in the difficult economic and social situation facing Africa. But African youth is the continent's bet hope and their involvement in national life and development efforts, and the decision-making related thereto, can make it the engine to achieve a better future. The traditional African modes and institutions of social control have a critical role to play in channelling this potential and preventing it from being dissipated on disruptive activities and crime, and modern variants, e.g. local community support units, youth movements and day centres, etc. can also give the feeling of belonging. Informal juvenile courts seem best suited to dealing with offenders, with restricted participation (e.g. family experts and witnesses). Strengthening the family, more appropriate educational and vocational preparation and increased options to use it, preventing marginalization (e.g. of urban migrants) and integrating youth in the mainstream of national life are part of "juvenile justice" in the larger sense, which is also a means of crime prevention whose overall scope is part of the criminal justice system is considered below.

## CRIME PREVENTION

Various aspects of crime prevention have been dealt with under the broader topic of inter-sectoral planning, with special emphasis on the need to avoid differential rates of growth in the various sectors of national development which might have a potentially criminogenic effect, and to incorporate crime preventive elements in the sectoral investments made. Some of the main aspects of development have been referred to in this connection: urbanization, industrialization, health, education, employment, etc. The term "primary prevention" is sometimes used for these broader social and economic policies which have multiple goals, but mainly aim to foster better conditions of life, and only *inter alia*, to help prevent crime.

It has been noted before that improvements in standards of living, etc. do not of themselves serve to prevent crime whose causes are numerous, but that if the complexities and interfaces between the various development processes and policies are fully taken into account, there is a better chance for growth without undue social disruption and crime.

Other policies may be more specifically crime preventive. The social services, of course, have a special role to play in this regard, though their approach in the context of development may be different from the individual-client centred focus of social work carried out in developed countries, although even there group-work is fast gaining ground. Perhaps the greatest contribution that the social - or rather, human services can make in the African context is to help maintain the traditional forms of social control, such as the family and viable community structures, and to provide the necessary support where these may weaken - as happens in the exodus of the young to the towns. Community organizations work in this and other contexts can play a major role in preserving or reviving the African sense of belonging and sharing which are the best insurance against antisocial behaviour. Specific preventive programmes may also be introduced in schools, including citizenship training; in primary health care - for instance to detect child abuse and other problems, in work situations, to reinforce social cohesion, etc.

If the criminal justice system is rationally conceived and operates as a true system, taking due account of the inevitable interaction of its various parts, it is also more likely to fulfil one of its main purposes which is that of preventing recidivism, or of "secondary prevention". Where penalties must be served, they need to be utilized in such a manner

as to bring offenders closer to the mainstream of national life rather than being further removed from it. Unless there is good evidence of the need for segregation from the community, their experience with the criminal justice system should help to prepare them for a responsible, productive life rather than further marginalizing them. Such an approach is dictated not only by considerations of humanity but also by national self-interest since the development and conservation of human resources is every country's priority and a *sine qua non* of development.

### THE PLACE OF THE VICTIM

The formal systems of justice transplanted to Africa without much thought about their suitability largely neglected to give the victims the place which they deserve and which was a salient feature of customary systems of justice. The movement for victims rights which has been launched in recent years, especially in developed countries, needs no interpreters in Africa where the concept and practice of giving the victim his/her due has a long tradition. Thus, it should be more natural to give victims a proper place in judicial proceedings, and to utilize restitution as a sentencing option. The question of compensation by the State as an additional or alternative measure, especially where the perpetrator is unknown or unable to pay, but also in cases where the State itself has been the culprit (even under a previous regime), deserves special consideration. Scarcity of financial means need not preclude this option since what is important is the principle itself, and even a symbolical amount can have a salutary effect, acknowledging - in the African tradition - that wrong has been done and that it must be redressed.

Since the prevention of victimization is a primary goal, adequate channels of recourse must be provided, within the criminal justice systems or through administrative mechanisms, such as the office of "ombudsman", used in the Scandinavian and other European countries, or "grievance committees", as used in China or, preferably, specifically African institutions. The UN Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, adopted by the General Assembly in 1985, gives some indications of the direction that might be pursued, and implementation principles for its application are also being formulated. Regional commentaries and other inputs to the declaration and other UN guidelines can significantly enhance their application.

### POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

1. Is there any guiding overall philosophy or framework for criminal justice operations in the countries represented, or do the various subsystems of criminal justice operate relatively independently of each other? Is there an implicit orientation generally, or in the various subsystems? Could a guiding policy be articulated and what would it most likely be?
2. Has there been any attempt to manage the criminal justice system and its subsystems by objectives or do they operate largely on an ad hoc basis? Do you think that they could profit from the utilization of planning and management tools, and if so then which ones primarily?
3. Does the criminal justice system in the respective countries operate as a true system or rather as a non-system, and how could a more integrated approach best be promoted?
4. Do you believe that the use of resources in this sector is economical and if not, then how could it be improved so as to maximize scarce qualified human and material resources?
5. What problems in the criminal justice system have resulted from imbalances between the various subsystems (e.g. more police recruited has contributed to court delays, etc.), and how could this be remedied?
6. Is imprisonment relied upon in cases that could readily be de-institutionalized, and what options could be utilized to reduce it?
7. What traditional mechanisms could usefully be applied to lighten the burden on the criminal justice system and improve its operations (e.g. customary justice mechanisms geared to modern needs, etc.)
8. What new venues or combined old and new mechanisms could be utilized to enhance the operation of criminal justice as an instrument of social justice and means of advancing development goals?
9. How can crime prevention be fully integrated into both the operation of the criminal justice system and into national planning, serving as a bridge between the two?
10. Are there any special provisions for juvenile justice and is it linked also to other programmes for juveniles. If not, do you think it should be instituted, and why yes or no, as deemed appropriate?
11. What measures exist for diversion from the criminal justice system, for release pending trial, and other ways of reducing reliance on

- prisons?
12. What is the relative cost of institutional and non-institutional treatment of offenders in your country?
  13. What community-based programmes for offenders exist and have they proved effective? Which of them use typically African institutions of approaches? Which of the latter could also usefully be utilized?
  14. What practices used elsewhere would hold some promise for the African context and what kind of adaptation would they require for it?

### COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The criminal justice system is an outgrowth of the community's attempt to preserve its social values and ensure compliance with its moral prescriptions and proscriptions for harmonious coexistence. The African systems of customary justice represent an effective application of this principle and of mechanisms for the dispensation of justice at the local level with the community's participation. While there is a wide diversity of popular participation in the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders throughout the world, it is interesting to note that as the African States and other developing countries have been moving towards more centralized and formal justice, whose prototypes were introduced by colonial administrations, there has been, in the developed countries, a strong movement towards diversion from the criminal justice system to more informal and local procedures which would bring justice closer to the people and avoid some of the pitfalls of the formal criminal justice system.

There is also an awareness in countries all along the continuum of development that a broad base of public support and involvement is necessary to enhance the functioning of the criminal justice system and to promote various means of crime prevention. These can take various forms, for example, helping to report crimes and assisting victims, participating in policing duties, serving as jurors and lay judges, acting as volunteer probation officers, providing the links for prisoners with the outside world and helping them upon release, etc. In some African countries, new forms of community participation, geared to the new situations and urban realities are supplementing primarily rural traditional practices. Among these are the comradely courts, probation committees, prisoners' aid organizations, neighbourhood watch

committees, etc. Basically, there are four degrees or main modalities of public participation, which can be utilized in various combinations to reinforce and further extend the available forms of public participation in crime prevention and criminal justice in the African context: (1) enlisting public opinion as a means of political support of crime prevention and criminal justice policies and plans; (2) promoting public involvement in and cooperation with programmes in this field; (3) delegation to community groups of elements of such programmes, and (4) provision by community groups of special programmes.

Particular attention might be given to innovative ways of blending the old and the new in an organic manner within the planning framework. In some countries (e.g. France) local committees have recently been formed consisting of representatives of the public, the local authorities, various public services and the criminal justice system to help integrate crime prevention efforts. This kind of mechanism can be extremely useful in coordinating action at different levels, mobilizing the entire community, and incorporating effective modes of decentralization in overall national crime preventive strategies. Africa, which has offered the rest of the world valuable models of community participation in crime prevention and criminal justice - as in other social processes - reflecting its stress on humanity, solidarity and cooperation, can develop new forms reflecting these values and continue to serve as a leader in this important respect.

### QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Has public participation played a significant role in your country's efforts aimed at crime prevention and justice delivery, and if so then how?
2. Have traditional forms of social control and community participation in crime prevention and criminal justice been preserved and in what contexts? Have they been modified or adapted to changing circumstances, and or how could this be done?
3. What forms of public participation at the different levels do you consider as having particular potential in planning for crime prevention and control in the context of African development?
4. How could community and official action for crime prevention and criminal justice in countries of the region be fruitfully integrated within the planning perspective?

## TRAINING IN CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE PLANNING

Since planning for crime prevention and criminal justice is as yet infrequent, there is a dearth of personnel qualified for this task and a lack of appropriate training. The development of suitable training programmes is complicated by the fact that there is no single relevant profession or discipline, or definitive curriculum but, on the contrary, a variety of possible inputs, as there is a range of persons whose contribution could advance the goal of crime prevention and criminal justice planning in the developmental context.

Perhaps the most useful thing that can be done to advance the planning process is what this Seminar is seeking to do: bring planners and crime prevention/criminal justice specialists together in an attempt to find common ground and sensitize each group to the role and needs of the other, including both the current situation and the potential contributions. It is clear, however, that not only an occasional contact but an ongoing dialogue is needed for this purpose, and ways of institutionalizing it should be sought to facilitate continuing give-and-take and mutual feedback. Joint training ventures, either of broad scope or focusing on specific issues, can set the stage for collaborative problem-solving in areas of mutual interest. Unified strategies can then be more easily adopted in the planning context, to the elaboration and implementation of which each group of professionals will have made its respective input.

There will undoubtedly be some hesitancy or even outright resistance on both sides to looking at issues in this novel manner and to the integration of efforts. Planners, who are most often economists, may consider the area of crime prevention and criminal justice as marginal to their main preoccupation with economic growth, and a recurrent overhead rather than a truly developmental investment, while personnel in the crime field may question the applicability of planning methods and techniques to their day-to-day concerns. But one of joint training's main challenges is precisely to dispel these possible misconceptions and to highlight the potential of and mutual benefits to be gained from such a broader perspective and the cross-fertilization of expertise and experience. Planners need to fully appreciate the direct relevance of policies and expenditures for crime prevention and control to the achievement of their overall planning objectives, the upgrading of the public sector, more effective resource utilization, conservation of human resources, and

of harmonious growth. They will need to realize that the negative side effects of development, such as crime, can seriously undermine the achievement of postulated national objectives, divert scarce resources and otherwise stymie the execution and viability of their plans. Crime prevention and criminal justice personnel, on the other hand, can come to see the great utility of the planning approach and of its methods to the attainment of their own programme goals and development of more effective criminal justice systems operating harmoniously and in context, rather than in the fragmented piece-meal manner they so often do. The interdisciplinary approach holds great promise in both cases, and its expansion in a field that is also multisectoral is indispensable as a key requirement of training in it.

In-service training is a basic mode of skill development and sharpening and it can be profitably used in this case. Tackling pressing issues jointly may well be the best form of it. Other ways to facilitate the transfer of knowledge can also be explored, and the development of appropriate training ventures should be a priority task to which all the professions concerned should contribute, and in which they should be organically involved.

For the criminal justice sector which suffers from undue fragmentation there must also be some exposure to the overall philosophy and goals of the system, if they exist - or they could take part in the development of the necessary policy framework, where it is still lacking, bringing to bear their specialized expertise to this task. For line personnel, there is need - whether it be the police or corrections officers - to be acquainted with the system's rationale - not just routine regulations - to be familiar with basic international norms governing the treatment of suspects of offenders, so as not to infringe their basic human rights, and to feel pride in their work and not merely its frustrations. For all categories, there is much to be gained from career development possibilities, from exposure to the ethical requirements of their professions, and from being held to certain standards of accountability that would help to minimize possible abuses and improve their image as the guardians of the public good. A criminal justice system that actually works as a system, rather than a collection of poorly related parts, and that acts in the service of the public, may well be the key for ensuring social peace and a better quality of life which are indispensable for sustained and self-reliant development.

To broaden the base of operations, the public



- whose cooperation is essential - will also have to be sensitized to its own role and the overall objectives to be achieved. Whether it serves in an auxiliary role, or furnishes its own programme options, two kinds of training might be required, at least at the supervisory level, to maximize the possibilities for service, and help to integrate efforts with the mainstream of work in the field. Such a comprehensive approach in which the public is operationally a full partner in the realization of crime prevention and criminal justice endeavours, within the national development framework, would help to stretch scarce personnel resources and provide a broad-based foundations for planning in this fields.

The UN African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders can fulfil an invaluable role - as have its sister institutes in other regions - in the promotion of the above objectives. By bringing together high-level officials and training future trainers in this and related areas, the Institute should be able to influence policy-making and to promote effective planning for crime prevention and criminal justice for the benefit of countries of the region. Governments, planners, criminal justice officials and others concerned can profit significantly from these initiatives and contribute to them, by lending their expertise, sponsoring collaborative training ventures, following up regional seminars of this kind with national initiatives, and otherwise translating into concrete terms the recommendations adopted, especially in their national planning endeavours. If need be, further, in-depth assistance overall or on specific problems can be provided by UNAFRI and the UN Interregional Adviser on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, as well as UN planning experts in individual or team missions. Feedback on the results achieved and problems encountered in translating into practice the Seminar's recommendations should serve as a guide to further efforts in this respect.

## QUESTIONS

1. What training programmes for criminal justice/crime prevention personnel are available in the countries represented?
2. Could they be expanded or supplemented to include the planning perspective and methods?
3. What additional programmes could be instituted to promote the kind of integrated approach, both on the criminal justice and planning ends?
4. How are national planners now trained? Do

they have exposure to the problems and needs of the various sectors of national development, and if so, is crime prevention/criminal justice included? If not, could it be?

5. What joint training schemes for planners and criminal justice/crime prevention officials could be instituted and in what framework?
6. How could channels of communication and joint problem-solving be provided for?
7. Are the training programmes available for crime-related personnel geared only to their immediate concerns or do they also provide a wider background/overview for their work, including overall criminal justice/crime prevention policy considerations? If not, could these feasibly be included, or should new programmes be devised for this purpose?
8. What form could joint training for planners and crime prevention/criminal justice personnel most usefully take, and how would you initiate it?
9. Is there any training for auxiliary personnel or volunteer community members involved in crime prevention and control? Could it be provided and how?
10. How do you think that a multiplier effect (training the trainers) could best be ensured so that the results of the training would be maximized?
11. How would you seek to translate the recommendations of this Seminar into practice at the national level and what assistance might be required in this respect?
12. How could UNAFRI's training programme best be organized so as to help countries in this and other areas of interest, and what might the respective Governments be prepared to do to collaborate in this respect?
13. Is there any exposure of personnel in the crime and/or planning fields to UN standards and recommendations, and if not, could it usefully be initiated. Would your Government be prepared to translate those considered most relevant into the local languages and to disseminate them to the personnel concerned?
14. What do you think should be the priority efforts of the United Nations and UNAFRI in the sphere of crime-related training, and especially in respect of planning for crime prevention and criminal justice in the developmental context?

## REGIONAL CO-OPERATION IN CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Technological progress, improved means of

transport and communications and the increased mobility of people and ideas across national frontiers have made the world a shrinking place and furthered the interdependence of its inhabitants. They have also spurred the transnationalization of crime, many of whose forms, both old and new, increasingly transcend national frontiers. Economic crimes, including commercial fraud and banking offences, industrial crimes, corruption, environmental offences, organized crime, particularly drug trafficking, terrorist and other violent acts, etc. have spread their tentacles over the continents and made national efforts alone powerless in coping with them. The information explosion has underlined the potential of knowledge-sharing and transfer, and the speed of scientific advances and social change has highlighted the need for institutional adjustments and adequate human preparation in all areas, including that of crime prevention and criminal justice.

It has been current that offenders are usually several steps ahead of the agencies of control in their inventiveness, their use of new organizational forms, and their effective collaboration in infringing the law. This is particularly true of cartels wielding considerable leverage and taking advantage of loopholes and differences in national legislations, frequently shifting their operations to where provisions are laxer and enforcement mechanisms weaker. The success of international cooperation in crime requires some reciprocity from the crime prevention and criminal justice community and from their Governments.

Within the framework of international collaboration for crime prevention, regional cooperation holds particular promise. Faced with similar problems and joined by common traditions and circumstances, as well as constraints, countries of the various regions can join forces to jointly confront escalating transnational crime, and to assist each other in maximizing their overall response to it. This is particularly true of developing countries faced with a scarcity of means which can usefully pool their expertise and experience, as well as developing concrete strategies to deal with matters of common concern. The United Nations crime prevention institutes thus have critical role to play, and UNAFRI as the newest, has a particular opportunity and scope to meet this challenge in the context of the economic and social difficulties facing the African continent. If its activities prove successful - as they are bound to be given the interest of the regions's States the record of accomplishment of the other UN institutes and its own auspicious beginning - UNAFRI will be making a major contribution to easing some of

these difficulties and promoting more stable and harmonious development in the region. It will also help to maximize and conserve human resources, upgrade the public service sector, promote the observance of human rights, and advance the objectives of equity and social justice. It can achieve these objectives in a number of ways.

#### **EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION, EXPERIENCE AND EXPERTISE**

By pooling and sharing relevant information on various aspects of crime prevention and criminal justice, including new legislation and methods found particularly useful, the countries of the region can establish a unique reservoir of knowledge to be utilized for the benefit of individual States and for the common good. There are experts in certain countries working on problems also encountered elsewhere, whose findings and proposed solutions may have general relevance. There is also much useful information, including research results and practical experience required with different policies and programmes, which could be utilized if readily accessible.

One of the prime modalities of regional cooperation is through the establishment of clearinghouse facilities, and the UN African Institute can fill a pressing need in this regard, centralizing available information and seeking to obtain information through surveys and other means as a guide for Governments, practitioners and investigators working in this field. The Institute will also maintain a roster of experts with specialized knowledge and experience in the various facts of crime prevention and control, who could be consulted or invited to offer their services whenever necessary. Like its counterparts, in other regions, UNAFRI would also provide bibliographical and institutional referrals and maintain a "state of the art" capability so that new and promising developments in the field within the region and those from elsewhere which are particularly relevant could be put at the disposal policy-makers, planners, administrators, scholars and other interested parties in the countries of the region. The availability of comprehensive up-to-date information and the cross-fertilization of experience should help to provide an empirical base as a guide to decision-making on different aspects of crime prevention and control within the region.

This means both quantitative data, obtained with the help of instruments adapted specifically to African needs, which UNAFRI, will seek to

develop, and qualitative information designed to shed light on the various crime problems and on the measures to deal with them, including assessments of their respective efficacy and needed adjustments. New and innovative ways of tackling crime-related matters, as well as utilization of the potential of customary approaches would receive special prominence in this connection, as would aspects assigned special priority by Governments in their response to the assessment survey of needs in the crime field conducted by UNAFRI.

### **ACTION-ORIENTED RESEARCH**

This survey illustrates one type of research that can usefully be carried out at the regional level in order to ascertain the problem areas and requirements as defined by the region's States. Such studies, the responses of Governments in the region to the quinquennial UN world surveys of crime trends and crime prevention strategies, possible statistical sample surveys, inventories of institutions, agencies and organizations dealing with crime prevention and control, of researchers and studies in progress, as well as, of the results obtained, are all overview-type investigations that can provide extensive coverage and yield background information for in-depth studies of selected aspects. The latter would focus on areas identified by Governments of the region as deserving special attention, as well as those specified in resolutions and recommendations of UN policy-making bodies, and deriving from the recommendations of the UN quinquennial congresses on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, as incorporated in the United Nations programme of work in this field.

Other types of research can also profitably be undertaken as part of UNAFRI's activities, including experimental, pilot and demonstration projects related to priority aspects of the work, and conducted with the cooperation of interested Governments, which if successful can be replicated elsewhere and yield useful results of wider applicability. The operational, policy-oriented character of the Institute's research projects would permit the translation of the findings obtained into practical terms. There is also scope for feasibility and pre-investment studies to be conducted in collaboration with interested States in preparation for more ambitious requests of technical assistance within their country projects. Assistance in the formulation of the latter could also be rendered, based on the knowledge and information gathered

through the various research endeavours.

Some studies could also be undertaken and/or coordinated by the Institute as part of wider research projects sponsored by Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of CSDHA, by the UN Social Defence Research Institute and, collaboratively, by the network on UN crime-related institutes as a whole. In addition, UNAFRI could centralize the inputs of academic and research institutions in the social and development fields within the region, relating to crime, of non-governmental organizations and other bodies concerned, in order to provide an added dimension to the work. By conducting regional surveys and comparative studies in can give a broader perspective permitting States to gauge their own efforts against on-going efforts in the region, and to make such adjustments as they see fit.

### **TRAINING INITIATIVES**

One of the main tasks of the UN regional institutes, and of UNAFRI, is to conduct training activities, especially for personnel at the higher and middle levels working in different areas of crime prevention and criminal justice. High-level seminars, such as the present one, serve to promote the exchange of expertise and experience among policy-makers, planners and administrators, allowing for the consideration of common problems and mutually relevant solutions. While some training course, especially for middle level staff can usefully be organized for specific categories, for example, law enforcement officials, judges, correctional personnel, and those working with juveniles, there is considerable benefit to be derived from co-joint training and sensitization of the kind mentioned above. It opens perspectives, exposes decision-makers to the problems faced and potential contributions of professionals from other sectors and, subsystems, and permits the cross-fertilization of knowledge and experience across traditional lines.

While the articulation of needs and priorities by the Governments of the region will determine the nature and content of UNAFRI's training endeavours and their target groups, certain training initiatives found useful in the other regions presumably have applicability: for example the training of judges and other criminal justice personnel in dealing with new forms of criminality, as well as the Provision of occasions for dialogue between planners and criminal justice practitioners of the present kind. There is also scope for problem-oriented work-shops bringing to bear the inputs of different categories of personnel in tackling

concrete issues separately or collaboratively. Furthermore, the implementation of UN guidelines, standards and norms in this field, with due regard to the circumstances and requirements of the countries of the region, can profit significantly from courses and seminars concretizing their scope and means for their implementation in African context.

It has also been found by the UN institutes that their training ventures usually include a research component since the participants bring to them their in-depth knowledge of crime situations and specific problems in their respective countries, as well as assessments of the efficacy of different kinds of measures, which may be of general relevance. A conscious attempt to elicit such information through written contributions, as well as oral interventions, provides an empirical base and expands the scope of coverage. This is particularly so in the case of seminars and training courses dealing with new problem areas on which information may be lacking. The subsequent publication of such materials can serve as a useful means of their dissemination to a wider audience and as future training-cum-research adjuncts.

Other training materials, following overall UN directives, but adapted to the realities and special needs of the African region, including audio-visual aids, case studies, basic syllabi, etc. can also profitably be developed, and it will be one of UNAFRI's objectives to do so in cooperation with interested Governments and experts in the region.

In its training activities, as in its research, UNAFRI's approach will be interdisciplinary in view of the nature of the field and the actual and potential contributions to it by the various branches of knowledge as well as of practices. Exchanges of personnel under the Institute's aegis can also serve as useful in service training for all sides. By training trainers, UNAFRI can have a substantive multiplier effect.

#### ADVISORY SERVICES

While the UN presently dispose of the services of an Interregional Advisor on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, which can be requested without special cost to Governments, it does not yet have regional advisers in this field, in spite of the repeated requests of UN policy-making bodies that they be provided. It is hoped that in the future such an expert, attached to UNAFRI, would be able to serve the African region, but even now UNAFRI should be able to provide advisory services to Governments at their request, by means of ad hoc experts and otherwise sharing its

knowledge and experience, as well as serving as conduit for policy guidelines emanating from other UN initiatives in this field, the experience of the other regions, and the "best available practice" specifically geared to the African scene.

The Institute will be ready to assist national authorities in the organization of seminars and research at the country-level, provide help in relevant data collection, putting at their disposal the data bank that it will be developing, and otherwise helping in the transfer of knowledge, drawing also on the overall UN crime information network in this respect. It will seek to help provide appropriate follow-up for the activities undertaken and to assist Governments practitioners and scholars in the region in every other way.

Furthermore, by including relevant projects for assistance in their country programmes, Member States can obtain comprehensive multi-year technical assistance in multi-faceted areas, such as planning for crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development, with the possible assistance of expert teams linked to UNAFRI; such projects can also include a fellowship component, provision of associate experts, etc. UNAFRI will also coordinate its assistance with other sources of aid such as UNFDAC and its regional adviser in the drug field, inform countries of the assistance options and seek to facilitate access to them. Similarly, it will do its best to promote TCDC (technical cooperation among developing countries) so as to maximize its usefulness, including contributions from other institutes particularly those in developing regions.

#### JOINT STRATEGIES AND OTHER FORMS OF REGIONAL COOPERATION IN MATTERS OF MUTUAL CONCERN

Since crime has increasingly internationalized itself, so must the response. Joint strategies adopted by countries facing common problems offer the best prospect for success. This means coordination of overall government policies and of specific measures against transnational forms of crime. It also means the cooperation of the different services concerned, such as customs officials, law enforcement agencies, judges, etc. The provision of mutual judicial assistance, both in investigations and in others respects, including extradition procedures, etc. can help significantly in this regard. Application of UN instruments, such as the Model Agreement for the Transfer of Prisoners, can help to expedite the application of sanctions to be served in the home country (if the offender agrees), and recent work on the transfer of criminal

proceedings, expected to result in an international instrument to be adopted by the Eighth UN Congress, will further expand the basis for effective, practical regional and international cooperation in crime prevention and control.

This is true also of attempts to ensure a greater uniformity of legislations and to close loopholes, so that powerful offenders cannot profit from differences or lacunae in them, and strengthening of enforcement procedures. UNAFRI is expected to play a leading role in these efforts and in promoting concerted action at the regional level.

This carries with it a special opportunity to establish an integrated framework for these efforts. In other regions piece-meal actions have often impeded progress, leading to attempts at integration once the pieces were in place. The African region has the possibility, with UNAFRI's help, to establish a comprehensive framework for its mutual cooperation modalities from the start, and then to fill out the framework as required and as opportunity permits. This would ensure a consistent approach to regional collaboration in priority areas and set the stage for concerted strategies which have the greatest likelihood of making inroads on problems that tend to be recalcitrant to the individual efforts of Member States.

## PART II

### IDENTIFYING CRIME PREVENTION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY AND PLANNING NEEDS FOR RESEARCH

In assessing their requirements for research to serve as a guide to prospective action in the crime prevention field, the policy makers and planners in the different countries must ask themselves certain basic questions. What is crime in this particular context? How serious is it? Does it require action? If so, what kinds of act are cheapest in the light of existing resources? Looking at what has essentially been failure to date of criminology and criminal policy to successfully cope with the novel and increasingly complex problems of our times, it is clear that a basic rationale is required for the undertaking of research as a guide to social defence policy. How can research help to mould policy? How can researchers in this field do better than in the past? How can the policy maker justify his dependence on research?

Policy making is basically a political decision, but this does not deny it various options. By changing the laws, or taking certain acts out of the criminal code, whole categories of crime can be wiped out. Alternatively, new categories of crime can be created by new legislation. Enforcement can be tightened or relaxed and/or the emphasis could be placed on judicial discretion or correctional practices. Research should be able to provide guidance here, but whilst it is possible to indicate what the defects of a given policy are, the policy maker is not yet able to find the real guidance he needs - or at least he can not find it in the concrete terms he requires.

In the sphere of inter-relationships between policy, planning and research there is a great need for direction. The thrust into evaluation, action-research, futurology, economic estimating and the processing of decisions shows a probing for greater effectiveness.

The direction of the research undertaken will depend largely on the orientation of the particular researcher and of the policy maker. Such orientations of background training, and current inducements and pressures are unavoidable and perhaps useful, but they always need to be explicit and to come openly within the orbit of research. Both research and planning need to be inward-as well as outward-looking. There are some things essential to any approach to crime prevention. Some appraisal of the extent and seriousness of a country's crime problem is required and needs to be determined by objective criteria (derived from baseline data) and subjective indications of "felt need"; an idea of the trends of crime is apposite to the allocation of resources. An assessment of the efficacy of existing efforts at crime prevention and control is needed to provide feedback on former choices and indications for future planning this will be considered in more detail under "Evaluation").

The limitations of criminal statistics have been pointed out repeatedly<sup>1</sup> and some of the developing countries lack data of the most basic kind. Such data as are available are often scattered between the various ministries, not used or improperly used. While financial and personnel constraints often preclude the establishment of comprehensive statistical systems, much more could be done with what is, or could easily be, made available. Statistical offices operating in most countries could include crime data; case records could be put to multiple use by simple duplication, etc. Some of these relatively inexpensive and uncomplicated procedures might be considered here as a way of getting prompt pay-off. Attention should also be given to methods for making

estimates from incomplete data, such as sampling techniques, which can be quite inexpensive and often more reliable than time series. Some attempt will also have to be made to assess the extent of unreported crime (through public opinion surveys, etc.) to get a truer picture of the real extent of crime, of attitudes towards it and the public expectations for action.

From a longer-range point of view, a more systematic effort will be required to monitor crime trends as a guide to policy-making and planning for crime prevention and control. New approaches to the gathering of criminal statistics seem to have increased their potential for judicious use. Data on "criminal events"<sup>2</sup> weighted in accordance with cultural definitions of seriousness would seem to provide a more meaningful guide to the severity and nature of crime problems than statistics of the more traditional kind.

By assigning monetary values to the weights, adjusted according to the attitudes towards offences of different kinds and severity prevailing in the various countries, computations of the cost of crime would be facilitated.<sup>3</sup>

These must necessarily take into account not only the number and kind of crimes, but also expenditures for law enforcement, the criminal justice system, corrections and opportunity costs. While estimates of the total cost of crime are not always feasible it is possible to ask and to seek answers to questions of more limited scope to process information essential for policy-making. Studies of the cost of crime have been conducted in some developing as well as an increasing number of developed countries; they reveal the heavy burden crime imposes on the economy along with its impairment of the quality of life.<sup>4</sup> There are other aspects, relating for example, to the uneven distribution of these costs and ways of offsetting it, which requires much more inter research as a precondition for remedial and preventive action.<sup>5</sup>

The realization of the inadequacy of traditional, compartmentalized statistics as a guide to action has also led to other new initiatives which reflect changing and emerging concerns, for example the increased preoccupation with the functioning of the mechanisms of control.<sup>6</sup> The recently developed concept of "offender-based transactional statistics" (OBTS),<sup>7</sup> which is now operational in parts of the United States, seems to meet that concern and have considerable potential for policy-making and planning in crime field. Unlike the conventional agency-specific statistical systems, this approach seeks to provide data on the operation of the criminal justice system as a whole, instead of focussing on the workload of the various agencies

(police, courts, prisons), it is longitudinal and highlights the movement of the offender through the criminal justice system, tracking all agency actions involving him. This kind of data collection would presumably provide new dimensions of information: the passage of time would be known; multiple actions toward the same offender could be studied, and for the first time agency input could be related to the output of agencies that preceded them in the sequence of criminal justice processing. A basic model has been developed, composed of a minimum set of data elements that are efficient, yet maximize the amount of information that can be provided. This kind of approach should help to determine the impact of crime; measure the effects of criminal justice system policies; forecast the results of policy changes; allocate resources to effective programmes; provide comparable performance standards and predict criminal justice agency workloads (on the basis of both crime incidence and internal system factors).

A number of advantages are claimed for this approach: (1) that it can provide mortality information or indices of the degree of "fallout" from the criminal justice system at its various points; (2) that it can provide information on the amount of time it takes to process the offender from one point of the system to another (highlighting the need e.g. to reduce delays in pre-trial detention) (3) that it helps mine the status of the criminal justice system at any point in time providing crime justice planners with the capability of determining bottlenecks and workloads in the system and of being used to calculate such factors as the impact of additional manpower in the flow of offenders through the system; (4) that it can determine the impact of decisions made at one level of the criminal justice system on the activities associated with subsequent levels of the system and objectify the relationship between different policies and differential staff ratios.

While this kind of systemic approach might take some time to become fully operational and be difficult to implement in countries with only rudimentary facilities it gives an idea of what should be aimed at in ensuring a more comprehensive and dynamic data base for policy-making and planning. Simpler forms of analysis can be explored in the interim (e.g. "flow charts"). There can also be other possible guides to needed action through the development of country profiles<sup>8</sup>, indexes<sup>9</sup> and indicators.

The United Nations statistical services have recently introduced a scheme for the collection

also of criminal statistics which is becoming operational, and a preliminary attempt to gather some basic crime statistics from Member States has been made by the U.N. Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section. The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute is seeking to develop and test simple systems of crime statistics, indexes and indicators corresponding to local conditions (and the specific needs of planning and operating the social defence system). An effort is being made to introduce a sufficient degree of comparability with a view to developing a system of international crime statistics.

The interest in social and crime indicators has sprung largely from a recognition of the shortcomings of commonly used statistical indexes which are generally poorly adapted to reflect the nature and significance of social changes, with the result that they sometimes convey one-sided or reversed value implications. A number of possible indicators, drawing on conditions generally associated with increases in delinquency and crime could be suggested (e.g. mobility rate, rate of urbanization, of population concentration, uneven increases in affluence and differential opportunities, etc.). The designation for this purpose of certain types of offences (e.g. "predatory" or "illegal service crimes") has also been suggested (Glaser) as has the identification of criminogenic zones and groups (Latin American Preparatory Meeting, 1969). However, in order to adequately reflect the configuration of social reality, systems of indicators, rather than indications of particular aspects are needed.

A recent study has sought to develop social indicators for crime through the application of factor analysis methodology to the problem of aggregating individual measures of crime. It uses six indicators of crime, representing five major components of crime and an overall crime index (the mix of these five in the aggregate). The results reveal that for the country in which it was developed (USA) crime could be viewed as an aggregate of five of its principal ingredients: changes of crime rate, rural crime, violent crime, non-violent crime and urban crime.<sup>10</sup> Though they have not achieved an equal degree of quantification, there have also been attempts to track some more elusive factors (e.g. levels of anxiety and of violence)<sup>11</sup>. This is an area where in spite of recent interest in "social accounting" work is still in its infancy,<sup>12</sup> yet it offers significant scope for more informed and intelligent policy making and planning. Some international attempts have also been made to develop social indicators as yardsticks to assess needs, define targets and

measure performance. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development has done work in this area and the CEDO has selected 24 fundamental social concerns associated with "the quality of life" trying to develop "hard" and "soft" indicators for these areas which include personal safety and the administration of justice (measured by: violence, victimization and harassment suffered by individuals; fairness and humanity of the administration of justice, and the extent of confidence in the administration of justice).<sup>13</sup>

The Fourth United Nations Congress urged the establishment on a national and regional basis of data banks and other collaborative arrangements for data collection, processing and dissemination. There are obvious economic and other advantages to be gained from such arrangements which could serve to maximize the information capability of the cooperating countries. Due regard, however, must be exercised to preserve the confidentiality of such information.<sup>14</sup>

The establishment of clearinghouse facilities to centralize and disseminate information on on-going research can provide an essential service to researchers and policy-makers alike.<sup>15</sup> It is hoped that in the future United Nations capability in this respect will be sufficiently strengthened as to be able to provide clearing-house facilities on an international scale. There is still much to be learned about the true nature and extent of crime and its relationship to factors such as socio-economic change. Maybe what is needed is a world network of data collecting stations to gather and transmit information regarding social conditions and crime which would provide a kind of topology on crime on which forecasts could be made for policy determination and planning.<sup>16</sup> The worldwide crime prevention and criminal justice information network which is to be established by the United Nations in collaboration with the regional institutes, academic and scientific institutions, and interested Governments, in pursuance of recent Gen. Assembly and ECOSOC resolutions (e.g. GA 41/107, 1986/11 and 1987/) should greatly help in the transfer of knowledge and information-sharing as well as providing access to research results and techniques. UNAFRI is bound to play a key role in this effort.

Closely linked is the development of information storage and retrieval systems. There is a difference between data-gathering and information systems. Data must be processed into useful information, defined as "that which reduces uncertainty (Wilkins). An information system<sup>17</sup> is merely a tool that facilitates action; its value is

therefore closely related to the degree of rationality of the system it supports and how clearly the latter defines its goals (one of the problems - because of the ambiguity and ambivalence of social defence goals).

There can be limited information systems and more complex ones. "Total" systems with an *integrated data base to meet overall organizational requirements* call for investments in time, skill and money that few developing countries can afford. It may be more feasible for them to proceed by increment, starting with one or more applications of information system technology to accomplish a limited purpose and then add application to application like building blocks, each of which may have its own data base. Starting with early satisfaction of top priority requirements, it may thus be possible through new additions to satisfy new requirements of lower priority requirements imposed by the information user and/or other requirements imposed by the larger social defence system with which the particular subsystem must be coordinated (e.g. police with courts and corrections, and courts with corrections). It is thus necessary to plan for an integrated system from the beginning, for in the absence of such a comprehensive design, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to accumulate new applications in a coherent manner. If a model social defence information system is built along functional rather than organizational lines, applications can more easily be added and the model adapted to meet the needs of various agencies in the country. This approach also minimizes the danger of the optimization of one sub-system at the expense of another or of the total social defence system.

As the conditions and criminal policy objectives of different countries will vary, so may specific information systems designs. It should be possible to select, from a number of alternatives, designs to meet priority needs. Their complexity will depend on the requirements to be satisfied, including the volume of data, the processing requirements, the distribution of the sources of data and users, the necessary timing, and the constraints of trained manpower and material resources. They may be manually operated or, more often, require computer facilities. Where the means are lacking, provision could be made for shared computer time and collaborative (regional, subregional, inter-agency) arrangements.

There will be need for concurrent training of personnel in the operation of such information systems, including the participation of staff from potential user organizations in model development and related activities, especially training to develop

data-gathering competency and permit the feeding of such data into the system.

Information requirements and problems must also be spelled out before a model is designed, and operational definitions of data developed so that they can be accurately classified and properly processed. The basic data needed for this purpose are cross-sectional (criminal statistics) and longitudinal (case records). Both categories have their scope and their limitations related to the source of and procedures for, gathering the data, their interpretation, availability and eventual use. Some countries lack the most elementary data. In others, pertinent information gathers dust in different ministry files or is dispersed among different bodies, making their location and integrated use difficult. This is all the more important since data relevant for social defence is derived from activities also in other sectors. Some machinery for centralization and coordination is obviously required. Even where exhaustive data are available, they are rarely reliable as a guide to action. The shortcomings of most criminal statistics have been noted before]. Caution and greater sophistication in their use as information input and output is needed, as well as the development of supplementary (or alternative) means of determining existing and prospective social defence requirements, [such as the use of sample surveys, weighted crime indexes, social defence indicators, profiles, projection and simulation techniques.] The systems approach offers scope for the integrated use of such information for multi-purpose use and the choice of different social defence options in terms of their cost/benefit.

1. To what extent does policy formulation now rely on an empirical base and to what extent is it dictated by other considerations?
2. Is there a recognition of the need for research as a basis for policy-making and planning and how could it be fostered? Who could spearhead the attempt to promote such awareness? In what form could research be most easily accepted and incorporated into policy-making?
3. On what principles is national planning now being based?
4. Does it include social defence and if so, what aspects?
5. Have any attempts been made to ascertain the cost of crime in the respective countries, the felt need for crime containment, and for research to determine the scope of the problem and the need for reform in existing policies and programmes?



6. If there is a crime problem, in a country, what has been its impact (on economic growth, the quality of life, different groups in the population)? Have its effects, such as they have been, been spread throughout the society or affected certain groups and areas disproportionately? How could this be objectively determined and remedied?
7. How could the system of national accounting be so adapted as to provide useful information on some of these factors that could help to develop more effective developmental and crime prevention policies and planning?
8. What are the basic/immediate social defence research needs in the respective countries? What longer-term requirements do you envisage?
9. What kind of basic statistical and other data are there available (in the different ministries and offices) that could serve as a basis for research on crime? What additional data could be procured relatively easily and how could this be done?
10. On what basis are policy choices now being made? What aspects of crime and national development might serve as social indicators of a problem and of special policy and planning needs in this area? What others could be more or less easily developed?
11. What kind of long-term planning for data systems would be most appropriate and feasible? Would it be preferable to proceed by increment or by developing comprehensive information systems? What valid short-cuts to data collection have been attempted? Which of the approaches suggested (or combination of them) would meet particular needs?

#### (b) GAUGING FUTURE TRENDS

Policy-making and planning must necessarily be geared towards the future. Unless there is an adequate perspective, they risk becoming obsolete before they are implemented. Short-term and longer-term horizons must be traced, goals set and means for their attainment prospected. The future hinges on many things and it is difficult to foresee the course of events; but if planning for crime prevention is to be effective, it must take into account the likely developments relating to crime. Some idea of the prospective size and nature of a country's crime problem is needed if policies and programmes adopted in this field are to be more than mere speculation.

Social forecasting is admittedly more difficult than economic or technological forecasting, and

even there the problems abound. But, promising beginnings in this direction have been made in some areas (specially in health and education) and are currently underway in others, including crime prevention and control.<sup>18</sup> The methods used here can be drawn from related fields or devised to meet the special requirements. They may involve projections of current trends of crime,<sup>19</sup> development of social defence "profiles" that would highlight trends and emerging problems; forecasts based on crime indicators (or, preferably, on systems of indicators), etc. These must take into account the factors having special significance for crime - e.g. the demographic trends (particularly the prospective age distribution of the population), the rate of migration from villages to towns, education in relation to vocational opportunities, labour and leisure economics, value systems and family dynamics, developments in tourism, science and technology (including transport and mass communications), etc.

A number of techniques have been utilized and/or suggested for such forecasting, some of them highly inventive. They include "genius forecasting" by gifted individuals (which has sometimes been spectacularly wrong), consensus of expert opinion (Delphi technique), extrapolation simulation methods (approximation of complex systems by dynamic models, gaming, etc.), scenarios or "future history" (a narrative description of a potential source of developments which might lead to some future state of affairs), cross-impact matrix methods (to test the expected effects of potential policy actions), decision trees (graphic devices which display the potential results of alternative approaches to crucial decisions), input-output analysis, etc.

While techniques such as extrapolation, for example, provide a setting for analysis of the evaluation of social reality, their quality and usefulness depend on the availability and value of the basic statistics (which are often wanting)<sup>20</sup> and on the number of variables taken into account. They also assume that the present is but a point in a continuum and that discontinuities in the flow of history are rare. It is questionable whether the attitude that consists of prolonging into the future currently existing facts has any practical significance when we consider the rapidity of change. Furthermore, projections of the traditional do not ordinarily bring into question existing social and economic structures and institutions (or the prevailing values) and, instead, cut them up into sections (e.g. economic, demographic) which do not adequately reflect social reality.

Some of the other methods also have their

particular constraints. Mathematical models developed in economic and technological forecasting imply certain attitudes and values on the part of the society they describe, which are probably a complicated function of other social and technological changes. More refined techniques such as the cross-impact matrix method use an experimental approach by which the probability of each item in a forecasted set can be adjusted in view of judgments relating to potential interactions of the forecasted items.<sup>21</sup> It has been suggested that a general theory of cross-impact which is not yet available, would almost certainly permit the exploration of the side-effects of decisions under consideration, and that it might also be useful in illuminating less expensive means of attaining goals through investments in high-payoff areas which initially seem to be unrelated or only weakly linked to the decision.

The limitations of the more traditional forecasting techniques have also led to the concept of "social prognosis"<sup>22</sup> which, rather than seeking to describe the future as such ("futurology"), or using various hypotheses in considering different possible alternatives of future development (projections), attempts to show the connexions between possible futures and present sets of choices. This kind of prognosis includes projections carried out with regard to phenomena that are already known, analyzed and generally quantified, but it also stresses phenomena that are neglected, latent, implicit and very often not quantified (or indeed quantifiable)<sup>23</sup>. Many of these are not explicitly taken into account by decision-makers, yet are vital for any sound long-term (and even medium-term or short-term) planning. In deliberately setting out to be exploratory and to examine possible alternatives, prognosis considers more radical changes in kind as well as in quantity. It therefore offers a wider variety of choices. Prognosis may deliberately assume changes in structure and endeavour to analyse the conditions of change. It thereby takes a more comprehensive view and tries to envisage the overall pattern of interrelations between the various components of an economic and social system.

Planning is focussed on the changes it seeks to promote and control. Prognosis is not a form or particular technique of planning, but rather a point of departure for it. Prognosis does not attempt to forecast the future but, in relation to a series of possible futures, attempts to show the margins of choice, reveal the consequences of choices, bring to light hidden problems, analyse contradictions, incoherencies and risks of crises

inherent in development. By the requirements of its very nature, prognosis is an interdisciplinary activity since it must take full account of cross-sectoral influences. This is also one of its inherent problems since the knowledge so far acquired to achieve the end is inadequate. But with respect to areas such as social defence - with are themselves also inter-disciplinary and cross-sectoral in nature - it would seem to come closer to reflecting the reality or, rather, the possible future realities) than simpler and more simplistic approaches. Its chief interest for the planner, including the planner concerned with planning for social defence, is that it improves the conditions under which decisions are taken and policies determined.

In its possible methodology, also, prognosis is pluralistic, relying simultaneously on several methods of obtaining information in the attempt to do justice to the complexities involved and to narrow the margin of error which the use of any single, as yet imperfect, method is apt to create. In its diversification and systematic exploration of methods, prognosis relies on more established social science techniques, systems analysis, formalized models, simulation techniques, statistical theories relating to decision-making, including extrapolation, etc. But it also makes recourse to still more innovative methods trying to blend science and imagination, (e.g. the "scenarios" and Delphi methods).

Like other kinds of research, however, and perhaps even more so, approaches of this kind, reaching into the uncharted territory of the future, can clarify the alternatives or implications of a choice but cannot replace value decisions. The change in values with time remains a crucial question confronting policy-makers, planners and social scientists, including criminologists.

Much more research is evidently required if the potential of these approaches is to be fully exploited and their application to particular fields of concern and problems, such as those of crime and its prevention, further developed and refined. Special attention might well be paid to certain aspects of this work, e.g. the practical needs that these approaches can serve; the analysis and evaluation of the relationship between them and the process of decision-making (or planning), and the ways in which the results of the work can be utilized. The methods now used and additional ones also need to be perfected (as far as this might be possible), and the conditions under which they may be most effectively used, systematically explored, with attention to the range of uses, the kind of institutions that could cooperate in this respect (including both those engaged in study

and research and those concerned with planning and decision-making). Work of this kind has its own constraints but it also seems to offer significant scope and promise as a springboard for far-sighted imaginative planning in various areas, including crime prevention and control.

1. What is the planning perspective in the countries represented (short-term and long-term)? How are objectives and targets set?
2. Have there been any attempts to forecast the volume and trends of criminality and to relate other trends (e.g. demographic, urbanization, industrialization, internal migration, science and technology, tourism etc.) to prospective crime trends?
3. What methods now used in other fields or sectors or mentioned here seem promising for your country's context?
4. Are there apparent shifts in attitudes, values, norms (social and legal relating to crime that may be expected to alter the picture?
5. How could social lag be reduced and social and legal norms be better synchronized in the future?
6. How could integrated planning, including a proper social defence element, be attained in the future and what research basis (additional to what has been mentioned above) could be laid for this now?

## ACTION-RESEARCH

This item is really the subject matter of the entire meeting; the need for, and different aspects of, action-research have been raised in the introductory statement and in connexion with the other agenda items. It might, however, be helpful at this stage to focus on some of the basic elements and methods of action-research in the crime field, its context and constraints, the expectations for it and ways of translating them into practice to ensure more effective planning and programming for crime prevention and the administration of criminal justice.

It has been suggested that "action-research", also termed policy-related or "problem-solving research", lies somewhere on the continuum between pure and applied research, seeking to test certain theoretical assumptions in concrete situations, and with the aim of utilizing the knowledge gained from this work for future policy-making.

While the choice of questions for action-research may, as has been noted before, hinge on subjective factors, ideally, those questions would be selected which are most strategic or

pressing or most amenable to empirical study (this choice itself, of course, may involve subjective factors). Each particular project should strengthen policy goals by focusing on some of the key policy questions in the particular area, and by doing so in ways that will develop new, useful knowledge; by seeking to communicate the findings directly and clearly and by pointing out ways in which they can be applied to social defence policy and programmes. The formulation of emphases, concerns and procedures for each study undertaken must be guided primarily by their relevance and usefulness for public policy. Whatever the methods used and the findings, the impact of a project will ultimately rest on early strategic decisions about which among all possible policy issues and questions are the most vital. Maximum impact can occur only if the research is clearly and directly aimed at generating new perceptions of the relative advantages and disadvantages of various policy options.

Unfortunately, for the study of some of the most important problems, our methods are still quite imperfect, and where they are refined, they have all too often been applied to the study of limited and even relatively insignificant problems. Problem-oriented and field-oriented research seems to hold special promise, but how can it be conceived, carried out and fed into the decision-making process in the crime field so as to make the maximum contribution? It has been suggested, for example, that to be most productive, operational research calls for the execution of clusters of projects selected jointly by policy-makers and researchers, concentrating on sensitive areas or weak points in the machinery of criminal justice to determine points of optional application (Philippe Robert in his paper on "Operational Research"<sup>24</sup>, prepared for the 1970 Council of Europe Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, refers to "high-efficiency research clusters"). The selection for action-research in crime prevention and control of areas of potentially greatest impact would seem to be a crucial condition, particularly in countries where numerous high-priority needs compete for very limited resources. How these areas are to be selected may in itself be an important problem for action-research as well as a matter of ideological choices.

While there are certain constraints on action-research in the crime field, which have been reviewed in the working paper, the findings of action-research projects and the ways of carrying them out may open up new vistas. While the questions should be selected for study in terms of

policy objectives (the complications which arise from the conflicting nature of social defence objectives has been emphasised), action-research may in the long run help to clarify and, perhaps, to revise these objectives, providing that measure of reexamination and renewal which is indispensable to dynamic and responsive public policy.

Action-research is usually predicated on an impact model, i.e. a statement about the expected relationship between a programme and movement toward a goal, formulated during the planning period. A project usually has a causal hypothesis (about the influence of one or more characteristics or processes on the condition which is the object of the programme), an intervention hypothesis (which specifies the relationship between the programme and the phenomenon regarded in the causal hypothesis as associated with the behaviour of condition to be ameliorated or changed), and an action hypothesis (to assess whether the intervention, even if it results in the desired change is necessarily linked to the outcome variable, i.e. the behavioural condition that one is actually seeking to modify).

The target population selected for a given action-research project, is likely to be a particularly vulnerable (crime prone) group in the population. There is a clear interplay between the selection of a target population and the development of the impact model; this is one of the strategic decisions that must be made in the research design. In the selection of the target population, the object is to identify the group which has the most need for the programme or which is most likely to benefit from the use of the resources which are to be made available.<sup>25</sup> Sometimes the choice rests on balancing need against the likelihood of benefit. The variables used in selecting the target population must be readily measurable. In the process of developing an impact model and identifying the target population, the action-researcher must become familiar with the practices that are being envisaged in the proposed programme or that have been used elsewhere, and must maintain a questioning posture towards the efforts contemplated.

A variety of methods can be used in carrying out action-research (e.g. models, simulation, games theory, Markov process, queuing, mathematical programming, both linear/non-linear and dynamic - see also working paper). Further refinements and new techniques are being developed that represent methodological advances allowing for greater quantification and minimizing experimental error. They can serve to improve the conditions under which policy decisions are made. For maximum

benefit, in a field as multi-faceted and complex as that of social defence, there is need for an interdisciplinary approach utilizing a whole battery of methods as well as certain methods of choice in particular situations.

Action-research depends significantly on field investigations. These are particularly useful in evaluative research and to an understanding of how the practitioner works, making it possible to judge how much he deviates from the formal outlines of his role<sup>26</sup> and to identify hitherto uncharted and unidentified activities. What policy makers think professionals and line personnel in a service do may be quite different from the actual situation (this has been revealed in recent years especially with respect to prisons, with a trend in the direction of closer knowledge and empathy regarding prison problems and conditions). The use of field studies has been severely curtailed by their identification with specialized academic preparation. Increasingly, however, the feasibility of using research assistants to perform auxiliary tasks has expanded the scope of such research as well as serving as a valuable training experience.

Experimental changes of systems if worked out as research experiments, can be more efficient as a means of testing different hypotheses than studies of static systems. It would be desirable to establish the close relationship between action-research and administration - usually lacking - which would permit the introduction and monitoring of experimental changes with the desirable degree of research control.<sup>27</sup> There seems to be agreement that the administration of criminal justice has not fulfilled its function adequately in many countries and that new strategies are called for; but there are no ready answers. Action-research could help to determine critical areas requiring attention and pave the way for planned reform and innovation.

Experimental research methods which make use of a careful research design, randomization and control groups, have their special constraints (particularly studies in the community) but also offer great promise for testing new procedures by scientific methods. There is a tendency among criminal justice system (and correctional) administrators to cling to long-standing legal and procedural prescriptions (often modelled on alien, ill-suited prototypes) which may be obsolete and/or largely dysfunctional. On the other hand, political pressures, together with the lack of scientific knowledge, produce innovations which may not prove more effective than previous solutions. It is possible for administrators and policy-makers to tentatively estimate the efficacy

of new programmes and procedures through pilot schemes and demonstration projects, preferably with built-in evaluation schemes<sup>28</sup>. These can range from limited small-scale projects, confined to one particular action at any one time or to sets of activities, to large scale "saturation projects" involving multiple activities carried out on a larger scale. The comparison of data collected through experimental research and through evaluative research will help to point to solutions and choices between the maintenance of former systems or partially or totally transforming them. Here, again, however, the limits of experimentation will be set according to the political trends, as well as the available resources and skills and must take due account of human rights.

There is also the fact that major conditions such as development, social change and more processes accompanying it are not subject to experimental manipulation. Some ways of overcoming some of these problems by sharpening the focus of research have been suggested in the introductory paper. Rational efforts must be made to anticipate possible deleterious consequences of national development, including those of policy and programmes themselves, and both the present and the future must be considered by social defence policy makers and planners as a backdrop for the development of innovative models for the management of social defence services.

There is evidently vast potential in experimental social defence innovation of this kind that will help policy-makers, planners and administrators to monitor and assess progress under conditions of change and to make the necessary adjustments and novel departures whose promise is borne out.

The participants may wish to focus on the following questions:

1. What is the significance and meaning of action-research?  
What proportions of both elements are needed to do justice to the concept?
2. What should be its objectives?  
Is any real action-research now being carried out in the respective countries?  
How could what is now being done be improved to fulfil the requisites of true action-research?
3. What is the range of action-research?  
Which of the possible approaches to action-research would seem to be the most feasible and potentially fruitful in developmental contexts?
4. How might they be undertaken and carried out? By whom? When?
  - (a) Social defence agency or service?

- (b) In an academic institution?
- (c) At the national level?
- (d) Other?

5. In what other contexts must action-research be planned and what is their influence (to be offset, perhaps)?  
e.g. the knowledge, professional, political, cultural, developmental, contexts and their special requirements and limitations?
6. What special problems exist in action-research and how can some of them be resolved or circumvented?  
e.g. legal and humanitarian constraints in experimentation with human beings?  
difficulty of manipulating environmental factors - multiplicity of variables?  
constraints imposed by time, trained manpower, limited data, etc.?
7. What are some of the essential ingredients of action-research at the project level? Some examples of good action-research might here be given.
8. How can the findings obtained in action-research best be implemented and integrated into policy and practice?
9. Have experimental projects tended to be rather limited, dealing with isolated social defence aspects, or have any more massive research-based programmes been undertaken?
10. Have pilot and demonstration projects been used in any of the countries? Has the experience with them been assessed and utilized in broader policy formulation and planning?

#### EVALUATIVE RESEARCH AS A GUIDE TO CRIME PREVENTION/CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY AND PLANNING

If their crime prevention and control efforts are to serve their purpose, policy makers, planners and administrators must have some way of assessing their effectiveness. They must be able to monitor progress in the execution of policies and programmes in which investment has been or is being made, so as to determine whether they offer adequate returns and should therefore be continued, expanded and/or replicated, or whether they should be modified or discarded. The crucial role of evaluation in any viable effort aimed at crime prevention and control is increasingly being

recognized<sup>29</sup> and in some places the inclusion of an evaluation component in on-going action programmes and research projects has been made a condition for funding.

The evaluation process is the aspect of social defence policy development in which planners and other decision-makers are most dependent on researchers. The technicalities of evaluation and the conduct of evaluation assessments require research skills and a research orientation. The dependence on researchers for the evaluation operation has often been the factor leading to the recognition that a research unit is needed in a policy-making organization or that as a minimum there must be continuing relationships with those skilled in evaluation research. While the purpose of research in general is to extend and validate knowledge and understanding, evaluative research focusses more narrowly on attempts to determine and validate the results achieved by the procedures employed as a basis for decision and policy-making. The use of evaluation techniques permits determination of: (1) whether or not the programme was carried out in accordance with the prescriptions set forth in the planning and development stages; (2) whether or not it worked; and (3) whether the expenditure of resources has been efficient in comparison with alternative means of achieving the same objective.

Policy-makers and planners are increasingly being challenged to demonstrate the impact of programmes, i.e. to show that programmes reduce the disparity between goals and existing behaviour or conditions. Where the conservation of a nation's human and material resources is so crucially involved, the adoption of certain programmes on theoretical or traditional grounds cannot well be justified; more scientific criteria and more rigorous methods are needed, especially in view of the repercussions for development as a whole. Changes in the nature of social problems such as crime, increasingly affecting the whole community rather than only certain groups, and the enlargement of the scope of public service activities required to implement broadly-based programmes of prevention and control, have created more complex problems of organization and rational use of limited resources, which demand continuous evaluation and reformulation. The inroads of the scientific method, the growing public demand for some empirical basis for decision-making, the increased emphasis on self-evaluation, fostered by advanced training and professional growth, have also helped to crystallize the need for evaluative research.

In some countries there has been a trend recently toward enlisting greater staff participation

in the assessment of the facilities and programmes e.g. in the correctional services through a process of self-evaluation. While this kind of empirical assessment of existing realities against established standards does not meet the more rigorous conditions of experimental approaches, it can provide a vehicle for re-examination of current practices, assumptions and problems and establish a framework which encourages collaborative fact-finding and problem solving through the joint efforts of people from multiple organization levels. This type of total staff involvement is organizational self-appraisal and planning tends to create a climate which supports learning and change, stimulate phased programme improvement, contribute to the establishment of measurable goals and provide an objective basis for budgetary requests.

The scope of evaluative research must ultimately involve not only the assessment of the usefulness and efficiency of policies and programmes for crime prevention and control (including the relative effectiveness of different treatment measures for different offender groups), but include also the evaluation of evaluative research itself.

In undertaking evaluative research, the basic attitude would seem to be more important than the nomenclature. Differentiation between the kinds of evaluation is often a matter of semantics, although of course certain distinctions do exist: e.g. between "internal" and "external" evaluation; between on-site monitoring and out-come evaluations; between project monitoring (effort), project rating (short-term measures of effectiveness); programmes strategy evaluation (process and cost-effectiveness) and programme impact evaluation (impact and cost effectiveness)<sup>30</sup>.

The concept and methodology of evaluation are closely interrelated, although there may be divergencies in approach. In the working paper prepared for the Kyoto Congress discussion, the term "evaluative research" was used to refer to the application of scientific methods and techniques to test the results of a process, technique or system against such criteria as (1) its purpose, objectives or original plan; (2) the efficiency of its operation; (3) its unintended effects; (4) its significance in its context. Other criteria have also been proposed. One approach, drawn from the field of public health, proposes a set of three evaluation criteria: (1) assessment of effort dealing with the input of energy; (2) assessment of effect, dealing with the results of effort rather than the effort itself, and (3) assessment of process, dealing with why and how the results were achieved.<sup>31</sup> Expanding on this, another source identifies five

categories of criteria: (1) effort; (2) performance; (3) adequacy of performance; (4) efficiency, and (5) progress.<sup>3,2</sup> Recently, equity (responsiveness to needs throughout the community) has been suggested as a performance indicator to make up the three E's (efficiency, effectiveness and equity).<sup>3,3</sup>

In practice, the process of evaluation may range from general impressionistic appraisals to carefully designed experiments. The latter in themselves provide a link par excellence between research and practice: the designs of experimental evaluations are a compromise between the rules and methods of experimental evaluations on the one hand, and what can be done ethically and pragmatically, given the realities of the situation in which the intervention has taken place, on the other. Carefully conceived and conducted, such studies can help to determine not only that a policy or programme works, but also why it works - or why it does not - and how it might be amended. In performing them, the researcher's task is to transform the programme's plan into an experiment. This requires knowledge of both the target population and the impact model. The various statements which link the programme elements together into an impact model may become the hypotheses that are tested in the experiment. Unless programme planning has been adequate, there is little basis for the development of measures of criteria of outcome.

Because of certain inherent limitations in applying experimental designs (e.g. problem of procuring adequate control groups), it has also been suggested that future research may usefully employ statistical rather than experimental methods of control. This is particularly true in studying the effects of community-wide programmes aimed at the prevention and control of crime, where the goal is to lower general rates of crime and delinquency, rather than to prevent or reverse criminal behaviour in specific individuals.<sup>3,4</sup>

In assessing the impact of criminal policies and the results of specific programmes for crime prevention and control, there has been increasing reliance on approaches developed in economics.

These have been employed to examine outcomes in terms of both efficacy (i.e., that the input changed the target group or environment in the direction expected, and that such a change would occur again if the experiment were repeated) and efficiency (the improvement in terms of some measures of unit cost. Approach such a cost-benefit analysis (based on a comparison of possible, probable and certain benefits of projects of programmes with the foreseeable costs of

outlays) and cost/effectiveness analysis (a more restricted version of the former) have increasingly been employed in the social field, including that of social defence. The scope of this approach for, and some ingenious recent applications to, crime prevention and control might well be noted, as should its relationship to the broader issues of national planning. For, apart from specific project of programme evaluations, the main reason for performing social cost-benefit analysis is to subject project or programme choice to a consistent set of general objectives of national policy. The choice of one option rather than another must be viewed in the context of both its local and total national impact, to be evaluated in terms of a consistent and appropriate set of objectives.

This raises one of the basic problems facing efforts at evaluation in crime prevention and control: the ambiguity of social defence goals, reflecting society's basic ambivalence in this respect. There are other difficulties; some of them operate also in other kinds of criminological research: the problems of, and constraints on experimental manipulation; the lack of adequate resources, organizational infrastructure and trained personnel for this kind of work; the need for readily available guides to decision-making and impatience with the time-lag which it may involve; inadequacies in available data; displacement effects and other factors complicating the assessment of results; resistance to efforts at evaluation on the part of programme administrators; questions of professional and research bias; the identification of the area of uncertainty where evaluation may be permitted, etc.

These reasons -and others- may be responsible for the fact that little good evaluative research has been done and even less has been used as a basis for policy formulation and modification or for effective longer-term planning; yet proper evaluation may be the greatest contribution that research can make to changing the system or to preserving those aspects of it which seem to be producing results.

In spite of the constraints, sound evaluative schemes are possible and should be included as an integral part of planning and programming. This means assessment not only of relatively isolated specific projects, but also the development of models and feasibility studies of controlled, comparative, variable-manipulating experimentation with built-in evaluation components, as applied also to larger-scale social defence action programmes. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is more useful to start with more limited demonstration projects and extend those judged successful, or to invest in larger, more comprehensive multi-disciplinary schemes, including a number of policy options, but retaining the

ingredients of an experimental situation (i.e. a model suitable for statistical testing, wide range in the values of the variables representing programme inputs, randomization and the judicious use of control groups). A combination of both kinds of approaches is most likely needed, as is a battery of specific methods. Small-scale studies of pre-selected particular programmes are probably most useful either for assessing radically different policy and programme ideas or for providing the administrator with information relevant to decisions regarding programme content within the confines of overall programmes; decisions at a broad level which concern the allocation among programmes of widely different concept would seem to call for a different type of evaluation with a focus on different variables. The proper approach evidently depends on the particular decision framework to which the results of evaluation are being applied. For decision-makers at higher levels, the broader type of evaluation will provide the sort of assessment relevant to their decision framework, their task being to allocate resources among alternative courses of action and programmes based upon different broad concepts. In policy formulation and planning, resources will have to be allocated in the light of evidence that concepts are not only "successful" on a priori grounds or in particular small contexts, but that they are in fact "successful" in larger-scale implementation.

In this context, attention must be given to the basic requirements of sound evaluative research, whatever its scope, including: (1) the type of data needed for evaluation, their sufficiency and reliability (Professor Wilkins<sup>37</sup> distinguishes between (information regarding the material (input) to be dealt with by the system of treatment (or prevention; (2) the variety of systems available and possible alternative decisions, and (3) information regarding the purpose of the system and subsystems involved, or what it is desired to minimize or maximize (pay-off)); auspicious arrangements and favourable attitudes to ensure partnership between administrators/policy-makers and evaluators (including consideration of the location of the evaluation unit or other framework for the operation of the evaluation team); the desirable approach to using evaluation results (probably a "mix" of scientific rigour and pragmatism); and the importance of ensuring on-going "quality control" which would permit policy-makers and administrators to set standards of performance and to check on their continuous attainment.

While there will be different variants, depending on national and local conditions, a

basic strategy of evaluation can perhaps be postulated that would provide a framework for the kind of evaluation that would make a significant contribution to social defence policy-making and planning, allowing for different applications and different levels of complexity (for a suggested scheme, see the working paper on this subject, v. 9).

The discussion on this topic could usefully seek to answer the basic questions of who, where, what, how and when? (it is assumed that the "why" is taken for granted, but if there are any doubts, it should be dealt with first).

- 1-2. Who should carry out evaluative research? What would be the respective roles of the researcher, the administrator and policy-maker in this respect? Where should the evaluation team be located (in the agency whose programme is being evaluated or outside it - in a university? Elsewhere?) What relationships and arrangements seem to be most propitious for successful evaluations?
3. What should be evaluated (type of activities, programmes and operation of services requiring evaluation, and special aspects thereof)?
4. How should this be done? In considering the logistics plus possible methods and criteria to be used, special attention might be given to approaches from economics such as cost-benefit analysis.
5. When should evaluations be undertaken (after specified periods, or at specified times; as a continuing activity, built-into the project of programme design)?
6. How can the knowledge obtained from the evaluation be incorporated into programme modification, reform and future policy-making and planning?

## ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

At the Kyoto Congress, the concept of "organization" of research was used to refer to the "structure, arrangements or process as these might apply within the government, within the institutions responsible for research, or as they subsist between the two, and the concept can be extended to individuals inside these bodies or working with them from the outside". In considering this item of the Seminar agenda, the primary concern, then, will be with organization as working machinery and with the relationships that might best serve a country seeking to make effective use of research in social defence policy-making and planning. Such a perspective should



help countries at different stages of development to adopt organizational forms and arrangements that would promote a more scientific approach to action for crime prevention and control and to bridge the gap generally existing between researchers, on the one hand, and administrators, policy-makers and planners, on the other. The necessary linkage which would permit adequate interflow and feedback has only just been begun in a very few areas, some developed and some developing.

In the developing countries, of course, the problem is complicated by the shortage of means and of trained personnel. Many developing countries have no research facilities or only limited resources for work in social defence, although some kinds of policies and programmes in this field usually exist. But these rarely enjoy any priority, and neither does the research, such as may obtain. The studies carried out are usually undertaken by individual researchers with an interest in the subject. These persons, whether coming from the social defence, or related fields, need to be encouraged and their work supported.

Even where no organizational structure for criminological research with an identity of its own as yet exists, it can be promoted within the context of other available facilities. This means university departments (law, sociology, social work, medicine, psychology, public administration); social defence services (law enforcement, courts and corrections) and certain auxiliary services (social work, education, health, employment, etc.). At the regional meetings convened in preparation for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, it was pointed out that much information exists in the various services dealing with crime prevention and control which is not presently being utilized. This information, including that gathered by central statistical offices, could serve as the basis for meaningful research to be undertaken separately or collaboratively by the services concerned. Some of this information could be used for a variety of research purposes. It could also serve as a basis for assessing the extent and severity of a country's crime problem which may have been ignored for want of such indications. Although specific investment in making appropriate research arrangements is desirable and will eventually be necessary, there is scope, at least initially, for the development and effective deployment of what may already be available or easily obtainable without prohibitive outlays. This should, of course, not preclude the establishment of special governmental research

units and criminological institutes where the situation calls for them and where resources permit. It is not so much the kind of organizational framework used that is important, as its imaginative, flexible and productive use for information storage and retrieval and the provision of guidance for policies and programmes to be introduced. If it is not to solidify on the basis of dysfunctional or obsolete practices, a responsible organization must provide for a high degree of adaptability to changing conditions and for a process of formulation and reformulation of policy and procedures, based on feedback from its own operations and from the resources in its environment obtained through well structured and consistent means of tracking, measuring and evaluating its environment.<sup>38</sup>

In more developed countries more intricate organizational forms and relationships are feasible, particularly where there is an acknowledged need for work in this field. Some of the countries that are participating in the Seminar have already established specialized research units dealing with crime problems and policies; others have shown an interest in doing so. The Seminar may wish to consider various options suited to different contexts, analyse their requirements and explore their potentialities. Rather than thinking in terms of transplanting models used in industrialized settings, these options should be viewed in terms of the various countries' special needs and possibilities, although certain principles found useful in developed countries may, properly adapted, have applicability to differing circumstances.

Some general principles may also be relevant whatever the stages of development and research sophistication. These relate to the desirable locus of research units and institutes in the government and academic structure; the balance of relationships between them; the extent of control by the authorities of research work in progress, including priorities, freedom of access to data, dissemination of results, etc.; the status of research workers in the hierarchy; external and internal arrangements, including the use of inter-disciplinary research teams, and so on. Attention needs to be devoted to the mechanisms and procedures required to ensure proper co-ordination, communication and feedback, for example, the forming of research councils; advisory committees, task forces, law reform and other investigating commissions, professional associations, etc. It would be useful to concentrate on those approaches that would most effectively further the integration of research elements into on-going policy-making and programming and as a basis for future planning for crime prevention and control.

In considering the various aspects of organizational arrangements designed to facilitate the utilization of criminological research in practice, a tri-level conceptualization might be useful, to include requirements at the policy, strategy and tactical levels.<sup>39</sup>

Attention should also be given to the development of organizational forms and specific arrangements suited to national capabilities and requirements which would foster the process of symbiosis between research and practice. For example, ways might be explored of relating correctional facilities more closely to universities and training institutes in somewhat the same manner as teaching hospitals are related to medical schools (this will be dealt with more extensively under training). It has also been suggested that, rather than establishing academic research institutions, "Social Problem Research Institutes" be established, which would give a more practical orientation to research.<sup>40</sup> This has special relevance for the developing countries whose limited resources require economic deployment to meet their most pressing and far-reaching problems.

The problem of financing must also be considered, including the sources of funds (government appropriations, non-governmental sources, including foundations, technical assistance etc.). The inadequacy and discontinuity of appropriations may be largely responsible for the fragmentation and irrelevancy of most research undertaken. On the other hand, the direction of research is usually determined by sponsoring bodies and research proposals may be motivated by the need to attract funds rather than by the inherent importance of the problems investigated. Even where research is supported, there tends to be reluctance to sponsor follow-up studies, replications and extensions of previous work which may be both critical and more economic. There is a need for ensuring a more meaningful focus and comprehensive approach to research work (in some countries, for instance, government funding of research projects is now contingent on their broader conception within overall crime prevention and control plans); as well as for financing the exchange of information and the dissemination of research results to make them easily accessible to users (policy-makers, planners and administrators as well as other researchers).

Finally, we should consider the kinds of broader regional and sub-regional arrangements that would help countries with relatively limited means (both in trained workers and in material resources) to stretch them further and to obtain more fruitful results. This would include

collaborative relationships for data collection, storage, processing and retrieval, joint studies, common data banks, model laws and other prototypes suitable to the needs of countries of a region, shared computer time, inter-country research teams, co-operative training programmes, and so on. The relationship of such schemes to the United Nations social defence institutes and other international initiatives might be explored, though this will be taken up in greater detail in the concluding session of the Seminar.

The main question to be asked in considering this item is the one that was the concern of the Fourth Congress: i.e. how should criminological research be organized in order to give maximum assistance to policy-makers in their task of formulating, and to administrators in carrying out, the most effective criminal policy? How also should research be set up to help planners take it into account in national development planning as a whole and in planning the social defence services in particular?

This larger question can be broken down into a number of aspects:

1. What are the present organizational forms of crime-related research, where it exists? Do they advance the application of the findings in practice?
2. How could these arrangements be improved to further policy and planning objectives?
3. What innovative forms emanating from a closer relationship between research and policy-making would be feasible in developmental contexts? (Taking into account different levels of development)
4. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the various options (e.g. general research unit in Government conducting research of different kinds; specialized research unit in Ministry concerned with social defence, or in one of its agencies (e.g. Prison Department); research units attached to universities; research and training institutes, semi-autonomous bodies, etc.?)
5. Are there attempts at coordination of such research efforts as may be carried out by different ministries and agencies, bearing on crime and delinquency?
6. What kind of internal arrangements (type of research teams; administrative machinery, etc.) seems to be most propitious for action-research? Is any interdisciplinary research relating to crime being carried out in the countries represented, and how could it be furthered?

7. What formats involving some kind of de facto research (possibly on an ad hoc basis) are useful in making policy recommendations likely to be implemented (e.g.) legislative bodies, commissions of inquiry, study groups, conferences)?
8. What kind of financing is now available for action-research endeavours? What are its implications and effects? How could funding help to promote the right kind of research without infringing upon freedom of scientific inquiry?

## UTILIZATION OF RESEARCH

Even the most fruitful research results represent a largely wasted effort if they do not become absorbed in the professional thinking and practice. Yet, this has mostly been the case, and even the most ambitious research efforts have shared the fate of more modest undertakings. Findings and innovations deriving from research work have all too often been condemned to oblivion, or abandoned when the spurt of interest in them has waned and other "novelties" have taken their place. There has been little sustained and concerted effort to build up on available knowledge, to extend it piece by piece, to reexamine the results and adjust policies and programmes accordingly. Such applications of research as have taken place have been due more to the interest and good will of particular administrators or the undaunted persistence of some researchers. Much more rarely (though encouragingly), there has been a recognition of the need for an organic relationship between policy formulation and research and the incorporation of research results in actual practice. The reasons why this has not been more prevalent have been touched upon elsewhere and need not be gone into here: they include the irrelevancy of much of research work in terms of policy requirements; the inability or unreadiness of administrators and planners to articulate their research needs; the separation of research and policy-making units, hierarchization and bureaucracy; the inaccessibility of research findings and the obtuse language used in their presentation, etc. In a larger sense, the problem has been basically probably one of lack of meaningful communication between those engaged in research and those concerned with decision-making, and of the lack of adequate channels for it.

It is to promote such dialogue that this Seminar has been primarily convened, and it may usefully devote special attention to the requisites, dynamics and ramifications of such communication.

It will also analyse in depth, on the basis of the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute impact studies, the process whereby research can be tangibly incorporated into the process of decision-making in the field of social defence and as a signpost for progress in it. And it might profitably explore the ways and means which would further this process, taking into account the differences between systems, levels of research sophistication, availability of resources and other special circumstances prevailing in the countries concerned.

One way in which the relationship between research and practice can be cemented is to establish research units (whether as part of operating agencies, academically-based or relatively autonomous) where there is representation on advisory or policy-making committees by university scholars and members of law enforcement, judicial, correctional and preventive agencies. Another is by the use of inter-disciplinary research teams including practitioners as well as academicians. The administrative format may vary from place to place and is not the focus here, having been given special attention in the item on "The organization of research"; but what is of importance is the creation of a direct tie between research and practice in order to keep research relevant and practice attuned to new findings. Research results which are often threatening to vested interests tend to be more palatable when practitioners have been involved from the start. Some attention might be given to the ways in which this can be effected and in which the resistance to the translation of research findings into practice may be overcome.

That such resistance exists and is one of the principal barriers to the full utilization of research results is evidenced in the fact that, even when they are available, they have only rarely been incorporated in criminal policy and practice. Some of this undoubtedly stems from the frequent failure of research results to be presented in a language and form clear enough to be understood by the potential user, or to have been focussed on problems relevant to his primary concerns. The joint establishment of priorities in the selection of problems for investigation, on-going contact through briefings, discussions, and the utilization of advances in communications techniques (including audio-visual aids and other appropriate media) should help to remedy this situation. But, more seems to be required: a fundamental change of attitudes, promoting greater receptivity to research-based change and developing the means for bringing it about. Most agencies do not have

the impetus for changing practices, since change involved a management orientation and the necessary staff capabilities to implement new ways of doing things. It also involves the creation of procedures for the feedback of information to determine if the changes are being implemented correctly and if they are bringing about desired outcomes. The Seminar may wish to consider in some detail how this could actually be accomplished. Here as in other connexions, the experience with the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute case studies should prove invaluable, as will the insights provided by those experts who have delved into this question in depth<sup>41</sup>.

The development of closer relations between research and practice means that the various authorities and bodies which need to take into account and make use of the results of criminological research must not only be better informed as to the corpus of knowledge already available but more aware of the opportunities afforded by the utilization of this knowledge. In this, the problem of communication is, of course, paramount. There are great dangers inherent in the partial exploitation of information and techniques and in the oversimplification of knowledge, which often take place in the process of dissemination and popularization. The association of the source of supply and demand not only by closer links between social defence research and users, but also by a better understanding by users of the nature, significance and potential contribution of research is thus a precondition for its effective utilization. The organizational requirements and forms which would help to promote this association and forge closer links between the two have been dealt with earlier (the emphasis here is rather on the process by which they can be forged and cemented and mutual feedback ensured for practical ends) (although, of course, there are areas where form and process overlap).

It appears that in some countries there exists a real technological relationship between policy-making and research in the social - including the social defence - field. In the Netherlands, in Sweden, Norway and Yugoslavia, for example, research of this kind is centrally involved in policy-making and is not merely of marginal or occasional use. In other (e.g. the USA), it is part of the general education of citizens who in certain areas are called upon for social engineering and implementation techniques, but does not count for much in setting the goals of the society. In many countries it is not as yet understood that research relating to crime may in fact become the

instrument to ascertain the human and social costs of alternative economic and other policies.

Regardless of the particular orientation, there is a pressing need nationally regionally and internationally for clearing-house facilities, with provision for the systematic collection and analysis of data, the necessary technology for their storage and retrieval, and timely dissemination of information (including research results) geared to user needs. At the same time, there must be more intensive interaction between social scientists, including criminologists, financing bodies, policy-makers and other users of the products of research in social defence. Some imaginative proposals have been made for strengthening the parameters of action along these lines as well as the process of communication and mutual feedback that is essential for the more organic use of research as a basis for decision-making in the crime field. They need to be implemented, and others put forth as well.

It might be helpful to consider some kind of cohesive strategy which would advance the aforementioned objectives and help to bridge the gap now existing between research and practice in the field. Some elements of it have been tentatively suggested. There will be others. Workshops, seminars, other meetings of this kind, consultations and training courses which bring together researchers, policy-makers and administrators, and sensitize them to each other's needs, are one way provided that their dynamics are exploited so that real communication is established. Exchanges of personnel with periods of observation and field study are another. The use of pilot and demonstration projects as tangible evidence of what research-based innovations can do, can help them to gain visibility and appreciation of their public and political relevance. Since it is perhaps the crux of the problem, a component of research programmes may usefully be directed to finding better means of implementation. User requirement surveys, feasibility studies, etc. can help in the task of developing methods and tactics of utilization for different user groups and in different situations.

It has also been suggested that to open an efficient circuit from practitioner to scientist and make scientific resources readily available to the practitioner in a form that he can readily use, the service of intermediaries or "middlemen" should be enlisted. Such persons, capable of communicating the results of research to practitioners and the problems of practical decision-making to scholars could serve as a link to bridge the gap now existing between them. But the

question, as has been aptly pointed out,<sup>42</sup> is not just one of bridge-making, but of actually reducing the distance, especially the psychological [and professional] distance between policy makers and researchers by fomenting continuous interrelationships between them and transforming "addressees" into "receivers" of required information. The development of "policy scientists" and of cadres of "social engineers" would help to relate research to actual needs, to implement research findings, and to organize research resources around outstanding problems, fostering true action-research and promoting the synthesis implied in the term. There is also the question of creating a favourable climate of public opinion to support policies and programmes based on research. Here, again, the accessibility and comprehensibility of findings is important, and the Seminar may wish to explore the ways in which these can be enhanced. (e.g. publication of "White Papers", enlistment of media support, etc.).

Many questions can be raised with respect to the crucial problem of properly utilizing research findings. Some of them are:

1. How is the research now being carried out in the different countries utilized? In what form? Have past research findings been implemented? What are some examples of this?
2. Have research findings from abroad been utilized? Have they been found to be applicable to the local situation?
3. Have any innovations been introduced as a result of what may be characterized as action-research? Have these been maintained?
4. How have the results of such research (statistical, survey, clinical, etc.) as may have been carried out been presented (a) to decision-makers; (b) to the public?
5. Is there any kind of dialogue between researchers and policy-makers and what channels of communication are used occasionally that could be reinforced and activated on a continuing basis to help establish the necessary collaboration and feedback?
6. What barriers to fruitful interaction and cooperation between researchers and decision-makers now exist and how could they be overcome?
7. How could greater receptiveness to each other's ideas, problems and objectives be promoted?
8. Who and what could serve as a link between researchers and policy makers and how could this function be developed?

9. Have there been any efforts to interpret research findings to the public (e.g. through White Papers special bulletins and reports, etc.)?
10. Have any disclosures of research findings engendered enough popular concern to evoke calls for appropriate action?

## TRAINING IN RESEARCH

If a research orientation is to permeate policy-making and planning for crime prevention and control, there will have to be reliance on training of a special kind. There is, of course, in the developing countries, particularly, a basic need for the training of research workers in a great variety of fields. The low priority accorded to social defence as an area for meaningful investment is reflected also in the acute lack of suitable facilities for training and research in this field, and for training in research. While the developed countries are voicing alarm at what there too appears to be a relative shortage of qualified social defence personnel, the problem differs: some of them have long-standing criminological research traditions, specialized institutes etc., and in others the problem has been less a lack of resources to provide suitable training opportunities than a delayed recognition that they are urgently needed. Even where facilities for training in criminological research do exist, and students are versed in the use of sophisticated research methodologies, except for a few countries where research is consciously integrated in social, and social defence, policy, there has generally been inadequate attention to helping those trained to relate their newly acquired knowledge to the pressing issues of the day. Conversely, there has not been a sufficiently systematic or concerted effort to alert decision-makers at various levels to the promise - and the requirements - of policy-oriented research, and to the role which they themselves might play in promoting it.

It is to the furthering of awareness on both sides, and the rapprochement between research and policy that will hopefully result, that training in this larger sense must address itself. The Fifth United Nations Congress had recognized this fact when it called for the sensitization of researchers and decision-makers to each other's problem and needs through different United Nations-supported initiatives, including seminars such as this. There will be others. It could be a major contribution of the participants in this pioneering effort to suggest the most useful avenues which might be pursued in the future to advance these

basic objectives.

This raises a number of related questions: for example, the areas and kinds of research in crime prevention and criminal justice in which training could most usefully be imparted to advance policy aims; Whom to train and whom to sensitize? What to train in? How (and, perhaps, why) to do it? How to meet the special constraints and requirements operating in the developing countries? What are the ways of obtaining the greatest yield on the investment made in training? and so on. The ramifications are many: for example, the question of whom to train, alone, raises the whole issue of "who is a criminologist", which has long been debated, and the parameters both of criminology (whether it is considered a special discipline or a complex of disciplines - now expanded to include not only the traditional ones of law, medicine, sociology, psychology, social work, but also increasingly mathematics, economics, systems analysis, etc.) and of social defence (including the range of law enforcement, judicial, correctional - and preventive-services), as well as those of planning and of the new "policy sciences".

These various issues must be considered in their context. Evidently, needs differ according to national, cultural and local circumstances. For examples, where there are but limited research and training facilities, it is essential that they be used optimally to produce at least a core of researchers that can then also serve as trainers, and that these be freed from routine functions that can be carried out by less specialized staff. There is particular scope in the developing countries for training auxiliaries of sub-professionals who could discharge some of these routine functions and reduce the burden on those with precious special expertise. It might also be useful to institute some kind of "crash courses" to provide core cadres having special knowledge and skills which would be spread through a "multiplier effect".

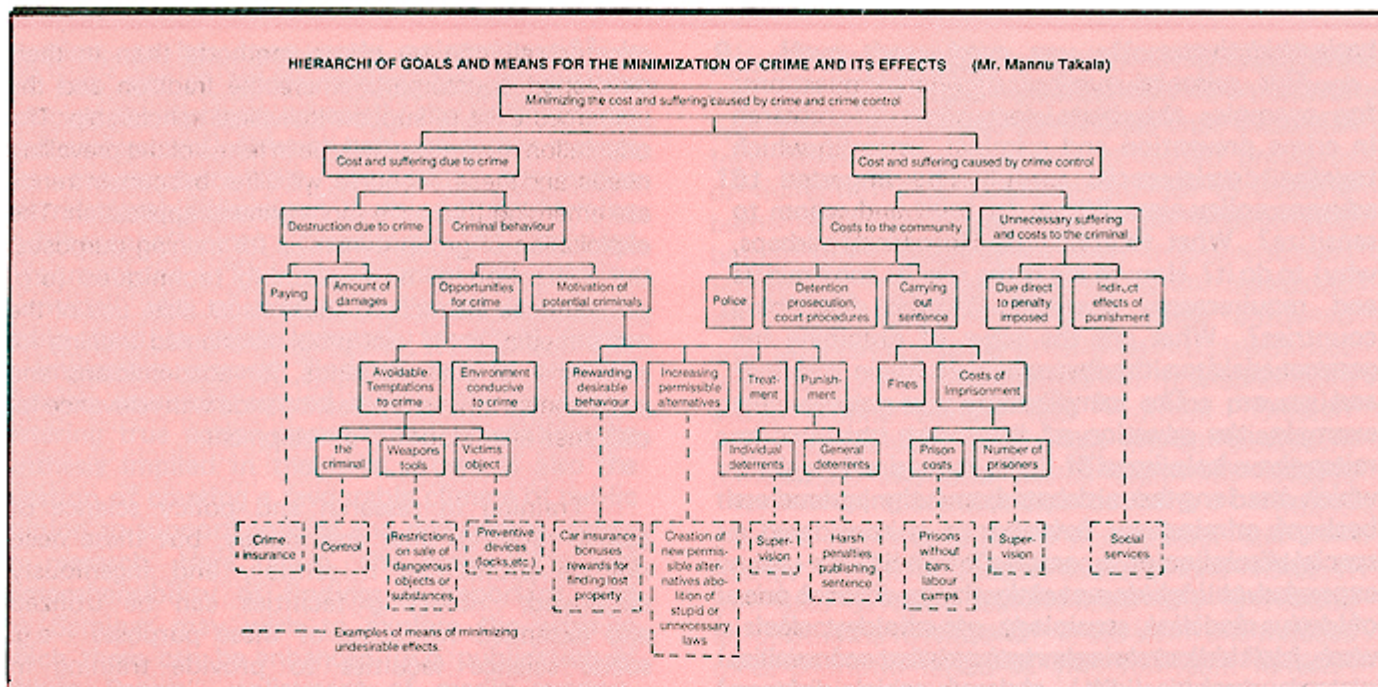
In the training methods used, too, the modern must tamper - and sometimes of necessity replace - the traditional. The reliance on rigid and inappropriate curricula, on the lecture method, formal examinations, etc. is increasingly being questioned and superseded by teaching technologies more suited to present-day needs and the conditions of change. There is particular scope in research training for field work; for investigations conducted in the course of job performance, under qualified supervision; for consultations, group study tours, for individual and group exchanges, for periods of observation and partial work in social defence services and institutions to increase research relevance. In the developing countries, there might be

greater reliance on group methods than in their developed counterparts where the tradition and the resources exist to support individual scholarship. The orientation must essentially be in terms of the prevailing needs, and these, of course, will differ, but certain trends are emerging that have more general application. The exploitation of group dynamics for training purposes, the utilization of new teaching techniques (e.g. programmed instruction, audio-visual aids, use of the mass media, etc.); joint problem-oriented training for personnel of different kinds, for academicians and practitioners - these represent trends with relevance for countries at all stages of development.

Training in research and policy science of course requires time and money, but these need not be prohibitive if sensibly and ingeniously employed. Existing facilities can be utilized and extended for some of these purposes - e.g. social science faculties to provide training in criminological research of a policy-oriented kind; statistical services to help develop skills in collecting, processing and interpreting crime statistics and carrying out sample surveys. Much can be learned through participation in research teams. The need for training will grow as the importance of research in the crime field is increasingly recognized as a basis for more informed and viable action; staff versed in research will presumably be needed more and more, not only for research at universities and specialized institutes, but also for the work conducted at central or provincial government research units and in the various services dealing with crime prevention and control.

How is maximum impact to be achieved? Most probably by a multi-pronged strategy. A few outstanding university departments and research institutions in a country (where these exist) could perhaps be selected as "communications heads" for research in a number of fields including that of social defence in an effort to develop adequate resources for larger scale action-research and, especially, to provide regular and intensive research training of necessary comprehensiveness and rigour. For those already serving as administrators and others in policy-making positions, in-service training, including advanced professional and refresher courses should be research-oriented, aiming at familiarization with behavioural science, research approaches and techniques, particularly those used in criminological research work.

There will also be a need to train special "middle-men" to facilitate communication between



researchers and policy-makers and help promote the utilization of research results in actual practice. In fact, special training courses might be given in the utilization of research. This entire question requires a re-examination of the concept and role of the criminologist and of the nature of careers in social defence. These have to date been often insufficiently or inappropriately (perhaps, too narrowly) defined and institutions of higher learning have found it difficult to gear training programmes to known requirements of the occupations and professions active in this field, though some progress in this respect is being made. Collaborative training arrangements between academic institutions and the various services operating in the social defence field would seem to offer special scope in this respect; they need to be established and promoted. The resulting interchange of insights and cross-fertilization of experience would in itself fulfil an important function, as well as establishing common ground and greater receptiveness to each other's perspectives and requirements.

The training programmes given will need to be innovative in content and method, and require the development of active teaching materials (cases, games, projects, etc.) for use in basic courses. Learning of this kind involves absorbing, communicating and, importantly, doing requiring work on real problems on workshops, internship in institutions and services pioneering in action-research, quasi-formal learning, etc. Eventually, a new speciality in the human service area may develop composed of practitioners of experimental treatment programmes. Joint work by researchers

and programme operators on pilot and demonstration projects, and in evaluation schemes, may be the spearhead for a new, emergent profession.

Considerations of status, institutional support, motivation and rewards will operate for it as for those following more traditional lines. The Congress and other informed observers have commented on the fact that most of the work in crime research to date has been carried out by part-time workers. Greater continuity is obviously essential and it involves also adequate recompense. The Fourth Congress recommended that qualified researchers should be given suitable positions at governmental or university research institutes and that the United Nations should explore the possibilities of sponsoring appropriate training in research, including international fellowships for that purpose. This will be considered in greater detail later under "International Cooperation", but some thought might be given here to the different aspects of such training assistance and the most useful form which it could take (e.g. simple versus coordinated research fellowships, as given by the Council of Europe, most useful training materials, etc.).

Here again, the question to be asked may be reduced to: whom to train and sensitize? In what to train them? How? and When?

These are broken down into somewhat greater detail below.

1. Whom to train and sensitize? What kind of researchers - in what fields? Which policy-makers? Administrators? Planners? What about "middlemen" who could bridge the gap between researchers and practitioners? What about subprofessionals who might

perform routine research functions where trained personnel is in short supply (and elsewhere? etc.

2. In what to train them? This raises the whole question of "what is criminology" which need perhaps not to be gone into too deeply here; suffice it to indicate the range of expertise that may be required for research relating to crime. Other questions might also be considered - e.g. what about the policy-makers, administrators planners - what are they to be trained in? Obviously the technicalities of scientific methodology cannot be easily imparted and most probably do not need to be - what kind of knowledge is required for the non-researchers to be fully aware of the potential of research and to utilize it fully?
3. How to train and sensitize? This raises the question of training methods: the adequacy of methods generally in use for training; the need for innovative approaches, for active training materials and techniques, for learning by doing. There are other aspects: the ways of achieving the necessary attitudinal change; the use of different approaches with different groups for different objectives; the kind of intensive programmes that would provide a nucleus of expertise (through crash courses, etc.) that could then be built upon and utilized as trainers, etc.
4. When to train and sensitize? The most obvious answer is all the time, but there may be especially propitious timing for certain groups and for certain kinds of training. What are they, and how can the impact of such training be solidified?
5. Is any kind of training of this kind available in the respective countries and how could it be adapted to meet the purposes and requirements of policy-related research?
6. What is the present status of personnel in the social defence field and how could it be enhanced and motivation for this kind of work (including both research and practice) be increased? What special incentives could be employed to increase the reservoir of researchers working in the crime field and contacts between researchers and practitioners in this field (including employment facilities, requirements, opportunities for professional advancement in accordance with the training, etc.)?
7. What collaborative regional or subregional schemes (with or without outside assistance) seem to have the greatest scope for developing

policy-oriented researchers and research-oriented policy-makers in the social defence field?

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1 Cost-of-crime studies in France and the US have shown it to be 5 per cent of the GNP. Where the GNP is lower, the proportion may be higher.
- 2 A. Adedeji. Introduction to "ECA and Africa's Development, 1983-2008: a preliminary perspective study". Addis Ababa, April 1983, p. 2, and A.A. Adeyemi, "International dimensions of contemporary African societies in the field of criminality and the responses of the social defence movement". Report on Africa presented to the Eleventh International Congress of Social Defence, Buenos Aires, 26 October - 1 November 1986.
- 3 See, for example, Stanislaw Walczak, "Planning crime prevention and control in Poland" *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No. 26, pp. 43-55.
- 4 See, for example, Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space: Crime Prevention through Urban Design*. New York, MacMillan, 1972, and *Architectural Design for Crime Prevention*. Washington, D.C. National Institute for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1973.
- 1 See e.g. "Organization of Research for Policy Development in Social Defence". Working Paper prepared by the Secretariat for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Kyoto, Japan, 17-26 August 1970. (A/CONF.43/4), pp. 9-13.
- 2 Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang. *Measuring Delinquency*. New York, Wiley and Soos, 1974 and Wolfgang, "International Criminal Statistics" *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, vol. 58, No. 1, March 1967 pp. 65-69.
- 3 See A/CONF 43/4 p. 11, footnote 21.
- 4 Canadá, France, Mexico, Poland, U.K., U.S.A., Scandinavian countries. See e.g. J.P. Martin and Gail Wilson. "Problems in Cost of Crime Analysis": Some aspects of police expenditure in England and Wales. *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No. 25 (1967), pp. 47-56; Philippe Robert and J.P. Bombet. *Le coût du crime en France*. Paris, Direction des Affaires Criminelles et des Crâces, 1970; [U.S.] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *Crime and its Impact: an assessment*, Task Force Report. Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967 pp. 42-59; Leszek Lernell. "Ekonomiczne koszty przestepstwa" [The economic cost of crime *Przegląd Penitencjarny*, No. 4 (36) 1972. pp. 50-53; Alfonso and Raul Quiroz Cuarón, "El Costo Social del Delito en Mexico"



*Criminalia*, vol 36, No. 7, July 1970, pp. 431-555 and No. 8, Preben Wolf, "Skader og tab forvoldt ved driminelle handlinger" [Damage and financial loss caused by criminal behaviour] *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Kriminalvidenskab*, vol. 61, No. 1, 1973, pp. 85-110.

- <sup>5</sup> For a useful schema of ways of minimizing the cost and suffering caused by crime and crime control, see H. Takala, *European Soc Welfare. Programme/ Seminar on Nordic Approaches to Social Planning*, Rungstedgaard (Copenhagen), 19-25 November 1972, p. 51 (viz. Annex I on p. 9a).
- <sup>6</sup> Nils Christie observes: "The question of the selection of acts to be designated as crimes and of persons to be designated as criminals has become of vital importance. So has also the question of how the official system of control actually operates at the stage of implementing the sanctions and with what sorts of consequences for the client as well as for the other participants in the system. Editor's preface to *Scandinavia Studies in Criminology*, vol. 2, Oslo Universitetsforlaget, 1968 and "Studies in Social ceontrol", *ibid.*, vol 3, 1971, pp. 130-137.
- <sup>7</sup> See e.g. Steve E. Kolodnev, "The Development and Implementation of an Offender-Based Transaction Statistics System Under Project SEARCH" and Charles M. Friel, "Offender Based Transactional Statistics: the concept and its utility," in *International Symposium on Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Systems*, sponsored by Project SEARCH and the LEAA (New Orleans, La. 3-5 October 1972). California Crime Technological Research Foundation, Oct 1972, pp. 39-41 and 43-46.
- <sup>8</sup> See U.N. Research Institute for Social Development. Contents and Measurement of Socio-economic Development "Research Notes No. 1 and Report No. 1 (Aspects of Social and Economic Growth, pp. 1-2.)
- <sup>9</sup> See A/CONF.43/4, p. 11, footnote 22.
- <sup>10</sup> George Gitter. *Social Indicators of Crime: a pilot study* [to be published in 1973.]
- <sup>11</sup> Fundación FOESSA. *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de España*. Madrid, Editorial Eura-mérica, 1970. 1634 pp.
- <sup>12</sup> In spite of the rapidly growing literature on the subject: for a guide to it, see Leslie D. Wilcox and others, *Social indicators and Societal Monitoring: an annotated bibliography*. San Francisco-Washington-Amsterdam, Jossey-Bass/Elsevier, 1972. 464 pp.
- <sup>13</sup> OECD Observer, No. 64, June 1973, pp. 36-37.
- <sup>14</sup> For some considerations arising in this regard, see (U.S.) National Academy of Sciences. Project on Computer Data Banks. *Data Banks in a Free Society*. New York, Quadrangle Books, 1972 and Giuseppe di Gennaro. "Glin calcolatori elettro nel sistema di difesa sociale". Paper presented au colloccium, ravia, Sept.
- <sup>15</sup> The work of the Council of Europe and of the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology should be singled out in this connexion. The United Nations through its Crime Prevention and Cçiminal Justice Section and its Institute in Rome has begun such international clearinghouse activities and it was intended to be one of the main functions of the regional social defence institutes, still limited by the shortage of facilities and funds.
- <sup>16</sup> Luk E. Boulding "A Data-Collecting Network and the Socio-Sphere". *Impact of Science in Society*, UNESCO, Paris, vol. XVIII, No. 2, April-June 1968: pp. 97-101.
- <sup>17</sup> An information system may be defined as "an integrated organization of procedures, personnel, facilities and equipment which systematically gathers, transmits, processes, stores, retrieves and displays required information at the time and place necessary to permit organizational efficiency and/or effectiveness".
- <sup>18</sup> See J. Jepsen, "Forecasting the volume and structure of future criminality", report presented to Fourth European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1969, pp. 25-212; and P. Tornudd, "Forecasting the trend of criminality: a preliminary investigation in Finland", *ibid.*, pp. 213-241.
- <sup>19</sup> See e.g. Leslie T. Wilkins, "Crime and Criminal Justice at the Turn of the Century" *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science*, July 1973; Joseph Coates. "Urban Violence: the Pattern of Disorder: *ibid.*, pp. 25-40 and "The Future of Crime in the United States from Now to the Year 2000". *Policy Sciences*. Amsterdam. Elsevier, Vol. 3, 1972, pp. 27-45.
- <sup>20</sup> However there are sampling techniques and other ways of forecasting from incomplete but representative data: see e.g. *Manual for Methods of Estimating Basic Demographic Measures from Incomplete Data*. Population Studies No. 42 (U.N. Publication Sales No. 67, XIII.2). Recently there have also been proposals aimed at correcting the inadequacy of simple regression analysis by adopting the principle of "best-fitting line" to estimate and predict missing values and most adequately reflect the order in the data, and as a line obtained by specific procedures which, it is hoped, will yield the best-fitting line for socio-economic development data. (U.N. Research Institute for Social Development. *Methods of Estimation and Prediction in Socio-Economic Development: Regression and the Best-Fitting Line*. Geneva, 1973.)

- <sup>21</sup> See Theodore J. Gordon. "The Current Methods of Futures Research". In *Political Science and the Study of the Future*, ed. by Albert Somit. 1973.
- <sup>22</sup> United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. *Social Prognosis. Introductory Note and Conclusions of an Expert Meeting* (February 1970). Geneva, 1970 (Report No. 70.19)  
See also Waldemar Rolbiecki, "Prognostication and Prognoseology"; and V. Bestushev-Lada "Social Prognostics research in the Society Union". In Robert Jungk and Johan Galtung (eds) *Mankind 2000*. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1969. pp. 278-285 and 299-306. (Future Research Monograph No. 1, International Peace Research Institute).
- <sup>23</sup> This is a relative area. Some efforts have recently been made on the quantification of factors hitherto considered non-quantifiable. See e.g. H.R. Alker Jr. "Measuring Inequality" in *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*, ed. by Edward R. Tuft. Reading, Mass. and London, Addison-Wesley 1970 pp. 191-211.
- <sup>24</sup> Used in the sense of action-research. Precisely speaking, "operations research", which may be looked at as applied decision theory, differs from action-research (for a more thorough differentiation, see working paper, p. )
- <sup>25</sup> For some of the considerations arising in this regard, see Howard E. Freeman and Clarence C. Sherwood, *Social Research and Social Policy*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1970.
- <sup>26</sup> Field studies of the police, for instance, have revealed many instances in which the police act as judge and jury, making decisions about illegal and unlawful behaviour as they control crime, and bringing together their own backgrounds, education and ideological orientation of their particular force.
- <sup>27</sup> For some suggestions in this respect, see G.W. Fairweather, *Methods for Experimental Social Innovation*, London and New York, Wiley, 1967.
- <sup>28</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the different aspects, see Leslie H. Wilkins and Don Gottfredson, *Research, Demonstration and Social Action*. National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1970.
- <sup>29</sup> A project on evaluation has been included in the United Nations 1973-77 work programme in crime prevention and control and the question is on the agenda of the Seventh International Congress of Criminology (Belgrade, 17-23 September 1973).
- <sup>30</sup> This is the principle behind studies on the differential effectiveness of various penal measures for different offender groups - see e.g. Karl O. Christiansen. "Efekty nose pozazakladowych form resocjalizacji przest epcow: doswiadczenia dunskie [The effectiveness of non-institutional forms of rehabilitation of offenders: the Denish experience ] *Przegląd Penitencjarny*, No. 4 (36), 1972, pp. 59-66, and Part II: Effectiveness of Punishment and Treatment, in *Crime and Justice*," ed. by L. Radzinowicz and M. Wolfgang, New York, London, Basic Books, 1971, vol. III.
- <sup>31</sup> Paul. *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 46 pp. 1590-6.
- <sup>32</sup> E.A. Suchman. *Evaluative Research: Principles and Practice in Public Service and Public Action Programmes*. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.
- <sup>33</sup> Mehlon Apgar "Policy Analysis: a Challenge to Urban Planning", *Journal of the Royal To Planning Institute*, vol. 59, No. 2, February 1973.
- <sup>34</sup> This could be particularly important in the case of developing countries.
- <sup>35</sup> See e.g. Creste Fortse Bondonio. *Costi e Benefici della Giustizia Italiana*. Laterza, 1970, 1970. Stuart Adams "Is corrections ready for cost benefit analysis?" Washington D.C. Department of Corrections, 1968; I. Slott "Cost-effectiveness and criminal justice". New York, ASME, 1972; E.T. Fuji, "Public Investment in the Rehabilitation of Heroin Addicts". Stanford University, July 1972 and I. Leveson, "Cost-Benefit Analysis and Program Target Population: Narcotic Addiction Treatment". *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, vol. 32, No. 2, April 1973, pp. 129-142.
- <sup>36</sup> Recently introduced techniques such as PPBS (Planning, Programming, Budgeting System) are also based on this principle.
- <sup>37</sup> Leslie T. Wilkins. *Evaluation of Penal Measures*. New York, Random House, 1969, p. 134.
- <sup>38</sup> Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. *Design for Change: A Programme for Correctional Management* (Sacramento, Calif.), 1968.
- <sup>39</sup> See working paper prepared for the Fifth United Nations Congress, A/CONF.43/4, pp.
- <sup>40</sup> See e.g. U.S. National Science Foundation. *Knowledge into Action: Improving the Nation's Use of the Social Sciences*. Washington, D.C. 1969.
- <sup>41</sup> See e.g. Giuseppe di Gennaro. "Channels of Communication between Research Worker and Decision-makers". Report to the Eighth European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, Strasbourg, December 1970, and M.S. Sabnis. "Research Utilization and Policy Formulation in Social Defence". *Social Defence* (New Delhi), vol. 22, No. VI, October 1970, pp. 9-22.
- <sup>42</sup> See di Gennaro, *op. cit.*