REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS FIRST INTER-REGIONAL COURSE ON CRIME PREVENTION PLANNING HELD IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

10 - 14 November 1975

INTRODUCTION

The United Nations was originally induced to consider crime as a planning problem by the pre-occupation of the world organisation with the problems of the developing countries during the 1960's - and with the consequential need to consider thé relationship between social order and investments in education, health and in general in the economic and social advancement of the poorer countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The original hope that effective planning would gradually eliminate social problems like crime had evaporated over the years. And the reluctance of planners to take the implications of crime into consideration led to a special meeting being called on the subject of Social Defence Policies in National Development Planning in Rome in June 1969. This brought together criminologists and general planners; and the working paper prepared for this meeting by the Secretariat became the working paper for an agenda item on the same subject at the 4th United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Kyoto, Japan in 1970.

Following up this world congress which opened up a wider consideration on this subject the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Japan held a one month course on Social Defence Planning in 1972; and in 1973 the National Institute for Social and Criminological Research in Cairo held a similar one month meeting on the subject for the African Region. Then in August 1975 a meeting on Social

Defence Planning was held at the United Nations Latin American Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in San José, Costa Rica for representatives from the Latin American countries.

Meanwhile the Australian Institute of Criminology had been deeply involved from the beginning of 1975 with the integration of crime prevention and planning in several of the growth regions in Australia. It had already held special seminars of an Australian-wide nature in the growth centres and was planning to open sub-offices for closer relationships for criminologists and planners in appropriate developing areas.

When, therefore, the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section considered an Inter-Regional Course on Social Defence Planning it decided to hold it in Sydney, Australia. This was the first time that there had been an inter-regional course offered by the United Nations on this subject. The participants were drawn from sixteen countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The course was co-directed by Mr G.O.W. Mueller the Assistant Director, United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section and Mr W. Clifford, Director, Australian Institute of Criminology and had the benefit of three consultants - Professor S.C. Versele of Belgium, Professor J.V. Delaney of the U.S.A., Mr E. Galway, Senior Fellow of the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in Rome.

C O N T E N T S

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I N A U G U R A T I O N

Opening Address by
The Honourable J.C. Maddison, M.L.A.
Attorney-General of New South Wales

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, this will welcome you to the City of Sydney in the State of New South Wales. My Government is delighted that the United Nations through the Australian Institute of Criminology arranged this training course in the City of Sydney. I hope that not only do you have a rewarding week with us but that at the same time you have an enjoyable week. We are delighted of course that the United Nations chose Sydney to have this Course because of our continuing interest in the United Nations' efforts in the field of crime prevention and treatment of offenders and more particularly, of course, because of the projected 1980 Congress in this City.

The Course is entitled as I understand it, "Social Defence Planning", and I must say that it's only in recent times in Australia, or so it seems to me, that the concept of Social Defence has dawned on the consciousness of people in Australia. I pay tribute to the Australian Institute of Criminology which has only been established in recent times and more particularly I pay tribute to Mr Bill Clifford. We now see emerging from that Institute publications which place straight emphasis on the work which that Institute is doing but probably more particularly, provide material which can have wide circulation in public areas so that the public can themselves judge the seriousness with which the Australian Government and the Governments of the various States of Australia accord to the problem of crime. Social Defence planning of course is important for the current community, the present generation in respect of today's problems, but I suppose one needs to emphasize on an occasion such as this, that what is being done here is to look at planning for the future as well as the problems of planning as they are with

use at the very moment. We, of course, all long for the society with less criminogenic practice in it than that we find today. We certainly hope that with the continuing emphasis on research and on training, we can reach some conclusions which can be meaningful for our respective communities.

Australia seems to me to be an ideal Country to act as a crucible for experimentation. We are I suppose midway between the underdeveloped countries and perhaps what might be termed the overdeveloped countries - if those of you who come from them don't object to that phrase; and with the growing emphasis which is being given in Australia to decentralisation and the movement of communities away from the major cities of this country, there does seem to be great opportunity for experimentation and for perhaps trial and error: and, of course, the Australian Institute of Criminology, as probably most of you know, is conducting in the Albury and Wodonga area of New South Wales and Victoria, quite a good deal of research as to a developing community and the type of planning which may hopefully produce a less crime prone community than we find in our larger cities. You come to Sydney of course, which is the largest city in Australia with over 3,000,000 people now, and where the crime problem is to be seen probably at its extreme by comparison with other cities of Australia: and indeed this very fact makes it the important place in which to hold a training seminar of this nature.

I noticed that on the Agenda is an item which deals with the relationships and communication between the research worker and policy maker and of course this is tremendously important to me as a policy maker myself. It is vital that we have a growing intensity of research in this country, in this State, and

that we have a meaningful dialogue between those who are making policy and those who are engaged in research. Just as important, in my view, is to be able, as a policymaker to make dialogue to communicate with the people who make or mar Governments, and I suppose that is one of the prime objects which, as a politician, there is always before me. It does seem to me important therefore that we should always bear in mind whether we are researchers or whether we are policymakers that unless we have the community behind us, a community which understands what we are about, we will never be able in real terms to translate policy into effective action. Consequently, there is a need, I believe, in this country perhaps more than most, for a better communication between the policymakers and the community at large. I do not propose to delay you any further, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are delighted to see the United Nations representatives with us here in Sydney, we believe that a great deal of benefit will be gained for all those who are participating at this Course, and we look forward to seeing you all here in Sydney not only in 1980 but we hope on several occasions before 1980.

It gives me pleasure Mr. Chairman to declare this Training Course open.

Response to the Opening Address by
G.O.W. Mueller, Assistant Director,
United Nations Crime Prevention and
Criminal Justice Section on behalf
of the Secretary-General

Thank you your Honour for your warm voice of welcome. We have found already that in Australia you are ahead of most of us at least half a year plus 13 hours, you are also ahead of us in many other respects because you have managed to create a society exceedingly sophisticated in its technology, in its social affairs and in its industrial production, yet it is a society which has managed to retain a crime level still socially bearable. Of course, we realise that to you even this level is ultimately unacceptable. For those of us who are coming from some of those overdeveloped countries to which you referred we look only at your percentage of crime and are full of admiration.

It is therefore a pleasure for us that the United Nations has been invited to conduct a course here in Australia not only can we learn from your crime prevention and your sophistication but we can at the same time look into the possible future of the countries that are here represented. You have tried to give us an example of how civilised crime prevention is here in Australia and how it can be elsewhere.

I don't know Mr Minister if you staged it for us that way, but yesterday, as we were taking a stroll round the harbour area, we actually witnessed a crime being committed. A drifter committed the crime of theft in a store. He loaded his pockets with merchandise from the shelves. The consequence was merely

that the storekeeper confronted him, unloaded the full pockets and put everything back on the shelves. Thereupon the drifter was given a gentle heave ho. I don't know whether he's cured for the rest of his life, but we were happy to note that this side of crime prevention was conducted without any loss to the taxpaying citizen.

One final word about Australia, I realise Mr Minister that you and your pioneers in crime prevention and criminology are pioneers in the entire world, but it seems to me that until very recently you featured very quietly in the world of criminology and criminal justice —— Then —— all of a sudden, wow! Australia provided us with the largest and most impressive example of progress in these fields. Australia offered its host facilities for the Sixth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. Australia created a magnificent Institute of Criminology, and now Australia has stolen one of the best men in the United Nations as the head of its Institute. For this Mr Attorney-General I'm a little sore at you but for the rest we are of course happy and immensely grateful to you. Thank you indeed.

Statements by Co-Directors

(a) Opening the course Mr G.O.W. Mueller explained his own conception of planning in and for the criminal justice system. He observed that all around the world citizens were taking a very new hard look at the criminal justice system and were not very pleased with what they saw. The criminal justice system was to some extent in default; indeed it would be bankrupt in most countries if it were a commerical enterprise. Citizens were discovering that they were not getting either the protection for which they were paying dearly with their taxes, or the human rights considerations and services to which they felt entitled.

Perhaps in other periods of history when citizens were more compliant and less questioning of the labours of their Government, this might have been acceptable. Today it was no longer acceptable. In fact more and more people were taking a critical look at the criminal justice system and they were asking themselves whether they were getting their money's worth of protection. Mr Mueller said that it was tempting to look at the increasing crime statistics in many parts of the world and to say that this was the best that could be done for the money we are paying. But even in countries were the crime rate has been declining e.g. Japan, citizens were asking themselves if it was worth all the money spent to keep the crime rate as low as it was. The question of whether we were paying more than we should be for the criminal justice services rendered to us by the Government was the real issue. Mr Mueller suggested that the problems did not end with the simple posing of the cost benefit question. How, for example, did one measure the fear of crime? How did one measure the inconvenience of having barred windows for protection against intrudors or the disadvantages of having to have extra locks or watchdogs? How did one measure the loss of certain civil rights in

submitting to searches at airports. All this had to be part of the cost benefit thinking.

It was for such reasons that the United Nations had become very much concerned with the topic of planning. The United Nations was interested in planning for the reduction of crime-planning to save enormous expenses which most nations are incurring at this point in history in order to protect the citizens against crime. The costs of organised crime spreading across the world and the progressive increase of thefts of masterpieces were related to this. Many countries represented on this course had lost important parts of their national heritage because of theft. Entire nations had been denuded of movable and valuable art treasures so that very little was left of their cultural heritage. Studies carried out for the United Nations showed that, unhappily, the costs of crime were falling more heavily within any given nation on the poorer parts of the population and within the community of nations the cost was falling more heavily on countries that could least afford it.

Mr Mueller drew attention to another problem which, he said, hardly existed in the 19th century namely that of drug and alcohol related crime. Drug and alcohol related crime was not evenly spread. Some countries were relatively free of alcohol related crime but others were not. And in the troubled countries this cuts deeply into national strength and into the national economy. Another important area of crime was that of offences that could best be described as "stranger-to-stranger" violence. A more urbanised impersonal way of living made it easier for a perpetrator to fall on innocent victims and this to was a phenomenon not confined to any one nation.

Another vast area of crime concern was international violence which affected international relations across international boundaries. These are offences about which we should be concerned whether they are committed for political or psychopathological reasons. The Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Geneva a few months ago had made it clear that whilst it did not approve of international violence this violence was unlikely to recede until the underlying problems were dealt with. This meant we had to look to the crime likely to emerge from major problems of social unrest or social injustice. We might, for example, consider a problem like migration - movements involving millions of people suddenly on the move as in the Sahara. These were tremendous issues beyond anything which could simply be left to law enforcement.

(b) In his opening statement Mr W. Clifford said that this course, this study of the planning process, had in fact emerged as everyone knew, from a number of efforts made by the United Nations which had taken the greatest interest in trying to get something done about preparing for the kind of crime to come and trying to do something about the kind of planning which completely ignores this. He thought that we had now passed through the valley of narrow minded development planning which everyone could well remember - a period when, to get any consideration at all for any kind of social or crime prevention work, it was necessary for a project to be economically respectable. If it were not economically respectable, if one couldn't show that the project was productive, then it was impossible to get any

money. Maybe basic budgets were given for immediate expenses, but when it came to the development money needed to do something about the society for the future, nobody was interested. Nobody wanted to know about any sector of the economy which could not show a tangable increase in the G.N.P. - which could not show a better physical or material product for the funds which might be invested. The investments had to show a return and nobody wanted to be interested in crime prevention because at first sight it didn't show very much of a return. That stage of narrow negative thinking had passed and Mr. Clifford thought that, for this, credit was due to the environmentalists. There was now, in most countries, a widespread disillusionment with the whole idea of the G.N.P. being the sole aim and the sole objective of planning and a ready appreciation that there are returns in the quality of life not always easily quantifiable.

Most countries, he said, were now trying to balance the quantitive gain which they might get in their investments with the quality of life and there was a tremendous movement under way to deal with pollution. As participants knew, from the new United Nations Meeting which was about to be held in 1976 on Human Settlements in Vancouver, there was a definite trend now to ensure that plans made are made for people - that they are not just plans for material benefit, that they are directly related to people's needs.

We should be very grateful to our environmental colleagues for making it clear that the G.N.P. also contained many negative products as well as the positive products of the economy. The production of illegal drugs or garbage was of course a quantifiable form of production; and many other things that

we would certainly not like to see produced were a part of that sacrosanct G.N.P. There was therefore less preoccupation with purely material gains.

But although we had moved from this concern with the economic animal, we were still dealing with human nature as if it were a perfect animal and we were still planning perfection, we were still assuming that everybody we were planning for was a perfect individual. We still did not like to admit in our planning that we had mischievous, corrupt or dishonest persons; and if one looked at the plans or documents which had been produced for the Habitat Conference, it was clear that such ideas still prevail. We did not like to admit, said Mr Clifford, that we have to plan to accommodate, not only man's perfection but also his imperfections, his irrationality, his prejudices, his aggression and sometimes his outright destructiveness. Unless we did now plan for this as well as for anything else, then we were in fact preparing all kinds of chimeras, all kinds of panaceas, which would surely collapse. They had in fact collapsed in many countries; we had watched this happen already in the developed and developing areas . If one does not watch where the money is going, it will end up in the wrong pockets, no matter how good the development plan may be. And so, said Mr Clifford, the United Nations had rightly been very much concerned with this problem over recent years. It had been trying to get more realism into the planning picture. With this course on Social Defence Planning it seemed that we were moving to do something more positive. Whilst it had been all right to talk about principles up to now, we had to begin somewhere to talk about practice - not just what one needed to do, but how to do it;

Mr Clifford expressed the hope that from this week's work there would develop something to show how the crime prevention planning should be done and how it might be possible to move within the countries represented to do something about getting more constructive planning for the crime ahead.

He pointed out that participations were in a country which had tremendous interest in such planning. One of the reasons why Australia was important in this respect was that it wasn't yet so over-developed that it could not move back, it had a chance to re-think, it was still relatively open in its options. There are things which it can do more effectively than some other countries, older and more committed. In this sense Australia was a developing country, on the other hand, it had resources, it was not a developing country in the sense that it had problems about the resources which it might need to use - it could not be called in the world sense, a poor country. Therefore, this was a country which was in-between, which had all the possibilities of a developing country and which had some of the resources of developed countries. And here in Australia, there were attempts being made to develop growth areas, special growth areas in different parts of the country. For the first time anywhere in the world, the Institute of Criminology in Australia (a national institute in Canberra, which is also an interstate institute, in the sense all States are concerned in its running) had been brought into the direct planning of some of these areas. The Institute, therefore, was very interested in what the course might be able to help it to do. It was interested in getting the material which it needed to give to the planners to use. Criminologists interested in planning

in Australia were now at the stage where the more general social and economic planners were saying "Alright, you have said a lot about it, now let us see you do something, let us see you actually produce the kind of planning advice you have been talking about". This was therefore a very critical and exciting period in Australia - which was why the hosts were particularly gratified to have this kind of course in Sydney.

D E V E L O P M E N T
A N D
C R I M E

Presentation by the Discussion Leader.

Mr Clifford opened the discussion of this subject. He had prepared a very full statement on the planning of crime prevention which ran to 125 pages and had been distributed to all participants.* This publication had opened with a fairly full discussion of the relationship of the development of crime which was therefore available to participants to read. In summarising this for his presentation Mr Clifford said that the relationship between development and crime was very real if not necessarily a causal relationship. The communist nations did not like any suggestion that development caused crime because they believed in forward planning and greater development economically and socially and they also claimed a fall in the crime rates. In Western nations, however, as well as in the developing areas, development had almost invariably been accompanied by higher rates of crime and by an increase in the gravity of the types of crime committed. Even in the communist countries which were so anxious to disclaim a causal connection it was clear that, as towns grew, the rates of crime increased even if only marginally and temporarily. In these countries such increases were generally regarded as temporary adjustments to the new situation and were thought to be problems which would be eliminated as better conditions provided more people with the kind of things they wanted. Western experience and the experience of developing countries had however usually been of a different kind. Not only did crime accompany increasing development but it seemed to increase with affluence.

The poorer nations seemed to have less problems of crime and even in Western cities although the poor people typically

* Since then re-written and published as a book - W. Clifford "Planning Crime Prevention" D.C. Heath, Lexington Books, Boston, U.S.A. 1976.

formed a majority of those passing through the criminal justice system they were generally better off than the people in poorer nations who did not commit crime. What began to emerge therefore was that crime was related not so much to actual material conditions as to the amount of dissatisfaction and unfulfilled expectations thrown up by the environment, by the economic and social system, and by the relative disparities in the material conditions of living.

Japan provided a special case in which increasing development had been accompanied over the past 10 years by decreasing crime problems but this was an exception to the general rule and merely showed that it was not impossible to control or reduce crime, that indeed the relationship between crime and development was not an automatic or an inevitable relationship.

It was necessary therefore to ensure that development planning improved. It was necessary that development planning provided nationally and regionally for the crime likely to be expected. If we know that cities are likely to increase at a certain rate - if we know for example, that a country's population will develop by the end of the century then we know that certain increases in crime can be anticipated and that they must be anticipated in the forms of planning which we adopt. Looking at crime simply as a problem for the criminal justice system was ignoring the broader pattern of planning which by trying to obtain development often created opportunities for crime as well as temptations to commit it. It was nonsense to make laws which allowed the family to break up and then worry about delinquency amongst the children. It was no use creating new commercial empires based on electronics and then discover that we had done

nothing to deal with the abuse of such equipment. It was no use building schools if these were to be forms of anti-socialisation instead of socialisation. Educating for the challenge of change meant educating to question the values of society and to cherish and encourage not only innovation but deviation. We should ask ourselves to what extent any society can afford to do this, what are its levels of tolerance. Human dignity and human freedom demand the right to be different but only so long as this difference does not impinge on their neighbours or interfere with their neighbour's equal rights to be different; it was this balance between human rights and social defence which was always an issue in relations between planned development and crime. At this stage Mr Clifford felt that he had said enough to provoke discussion and he invited the participants to express themselves on these subjects.

Discussion

Mr E. Olewale, Minister of Law in Papua New Guinea (Chairman) then invited comments from the participants.

Mr Ali Zayed, of Jordon, said that the kind of planning now being considered would involve intervention in society even at the predelinquency level and that it meant taking a very broad view of crime prevention planning, invading, if necessary, a number of related fields. Public education and public welfare as well as relief programmes would have to be taken into account as being likely to prevent crime from arising. This was an ambitious programme particularly as it was difficult to prove the relationships between crime and this kind of investment. In some parts of the world one could plan one's environment against crime - design housing

developments so that crime would remain low as had been suggested by Oscar Newman. Newman had shown that the taller the public housing, the greater the criminality. He had suggested that the ideal building should have only five stories. Of course, this did not mean another storey another increment of crime - it was a relationship passing through anonymity and anomie; but it was possible to look at building designs with a view to crime prevention.

He fully agreed that it was easier to plan the prevention of crime by strengthening the kinship groups and community organisations so as to avoid recourse to the artificial means of preserving the law such as judges, handcuffs, squad cars and hooded executionists.

Other speakers stressed the need to provide for the possible crimes long before they were committed and they cited examples of education, health, labour and other subjects being of importance for crime prevention in the total planning.

Mr Clifford intervened in the discussion to suggest clarification of the terminology. The course was named "Social Defence" Planning but in fact this had been taken to mean "Crime Prevention" Planning. He felt the crime prevention designation was clearer because Social Defence had complications for many in the Anglo Saxon world even if it was more fully understood by Francophone countries.

Mr Versele, of Belgium, agreed that Social Defence had become an ambiguous term, he said the concern at the moment should not be only with the protection of society but with the protection of man in our society and we should be concerned with the influences of some of our contemporary social structures with their inequality and injustices. He agreed therefore that it was better to talk of crime prevention or criminal policy rather than social defence.

Senor Galindo, of Mexico, felt that we were often applying different methods of crime prevention to different types of offenders. He felt that there should be discussed during the week both hard programmes and soft programmes for the prevention of crime - something like the hard data and soft data that had been discussed in the context of research. The hard programmes would be realised in a long period and the soft programmes would be short in both time and space, in this way it would be possible to evaluate more effectively. He was concerned that the criteria changed at different times in different countries and that evaluation became difficult.

The Chairman asked what was thought of the possibility of including criminals themselves in the process of planning, and it was thought that if there was to be the widest possible participation in national planning there should be no reason at all why people who have been through the experience of committing and being dealt with for crime should not be able to add their voices to the general advice being given to planners with a view to making their planning realistic.

Reference was made to the large numbers of people moving into cities. People in this new urban sprawl were often living in shacks and shanty towns. As a rule governments had intervened much too late and only after violence had increased to the point where there had to be serious police intervention: squad cars had to be brought in, prisons had to be built and all kinds of crime prevention measures taken. One participant pointed out that it was part of the philosophy of the socialist countries that the first thing to be built was the nursery for the children and places where men could come with their wives. It was necessary to provide children with schools and communities with social facilities, community halls, movie houses and jobs for everyone. All these, in combination, were the ways to deal with crime. Whilst there was agreement on the general need for social improvement in its own right it was pointed out by other participants that the relationship between these and the prevention of crime was not always very clear. In areas where all these facilities have existed there was often a significant crime rate and the rate of crime was

sometimes greater in areas where there was a higher level of educational facilities.

Nevertheless it was obvious that crime prevention planning must begin in the nurseries and the schools and in the provision of facilities which would facilitate the improved socialisation of the individuals and would develop better community preventatives for crime.

Professor Delaney made the point that in his country criminal justice planning usually began when it was too late to do anything about it and he thought the great advantage for the so called developing countries was that they could still avoid some of the mistakes of the past. An already developed country with an urban sprawl well established could often not use any indigenous or informal social controls because they had been distroyed a hundred or more years ago.

These urbanised countries were obliged to rely on the police and police organisations to confront crime but, in a country still in the process of industrial development, thought should be given to the question of whether or not it might be possible to transfer indigenous groups or pockets of social control into the areas where they are required, that is, to transfer the benefits of parental control and the discipline of village communities into the urban areas. Thought should be given to the possibility of transferring, en masse as it were, to the stages of industrial and social development without having to pass through the decay, the anonymity and the anomie which had been characteristic of the growth of more developed cities.

Mr Galindo, of Mexico, spoke of the social costs of crime. One of the problems is the high cost of each crime committed, e.g., in his country each one of the serious crimes like homicide had a cost of 8 million pesos, that is, more or less 700 American dollars. He said that he had observed

in his work that the most important way to impress Governments is by highlighting the costs of crime. The idea of the social cost involved would include not only the cost of crime itself but the cost of improving methods of rehabilitation and developing publicity on the methods of preventing crime so as to involve communities, the cost of controlling and, of course, of erecting new buildings and developing new forms of treatment for inmates in institutions. It was necessary to think about how we might present in an easy form the real social costs of crime in each of our countries. This would be a sure way towards changing the minds of Governments and people. It would stimulate interest in social prevention and in the better rehabilitation of offenders. Our aim must be to demonstrate to all our Governments the need to take preventative measures first and consider treatment only as a second best.

Mr G.H. Vafai, of Iran, referring to the inter-relationship of economic development and crime. The hypothetical example had been given of how the construction of a dam could be the beginning or the main source of a new, or of a series of new industries - and could along the way create serious criminal problems. That also brought to mind the possibility of private investment having the same effect. Plans might be readily modified or adjusted in the case of investments in the public sector especially in a society where we had planning control or where all development was governmental. But, in a democratic society, where the private sector was allowed to start a new industry virtually anywhere it seemed provitable to do so, it would surely be rather difficult to enforce the concomitant social facilities before the small industry was installed or started. In Mr Vafai's view, since we are going to transfer from the

stage of research to the application of what we know, perhaps it would be a good idea to suggest practical and concrete plans for this kind of situation and to say how we are going to apply our thinking with regard to investment in the private sector such as the starting of a new industry in a certain area. Because crime begins at that point and it is there that we must begin with prevention.

Mr Mueller considered this to be an extremely important point. He referred to something that Mr Clifford had said about the environmentalists having been pathfinders in getting away from purely economic planning. He thought there there was an anology where, in several countries the granting of a Government licence for the construction of dangerous industries,e.g., oil refineries, was conditional upon the preparation of a plan that would satisfy the Government that there was no adverse impact on the environment, that wildlife would be preserved, that agricultural areas would not be ruined and so on. This has been done with mining. With strip mining particularly, the industry must obligate itself, sometimes by signing of a bond, to undo the damage which it has temporarily done by its open pit operations. Could one not similarly make it conditional on the granting of a licence to establish an industry by a private entrepreneur that he has shown that he would not create the more obvious social problems like crime. Could one not make it conditional on the granting of a licence to begin an undertaking or industry that social facilities for its workers and their families including recreation facilities, a school, a nursery and so on are provided. It is true that this may limit investment and it may drive an industry out of one community into another community which is less strict. To prevent this it might be necessary

to take a national approach or perspective so that an industry or firm cannot chop around and decide where to do the greatest damage at the least cost to itself. If there was national control, action could be taken to ensure that the industrial development was accompanied by social development. We could sometimes buy ourselves crime insurance at the cost of the private entrepreneur.

Participants observed that many countries were, as a result of badly controlled urbanisation or socially thoughtless industrialisation, now heavily burdened with social costs. These were the cost of the repair and rehabilitation of a society deeply disrupted through the excessive urbanisation that the industry had created, Governments realised too late that if they had been firmer and had participated in the investment they might have saved themselves a great many economic as well as social expenditures. In this connection participants were recommended to read a major pilot study that was done in one African country by the International Labour Organisation. While focusing primarily on problems of manpower distribution and employment opportunities, this publication had developed a reader on the social breakdown and the criminality that results from faulty economic planning. The flow of the unsophisticated rural populations into the urban areas seeking employment in the new enterprises which were allowed excessively to continue to build in centralised situations created staggering social problems. One can see therefore that a Government has an enormous stake in private investments because eventually it may be obliged to solve huge social problems including criminality as a consequence of not having vigorously involved itself in some of the original basic and economic decisions which were made. This is an area in which, in the past, neither the Criminal Justice

people nor the planners themselves have taken much interest; and even less have the people in the broad planning sectors been able to see any virtue in consulting people in the Criminal Justice System for the long range criminological implications of such matters.

Mr Clifford thought that this was an aspect of the present situation brought out very strongly already in the papers which had been prepared for the Course and distributed to all members. Not only the points that had been raised in discussion such as the possibility of a Government's licencing of development, saving money in the long run by paying more attention to the activities of the private sector and making sure that the private sector operates with sufficient thought for the social consequences; but also the point that there are some things chosen as profitable by the private sector which can be disastrous from the crime point of view. One might, for example, ask very carefully to what extent we really need supermarkets in their present form of organisation, to what extent we really need credit cards. Of course, they are convenient but they are also impersonal and conducive to crime - they rely on processes rather than people and they encourage a lack of supervision, a feeling that no one loses when you cheat the system as well as penalising those who do not try to get an illegal share.

The criminogenic elements of a lot of the things that have become normal commercial practices simply because they are profitable or show a greater turnover said Mr Clifford can also be productive of crime. Some people profit from offering tremendous opportunities to others for crime. They do not worry about the cost of crime because it can be included in prices charged to the consumer. But why should they? And

what are the social consequences of people being forced to pay for the crime that no one prevents - or of some people being led, in this way, into the criminal justice system? We have to examine very carefully the extent to which established commercial practices have relevance in this particular area. Maybe they are relevant in some countries and not so relevant in others. Governments have to look very carefully at the social consequences of the kinds of things they are being asked to develop industrially and commercially. What are the implications of such developments criminogenically? Sadly we haven't done enough work on this subject yet to offer to governments the kind of help they need to conduct such criminogenic examinations of development projects effectively. Unfortunately, in criminology, we haven't done enough to provide answers. We should in fact be able to help governments when they ask the necessary questions - but we are not able to do so at this stage; and that, is the reason for this Course which hopefully will lead to others.

In the discussion which followed it was observed that much had been said about development but one needed to know for whom the development was intended. Was it really national, humanistic and focussed on the mass of the people in an effort to improve incomes to reduce inequalities and promote a greater degree of social justice. Or was it the kind of development which served an élite most of all, which provoked as much discontent as production and which aggravated socially and politically what it might well improve economically. There were many examples of this type of crime - producing development in the world - and not the countries represented at the table.

Mr Clifford said that the Chairman came from a country which had very sensibly introduced its national development plan by trying to answer from the beginning the question "Who is the development for?" and had answered it by declaring that

it must be for the Papua New Guineans themselves. He hoped that copies of those eight points could be made available to participants during the week. Mr Clifford also invited attention to the significance, within this more general perspective which was now under consideration by the group, of the values in a nation or community. The actual impact of change was going to be very different in countries which were Mohammedan with a consensus of values and countries like the U.S.A. or those of Europe where there was great disparity in basic value systems. Around the world were different effects of development as a result of local differences of values.

Mr Yip Weng Kee, of Singapore, said that the causes of crime were multi-factoral. Over the past ten years Singapore had gone through a period of intense industrialisation and had experienced great socio-economic changes. There had been a corresponding rise in crime and delinquency, particularly between 1968 and 1972. They had closely studied the factors involved and had found that with the rapidity of industrialisation the strains on society had spread permissiveness and a disruption of family life. He agreed with the discussion so far which had related development to crime but they had found that cinema going and the permeation of the mass media into peoples lives had been responsible for a lot of the crime amongst young people.

Other speakers agreed with these observations and it was said that in some of the developing countries there were large numbers of indigenous people being pitchforked into the Western way of life and still incapable of handling it.

Mr Dhavee Choosup, of Thailand, said that his country was not capitalist and did not have a capitalist structure; nor was it fully socialistic; it was somewhere in-between. As

a result of development in this general context, crime in Thailand had gone in two main directions. The first of these resulted from the intrusion of the State sector into the lives of the people. Increasing bureaucracy meant extending the opportunities for corruption. There were many offences which arise in this way and had to be dealt with firmly. In this they were using their traditional proclivities in determining the use of modern types of sentencing. They had for example mandatory gaol sentences and sentences with automatic remissions. Their traditional ideas of the use of the prison were not always those of the West. In their planning to prevent this type of crime then did they begin by trying to reduce the cause, that is, the areas of bureaucratic control? If so they were a long way from that.

Secondly, crime in Thailand was often political in nature arising from the demonstrations and forms of opposition to those in power. Trying to effect change in a developing society, openly, without repression and by a democratic process meant coming face to face with a growing generation of politically motivated young people who are impatient. In the past his country had run into a situation where about 20,000 young people decided to stage a revolution to achieve change over-night. As a reaction traditional controls were adopted. The Police Force was doubled, prisoners trebled and special new unit developed within the army. Thus about four years ago in Thailand there were 18,000 young people in custody. They soon realised however that these traditional measures were not the real solution, that the solution had to be political so that the government consciously adopted a change of policy including land reform legislation

and a redistribution among young people so that people unemployed in the town could be settled on land in the rural areas. Even those held in prison were brought back to the Courts and released on suspended sentences to allow them to be employed on the land.

B A S I C P R I N C I P L E S

O F P L A N N I N G

Presentation by the Discussion Leader.

Professor Versele opened the discussion by reading from a paper on the criminal justice system which he had prepared in advance. Criminal policies, he said, depend on the cultural background which in turn depends upon social political structures and which themselves are subordinated to economic organisation. This is to say that one needs to study changes in our penal systems and maybe to develop a new basis and a new structure for our control of deviance and delinquency. A basic requirement was to accept that the law is relative and that the norms and mechanisms of a given system were related only to a given moment in history. Natural law he said did not exist. A successful revolution makes and imposes new rules contrary to those of the political regime.

On the other hand Professor Versele pointed out that new knowledge and new experimentation in the behavioural sciences challenged old traditions proving that general and a priori criteria were wrong. There were two examples available to demonstrate that our criminal justice system could not provide either security or the protection of social values. These were the dark figure of unreported crime and the so called gilded delinquency.

When we talk of rehabilitation we have to bear in mind the way in which the undetected offenders apparently insert themselves in society without having been punished or helped. The stigma which affects convicted offenders flow therefore from the judicial sentence - not from the criminal activity. Secondly the gilded offenders are those who appear to be immune from prosecution - protected either politically or economically but exploiting the majority of citizens for the benefit of the few. Some of the multi-national corporations fall within this group.

Future planning therefore requires a complete reform of the criminal justice system which obviously cannot be realised all at once. In the short and medium terms, however, there is a need for the alteration of the most unreal criteria of law and judicial practice - as well as a need for compensation to

be paid for the criminological effects of inequalities and injustices in the legal and judicial machinery. In the long term there would have to be a modification of the economic system which generates the political cultural and social inequalities - discrimination, privilege and criminological handicaps. Our criminal policies should be reconsidered in a spirit of democracy, rationalism and sensible planning. The planning of a criminal policy must therefore be integrated with the planning of the general progress of the community. These imply a rigorous evaluation of needs and a study of all possible effects of progressive programmes and experimentations with, again, a careful evaluation of results. Behind these must be useful scientific research, appropriate legislative strategy, judicial adaptation to meet changing situations, the supplementing of institutional treatment with other alternatives - or preferably their replacement by them. We need, for this, much more than clinical criminology which, of necessity, works on samples of offenders who may not be representative of all offenders: and it does not deal with the dark figure or the gilded forms of crime already mentioned: its defect is that it may lead to the illusion of an individualisation of treatment which cannot be effectively realised because of the expectation of equality derived from the collective conscience, because of the lack of institutional facilities, the lack of trained staff, the inflexibility of judicial decisions and the rigidity of prison regimes. What is needed is a socially responsive criminology able to give coherent indications of direction to those responsible for the administration of justice.

Professor Versele suggested studies of the public reaction to criminality - towards criminals as well as towards the administration of justice, the judges and their auxiliaries, studies of the motivations and attitudes of all agents of the apparatus of justice, studies of socially harmful activities not prosecuted, studies of offenders never officially detected or prosecuted, studies of judicial ritual and decision-making, studies of the citizens' knowledge of and opinions on the law.

Concluding his presentation Professor Versele said that criminal policy planning in developing countries or elsewhere should be democratic, political and international. Democratic in the sense that it should evolve from individual humanism to humanistic socialism; political in the sense of dedicating itself to putting an end to the cultural, political, social and economic injustices because these inequalities generate social frustrations and are directly criminological: international in the sense that neither the source nor the time of the label allows each country individually to undertake all the studies and experimental innovations which could serve their purpose.

There must be a way of interchanging the results of research for mutual benefit. The regional institutes dealing with crime are major resources in this connection. Developing countries in some regions are well represented in the work of non-governmental organisations and scientific associations but others are not. All of these should be seeking to propose more progressive programmes which will do justice to the youths of the third world living in a context of economic and social development and accelerate a change as well as joining in the search for solutions that will be more human, of greater dignity and be more socially efficacious.

Discussion

The Chairman, Judge T.V. Tuivaga of Fiji, thanked Professor Versele for his contribution and invited discussion.

Mr. Galindo of Mexico complimented Professor Versele on his statement which he felt was a placing of science against dogmatism more than science against the traditional dogmatism. In his country he said that the lawyers represented the most conservative element and it would not be easy to change the system quickly where there were constitutional problems as between States in a federation.

Professor Versele agreed with this but wondered if we could afford to be too slow about the changes necessary. Justice, he said, is for the citizens not professionals - for the people and not just for judges and barristers. It was necessary to get radical change.

Mr. Galindo also wanted change towards the objectives outlined by Professor Versele but he made the point that it should be change by evolution and reform from within, not by violent revolution to which he was opposed.

Mr. Vafai of Iran quoted Omar Khayyam, one of their national poets, who had written "God I commit a wrong but when you punish me you also commit a wrong so what is the difference between us?" He approved therefore the need for a change away from this wrongdoing to offenders and to a more enlightened, humanised, and rational system. But he felt that we could not wait to create a paradise, a society in which social injustice does not exist at all and in which crime disappears. We cannot be negative and refuse to look at possible improvements in countries under certain regimes arguing that democratic institutions are lacking there and therefore we cannot apply any criminal justice. He thought that a start toward the reforms proposed should be made through the mass media preparing people to accept the democratisation and socialisation of criminal justice on the basis that no one knows when he might be a victim, branded as a criminal and sent to prison. It would therefore be to everyone's benefit to improve the system.

Mr.Vafai had some reservations about the reference to social injustice. He thought it a wide term with a very broad sphere of application. He doubted whether even in a full and open society where everyone could do as he wished it could even be said that there would be absolute social justice. He preferred to emphasise the importance of moral values and he gave an example of a city in his country which was large and industrialised but in which the crime rate was relatively low - mostly because the people there had tolerance, personal satisfaction and

believe more in moral precepts. Mr. Vafai also sought to underline the importance of the mass media in generating and preventing crime.

Responding to this, Professor Versele said that in his opinion a moral value was a privilege enjoyed by certain people who had been educated and trained. Generally speaking judges apply some moral values to people who have never had access to those values and could not consider them. What, for example, he asked was property for the poor man. He quoted the French saying -

> "Qu'est ce qu'il y a de plus dangereux - de créer une banque ou d'aller voler?"
> ("Which is the most dangerous - to create a bank or to rob it?")

Professor Delarey added his own quotation -

> "Goodness will not long last if there is no demand for it."

He took the view that personal and economic morality were closely interwoven - like the woman forced by economic circumstances to resort to prostitution or the use of stealing as a way of earning a living. He provided an illustration from his reading about a group of middle class and upper class women fleeing from Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. They were well to do and virtuous in their own country. But when they reached Western Germany they prostituted themselves to meet economic need.

In the general discussion of these points the observation was made that, in the past, there has been far too ready a recourse to legislation to deal with social and economic problems. It was necessary to get to root causes and not to leave the criminal justice system overburdened with problems it could not possibly deal with.

Mr. Clifford felt that Professor Versele had expressed very well the modern movement for a revision of criminal justice systems to deal with labelling, discrimination and the unfair burden now imposed on the lower classes. He wanted to lend his support to the broad lines of change in criminological activity and research which Professor Versele had outlined. However he warned against Utopianism and he supported Mr. Vafai's observation that there might be no society, new or old, large or small, of any ideology which did not have some social injustice. This did not excuse it in our own systems but it did lead to the qualification that even if we had the revolution tomorrow we would perhaps transfer rather than eradicate the social injustice problem. Where revolutions had taken place this was the experience. The new rulers adopted the police, court and institutions of the old regime under new names and titles. Those who were prosecuted or incarcerated were a different group but the problem was the same with unreported or gilded offending. We should be careful not to think that simply by changing the social pattern we will get rid of all of the problems now confronting us.

We did not need therefore to postpone reforms until the revolution - in fact they might still be needed after the revolution. Rather should we work for an equitable and progressive system which was justifiable in its own rights. Politicising criminal justice helped to change it but not always for the better and we should blend old and new to get the best of both worlds.

Mr. Clifford drew attention to the ways in which these problems had been covered and related to the national planning perspectives in the paper already distributed. Whilst we were considering the ways to eliminate the deeper social problems there were authorities spending money or making decisions on the allocation of resources and we had to have crime prevention specialists incorporated into this activity. Both morals and social objectives were values and the planner needed guidance in the way to invest resources.

Mr. Mueller thought that systems could be changed by infiltration, legislation or litigation. It is necessary first to be part of the system to work for change from within - even as volunteers. Secondly it is possible to legislate for change - even by decriminalisation and the like. Thirdly it may be possible to demonstrate that some practices and policies violate existing laws and constitutions. Alongside all this was the need for education - not only of students but of legislators, administrators and judges. Mr. Mueller argued that although we might not know what does work we do know what does not work and this knowledge should be generalised. With regard to planning, however, he felt that the planning methods were neutral and should be treated as such. The methodology of planning did not change: contents might change, ideologies might change and frequently, as Mr. Clifford had said, the change meant that one party went out and another came in. He spoke of the changes in Nazi Germany at the end of the Second World War. In both East and West Germany all members of the judiciary and of the police were dismissed. In their place were appointed simple ordinary people considered to be trustworthy. During the first half year efforts were made to train new people who could function well or badly for two years - and then training was given to people for longer periods until the system was staffed. The system remained but it was entirely repopulated - courts, police, corrections: the ideology changed: but the planning methodology did not change - it is neutral.

T H E P L A N N I N G

P E R S P E C T I V E

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

Professor Delaney said that he would like to look at some introductory matters before he delivered a systematic presentation. There had been a discussion of social justice which was fundamental and critical but perhaps still not adequate in dealing with certain types of crime. It was not sufficient, for example, in dealing with official corruption at local, intermediate and national levels by people who are hardly deprived and many of whom are both powerful and wealthy: it is insufficient to cope with questions of corporate, business or professional crime committed by offenders who are typically affluent and powerful: it is insufficient as a formula for dealing with organised crime which was a very serious problem in the United States and elsewhere.

He felt that the social justice approach needed to be supplemented with a focus upon an adequate cultural system. This was closely related to economics and social justice - yet a little different. To illustrate, he said that if an economic and social system as in the United States and other countries emphasised personal selfishness and personal greed as a social virtue or ideal then it had a relationship not only to the way in which poor people committed theft but also to the way in which corrupt officials tried to get more money, to the way in which corporate business operated and to both professional and organised crime. He said that Mr. Clifford had given an interesting example of this in terms of Japan when he showed that the cultural system emphasised there the obligations of a person to the community.

For criminal justice planning, Professor Delaney thought that no better definition was available than that provided in the report of the United Nations Conference or Social Defence Planning held in Costa Rica, i.e., criminal justice planning should be understood as a process of social, political transformation basically seeking a criminal justice that is

social in nature. Such planning should be transforming, democratic, realistic, multi-disciplinary, scientific and moral. It should be continuous, capable of being modified and should be integrated with overall national development. Finally it should seek to transform institutions, attitudes, conditions and lifestyles not only within the criminal justice systems but throughout society.

This definition said Professor Delaney had the scope and dimensions required by the course: it also had the macro-level approach outlined by Mr. Clifford. In fact there were four levels to be considered. First came the cultural, economic, political and legal frameworks in a particular historical period. Secondly came the criminological substance of the perspectives being used in approaching questions of criminal policy. Third came the levels of criminal policy planning and technique. Fourthly came the variety and diversity of specific issues that occur in the areas of delinquency prevention, control, police, courts and corrections.

Professor Delaney then referred to an outline paper he had already circulated dealing with these subjects, evaluation and review. Planning he said does not operate on Mars but in particular contacts in a particular country at a particular historical period - and in a country which has cultural, economic and political as well as legal frameworks. A colonial country on its attainment of independence has to rethink its system in terms of its new frames of reference and a country moving from agriculture to industry is faced with the same problem.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Professor Delaney for his presentation and invited discussion.

Mr. Montero Castro of Costa Rica said that after listening to Professor Versele and Professor Delaney he was reinforced in his earlier view that as far as Latin America was concerned the fact that in most countries a large segment of the population were deprived of the benefits of economic progress should not be overlooked. He said that Latin America

suffered from multiple handicaps including the lack of jobs. He believed that criminal policy should not be rooted in social injustice and the United Nations should intensify its effort to promote the establishment of a new international economic order to help eliminate the bad social conditions which were causing crime in so many poor countries. It had been indicated that due to the deterioration of their terms of trade the developing countries would increase their indebtedness by 20 per cent by the end of the present decade. Recent studies show that the major part of the profits from international economic transactions were not used for the benefit of the poorer developing countries.

Mr. Montero Castro said that his country did not fall into any of the categories mentioned by Professor Delaney and he felt that in no country of the world could it be said that commercial values predominate. Usually they are integrated with traditional values. He also said that he had not heard sufficient attention being given in the statements so far to the crucial importance of education as a crime preventative measure.

Professor Delaney replied that in class structural terms he was referring to the rich, poor and middle and to nothing more complex than that. He felt that he might not have emphasised education sufficiently but it was implied and included in his other headings. The point with education, however, was that it did not deal with some of the underlying systemic difficulties. One might educate slaves to fit slave roles but it might be necessary to ask who are the masters and whose interests are being served by this type of education. He did not agree that there were no countries in which commercial values predominated. Countries with a commercial tradition had commercial values not only in the business sphere but also in religion, education, personal and family relationships.

Mr. Mueller referred to the project recently assigned to the crime prevention and criminal justice section of the United Nations dealing with education. Because in the very urbanised societies the traditional social controls like family, neighbourhood, etc. have fallen by the wayside there was a search for something to take their place.

It might be difficult to restructure the family but there is always the education system. Used simply to transmit knowledge it had failed in crime prevention terms because it might have meant better educated thieves or embezzlers promoted from thieves. In the transmission of values it could be more useful as a crime preventative. It has been used in this way in socialist countries and in Zambia recently he had seen a new philosophy of humanism incorporated into the educational programme. The UN crime prevention and criminal justice section was now going to look at three contrasting cultural settings in which the schools have been revitalised for the purpose of transmitting values - in Sweden, in the USSR and in a Third World area - probably India.

Mr. Clifford remarked that the whole question of how education fits patterns of planning for crime prevention was absolutely vital perhaps more especially in the developed than in the developing countries. In the developed countries one sometimes had an entire educational system based upon an unresolved contradiction: on the one hand there was a determined attempt to educate children for change, for ingenuity and innovation, to create personalities capable of adaptation to the accelerating pace of change. This meant educating people to question values, denounce the past and confidently embrace a different future. On the other hand we are complaining because we seem to have an increase in challenge to and deviation from established norms. Each country sooner or later has to decide how much to educate for conformity and how much to educate for change because, just as Professor Delaney had said, it was possible to educate slaves to be slaves so it would be possible to court chaos by simply educating everyone to the view that nothing is of any value so that everything should be changed for the sake of change - which could be an endless process.

Professor Delaney fully agreed with this. He said that it was fashionable to talk about science and how it affects morality but it was necessary to appreciate that there were two aspects of morality itself. Tradition has to emphasise the obligations of individuals and that was important because we certainly owed obligations to one another: but there were also obligations which a State or Government owed to individuals so that morality should include social justice as well as individual morality.

My Yip Weng Kee of Singapore said that in his experience a counselling and guidance unit in the schools helped enormously in the transmission of values and in the social education of young people. Apart from the guidance unit built into the school curriculum in Singapore, a programme for education for living and civic values, for respect for law and order and to teach the duties and responsibilities of citizenship are built into the curricula.

Singapore had also adopted a system of building a defence force similar to that of Israel. It was started in fact with the help of Israeli advisers who had now been phased out. Under this system all young people attaining the age of 18 years are required to do National Service. They are conscripted for a period of two years which is followed by a period of reserve service up to the age of 40. During reserve training they are only required to attend during 40 days of the year. All the objectives of the National Service system are to do what is called national education. Mr. Yip Weng Kee said Singapore was a young nation which needed to instill in its young people a system of national and civic values so as to permit them to understand the duties and obligations of citizenship. One of the things introduced in the Army was a code of conduct - and civic responsibilities are incorporated in this code of conduct. There are only six simple rules but each of these is amplified in the code and the precepts are taught in basic training, orientation training and officer courses.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee added that he had questions to raise on Professor Delany's paper. As Mr. Ali Zayed had said, whenever we talk of planning we should ask planning for whom, for what, when and so on. These he felt were basic questions because the problem of social defence was not really the concern of just one or two departments or ministries of Government. It concerned a large number of functionaries in many Departments and elsewhere in society, all of whom would have their own notions of planning. They each plan for their own programmes, the educationalists planning for the educational programme, the ministry of health officials planning for their health programmes, the police wanting to control crime by their methods and so on. A developing country such as his own needed to know what kind of planning structure it was therefore proposed to develop. Should there be a kind of Social Defence Commission or would there be a committee set up to explore the possibilities of co-ordination?

One of the main difficulties facing all countries was that of obtaining accurate and reliable information on criminality and related issues. Research would be needed but also there would be a need to amass existing and available information for the purpose of implementation. The immediate problem, unfortunately, was not always the one to deal with although this might not always be clear to those in positions of responsibility. He cited the case of Singapore having set up a committee on crime and delinquency which, after long deliberation, concluded that one of the main problems was that of school dropouts. Mr. Yip Weng Kee had discussed this with some of the Australian police present only to find that school dropouts were no real delinquency problem in Australia because everyone was required to be in school until 16 years. Thus the system of compulsory education seemed to be effective in keeping young people from street corners and from acts of delinquency. But other societies had such problems relating to the inability to keep every young person within the school system until they are well into their teens, and the problem of young people having to leave the school system because they have become too old for the particular educational level. Singapore was now considering the value of having

a Royal Commission to look into the problem of school dropouts. Mr. Yip Weng Kee's problem was how the number of different problems of this kind got integrated into the planning process.

Professor Delaney replied that he appreciated the problem but that he did not see the measures to be taken for dealing with such particular problems to be incompatible with the overall approach and the stressing of long range planning. Whilst this was going on there could also be measures to deal with the culprit and his evident and vivid problems. In fact the country's immediate pressing problem should be an aspect of long range thinking and short-range formulation, analysis and action. It gives insight. Is, for example, the dropout problem reflective of difficulties in a school curriculum?: is it reflective of a changing kind of value or interest among students?: is there a problem between teachers and students?: is it a problem rooted within the school system itself or does it derive from that system being inadequate? Such considerations encourage speculation on the long term - but they also lead to short term and concrete responses.

At this stage the Chairman invited Mr. Galway to make his presentation.

Mr. Galway said that he thought it was now generally realised by the Course that a discussion of cross-sectoral planning had already begun. Nevertheless, he said that he thought it should be recognised that in the development of planning for the prevention of crime it was a relatively new idea that one could assume one might look at sectoral planning as an area for the crime prevention field. It was useful therefore to focus on some of the premises by which we might feel it to be proper for the crime prevention field and for specialists in this field to look at sectoral planning as being essential to overall responsibilities for crime prevention. He hoped that others around the table might be able to supplement the exampleshe would offer. One of these was that it was recognised as being unfair, unrealistic and even unscientific to assume that a national programme for crime prevention could effectively be carried out by the specialised services identified with the criminal justice system. In fact

he thought that the Criminal Justice system itself had been overly generous in assuming so much responsibility for the problems of criminality and for the handling of the individuals who were caught up in the criminal justice systems. He also considered that criminal justice systems had been extremely defensive about the growing problems of crime as though it reflected exclusively on their own lack of efficiency and confidence. He thought that the field of crime prevention needed to strengthen its own backbone to insist that the responsibilities for developing crime preventive programmes and resocialisation programmes are indeed an extremely wide responsibility and that the people in the criminal justice field while having an expertise that may be useful in their own sectors, could by no means assume the heavy responsibilities that the public and very often the Government as a whole was inclined to assign to them for controlling the crime problem all by themselves. He regarded it as very useful in this connection for the criminal justice field to look at development in the health field under the leadership of the World Health Organisation which has been emphasising economic development and adequate nutrition as a solution to some of the disease problems.

Mr. Galway covered a wide spectrum of different sectors which had a relevance for crime prevention. It was often forgotten for example that apparently unrelated legislation dealing with agriculture, forestry or commerce involve regulations to which there might be penal remedies attached. When we thought of decriminalisation it meant overhauling of legislation to ensure that we were not trying to use the criminal justice system to promote agriculture, forestry and other interests in a way which had no relevance for the prevention of crime in the sense in which crime was being understood here. On the other hand the criminal justice personnel frequently tried to do their work without adequate reference to other sectors and without making the fullest use of services which were often available to improve conditions which would then reduce crime. There were research institutes perhaps not engaged exactly on crime prevention but which could do related work of very great value. There were statistical gathering bodies which could sometimes be used and the criminal justice services have not made sufficient

use of related data and related services to achieve their own objectives.

It was therefore a case of the integration and cross sectoral work being used for mutual advantage rather than a matter of recrimination because criminal justice had not been included in wider planning or criminal justice had not made sufficient use of other resources. He drew attention to studies which had been made by the International Labor Organisation of Unemployment in Africa with references to the criminogenic situation created by the large numbers of unemployed youth. He pointed out that in planning ahead the perspective should be wide enough to include not only the prevention of crimes, as these were now known, but the prevention of corruption or white collar offences which tended to proliferate and feed on the lack of co-ordination between criminal justice and these other sectors. In general Mr. Galway sought a change of perspectives from narrow specialisation to wider understanding of the development needs of the different societies and a widening of the whole idea of crime prevention to something more intimately and integrally related to the quality of life and the improvement of social conditions.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Mr. Galway for his presentation and invited discussion.

One participant asked about the relationship between corruption and industrial development planning. His personal experience was that where corruption existed in a society, i.e., before there was any social development planning it continues almost as a part of normal work so that in most of the developing countries corruption was a phenomenon rooted perhaps not so much in poverty and economics, as might be superficially thought, but in the culture. It was accepted. A bribe or bribery might be normal and not considered as a vice in early, historical society. When there were no specialised institutions or administrative organisations, corruption was not considered as a vice and might even be part of an obligation to seek favours by presents. In the religious society or in ancient societies corruption existed only because

it was not considered as a vice. Few religions actively banned corruption or the taking of a bribe or giving a bribe. It could become wrong by motive but in public practice it was often considered it as a gift or a favour rather than as a crime. And this attitude to it has sometimes persisted.

In such circumstances how could industrial project planning provide for in advance and prevent crime, such as corruption? Mr. Galway replied that first, there had to be an inspection licensing system. The licensing system had to be completely public, the individuals involved in the licensing system had to themselves have security of tenure and sufficient financial reward to obviate them being tempted by bribery. He thought that there had been a belief that bribery and corruption could speed economic development and enable economic enterprises to materialise faster and that therefore there had been an idea that such "entrepreneurship" should be tolerated. He regarded this as economically false and thought that the economists were slowly getting around to this view. As regards the corrupting individual, the person offering the bribe, there had to be education as well as severe restrictions on the operations of such people. For example, having been involved in corruption might be reason enough for the withdrawal, for a number of years or forever, of any participation in the economic development of the country (if it were a foreign company) or, if it were a local company, the actual disbandment of the company and restraints on the individual to prevent him continuing in that kind of work - or else a ban on continuing in the kind of industry or commercial enterprise in which the corruption occurred. It was much more than a question of technical devices which might be used for investigating and punishing corruption. It involved a general moral or ethical education away from corruption as a way of life. There were two other factors he would like to mention. One was that, if the society was one with a highly materialistic value system, there would be a great pressure on the public to be acquisitive and to have the status symbols of successful social living which required money and were obtainable only through corruption; whereas if there is not the heavy pressure to achieve these goals and status symbols, at any cost, the motivation and outlook would differ; secondly, there had been

some tendency to think of corruption as a very specialised and separate phenomenon and even to create a separate judicial system for handling corruption, some countries had separate Corruption Courts, separate Prosecutors and so on and Mr. Galway had doubts about this approach. From what he know of successful attacks on corruption in those countries they, from their experience, were convinced that this separate approach was not only unnecessary but unwise.

Other participants thought that there might be some confusion about the traditional practices which involved the giving of gifts. These gifts usually had a purpose: they might be used for feasts, for the support of elders, for peacemaking or to recognise status. The support of the people who brought gifts or gave service was part of the natural tradition and there were times and occasions for payments in kind or by services as an integral part of the system for maintaining the equilibrium of a traditional society. This was not corruption. But in the present era this positive stable, effective traditional system had broken down and had often been abused and turned into corruption: and so corruption has been built on to what were at one time perfectly normal and justifiable functioning systems of mutual support.

Mr. Clifford made the point that, in the literature, it had been shown that where there were established bureaucracies which were so stiff, so rigid, that they could not operate effectively, then bribery had frequently been a kind of lubricant. If you wanted the system to work, you had to oil it and in order to oil it you gave bribes and this meant that instead of waiting five months for a licence you got one in two months. This kind of thing introduced a third element in the sense that in planning for the future we had to remember that sometimes we had created the corruption by the size and inflexibility of our bureaucracies.

Miss Melup raised the problem of a possible conflict between sectors, e.g., between education and manpower planning. One sector like education may go all out for the widest possible spread of education: the other sectors may not be planned sufficiently - or have sufficient resources to absorb the educated people being offered. Expectations had been raised, disillusionment followed and there may be a highly criminogenic situation created by this disparity between sectoral goals and programmes.

Mr. Clifford thought that this raised fundamental issues of policy similar to those in education reviewed when Professor Delaney's paper was being discussed. He referred to the situation in Ghana in the early sixties when the problem, identified by Miss Melup, had arisen and there were thousands of young unemployed unable to find work of their choosing and yet unwilling to go back to agriculture. They had in effect been educated out of available jobs and no provision had been made for their alternative futures. There were many people then who condemned the education system and indeed some of the newly independent countries modified their free universal primary school education policies simply because they could not supply all the consequential schooling and employment which was being expected. But there was another school of thought about what should happen when you had a vast army of educated or semi-educated unemployed, creating not only disillusionment but a great many other social problems where they are crowded together. According to this second group of specialists - all educators by the way - education had value in itself: it was good for its own sake: one educated not for jobs but to help people realise their own personalities and potentials to the full. Education should not be tailored to economics therefore and regardless of the problems of unemployment or expectations, one should go on educating as much as possible for as long as possible. If this created economic or social problems these were likely to be solved in the long run by the educated young people themselves. In Ghana this had in fact happened - young people educated, jobless and frustrated, had become ideal political material

and had fuelled several changes of regime in the hope of finding solutions. A similar revolutionary situation was created in Sri Lanka where the unrestricted freedom of education for all up to university level led to attempted revolution and a reshaping of educational policies and curricula to meet local constraints and requirements. All of which underlined the importance of co-ordinating sectors and ensuring that the objectives of one did not frustrate another. This disparity or disproportion in investment aims and objects could itself be a generator of crime situations. Within the criminal justice system itself there was the acute problem of the frequent lack of coincidence between the policies of the police, courts and corrections. It was this which provided the incentives for integrated national planning - including the planning of crime prevention.

Mr. Vafai of Iran agreed that there was a real problem here between helping each person to realise to the full his potential by the fullest education possible and the problem of providing sufficient and appropriate roles for everyone educated to the highest level in society. There was bound to be dissatisfaction and disapproval.

Mr. Galway adduced the experience of Tanzania. That country had had to decide with its limited resources between a very low level universal education for <u>everyone</u> or a better education for a <u>percentage</u> (about 25 per cent) of those who would be eligible to attend school during the next generation. It had decided on the latter policy of concentrating its resources on a selected group. However, he wanted to stress that this had occurred within the framework of a vigorous type of African socialism in which the individual's skills and capacities were not to be identified as a passport to economic and social privilege but as additional resources for the benefit of the society. Those selected for the privilege of education were made to feel a special obligation to those who had not been chosen. The students were expected to give voluntary service to those other people during their university years - and to commit themselves as might be necessary to government service. Alongside the formal education system serving this selected percentage, there were set up

social education programmes for people of all ages who were not attending the regular schools. In this way, although an educated elite was being prepared it was being trained never to regard itself as an elite.

Other participants gave examples from their own countries of the ways in which the common problem of educated unemployed was being tackled. There was a general revision of syllabuses to make them more relevant to the real situation outside the schools and universities. Some countries had special orientation periods to assess ability and channel it appropriately. Most had stepped up vocational training programmes and had developed technical or craft schools. But everywhere the problem of there being an over supply of educated youth was being experienced: and the urgency of better planning to deal with this in the next generation was widely felt. Its relationship to crime prevention planning was obvious.

Case Study

Professor Adler sought the permission of the Chairman to describe a situation which was an example of a non system or a lack of adequate planning. She said that in the United States there was a tremendous narcotics problem in the cities. After World War II there was not much of a problem, i.e., in the 1950's but by the 1960's there was a vast problem. For this there was no plan of attack - no well considered programme. As the narcotic problem grew so everyone jumped in unsystematically. The Health Department set up programmes to deal with it as a health problem, the Department of Corrections saw it as related to crime, the Department of Welfare had its own problems with drug addicts as applicants for public assistance, with the resulting family problems and unemployment. There were also many organisations voluntarily becoming involved and setting up their own services and any number of "do gooders", some of whom were themselves ex-addicts. Everyone was helpful but there was no system and no planning. Schemes proliferated - especially as it was possible to obtain government money for them. Thus a lot was happening but nothing was happening: the drug problem was growing.

In 1970 Professor Adler's Medical School was called upon to help define the problem and a special unit was established. Across the country was this huge non-system of multiplying services in operation and the new unit was expected to do something for the nine million people of the State of Pennsylvania. Where to begin? A first step would have been to count the numbers of addicts in the State but no one knew where they were. Beginning to trace the organisations involved in treating addicts or organising programmes it was discovered that this one State had no less than 77 units or agencies dealing with drug addicts - some counselling, some providing money and care, some offering substitute narcotic drugs, some operating as therapeutic communities where addicts could reside, some half-way types of houses set up by ex-addicts themselves. Merely counting what people were doing with and for addicts and trying to classify the patients, it emerged that there were 10 different types of treatment for addicts being offered to fifty five hundred patients. It took a year to obtain this kind of information which, it was found, the Federal Government did not have. In 1971 the Pennsylvanian unit asked the Federal Government to postpone any further grant of funds to the unit until it was known what was happening. This was in marked contrast to other agencies in the work who were demanding more and more money.

The Pennsylvanian unit eventually decided to set up what would be called a core programme, i.e., an intake process. Every addict was to be processed through this intake or core programme in which the problems were diagnosed and referrals made to one or other of the many other programmes running. The core was responsible for each individual it dealt with no matter to which other agency he or she might be referred. Central records were kept at the core so that the case could be followed up and adjustments made in the forms of treatment.

Professor Adler pointed out that millions of dollars had been wasted before the core unit was established because there had been no planning and no adequate system.

There followed a discussion on Professor Adler's presentation. Some participants wanted the figures and results but Professor Adler said that these would not be available for another four or five years.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee ascertained that the core unit did not do rehabilitation of its own but merely co-ordinated the work of others. He wanted to know who was responsible to the law enforcement agencies because, in Singapore they had obtained similar results by setting up a central narcotics bureau to deal not only with the co-ordination of rehabilitation programmes but with the law enforcement as well - everything came under the one bureau which was a government service. However, there was also established in Singapore an anti-narcotics agency to co-ordinate all the voluntary work in this field.

Mr. Clifford said that the presentation was an excellent demonstration of the need for planning of specific projects at a micro level but that there could be difficulties in conception if we got the macro and micro levels confused in planning terms. Some of the participants from developing countries were unlikely to encounter problems in such terms simply because the money would never be there in sufficient amounts for the governments to disburse it to anyone in the community with a good idea or a good programme. There was a need for this example to be translated into national terms for full appreciation.

Professor Adler agreed that this was a problem but the principle of needing a system before embarking on a course of action was applicable at any level. There could for example have been a core service established not only for Pennsylvania but for the whole United States.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee wanted to know what happened to a person who had more than one problem, i.e., he was not only a drug addict but a delinquent or a mental patient. Did he have to go round more than one core? Professor Adler said that the core unit tried to act as the core for all problems.

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF PLANNING FOR CRIME PREVENTION

Mr. Clifford was invited to make the presentation on behalf of the two discussion leaders.

He said that he and Miss Melup had worked together for a long time on the ideas which would now be dealt with at this point of the course. He therefore hoped that she would correct or adjust any of the information which he was proceeding now to deal with.

In dealing with methods and techniques there was still the need, which had already been dealt with, to keep clear the differences of perception as regards the levels of application and behind everything would be the need to adjust methods and techniques to macro and micro levels. There might also be differences in the interpretations of terminology. Sometimes we did not understand how much such differences could affect our thinking but he gave the example of his problem when as principal of a university college in Africa with professors from different parts of the world, a period of two years had to be spent ensuring the uniform understanding of terminology.

A term like social administration for example meant very different things to those who were teaching this kind of course. To Europeans it had a general sense of social administration nationally involving ministries, services, resources and the allocation of resources. For some of the professors teaching social work on the American pattern it was much more narrowly conceived as the administration of a single agency and dealing much more with office management and the allocation of cases. It was in fact extemely difficult for Americans to think in broad national terms because of the fifty States and the complications within those States. Inevitably, similar principles were involved whether dealing with the management of an office or of a nation. In fact the principles of political economy had been taught originally on the basis of ordinary kitchen options and choices. Nevertheless the different of perception had to be borne in mind if grave mistakes were to be avoided.

Again, when we use words like planning, programme and project, we could be thinking of the planning of a single service with its programme of activities and the projects linked into programmes or we could be looking at combinations of departments or services with programmes running across various ministries and with projects which were not local but national in scope. Similar principles would be involved in building a gymnasium, i.e., getting together the architect, contractors, those who would use the gymnasium, those concerned with health and sanitation or with financing into a co-ordinated unit as the principles which would be applied to setting up a commission with membership from all the various ministries to obtain co-ordination within a national plan.

One of the problems for any kind of planning was that of getting the objectives clear and unconflicting. Criminal justice had been bedevilled by contradictory objectives and was still in grave difficulties. Internationally it was significant that the high crime rates occurred in those countries which tried to accommodate a variety of different value systems and the greater freedom of movement and expression. Less crime occurred where there was less freedom for obvious reasons; but also less crime occurred where there was a consensus of values and where there was no struggle or conflict on the fundamentals. It was for this reason, as much as for any other reason, that ideologically united or religiously united societies, Moslem societies, Socialist societies, had much less crime. There may be many other reasons but this was an important one. They knew what they wanted, where they were going and how they ought to be going there. This kind of unity had been lost in many Western countries.

In this situation, the search for an objective for any crime prevention planning was complicated by the need for common agreement. The only way out as far as could be seen was that already expressed by the United Nations in previous congresses and adopted in some parts of the world where there was a review of criminal justice systems. This was to seek the lowest common denominator and to use as an

objective for policy the need to reduce the cost and suffering, the damage and the wastage of crime in a society. Mr. Clifford said he was proposing this only for those countries which had value conflicts: but it was the lowest common denominator and countries which were enjoying a greater consensus on values could doubtless find objectives which were more inspiring. Objectives settled, the first question of method was that of obtaining co-ordination. This was easy to describe in theory with special commissions, interdepartmental bodies and organisations to ensure a flow of information and a combination of effort. In practice it was extremely difficult because of the bureaucratic rigidities, the politics which inevitably entered into the power struggle between ministries and the complications of the interests which different groups had in each others activities.

However the attempt to get co-ordination was itself a method of planning because it was an educational process. This course was initiating an educational process whereby the mistakes of the past are being examined and we are trying to do better in the future, but the need for this kind of mutual understanding of what was happening was well exemplified by the papers which he had been reading for the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements which was to take place in Vancouver next year. Human settlements by definition must encompass all the different ways in which people live and have problems living together. So many of these are covered in the Conference preparatory papers. Housing, health, sanitation, traffic, leisure, education and a great many other things were well covered but reading these papers one would imagine that crime had never existed from the time of Adam.

It is so firmly excluded from consideration that it looks as if all that citizens have to worry about is their physical and social welfare and everything else will take care of itself. One of the most conspicuous facts about human settlement is that crime and human settlement have been associated from time immemorial.

So this educational process has to begin and to continue all the time. By meeting here, hopefully, this was being done in an international way but nationally in each of the countries it would be necessary to initiate and perpetuate the process. There was such a wide spread habit of excluding crime from consideration in national planning or in local planning. Mr. Clifford referred to his own experience in Kenya some years ago when as a member of a United Nations team for technical assistance, he was looking at the planning which was being done in all the social sectors, education, health, public administration, local government, labour, etc. In the terms of reference he had not been asked to look at social defence but when he examined the budget and saw how much money was being spent, he asked whether he ought to include this too but was told it was not regarded as a planning area and could be excluded. However calculations showed that such a very large proportion of the national income was being spent on social defence services that when he presented the figures to the planners they could hardly believe that this large area amounting to at least a third or more of the total budget had been excluded from all development considerations.

Arising out of that experience he was able to initiate within the United Nations a study of the development plans and objectives of developing countries and to the astonishment of most people who had been dealing with economic and social planning, it was discovered that the poor developing countries were spending from 3-10 per cent of their budgets on crime prevention services as compared with America's 3 per cent and the smaller amounts in many other parts of the world. Moreover this 3-10 per cent was merely on those items in the budget which could be clearly identified as social defence, police, prisons, courts. It did not include those amounts which might have been spent on crime prevention under other headings like health, welfare, etc. and this meant that enormous amounts of resources were being used for crime prevention - which might be better used for the development of the country if crime was less or better controlled.

Yet, for all the investigations of national need and national planning, this fact had been overlooked from the beginning. Merely to get this perspective over to people is an important part of the educational process and in every country represented at this course it should be possible to calculate how much is being spent on crime and how this could be better spent. It was a method of focussing attention where it was badly needed.

Returning to the need for co-ordination, Mr. Clifford then said that it was important to have the structure before money was available. He referred to Professor Adler's account of the United States having made money available to encourage organisation. This had simply meant all kinds of groups jumping onto the bandwagon to get the government money. The structure should be there for co-ordination and should then be provided with the money.

However it was futile to imagine - as most people with experience of government will understand - that interdepartmental committees alone could achieve co-ordination. Anyone who has sat on these committees will understand the process whereby there is polite interchange of information but also a reluctance to be directed or guided by the interdepartmental group and a tendency for each member to wish to co-ordinate everyone else. On these committees, without additional funds, there is a willingness to co-ordinate providing one does not interfere with each representative ministry's operation of its own schemes. As long as they are getting their own money separately through the Treasury for their own programmes then it is extremely difficult to persuade them to pool some of this in the interests of co-ordination. However, once the structure is established, it is not so difficult to make money available for the purposes of co-ordination so that the ministries can then obtain additional funds providing that projects are co-ordinated and meet all the requirements of the co-ordinating body.

Continuing, Mr. Clifford invited attention to the list of possible techniques applicable to planning which had been provided by Professor Delany. The list was not exhaustive but it was illustrative.

He began with the question of resources warning that these would always be limited and warning against the facile attitude in many services that they could work better and get better results if only they had more personnel, better equipment, more project money, etc. Often, efficiency and competency lay in the opposite direction and a streamlining was required to get the best results from available resources rather than to seek more. In some areas there had been a naive belief that when funds were allocated the problem was solved: this too needed critical attention because, if the funds were available, there was still the problem of ensuring their proper use. This meant bringing planning techniques from the top to the bottom of the system - from commissions and committees at the centre through programmes and into every project so that at each stage objectives were identified, resources assessed, methods chosen, allocations made and accountability built in. Merely to fund anyone with a plausible scheme was dangerous if all the requirements, guidelines and accountability had not been built in. In fact to fund in this way was to invite mismanagement and venality, i.e., to build criminogenic features into the planning itself.

In planning it was necessary to have deadlines. Planners talked about "benchmarks" and "deadlines". Benchmarks were the kinds of levels from which they began. In Education for example if there were now 200 schools; and 400 schools is the target, 200 schools could be regarded as the benchmark and another 200 regarded as the target. In crime it might be necessary to decide what amount of crime there was in the community now and what the future target levels should be. A past complication here had been that in the past, instead of looking for a reduction in crime - or a change in society's attitudes to crime, there had been a tendency to seek to increase the efficiency of the police, the courts or the correctional system. This raised, however, the question of what was meant by efficiency in these circumstances.

Again it needed to be recognised that any plan should be dynamic - not static. That was to say that it should be sensitive to feed back from the field and therefore to modification as necessary. Also it would need figures - and we were always self-conscious about the limitations of crime statistics. These needed improvement in method and accuracy as well as analysis and there was a modern attempt to set the figures for official cases dealt with against victimisation surveys. All this was important: but we must not overlook the inaccuracies and shortcomings of so many social statistics which we had allowed to become a part of our lives, cost of living statistics, import, export figures, GNP's etc. He gave examples of discrepancies in export figures from one country when counted as imports to the other and to a British mistake in its capital reserve figures because of a computer mistake of 20 per cent. Developing countries had great difficulty producing accurate figures for the whole country but even here the use of existing files could perhaps supply the planner with the information he needed on trends so as to get his direction clear.

It was necessary always to look at the related services in crime prevention as an inter-related system. It was not sufficient to see if each service worked - but how it worked in relation to the other services. It was often declared that there was no system in criminal justice. It was a non-system because of its lack of specific and unambiguous objectives. In planning we must be able to calculate the effects through our "system" of injecting funds or resources at a given point.

Cost-benefit analysis was highly quantitative and therefore, as a tool, presented some difficulties of application to criminal justice. However, in the paper circulated a complete example had been provided of cost-effectiveness analysis which did not depend so much on quantitative analysis. Behind all such appraisals there had to be the concept of what the economist used to term "opportunity cost", e.g., if a policeman was employed the cost of using him was not just his salary offset against any results he might obtain in making it possible for others to work without criminal interference: it was also the cost of not employing the

the labour in some other sector like agriculture or industry.

Programme budgetting was another approach which had been fully explained with its advantages and shortcomings in the paper circulated to all participants. The critical path analysis was a procedure which had attained popularity of late but which could possibly be in use in various countries under a different name and perhaps without the measure of sophistication which it is being accorded now. It was an attempt to identify a process at all the decision stages to show the options and decide what deadlines there may be. Simulation models and the writing of future scenarios could also be used in the difficult processes of planning but simulation models could have prophecy-fulfilling complications, i.e., we may unconsciously or consciously proceed towards what has been "foreseen" or we may decide on other directions as a result of the "foreseeing" so that the simulation had affected the process it was supposed to be objectively forecasting.

Finally said Mr. Clifford, criminoligists had to provide guidance in three main areas. First planners needed to know what measures in criminal justice and crime prevention would work in justice. We did not know enough about this yet. Secondly planners needed to be made more aware of the decision making process - they had to become aware of its dynamics. Thirdly, planners would need as much information as could be made available as to the past failures in planning. Participants might well go back to their countries and collect all the data available on the failures experienced by their countries with planning in the past: failures could provide some of the best material for the improvement of planning in the future. The tendency was to write up successes rather than failures.

At this point Mr. Clifford invited Miss Melup to augment his presentation. Miss Melup began by referring to the Scandinavian countries which were actually in the process of compiling a compendium of past mistakes. On statistics she had the impression that much more was available than was

actually being used. There were some quite inexpensive techniques. The United Nations had recently published a manual on indices of population showing how one could develop quite meaningful statistics from incomplete data and these were often techniques which could be used in crime prevention planning. There had been considerable interest in UN regions and in the O.E.C.D. to work out indices of personal safety, public security and of public confidence in the administration of justice. There were both criminal and social indicators relating to fundamental social concerns. Recently public security and crime had been included in attempts to measure the quality of life. In Finland there had been attempts to develop crime damage statistics. Her point was that in planning there should be a willingness to look at a number rather than at a single indicator of the crime problem.

Miss Melup drew attention to recent work on the costs of crime in various countries and said that there might eventually be developed some measures of equity in criminal justice systems. On evaluation she thought that this could become a process inexpensive to apply if a recent approach which might take two men only two days to evaluate a programme could be developed. As to the cost-benefit and resource allocation she regarded it less a question of a sophisticated technique than a question of attitude or mental state - considering alternatives or different options and choosing that which might be the least socially costly both in material and human terms. One tended to think of computers as prohibitive in cost for the developing countries but in fact many developing countries already had computers for other purposes in certain ministries so that for crime prevention planning purposes there was always the possibility of shared computer time. At the same time one could develop a system even without computers by keeping in perspective the total configuration of the pattern of inter-relationships of crime control. Perhaps the failure of most policies of crime prevention and control today were attributable to the way in which things have been looked at in isolation. If developing countries could from the outset evolve a planning approach to the whole system of crime prevention in a context of national planning they could perhaps economise on resources and manpower and avoid the costly mistakes of more developed countries.

Finally rather than looking for ways to reduce crime perhaps we should be looking for methods to reduce crime costs. Reducing the total volume of crime might not reduce its global impact.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Mr. Clifford and Miss Melup for their presentations and then opened the meeting for discussion.

A large part of the discussion period was taken up with a clarification of the role of a central planning body. Professor Versele thought that the Scandinavians had wished to avoid having such national commissions. Some participants wanted to know how this would square with the existing responsibilities of ministries - and with a wide variety of co-ordinative interdepartmental or specialist bodies which had already been created to focus attention on outstanding problems. The possibility of all these conflicting with yet another overriding co-ordinative body was considered.

It emerged that there could be no single model for all countries. Planning for the country as a whole was sometimes in one ministry, sometimes entrusted to a special organisation or agency and sometimes attempted by interdepartmental or inter-ministerial committees. Australia, for example, had no central crime commission but it had the Australian Institute of Criminology which had the capacity for fulfilling such a function. The U.S.A. had no central commission but it had the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency with the funds to instigate and co-ordinate work in this field.

There would always be a need to take account of the local power structure. Sometimes one ministry was more powerful than the others and could command resources for national work more effectively than others. Here the experience of Hong Kong in earlier years when its Ministry of Social Welfare was larger and more influential than others was described. Frequently, however, confiding the work of planning nationally for development - including crime prevention planning - to one ministry - could mean that other ministries might tacitly opt out so that effective co-ordination was seriously hampered.

It was important to observe that the name attached to a ministry (agriculture, health, education, etc.) did not give that ministry a monopoly of all work which could logically be subsumed by that heading. Thus, educational activities were encompassed by many departments of government even though all formal education was the responsibility of a single ministry. Similarly not all the health work of a nation was covered by the work of the Ministry of Health. In all these areas there might well be a case for nation-wide co-ordination: however national planning was by definition a process which had to cover all official and private economic and social activities and it was designed to command ultimately the rational allocation of national resources: it could hardly be treated therefore as any other kind of activity which needed co-ordinating and it required decisionmaking at the highest level.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee described the pattern of organisation in Singapore and Mr. Vafai's Iran experience with the Plan Organisation and its subsequent devolution of implementation responsibilities onto the ministries. Mr. Montero Castro applied the concepts to a committee of judges which had been set up and which had eventually decided that it should be concerned, not only with judicial problems but with the problem of crime as a whole. The matter had been discussed with planners who had sought to define the total crime problem and who were at the moment collecting data for computerisation which would present the situation of crime to which proposed solutions would then need to be studied. Mr. Mueller referred to the need to avoid co-ordinating bodies being multiplied as a device for over-riding the organisational mistakes of the past. He felt that care should always be taken to abolish the older systems - or at least to pare them down before newer bodies were created which might only add to bureaucratic inefficiency.

E V A L U A T I O N O F P R O G R E S S

Presentation by the Discussion Leader.

In making this presentation Professor Delaney said that he wanted to do four inter-related things. The first was to provide some examples of conspicuous and dramatic failures as a result of non-planning in the United States. Secondly, he wanted to consider the question of how to relate planning and evaluation as a process in a social life situation that may contain large elements of irrationality. He wanted to illustrate this again with some negative experience. Thirdly, to get positive experience he felt that he should deal with success achieved in the United States in terms of programme innovation involving analytical effort, even if this did not reach the level of rational planning - and the evaluation of that effort which was concrete, practical and worthwhile. Fourthly, he wanted to generalise on certain principles and conclusions related to evaluation and review.

After World War II in the United States there had been considerable increases in crime and public concern triggered sometimes by outrageous acts of criminal behaviour. A succession of mayors would come under public pressure and to do something about the problem they would seek or later announce an increase in the police department. So the police force steadily grew but crime did not decrease. Indeed there might even be a correlation between the increases in police and the increases in crime. This might have happened because of corruption, particularly in gambling, but the public was more concerned with robberies and burglaries.

Last year in the correctional area of the New York State there were about 1500 inmates in the State correctional system and the operating budget was $163 million. The cost for an inmate was a minimum of $13,000. It may be that this expense is justified but the impact of all that money in terms of rehabilitation is now recognised to be minimal. In terms of the protection of the public, the general consensus is that the contribution is extremely modest. If you gauge therefore the success or failure of the system from the standpoint of deterring others, the general consensus is

that the contribution is extremely low. If you gauge the success or failure of this system from the standpoint of the contribution to the public good, there is almost none of that because the prisoners are shut up in large bastilles which are isolated in the rural areas. You therefore had an involved kind of situation with the public spending an enormous amount of money to support prisoners who make no contribution to the public welfare whilst they are in prison and who, when they come out, frequently return to crime. Professor Delaney thought that the failure of this model was implied in the kind of questions that have now been asked in the terms of alternatives, e.g., how many of these men really need to be locked up in the bastilles? Some of the most experienced superintendents suggest that the proportion is 5, 10 or 20 per cent of the total and that the others could be released. If this is so then it is a conspicuous demonstration of the simple monetary approach just as the police demonstration is a failure of the monetary approach.

A third example came from the institution of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in 1968. From that date billions of dollars have been spent in grants from the Federal Government to police, courts, corrections, delinquency services, etc. It was originally perceived as a crime reduction programme. That was the formal purpose, the political purpose and the legislative justification. By that standard it also failed. If on the other hand you judge in terms of improving the qualities of justice perhaps it has mixed results. If you judge it from the standpoint of contributing to the public benefit and using offenders for social constructive purposes, then once again the expenditure has produced very modest and mixed results.

The final example given by Professor Delaney was from education. In New York City there are about 70,000 teachers and teachers' aides in the public school system and whilst this system works for some groups, there is again a general consensus that it fails for tens of thousands of students notwithstanding the enormous expenditure in education. The conclusion again is that money itself simply does not suffice and that the bureaucratic cry so often heard for more money, more personnel,

a reduction of case loads or additional police were demands that had to be examined very critically.

Was it fully realistic to expect that merely to increase the number of policemen would halve the problem of crime after World War II - in New York the city with large migrations of Puerto Ricans and of poor black people from the South? Was it realistic to expect the police to halve what was a bigger and wider problem. It had been suggested that if a police officer were to be put on each square block of New York city on three shifts every eight hours that would cost another $1-2 billions and that this would still not handle the problem if only because the policemen would be on one side of the square block and all kinds of things could be going on on the other side: there were hallways and corridors and apartment houses and many other places where crime was occurring which would not be prevented simply by having a saturation of police and there are alternatives, i.e., cheaper ways to do this.

When it comes to prisoners, there are specific ways in which offenders could earn money, perhaps to compensate some of the victims. The simple maintenance of the typical bastille is an enormous drain on the public purse because of its size and because of the number of officers required just to keep control.

Therefore a range of analytical questions, both of a planning and evaluation nature, could be posed in the correctional area and certainly in the area of law enforcement generally. Was it really valid for the LEAA to presume that giving money to police departments would solve the problem of crime? In the educational area which is closely related to crime, the whole emphasis has been on increasing the number of teachers, building more schools, using more teacher equipment - all of which has had a very mixed effect. Again the application of quite simple analytical evaluation techniques would have made a substantial contribution.

However this could be overly simplistic and one can never escape the question of power. It sometimes is a question of politics and sometimes of motives. The mayor gets off the spot after there is a public outcry about the crime problem simply because he increases the police. This action therefore serves an important political purpose. It is useful bureaucratically and symbolic in a sense.

At this point Professor Delaney stopped and asked for discussion. Mr. Valai referred again to the question of educated unemployed produced by an educational system quantitatively orientated and asked if there were ways of dealing with this problem. Mr. Clifford said that this was a problem of most of the developing countries: in some of the countries of Africa, youth brigades had been started which eventually became too costly. This was admittedly only a way of buying time and using young people in the development of the country but there is a need for a more careful investigation of this problem and the International Labour Office had been looking at the whole area of unemployment in Africa recently. In general there was probably a need for a vast investment which most developing countries could not manage. Crime was a very small part of this total problem. It was really a question of how you employ labour because as fast as one trained labour for more sophisticated work, advanced machines were being produced which did not need them: and most of the technical assistance going to developing countries was of a capital intensive rather than a labour intensive type - with the result that the problem is being increased rather than decreased. All kinds of measures have been adopted including sending some people back to their rural areas but they only came back again. Millions of dollars have been spent on rural development but again this does not stop the flow into cities which has been going on for so many years.

Mr. Acquah said that they had brigades in Ghana which had been used to serve political purposes. The work had now been diffused in a non-political way and his Department had started vocational training institutes. Attention was being given to the problem amongst girls as well as boys. A great deal more capital was needed to enable the workers trained in the various institutes to be employed in building houses.

Professor Delaney returned to his presentation finding many parallels in the experience which had been discussed with the problems in the United States. He said the second part of his presentation was more positive. In Massachusetts, a State on the eastern seabord of the United States, they developed in the late 1960s a focus on the conditions and results of training schools. These were mainly reformatories which dealt with children who had committed various offences or who were brought into public care and they were large training centres where the children could receive some education.

There were some modest efforts at treatment or therapy and some attempt to give formal education but the justification for these institutions was in rehabilitation of the young person. In the event that rehabilitation proved to be less than expected, the training schools were expensive and there were some very clear dramatic negatives in terms of the exploitation of the children by other children, sexual exploitation, physical exploitation, a good deal of staff brutality and all this received wide publicity. There was a general feeling that the notion of getting large numbers of children admitted by the official process of arrest, court action and commitment and concentrating them together was inevitably productive of a criminogenic sub-culture. They would learn criminal ways from each other and they would be committed eventually to that style of living. There were half a dozen legislative investigations, numerous newspaper exposures and the Governor had to look around for someone new to come in and clear up this situation.

A screening committee of public officials and private citizens was set up to select a new Commissioner. He came in and for two years he tried to improve the training schools as they existed, to make them more efficient, more effective, more humane, more rehabilitative and to get rid of some of the problems already mentioned. At the end of the two years he decided that there was no hope of doing this and that the schools should all be closed down and a fresh start made in terms of private community-run foster homes and non-residential programmes.

The large training schools were closed. Once again we see that there was an evaluation. It was esoteric or complicated in terms of technique but it was there and it illustrates what useful evaluation can do in covering the variety of political, bureaucratic and other considerations. There was a monitoring and briefing of the legislators and this was not a simple process because there was some support for the old training schools as well as support for the new techniques. There were formal interviews with the Governor who had a personal interest in this problem and there were discussions with the central office of the department where they had a split between the traditional elements and the innovative ones. Throughout it all the Governor's wife took an interest - and this was decisive in helping the new Commissioner in bringing about the change he wanted.

In the discussion which followed the second part of the presentation, Mrs. Dewdney, an observer, said that she had just spent sixteen months in Massachusetts and she felt the evaluation of this project should continue for longer. She felt that there would be a stage in the research where one could reach an optimistic level and one needed to follow up continuously because the results might not be as expected. She had attended a law school seminar where they were beginning to have qualms about this decision to switch the system so dramatically. The real problems were beginning to emerge. She was happy to hear that countries in Scandinavia were compiling lists of failures. She thought it would have more status than it had had in the past because it would be the beginning of a really scientific attitude to what we were doing.

Professor Delaney said that he agreed with this. In evaluation there were really two criteria - the measurement of projects against stated goals (e.g., crime reduction or the increased efficiency of criminal justice services) and the justice or fairness or the humanity of the system. These two criteria should be separated. It might not be a question of getting the greatest value for the investment but, for example, of eliminating brutality, making conditions more cognisant of human dignity. There were minimum standards which may have to be achieved regardless of cost. Such improvements might

feed back into costs and might be more efficient in terms of rehabilitation or crime reduction but this was not essential. They were necessary for their own sake.

Professor Versele said that on the problem of youth and youth unemployment we were dealing with deeper political, social and economic issues. We could not think here just of planning techniques but of deeper value judgements for society as a whole. It affected the way in which the lives of citizens were organised.

Mr. Valai referring back to Kenya's problem of unemployed youth agreed that it was a political or social problem but pointed out that of the total persons involved perhaps only one per cent actually became criminal. Unfortunately when they did, this caught the public eye far more than the 99 per cent of the unemployed youth who did not become criminal: so that the governments needed to be given precise recommendations to deal with the situation.

Professor Delaney continuing his presentation, spoke of a professor of his who used to say: "Think levels". Professor Delaney thought that this applied when we were trying to look at the personal and familiar. It was not only personal and familiar but also political, social, economic and cultural. In our personal lives we were expressing a personal drama, a familiar role, an odyssey in life which has enormous meaning for us but it also had its part as a feature of larger political, economic or social issues of a more impersonal and remote nature. We therefore had to think on different levels and to analyse on different levels.

Professor Delaney drew attention to those parts of the paper which he had circulated which provided in systematic form some of the processes that one might go through in thinking of the evaluation of any specific programme or group of programmes. He reiterated that any planning or any attempt at an analytical approach that did not include an emphasis on evaluation must be incomplete. This form of evaluation should apply not only to experimental or new programmes but to all existing programmes. It was interesting to note that

although rehabilitation programmes were now being very carefully evaluated and found defective there appeared to be no similar focus upon the evaluation of retributive or general deterrence programmes.

Research, said Professor Delaney, was not simply technical, neutral, technological or scientific. It involved a choice as to what would be researched or evaluated and as such it was likely to be biased towards the interests of those funding the research. There was the question of what C. Wright-Mills, the social theorist, now dead, had called "agency research", i.e., research commissioned by agencies to justify their programmes. The political, bureaucratic and social contexts would tend to determine what research questions will be asked and what research directions will be followed. It is not only what is done in research and evaluation but what is not done. This was true not only in economics but in terms of the selectivity of research. Research into rehabilitation may mean not doing research into retribution, deterrence, the criminogenic elements of the criminal justice system itself - or wider political, economic or social research which has relevance to the problem of crime and its treatment. While research techniques and planning techniques can be neutral, their use is not neutral - it is political, bureaucratic and social.

Professor Delaney maintained that there was a continuing need for data scepticism, a realisation that data emerging from official statistics is really very selective. Although it provides numbers and may appear to be hard, this type of data is really very soft because it leaves untouched the so-called dark side of the crime situation and it is usually defective in terms of business crime, professional crime or corruption. Therefore the question of facts or data has always to be looked at in terms of the bureaucratic context from which it emerges. At the same time care should be taken to develop ideas about what ought to be or what could be done as well as to collect data on what is being done now.

Research and evaluation were not immune from the kind of mystique which at different times surrounds lawyers, doctors and indeed every professional sub-culture. Researchers and evaluators build up their own professional jargon, styles of operation and their power base: in this sense they might be regarded as deviates and indeed as probers of officialdom they have a special role to play.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Clifford provided a schematic form of evaluation on the blackboard under a series of set questions. Whatever the criteria, i.e., money or other values, there were five essential questions to ask -

1. What were the objectives - were they achieved? (Each project should ideally begin with a statement of objectives.)
2. So what? Are the objectives relevant any longer?
3. How was the achievement realised? Was it by the means originally intended?
4. What were the unintended results?
5. How long a period is covered by the evaluation? In the long run everything may be a success.

Mr. Mueller stressed the need for broader community service approaches which he felt each country badly needed today.

Miss Melup drew attention to the possibility of other criteria and returned to the concept of equity. When we are seeking to measure the success of a project, should we not ask to what extent it was equitable. To what extent, for example, are health services or crime prevention services distributed fairly throughout the community? She added that in the studies done of evaluation it had been shown that there was a fallacious kind of reasoning associated with programmes which have concentrated upon change in the offender

as a criterion for success or failure. The recidivist criteria has been used in an "either/or" way which it need not be. Is it always the case that a recidivist is a failure. Even if another offence had been committed, could this not be part of the readjustment process? A recent study in Philadelphia had suggested that, with youth, the most useful intervention point might be after the third offence and that, at any point before this, money spent on large scale intervention programmes was wasted.

Again we need not always evaluate on the basis of doing good. The objectives could be to at least not do harm.

The question was raised as to whether the evaluators should be a part of the planning team - or independent - and who would evaluate the evaluators? Professor Delaney thought that they ought to be integrated administratively and yet he would have a lingering hope that there might be some chance to use independent evaluative groups occasionally. Professor Versele said that in 1962 he had directed a United Nations seminar which dealt with evaluation in the treatment of juvenile delinquency and he had found strong opposition from the decision-makers to being evaluated by other than their own services. He thought that evaluation should be entrusted to a multidisciplinary team from outside. Mr. Clifford felt that it would always be necessary to evaluate evaluators because of the hidden value systems within the process of evaluation itself. No one group should be regarded as the only ones capable of judging and making pronouncements. Professor Delaney introduced Gunnar Myrdal's contention that all researchers and evaluators should be expected to state at the outset their points of view, assumptions and perspectives: they should not pretend to be "scientific" and neutral. However Professor Delaney could see a problem in that this approach assumed that we were all aware in advance of our assumptions and preconceptions.

U T I L I S A T I O N O F R E S E A R C H

R E S U L T S I N P O L I C Y

F O R M U L A T I O N A N D P L A N N I N G

F O R C R I M E P R E V E N T I O N

A N D C O N T R O L

(Establishing Channels of Communication between Researchers and Decision-Makers)

Presentation by the Discussion Leader.

Mr. Galway began by reiterating three points already made. First the great potential which existed for simple and relatively unsophisticated research. At the Fifth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Geneva in September, great stress had been laid upon the usefulness of simple, so-called "soft data research". Secondly he was concerned that in some countries there was still a great tendency to concentrate on particularist and clinical studies which absorbed specialists and vast amounts of scarce resources and which had little relationship with the need for studies which could feed back into policymaking and policy development. Finally he felt that the maintenance of a mystique by research workers was dangerous because it cut them off from the keepers of data - and could cut off their colleagues from the kind of co-operation they needed. Whilst the research worker could regard himself as a deviant to shake up the establishment he felt that there should be caution exercised in playing this role especially in the Third World. Those who want to have research done to improve policy had good reason to fear the undermining role that some kinds of research could play - and the way in which it might affect public confidence - or the support which the government might be giving. Researchers were pathfinders but they should not use this role to poison the atmosphere for progress.

Mr. Galway said that, despite lip service, the world situation in supporting research and using its results in policy were not encouraging. There had been a few studies of the relationship between research and policy development and they had been discouraging. Sometime ago Madame Katja Vodopivec of Yugoslavia did a world survey for the International Society of Criminology in which she tried to find the connection between the research that had been done and its use by policymakers. Her report was discouraging. More recently there had been more sophisticated studies of the ways in which research results reach policymakers, the extent of distribution of material, the capacity of

administrators and policymakers to digest research results - again with no encouraging results.

In dealing with this subject, said Mr. Galway, we were confronted with a great area of communications which were not working properly and a need to develop capacities for both presenting and using the data.

Whilst lip service was paid to the need for research there remained reluctance and suspicion on the part of administrators and policymakers who sometimes felt that research results might be uncomfortable to live with, or might be used by the opposition - both in government and the community. There was not only a lack of understanding but a lack of basic sympathy for and confidence in research.

Part of the problem was that so little practical research had been developed so that it had been difficult for those in policymaking to grasp the fact that some very important and useful research work could be done in a relatively simple manner and well within the framework of administration and policy. In the discussion the other day there had been a reference to the taking of an inventory, i.e., stocktaking to discover what the resources actually were and what programmes were being attempted. This was something not often done although the results could be immediately applicable. Mr. Galway said that in his brief visits to countries he had been able to sit down with probation officers and in a few days to plot the way they were each spending their time - sometimes to their own surprise. Similarly court backlogs can be checked and analysed without a great deal of extra or specialist help. The criminal justice field has not made adequate use of sample survey work available from general agencies - to check possible public reaction.

An important issue for the policymakers and consumers of research was the identification and articulation of their own research needs.

It was important for the research worker not only to have his work relevant and useful for potential consumers but to do this in order to have the access to data which he needs. He had to demonstrate his usefulness to the potential consumer of all the collaborative effort that was required for research and administration to be effective. This collaboration was a two-way street. There was a tendency on the part of researchers not to appreciate the burden imposed upon policymakers and heavily pressed administrators in simply giving the access which researchers required to staff, files, inmates, court materials over the period usually required. On the one hand there was a tendency in many countries for such data to be classified as confidential in the sense that it is unnecessarily unavailable to researchers: this often came from an old police and prisons orientation within systems of defence or national security. On the other hand when the administrators or potential consumers of research provided full access at what they regard as a considerable sacrifice - only to find that the principal outcome was a demand for more research, this, however true could be a drawback in getting future co-operation.

For this reason it was important for the researchers and the consumers to work out, as much as possible a number of limited concrete studies of presumed potential for clear conclusions at the end of a particular research exercise. It could not always be done in that way: but this should be an important objective.

In the collaboration between the potential consumer and the research worker it was also important that whatever was to be done be relevant, i.e., something which was of concern to policymakers and planners and perhaps to the public generally. Again it had to be something that someone could do something about - particularly in the establishment of the place of research in policymaking. It was extremely important that problems be tackled where there was a reasonable assumption that the research results could influence choices of future policy and programmes. Too often research pointed to things which hopefully might be done but which, in reality - in the conditions of the country and the options open to it just

could not be done. In such a case, however varied or useful the research per se, it might have been wiser to have tackled an issue where there would be options capable of being adopted as a result of the research.

Whilst there was a natural and justifiable interest in the development of criminological research capacities in universities, in ministries and in separate specialised institutions, Mr. Galway felt that it was important for the criminal justice field to appreciate that there were great potentialities within a variety of non-specialised services. In the countries of the Third World, for example, where development planning machineries were often very powerful, they had sometimes created research resources and research facilities to encompass all aspects of economic and social development. In these cases criminological research could be supported by corresponding economic research - or there might be collaborative projects developed to serve both ends - especially in the area of future planning. For example, India had an enormous investment in social and economic research and at a conference on the utilisation of research in police formulation in New Delhi about two years ago it was discovered that there had never been an application from anybody in any aspect of crime prevention and control for grants or assistance with research which could well have been supported. The conference had begun with the idea that the criminal justice field was being discriminated against but had to change its mind when it emerged that help had never been asked for by those who were complaining.

Again Mr. Galway thought that the criminal justice field, in general, had missed a great opportunity in its relations with central statistical services in many countries. Again because of economic developmental planning the governments of developing nations had often created strong central statistical services some of which were extremely sophisticated, competent and with advanced types of equipment. Frequently these facilities could be used by crime prevention investigators to set up criminological research projects, to help analyse data and to help establish the collection of data into meaningful forms - but this kind of aid is rarely requested.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Mr. Galway for his presentation and opened the meeting to discussion.

Mr. Mueller said that those in possession of information pertaining to their own operations were always reluctant to let it go - especially to researchers who were suspect people imbued with a kind of magic which the line officers did not feel they had. Researchers professed to have specialised knowledge - they stood above the crowd. By their very existence they challenged existing institutions because they were reform oriented. They seemed a threat to the line officers who sometimes sought to isolate them. Sometimes the researchers were praised out of existence - made kings on thrones but with no real impact. Another method was to move ahead of the researcher so that it could be said "Never mind what you have to tell us - we are going to do it anyway".

Mr. Clifford said that apart from the real problem of researchers getting information from the operators, he had encountered difficulty in getting information about research from researchers. There was considerable hedging and jealousy in many research institutes and some researchers were reluctant to be open with others about what they might be working on. At the United Nations meeting on Research held in Copenhagen in 1973 it was observed that developing countries had a very special problem in obtaining easy communication between the research workers and the administrators. Senior administrators in these countries had generally come up through the ranks and had not had the advantages of the highest education: but the bright, better educated younger person seeking more rapid advancement had gone abroad to improve his educational status. The younger, better educated person had qualified and sometimes returned to do research. Here when he approached administrators there was not only the complication of different levels of education but of different conceptions of status. Sometimes each, in his own power situation, felt threatened by the other. The age and education gap made for more difficulties in developing countries. In Europe and America it is difficult enough for a younger and better educated person to identify the mistakes of his elders and to

show them how to do better in the future. It was a great deal more difficult in developing countries. In developed countries senior administrators may be qualified and have research experience themselves - they are now sometimes being recruited from the universities: but this is something which it is not always easy for the developing countries to do.

Professor Adler gave an example of changing the name of an outside research team going into an agency to "technical assistants" with encouraging results. The team whilst collecting its own information did a job for the agency - kept information flowing to its administrators so that suspicion, threat and division were reduced to a minimum. Professor Adler also considered it important to separate research from evaluation. Administrators were even more frightened of evaluation than of research. It is better if an office or agency does not regard the research as deliberately evaluative but as a project in which they are involved. If the researchers work with the line staff on joint projects these are more likely to be productive.

Mr. Zayed said that in Jordan a country of custom and tradition it had been difficult to get the information required for research. The King had intervened and issued a decree forming the Royal Scientific Society as a channel through which information could be obtained.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee described experience in Singapore where efforts had been made to set up a co-ordinated form of research to cover police, prisons, social welfare, etc. This had failed for lack of funds but whilst negotiations were proceeding the social welfare department managed to get help from UNICEF for the establishment of a research and training section. At first the government did not want this within a single Ministry but eventually accepted it on condition that the section work for other ministries as well. In the event this has not happened. Moreover they found that it was a mistake to put training and research together because the section tended to do more training than research. At present in Singapore there is a co-ordinating committee on which the university, research institutes, private bodies and the departments are represented. There are monthly meetings and research tasks are allocated.

Mr. Clifford pointed out that there was no necessary coincidence of objectives between the administrators, the research workers and technical assistance experts who might be supplied by multi-lateral or bilateral aid. The person doing the work, the administrator or line person was concerned with day-to-day work. He had to do his job to the satisfaction of superiors. A researcher from outside has to satisfy either those who provided the funds for research - or maybe his professor who has identified a particular task within a selected and perhaps academically oriented concept or frame of reference.

The research worker, to satisfy these expectations, may need to collect knowledge which serves his own purposes but which does not satisfy the line requirements. When administrator and research worker come together therefore what might look like co-operation was something different - each would be seeking to manoeuvre the situation to fit his own particular needs. Then, as indicated by the Singapore example, one could have the situation further complicated by the entry of an international agency technician with instructions from his own office to get the project off the ground. Internationally as nationally there are fashions and experts will sometimes go from country to country starting the same kinds of projects favoured by head office whether or not the particular project is really in keeping with a country's needs. Of course the country has to agree and even apply for the project but this is simply a question of salesmanship and the dangling prospect of aid in money or kind. Sometimes as the Singapore example showed a Ministry may wish to get the prestige of association with an international agency - and the extra pull which this might have with Treasury. Very often, therefore, there may be three persons or types of persons engaged on the same project but pulling three ways.

Mr. Pinto from Peru said that outside researchers coming into a department were not always very practical. Also the question of everyone seeing the situation from his own point of view applied in a wider sense. Everyone at the table was seeing the situation described from his own angle. In Peru they had

so very many problems to deal with - to make use of the efforts of the people to improve environmental conditions and behind it all to reduce inequalities. Research might not be unbiased.

Mr.Mueller welcomed this contribution because whilst one usually thought of research as widening the options for planners and policymakers, they could in fact be reducing them. Research should avoid political involvement if it was to preserve freedom for policymakers.

Professor Delaney agreed with the need to keep research relevant. It was possible he said to do research which was methodologically impeccable and sophisticated in every respect but which was concerned with only peripheral issues. In this connection it was wise to be sceptical of research done by professors since it was probably designed to further the professor's professional status and aspirations. To do research which would be valued by one's professional colleagues and accepted by professional journals was fine but it should not be paraded as research that necessarily serves administrative objectives, public policy or social purposes.

Professor Delaney endorsed the need to clarify the objectives as often in conflict as had been said but he felt that it went beyond objectives because administrators or researchers, social workers, management or computer experts all brought to the problem a different attitude or set of values and concepts flowing from quite separate sub-cultures. They can talk and pretend in quite a sincere way to be discussing something jointly and even agreeing with each other when in fact there is little communication on the subject between them because of the different mental constructs with which they work. So often the different professions pretended to agree and pretended to work together: but the differences persisted to obstruct and defeat evaluation, planning and programme implementation.

Mrs. Dewdney, an observer, taking up the point made by Mr. Pinto on outside researchers not always being practical, gave an example from her own experience. She is head of a research section of a Correctional Service and they had many requests from outside researchers to come into the system to carry out inquiries. They had discovered that in the early stages the researchers had only a vague idea of what they wanted to do. They sought permission to go in and out of the prisons, to talk to inmates and to develop their ideas in exploratory discussions of this kind with inmates. This was very difficult to fit into the daily routine of institutions and her unit had devised a questionnaire for each applicant researcher to complete - giving details of aims and methodology proposed. Merely calling for such a questionnaire to be completed had helped to crystallise the thinking of many applicant researchers - and their supervisors. In addition the questionnaire seeks the researcher's opinion on what immediate or long term practical benefit the research proposed might have.

This proved useful for the unit which could then go round to the various sections of the Correctional Department asking them whether there was need for research - and in which areas. The unit was therefore a link between line personnel and outside researchers.

Mrs. Dewdney continued to spell out the advantages of an internal research unit for a Ministry or Department. She was aware of all the disadvantages and especially the danger of being isolated in a separate unit which would be of no value to anyone but would window dress the department and make it look progressive. Against this it should be said that an internal research unit of this kind is able to centralise a mass of data already available on probation, parole and prison statistics. She thought it remarkable the subjects that people would say needed research and take it for granted that no data had been collected. Her experience was that there were masses of data - but, as had been said earlier, without any system.

From an internal information core of this kind could flow monthly statistics, weekly statistics, yearly statistics and most of the information required internally and externally could be provided. It was not always as sinister as had been implied that a Department did not provide information to research workers. Often the information was just not available in the form required. But if there was an internal research unit the information organised as required could be made available more easily. So too the reluctance to impart information from a Department had been partly due to the tendency for simplistic interpretation - by public, politicians and academics. An internal research unit can provide not only the information but also an analysis.

Finally in providing regular statistical and other information on every part of the department to every other part the internal research unit provided a valuable indicator of the social atmosphere of an institution. Above all it provided for the continuation of studies over longer periods than would usually be envisaged by academic institutions whose studies had a tendency to be ad hoc.

Miss Melup and Mr. Choosup made the point that for research to be used the results had to be presented in a way which was comprehensible. In many cases there was a need for the results of research to be rewritten for the layman.

T R A I N I N G F O R P L A N N I N G

I N C R I M E P R E V E N T I O N

Presentation by the Discussion Leader.

Mr. Mueller began by issuing three warnings - against possibly overlooking the significance of in-service training as well as formal courses, against the possible under-estimation of the role of the non-specialist, the volunteer or lay person and against the danger of over-educating for the task in hand. Mr. Mueller then presented his concept of the training process in the criminal justice system in diagrammatic form on the blackboard. He traced the needs within the different professions and aligned them with the kinds of subjects which needed to be taught. From this he sought to link the training to manpower requirements - and to the relative costs of the different levels of training.

Applying cost-benefit considerations, he pointed out that it might be necessary at some stage to take into account the fact that for the same money it would require to train one person to a Ph.D. level, it would be possible to train a large number of policemen to do their jobs. Again rather than train 100 police officers for normal police duty (including traffic and criminal investigation) it might be wiser to educate only 80 and use the balance of resources to train traffic wardens at a lower and more restricted level.

He gave the example of one police department in California which had every member of the department with a college degree. The Police Chief had eventually exploded that he had nothing but a bunch of college kids and he needed policemen. It is better to train for the job to be done and perhaps to provide along the way second career training for those who would retire early.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Professor Mueller for his presentation and asked for discussion.

Mr. Clifford said that educational or training systems everywhere raised expectations and that this was another dimension which he would wish to impart to Mr. Mueller's presentation. Those operating the system might know the

levels of training they wanted but those undergoing the training would always seek to go higher if they could so that where expectations and levels did not coincide there could be a brain drain. The most promising leave if there are better opportunities offered elsewhere: the least promising remain - which makes the training task all the more difficult.

The question of mobility and transferability was discussed. Mr. Mueller said that any system or service must provide for vertical and horizontal movement. There would need to be a system of advancement within a department but there would also be the necessity to provide for the lateral entry of better qualified people from outside directly to some of the higher levels.

Mr. Clifford wondered if this could not apply to the criminal justice service as a whole. Why not have an integrated service which would permit transfers and advancements so that police could be transferred to corrections or court service and these other professional people could do police work.

Miss Melup said that in the developing countries especially there was a limited reserve of qualified or qualifiable people. Why not therefore allow transferability even to and from departments outside the criminal justice services. This would inject wider perspectives into criminal justice and allow others to appreciate its special problems. Para-professionals and auxiliaries should be employed wherever this seems to be a useful way of meeting the shortage of professional personnel - and volunteers could be incorporated as appropriate. Crash training programmes or specially designed ad hoc training could provide a means of developing longer term and better systems from the experience gathered.

Mr. Vafai said that in Iran they had established a Police University with different faculties for different ranks, the courses varying from four years to two months according to the person's job requirements. Normally in Iran it was possible to provide for upward advancement of most people who took the trouble to educate themselves in evening classes or by other means. But that was not the case with judges, public prosecutors or magistrates. There were many young judges fully qualified now working in country areas who wanted to work in the cities but the openings were not as frequently occurring as they would like.

Mr. Zayed was more concerned with wastage from the system. A lot of money was being spent on better training in Jordan but the trained persons did not stay doing what they were trained for. People who had qualified in law or for the police were not prepared to go on serving unless they got promotion when they expected it. Mr. Zayed felt that what was needed was a sense of vocation so that people would stick to the work they felt they were "called" for instead of always climbing the ladder to something more profitable.

Mr. Acquah wondered if there would not be wisdom in incorporating crime prevention training into some of the police and law schools. He felt that it should be taught there as a subject. Mr. Clifford agreed with this providing "crime prevention" was given the broader meaning as it was understood by this course: there was "crime prevention" in purely police terminology which was concerned simply with the locking of doors, securing cars or property, etc.

T R A I N I N G I N T E R S E C T O R A L L Y

Presentation by Discussion Leader.

Mr. Clifford sought to widen the concept of training for crime prevention planning to include the various sectors outside direct crime prevention and criminal justice which would need to become involved in any form of integrated planning. To get this concept right one had to have an idea of national planning such as was typical of developing countries where the various sectors of the economy were brought together in an effort to achieve national development and where crime prevention could readily be included - although it had not been included in the past. In a large federal state like America, this kind of national development planning was difficult to conceive and indeed, merely to think of planning the specialised criminal justice services in fifty states, as in the U.S.A., or in thirty states as in Mexico, was itself a major task.

However, there could be no effective crime prevention planning until the specialists were available. These would have to be professional criminal justice personnel with a lively understanding and awareness of planning procedures - as well as an appreciation of some of the difficulties being experienced in other sectors like health, education, labour, etc or there could be professional planners who had been trained in criminology to the extent of having a fair understanding of the problems of crime prevention and criminal justice and who had a ready appreciation of the contribution which total planning could make.

There was no reason why planning specialists in health and education could not also become specialists in crime prevention planning. The main task ahead was that of exposing the different sectors and professions to each others problems. There had to be a dialogue between planners and criminal justice specialists to allow for a fuller understanding of each others needs.

Part of this could be done in the present regular courses which were being run - if adequate allowance could be made for health, education and planning specialists to be included in criminal justice courses or for criminal justice personnel to be included in planning health and educational courses. It could be catered for by having the subjects of one sector included in training for other sectors. Everyone could not be expected to know everything but there was no reason why there should be a division between the subjects which now occurred as a tradition within the universities and the other teaching institutions.

To provide the competence, qualified crime prevention planners trained from the first days of university education might take about seven years. A person would have to be first trained in his own profession as a lawyer, sociologist, psychologist - or have the requisite professional training in police, prisons or corrections; and then he would have to be given an equally intensive training in the processes of planning which would include a good deal of economics and statistics as well as the applied sciences which had relevance for planning. This kind of specialis would be extremely difficult to provide and we could only expect it to develop in the long term.

Planning for the prevention of crime was needed, however, as from now : therefore various devices would have to be adopted to ensure that the planning would be done by people who were competent. This meant building on existing specialisations, i.e., taking trained and qualified planners and alerting them to the problems in crime prevention and criminal justice - and taking the experts already in the crime prevention and criminal justice field and training them in planning methods and orientations. This could only be done with people at the higher level who were already policymakers and who could be spared for a sufficient length of time for this kind of training to be given.

At present the difficulties of communication between planners and criminal justice personnel had to be overcome and a number of smaller ad hoc courses could be given with this in mind. They would have to be centered on institutes and institutions where the problem was understood and this appeared to mean bringing into focus the existing institutions doing this kind of work, e.g., the United Nations regional institutes and the Australian Institute of Criminology.

Discussion

Mr. Galway said he had been delighted to learn of the introduction of information on national development planning which was now being introduced into the training of police and prison officers in some countries. This was not the kind of planning training being discussed here but it was an attempt to incorporate all parts of a country life into the national development plan and to impart to the criminal justice personnel at least the philosophy of the overall development plans. It would not be difficult to extend this to include some of the things which were required to obtain intersectoral training. Secondly, he could see no reason why courses in social statistics could not be introduced into the ordinary training of police, corrections and the judiciary. It had already emerged in this discussion that the field is awash with data inadequately used and is often regarded as a nuisance. This attitude stemmed in part from a lack of appreciation of statistics and the proper use of statistics. Thirdly, Mr. Galway could not see why at certain levels, in these various professional courses, it should not be possible to introduce some appreciation of social research. There was a staggering lack of information, in his opinion, on the national resources which were available to enable a practitioner to call upon specialised skills to assist him in analysis, evaluation and developing social perspectives. It would be valuable for each of the professional courses to have, included in the curricula, a complete inventory of the resources of the public and private sectors which the criminal justice personnel might call upon in analysing policy and programme development.

Dr. Schmalzbach, an observer and a psychiatrist, felt that the entire course had had an emphasis on the sociological

and environmental kinds of work and had ignored the psychiatric elements. He felt that this should not be omitted from consideration.

Mr. Mueller agreed that in general thinking about planning, psychiatry could not be overlooked and, in fact, psychiatrists could be incorporated in the thinking of how situations could be better organised to improve mental health.

Mr. Clifford said that in the total perspectives for training for crime prevention planning it was naturally assumed that psychiatry would take its place amongst the professional types of training which people received for work in the criminal justice system. Nevertheless, as he had pointed out earlier, this was a question of micro and macro perspectives which had to be carefully separated and defined.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee felt that the problem of mentally ill patients amongst those coming before the courts and the provision of institutions to deal with them adequately would naturally come into the whole planning area; and there would have to be consideration given to how such psychiatric offenders should be dealt with - in institutions, outside institutions, in ordinary hospitals, in their own homes, etc. - and it was essential in the training that medical officers in the prisons had sufficient background training to deal with this kind of case. In the developing countries this might not be too easy to provide for.

Mr. Mueller said that Professor Adler was teaching at a school recently established by the State of New Jersey where she, with a few colleagues, designed curricula aimed primarily at persons in law enforcement careers who had reached senior levels and who had acquired a college degree. These were personnel now going more deeply into the criminal justice areas as planners, executives, administrators, research specialists, etc. and this kind of training was highly appreciated in the United States today. He gave examples of the curricula and the requirement showing that each student had to cover a wide perspective in his choice of subjects.

Mr. Galway, returning to his earlier contribution, said that it might be useful for criminal justice and crime prevention personnel to attend (if only as observers) courses which were being sponsored by the World Health Organisation, UNESCO and the United Nations in the social welfare field which were dealing with the subject of planning. The health and education fields had gone much faster than other sectors into the planning area and there was even now an accumulation of expertise on social welfare planning. Criminal justice personnel could obtain at first hand an exposure to planning in another sector with a view to interpolating this into the criminal justice field.

Miss Melup suggested that interdisciplinary teams could be brought together for problem-solving training with a focus on planning. Mr. Galway supported this view and recommended the wider use of the United Nations Regional Institutes for Economic and Social Studies or for Development Planning. These were usually both research and training establishments and could be more widely used for the purpose of planning crime prevention. They could readily introduce specialist crime prevention planning subjects into the curricula for generalists and they could give specialist courses in crime prevention planning - just as they now gave specialist courses for health or education planners.

E N L I S T I N G C O M M U N I T Y S U P P O R T

O F A N D P A R T I C I P A T I O N

I N P L A N N I N G

Presentation by Discussion Leader.

Professor Versele approached this subject by suggesting that since crime was a social phenomenon why could society not react against crime from a collective point of view. The community was confronted with a disturbing and threatening problem of criminality but generally speaking the community left its solution to the professionals or the technicians, to the police, judges and prison guards. The community paid others so that it could avoid the problem and it was necessary to make public opinion aware that crime concerns everyone. As Jean Paul Sartre had said, all should be involved in this phenomenon, all should roll up their shirt sleeves and not be afraid to soil their hands by dealing with it.

The task was to mobilise public opinion with a view to eliciting public involvement which was more than financial. Official implementation of crime prevention or control policies was not enough. The success of the measures applied by officials would depend upon the acceptance of the community and its willingness to intervene. In Belgium there were innumerable agencies for dealing with young people and specialised juvenile courts but the results were so unsatisfactory that young people had recently set up their own centres for giving advice on help without formality and without even asking for names and addresses. Similar non-governmental agencies had emerged to deal with drug victims. Then there had emerged what were called "store-front lawyers" open to anyone who liked to seek aid. There were also three clinics to help non-officially girls who wanted an interruption in pregnancy. All these were community services set up to provide what the official services were not providing. Yet it was odd because while some of them were in receipt of subsidies from the Ministry of Education the Ministry of Justice sent police to raid them. There were good reasons why efforts to educate the public should be concentrated upon the rising generation.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Professor Versele who had also asked for examples of public involvement in other countries and he invited contribut

Mr. Yip Weng Kee said that this kind of public education campaign had been undertaken in Singapore. There the community development effort was co-ordinated by a peoples' association which had a network of 187 community centres spread throughout the country. A crime prevention campaign which included exhibits, talks, seminars and other material was conducted at every community centre and involved the participation of schools, community leaders and community agencies. On one seminar on "Crime and Society" there were plenary sessions and then a number of special group sessions dealing with problems such as the nature of crime and delinquency, the effect of crime and society, the aetiology of crime in society and aspects of crime and more general social controls.

Apart from this the community participation in development involved almost every sector of the social life of Singapore. The national service system brought all young people into the national effort and this augmented crime control both directly and indirectly. It involved the establishment of a special constabulary and vigilante corps in which young people participated. All young people were called up for national service but not all went into the armed forces. Those of a lower level of education and physical fitness were channelled into the police. They are trained as police officers and enjoyed the power of police. The vigilante corps was in fact a form of police service but engaged in security duties - looking after houses and property: most of the dropouts who had to do national service were sent into the vigilante corps.

In any case this mobilisation of youth helped to eradicate the long hair and hippie problems amongst young people.

Then within the school setting the school children at secondary level, both boys and girls, could join the army cadet corps or the police cadet corps. Though young they dressed exactly like the police so that there was always a police group within a school. All schools had civic clubs where civic values were taught. Singapore considered that all this contributed to the prevention of crime.

Mr. Zayed described some of the community associations in Jordan concerned with the prevention of crime or with the criminal justice services. Amongst these there was a Police Auxiliary Association and a Prisoners After-Care Association.

Mr. Acquah said that Ghana had a similar range of community associations with an interest in criminal justice such as the Society for the Protection of the Prisoner which though non-governmental and including businessmen had police and correction service representation.

Mr. Clifford thought that there could be a difference of conception in the kinds of associations described by Professor Versele and those outlined for Singapore, Jordan and Ghana. Professor Versele had described the setting up of what amounted to community inspired parallel organisations because of a loss of confidence in the existing official institutions. This was the American style and indeed many of the patterns for these clinics and centres run, in opposition to officially provided services, had been adopted by the Belgians from the U.S.A. (e.g., store-front legal services and drug addict counselling services). All these things emerged because the people involved were <u>opposed</u> to the system and they wanted a separate system of their own: these were in fact politically different - and that Mr. Clifford thought to be an important factor in understanding their development. In the Singapore, Ghana and Jordan examples however the opposite was true. These services for the people were not symptoms of public disagreement with the system: they were not an opting out but <u>extensions</u> of existing and established services deeper into the community. Mr. Clifford

referred back to earlier discussions of planning for crime prevention societies with deep value conflicts and in societies which did not have these conflicts - and this dichotomy of approaches to community response was a good example.

Mr. Jayawickrama referred to the pattern of citizens associations in Ceylon. All kinds of organisations existed and the police had been trying to develop and extend boys clubs to keep the young boys off the streets. There was a scheme of rural volunteers registered at police stations who can be called upon by the police in time of need. These rural volunteers sometimes went out on patrol with the police. The police in Ceylon also helped discharged prisoners and tried to find employment for ex-prisoners. A police commission appointed about 8 years ago had issued a report, a paragraph of which Mr. Jayawickrama read out as he thought it would be of interest to the Course -

> "The Police do not enjoy the good-will of the public. The public image of the police is not all that it should be. The fear of battery by the police is in every citizen. Several cases of torture have come to light in the courts. The police have therefore to win the public confidence by a long period of correct behaviour before public co-operation can be gained. The outlook and attitude of mind towards the public has to change. Courteous attention and civility must replace the rude and militaristic attitude that is characteristic of a police station. No laws can effect the change ..."

Mr. Jayawickrama finally referred to the problem of a person having to rehabilitate himself after a prison sentence burdened with his conviction. His criminal record follows him and therefore militates against community attempts to reabsorb him. Ceylon had done nothing about this yet but other countries had and it was certainly a subject for consideration.

Mr. Yip Weng Kee asked to be allowed to add that all voluntary effort in Singapore was not governmental. There was the Singapore After-Care Association which got a small government subvention but was essentially a voluntary and community effort. It runs a half-way house and helps ex-prisoners to obtain employment. There was also the Singapore Council of Social Service which was a voluntary agency. There was also a wide range of voluntary associations in the country participating in the social service programme - which included social defence. The government input was a good deal less than the voluntary input.

In Singapore there are many high rise housing estates in which crime and delinquency concentrate. In fact one of the biggest housing estates was the Tobio Housing Estate which had been called "the Chicago of Singapore". Here the community groups started a youth club and provided a counselling service.

Mr. Valai said that in Kenya the system of disseminating information to the community, especially regarding the state of crime was not very satisfactory. When the President addresses the people he takes the opportunity to remind them about revealing the wrong-doers, especially the thieves because, he says, they are the ruin of society. He appeals to people to come forward and report crime.

In the older days in Kenya the society was always involved in what was happening - i.e., within the family, extended family and the tribe. If a child did not behave well or developed criminal tendencies the whole community was involved in trying to help him to live better - and they accepted responsibility when necessary for what he did by providing the compensation necessary for those wronged. All this is disappearing with the cities and the large communities and Mr. Valai thought that perhaps we were losing out in the teaching of moral values. If taught early, moral values developed like conventions. He thought too that there were commensense types of laws and forms of conduct which should be incorporated into the normal process of formal education.

REGIONAL AND INTER-REGIONAL COLLABORATION IN PROMOTING PLANNING FOR CRIME PREVENTION IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Presentation by Discussion Leader

Mr. Clifford said that when one thought about the elements of the planning process there had been rudimentary types of planning going on within the criminal justice services for many years. Every year a Commissioner of Police is asked what he wants for the next year or the year after and he begins to ask for resources. If civil or other trouble breaks out he may get more resources than he expected - perhaps more than he can handle. There were many developing countries where networks of police stations were erected when disturbances were growing on the eve of independence: but this was not the kind of planning for crime prevention which this course was really concerned with.

In the sense of trying to commit national resources for the integration of crime prevention into the national development plan there had not been any real initiatives except at the United Nations level. It probably arose at the United Nations level from the sheer frustration of persons concerned with crime prevention and criminal justice who sought to obtain resources for the development of better crime prevention work in the developing countries from the vast resources of the earlier United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the earlier Special Fund and the present United Nations Development Programme. It was quickly evident that the planning for economic and even for social development in the developing areas was ignoring the crime area altogether. Crime prevention was not considered "developmental" or "productive" in the terminology then being used. Nothing explicitly excluded it from consideration if countries requested it: but neither at the national requesting level nor at the international granting level did crime prevention or criminal justice receive any measure of priority - it was squeezed out of the sectoral competition for funds.

Steadily, evidence began to grow that crime was not allowing itself to be excluded from development. Sometimes the imported experts for industry, commerce, education, etc. were unable to concentrate on their "developmental" work because of this houses being burgled or their transport and equipment stolen.

Vast quantities of multilateral and bilateral aid disappeared long before it reached the intended beneficiaries. In Guyana a United Nations team of evaluators reported farmers not growing crops because of the crops being stolen before they could be harvested: and mismanagement of funds amounting sometimes to corruption was a persistent problem. How then to get all this considered in the more general process of planning for economic and social development? The United Nations crime prevention services began to recommend to governments that if they wanted aid for crime prevention work they would have to see that it was given a measure of priority in the national plans and would therefore qualify for more serious consideration in technical assistance fund allocations. The results of such recommendations were not impressive but it was a theme which began to recur at the meetings and international congresses on crime prevention. It crystallised most directly in a special meeting of economic planning experts and criminologists organised by the United Nations at the Social Defence Research Institute in Rome in June 1969 - and the working paper prepared for the Rome meeting was used as a working paper for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Kyoto, Japan in 1970.

As a matter of fact, as a result of the Kyoto Congress, Australia set up Social Defence Planning Committees in several States with good intentions but they did not have the necessary expertise to guide them and therefore did not get very far. Also following the Fourth Congress there was a special course on the subject of Social Defence Planning run by the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Fuchu, Tokyo in 1972 for experts from the Asian region. A year or two later a similar though less intensive course on Social Defence Planning was provided by the Cairo Institute for the African region. This Institute - the National Institute for Social and Criminological Research - has a contract with the United Nations and is regarded as a United Nations Institute for Social Defence in that region. Then the United

Nations Latin American Social Defence Institute took on a course on Social Defence Planning for its own region. Finally we had this, the first United Nations Inter-Regional Course on the subject which was now being held. This particular course had become a little more concrete than some of the others. Some of the basic issues had been identified and the approach had become more detailed. It had been necessary to get more substance into the work as a preparation for more Regional and Inter-Regional collaboration - using those terms in the United Nations sense.

Significant in view of past efforts to obtain technical assistance funds was the fact that this course was being provided by the United Nations Development Fund. This was a real break through: the priority given to Social Defence in UNDP might still not be high but a precedent of funding such courses had been created and Mr. Clifford hoped that it would continue - each course bringing together the best knowledge available on the subject - on experimentation - on successes and failures from all round the world. A basic need here was for the priority to be accorded by each government in its requests for aid and participants would need to alert their governments to the resources, national and international, which were available to develop the subject of crime prevention planning - if only the requesting governments are prepared to accord it the appropriate degree of importance. In this respect there had often, in the past, been a lack of adequate communication between the ministries or departments concerned with crime prevention and criminal justice in each country and the ministries or departments concerned with national planning - and especially with the organisation of requests for technical assistance.

Mr. Clifford hoped for a succession of courses like those being held at regional institutes around the world. The interflow of ideas and the long term consequences were too little appreciated. But he had been impressed with Mr. Dhavee Choosup's account of what had happened in Thailand. As a result of Mr. Choosup attending in 1973 a United Nations seminar in Denmark on the use of research - and on returning to Thailand he had put the recommendations into practice with the result that, for this Course, we had a well researched

paper for Thailand. Using the principle of ensuring that some people provided continuity by being allowed to participate in more than one meeting on the same subject a body of expertise could be built up with identifiable international experts to develop the subjects in different types of courses around the world - and, of course, to train people at the national level.

The building up of this core of expertise would provide a task force - an action group - which, without waiting for meetings and by means of articles and publications, could share information and develop procedures with a view, inter alia, to learning from each other's mistakes.

People underestimate at times the difficulty of obtaining information from the different countries. There is the obvious problem of language barriers but it goes deeper than that. The participants said Mr. Clifford had been around the table for a week sharing experiences and hearing a great deal about each other's countries but, when all had gone next week to their own countries, that kind of information would become exceedingly difficult to obtain. One could use books and libraries but the kind of personal experiences which had come out of this kind of meeting or course would not be readily obtainable. Regional institutes should therefore keep records of such data and become clearing houses for this and other sorts of information not readily obtainable from the non-specialised libraries.

However, Mr. Clifford wished to invite attention to one conspicuous gap in this Course. Countries had not elected to send to it any of their economic or social planners. They had not sent anyone from the Treasury. Evidently this was a continuation of the communications gap - crime subjects, even crime prevention planning - was not regarded as their domain. Because of that, we had been preaching this week to the converted. This underlined the need to lay stress upon what Mr. Galway had been saying - that we had to get into and use the services and facilities available to us in the development planning institutes, the central statistical services and other areas.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Mr. Clifford for his introduction to the subject and opened the discussion period.

Mr. Mueller paid tribute to his predecessors at the United Nations who had built up a network of services to ensure regional collaboration across the various sectors. The "laboratories", however, were countries: we had to learn from each other and if this was done adequately then nowhere in the world was it necessary for any nation to repeat the costly mistakes of other nations in trying to deal with the subject of crime. He explained the work of the small headquarters unit for crime prevention and criminal justice within the Secretariat and described the work of the Regional Institutes. The United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in Rome had recently embarked upon a world wide attempt to record and analyse research efforts so as to create a data bank of research results which could be computerised and made available to anyone needing it. The Institute was not yet geared to report on data not as yet within the public domain, i.e., the many experiences that had been gathered within police departments around the world, within planning agencies, within correctional systems, within the research community itself: but efforts were being made to obtain the necessary funding to do even that so that the criminal justice community would have instant easy access to the experience of all mankind in this field. Then there were three regional institutes and two others on the planning board. The United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders at Fuchu, Tokyo, Japan had distinguished itself by reaching a large number of key personnel in the criminal justice systems of Asia and the Pacific. It had not, however, progressed very far with its research yet. Chronologically the second regional institute was that in Cairo, Egypt, where, at one time it had the ambition of servicing the entire African and Middle East Area: but it was finding it difficult to reach south of the Sahara so that it principally served the Arab countries.

It is engaged in research and has conducted a series of training courses so that its graduates are to be found all around the Arab and African region. The third regional institute was that for Latin America recently set up in Costa Rico. Its godfather and Director, Mr. Montero Castro, was a participant of this Course. Efforts were now being made to establish another institute as Helsinki to bridge the barrier which often arose between socialist and non-socialist countries in this type of work: and funding was available for another institute for Africa, south of the Sahara - a bi-lingual institute able to service both the English and French speaking areas of the African continent and to share some of the burden now being carried by Cairo.

Mr. Mueller also referred to the United Nations system of national correspondents in social defence which enabled the headquarters unit to keep in touch with what was happening: and the International Review of Criminal Policy which sought to make up to date information widely available.

Mr. Galway added four points to the discussion. First he thought that the emphasis which countries might place upon the aid they needed for the research or planning aspects of crime prevention was not only strategic in terms of the application (because its guided thinking into developmental and progressive channels and away from spine chilling prospects of new prison institutions, new repressive measures, etc.): it was also a reflection of the new trends in thinking about criminal justice in the most knowledgeable and experienced circles. Research and planning activities were more attractive than the old law and order approach - and would be more likely to strike responsive chords. Secondly sufficient use had not been made of the potential which the United Nations technical assistance programmes had for the organising of national meetings and conferences. He knew of only one country which had sought help in this way. In 1970 the government of India had sought the help of UNDP to mount a national meeting on the utilization of research in policy formulation. The funds were quickly made available for a team of five internationally recruited individuals to go to India and hold a two week seminar on the required subject. This had the double effect of creating an awareness and an

advancement in the thinking of those engaged in the criminal justice field and it enlightened planners on the needs of this field for more planning attention. The idea could be exploited by other countries. Thirdly Mr. Galway drew attention to the action taken at the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders held in Kyoto, Japan in 1970 and that of one of the sections of the Fifth Congress held in Geneva in 1975. This referred to the need for more attention to be paid to regional collaboration in the exchange of information on research and other developments in criminal justice. The Australian delegation had spoken on this point at both Congresses and at Geneva had expressed regret that the countries of Asia had not followed it up since Australia was ready and willing to co-operate. Thirdly, in view of the international role of the Australian Institute of Criminology - already greatly helping Papua New Guinea and other countries in the region - he proposed a recommendation be made by this Course to the effect that the Australian Institute of Criminology should be invited to extend this aid and that it would be regarded as of great assistance to the countries and to the United Nations. Finally Mr. Galway felt it to be important for those in the room responsible for the United Nations programme if participants could clearly identify the particular types of help they felt they needed most.

Miss Melup, referring to the need to alert governments to the needs in the criminal justice area, adduced the experience of Mr. Galway as a former United Nations Inter-Regional Adviser for Social Defence. He had travelled from country to country trying to help governments formulate precise technical assistance requests in the area of social defence. The Government of Sweden had also provided a second Inter-Regional Adviser for this kind of work, both of which had now completed their contracts. Sometimes governments needed assistance in formulating their requests and articulating their needs. This could always be provided if specifically sought and it would help to obtain the degree of priority for the subject which was needed at both national and international levels. Similarly governments could seek fellowships for their nationals to get study tours or periods

of training within specific subjects. There had been both individually arranged study tours of this kind and group study tours involving the nationals of several countries following the same programme of visits as a group. This meant that practitioners could not only help with the exchange of information but they could familiarise themselves with the work being done in other countries. Miss Melup also referred to the existence of the Social Defence Trust Fund within the UN which had been established in 1966 primarily to support the Rome Institute but which was not very widely or substantially supported by member states. If this was built up it would strengthen United Nations activities including the support of regional activities. She said that this fund was so short of support that the United Nations had had to rely upon the Costa Rico government entirely to get the Latin American Institute operational. Finally Miss Melup spoke of the need for translations to make the information easy to disseminate between countries. Where there were data banks there should be adequate language services so that data could be more widely and intelligently used.

Professor Delaney invited attention to the work of a variety of non-governmental organisations and of private, university operated research centres around the world. These represented a fantastic resource for future development outside the official governmental and international agency level. He explained the work of the Alliance of Non-Governmental Organisations with an interest in crime prevention which had been set up in New York in 1972 to work more closely with the United Nations. There were also groups which had been formed of the directors of research institutes in Europe and North America. All these were able to feed into the kind of programmes for regional and international collaboration which were now being considered.

C O N C L U S I O N S

Development and Crime

Development for economic benefit only has given way to a more balanced approach to economic and social improvements aimed at bettering the quality of life. However, approaches to development still seem to ignore the problem of crime and the possibility that corruption, economic offences, multi-national operations and sheer perversity may distort the best plans and create a situation likely to leave citizens without a sufficient measure of safety and protection.

While crime prevention cannot be the main aim and objective of a national plan for economic, social and political improvement, it must never be ignored, nor such a plan formulated as if crime did not exist.

Crime cannot be divorced from more general social, cultural, economic and political considerations. Planning for crime prevention and criminal justice entails planning both for primary crime prevention, especially through the fostering of social justice, and secondary crime prevention, including the successful reintegration of the offender into society.

Planning objectives must be sectoral and inter-sectoral. As a norm, other-sectoral solutions are to be preferred over solutions within the criminal justice sector.

Unplanned, or improperly planned social development and accompanying social change frequently entails a negative change in the crime pattern. Planning must seek to minimize such negative consequences of social development.

(a) Any development plan should incorporate crime impact studies.

(b) Prior to the institution of any social and/or economic development project, a social change impact study should be made to determine the resulting change(s) in the crime pattern and to plan against adverse effects.

(c) No private development licences ought to be granted until the developer has incorporated in his plans all necessary precautions against potential crime increases.

Sectoral Planning

To assure the proper utilization of crime prevention and criminal justice planning schemes, makers of criminal policy should be sensitized to the aims and techniques of planning.

To ensure that planning for crime prevention and criminal justice is not confined exclusively to the traditional criminal justice services and philosophies, the public must be alerted to all aspects of planning policies and the available options.

Criminal policy should be de-juridicized, de-dramatized, popularized and socialized, particularly in light of the fact that traditional retributive systems of criminal justice have failed to provide their effectiveness and have frequently been proven inhumane.

It should be recognized that criminal justice reform can be achieved by planning internal reform, legislation, litigation as well as education designed to inform public opinion and enlist public participation.

Criminal policy planning as a sectoral activity will be profoundly influenced by the particular economic, political, social, cultural and legal contexts. Such planning should address what are believed to be criminogenic dimensions in these varied contexts.

Criminal policy planning presupposed a range of possible choices among different criminological approaches within which specific programmes can be formulated.

Criminal policy planning requires both broad and long-range policy planning and related specific and short-term planning addressed to important current issues.

Criminal policy planning must utilize a variety of methods and techniques to embody and implement the values, priorities and programmes specified in the planning process and to ensure both comprehensiveness and flexibility.

Criminal policy must be socially responsive and criminal justice reform must have a multiple focus, involving both the decriminalization and depenalization of activities not really harmful to a society, and the criminalization of others which are.

Criminal justice planning should aim at a greater measure of equity so that the penal process does not serve to perpetuate and accentuate discrimination against the powerless who are now its main target, applying equally to the "gilded" number of offenders who often enjoy relative immunity from it.

Cross-Sectoral Planning

As regards cross-sectoral planning, for too long have both the public and those in the criminal justice field accepted the idea that crime prevention and control are the almost exclusive responsibility of that sector. This is both unrealistic and unscientific. A useful model can be found in the health field, where it has been determined that social and economic factors have a much greater impact on public health than the interventions of all the health services combined.

Because of their traditionally limited focus, personnel working in the criminal justice field are often inexperienced in, and inadequately qualified for, the task of sensitizing the various other sectors of national development to their role, actual or potential, in causing, preventing and repairing the damage wrought by criminality. There is no need for undue modesty regarding what those in the criminal justice field can contribute in this respect. Furthermore, considering the early stage in which development planning is in general, as well as the necessity of advancing knowledge and practice through actual experience, it is time now for the overall planning process to draw on criminological and criminal justice expertise to help prevent and control criminality in the developmental context.

Considering, especially, that national planning has raised its objective from gross economic development only to the maintaining and enhancing of the quality of life, the time is at hand to assure that all national efforts are viewed from the perspective, among others, of crime prevention and control, particularly in view of the enormous and growing burden which criminality and the machinery to deal with it place upon society. It follows, therefore, that one of the principles or guidelines in any framework for development planning must be that the objectives, methods and potential of each sector should be examined from the standpoint of crime generation and crime control prevention. In such an undertaking, specialists in crime prevention should be expected to play a collaborative role.

Since sectoral planning (agricultural, industrial development, housing, education, health, etc.) cannot be viewed in isolation as an end in itself, it must be considered from a crime prevention perspective in terms of whether -

(a) the achievement of the present sectoral goals would be criminogenic of itself;
(b) the methods employed to achieve the goals are criminogenic;
(c) the goals or methods for achieving them could be modified or elaborated so as to make a specific and direct contribution to crime control;
(d) the timing and intensity of sectoral programmes are appropriate to society's capacity to incorporate them without detriment to its well-being.

In obtaining compliance with new approaches and methods of achieving sectoral planning goals, there has been excessive reliance on a punitive approach to assure public co-operation (e.g., licensing schemes, invoking of fines and eventual liability to imprisonment). This is not only socially unjust but grossly ineffective and often counter-productive. Primary reliance must be placed on education, re-education and other socially constructive approaches.

As one approach toward involving sectoral planning in national commitments for the prevention and control of crime, specific and well-defined aspects might be selected as elements on which sectoral planning might focus to ensure a contribution to crime prevention policy and programmes at the sectoral level. As an illustration of such an approach, problems such as corruption, rural violence or that of school dropouts might be tackled in a concerted manner, each sector making its own special contribution.

Methods and Techniques

With respect to planning methods and techniques, the Seminar took note of the fact that while these can be used at the national, local or project levels, it was important to specify the levels intended or referred to. Planning approaches can be both macro and micro in perspective.

Social justice is a basic approach to crime prevention but will need to be supplemented in order to deal with those crime problems which tend to survive economic and social reorganization or which emerge in spite of it.

The basic objective of planning for crime prevention in societies which have conflicts on basic values can be the common denominator of reducing to a minimum the cost of crime to society in terms of damage, suffering and the transfer of resources. Countries which enjoy a basic agreement on fundamental values, which are ideologically united may, of course, adopt more ambitious or inspiring objectives since they are not hampered by conflicts of essential values.

Resources will always be limited; this should not be a deterrent but, rather, a stimulus to a planning approach at all levels. The first step in planning consists of the assessment of current and prospective requirements in the crime field and of the means available. Planning means a rationalization of expenditures.

Crime prevention planners will need to use all the techniques available to economic and social planners, i.e., data-gathering and analysis (including official crime statistics and indicators and data obtained through sampling procedures, such as victimization surveys), establishment of bench-marks, cost-benefit analysis, programme budgeting, critical path analysis, systems analysis and simulation models. These need refinement for the crime prevention sector, with special consideration being given to human and justice factors. Frequently the simplest methods are the most useful for practical application.

Organization and Implementation

In order to facilitate intersectorally co-ordinated approaches to crime prevention planning, a powerful policy and planning agency must be established in every planning jurisdiction (international, regional, national, local). The structural form of such a body depends on governmental circumstances: it can be a central commission or agency, an inter-disciplinary or inter-agency committee, a co-ordinating council or an institute or core group, etc. Such a body, established to co-ordinate crime prevention planning will have to include representatives of all the services and organizations likely to be involved, yet be small enough to serve as a task force. The pattern of such a co-ordinating body will differ according to the country: federal systems, for example, may have to adopt different approaches from unitary States.

Planning and research techniques are meant to be neutral, but their uses frequently are not, as they depend on ideological, political, budgetary and bureaucratic factors.

It should be the ultimate aim of the crime prevention planner to phase himself out of existence. However, it is improbable that any planner will ever be so successful, and even if he were, he would have to stay in business to prevent the recurrence of crime.

Time-phasing is of paramount significance for research undertaken as part of planning for action. It consists of the following steps:

(a) Inventory taking
(b) Analysis
(c) Hypothesis formulation
(d) Hypothesis testing
(e) Mass demonstration
(f) Spin-off for action.

Evaluation

Criminal policy research and evaluation should deal with all possible criminogenic processes in their social, cultural, economic, political and legal contexts.

Criminal policy research and evaluation should focus both on new programmes (including experimental and demonstration efforts) and traditional programmes (whose effectiveness should not be assumed).

There should be a focus both on programmes that appear to be successful and on programmes that appear to be failures. At least as much can be learned from failure as from success.

Criminal policy research and evaluation should be addressed to fundamental matters of fairness and humaneness as well as to crime reduction efforts, including the impact of crime upon victims and degrading and brutalizing practices directed against offenders.

Criminal policy research and evaluation should stress action-research that is related to policymaking.

The following basic steps in developing an evaluative approach can be identified:

(a) Determining the scope of evaluation, e.g., the specific programme focus or emphasis of several related programmes.
(b) Specification of the processes by which the programme seeks to achieve the objectives.
(c) Specification of the processes by which the programme seeks to achieve the objectives.

(d) Identification of the evaluation measures for the programme, e.g., crime reduction, fairness and humaneness.
(e) Determination of realistic data needs.
(f) Determination of the methods of analysis.
(g) Monitoring the implementation of the evaluation plan.
(h) Evaluation analysis to assess the degree of success or failure and the reasons for the results (including unintended results).

Training

Training for planning to prevent crime must begin with the adequate preparation of professionals in their own fields, with effective basic training within the criminal justice system, exposing law enforcement, court and correctional personnel to each other's expertise, and including the necessary legal, sociological, psychological and other elements of a total training programme. However, this is not sufficient; it is also important to establish a dialogue between planners and criminal justice specialists, to sensitize planners to crime prevention needs, and to acquaint criminal justice personnel with the scope and techniques of planning.

There should be an effort to include planners from other sectors (for example, health, education, etc.) in criminal justice courses, and to obtain the participation of criminal justice experts in training programmes for other sectors. Crime prevention subjects should be included in the curricula of all educational institutions engaged in the training of personnel with a direct or indirect working relationship with the criminal justice system. Persons directly engaged in crime prevention, in whatever capacity, should be educated in all necessary subjects.

Ordinary training in criminal justice should seek to bring into the courses information on the national plans, where these exist, or on economic and social policies where this information is available.

There is a lack of basic information circulating on the resources usually available nationally for an analysis of policies and programmes (e.g., statistical bureaux, economic and social training centres, libraries, the expertise of universities, etc.).

Social statistics should be part of regular courses, with participants being trained, at least to a limited extent, in the interpretation of such data. The principles of social research might also be included in regular courses with a view to improving the liaison between research and training.

Training of crime prevention and criminal justice personnel at all levels should ensure a suitable balance between pre-service and in-service training. While all personnel need some training in the relevant disciplines and techniques, the intensity and amount of such training depends on the level of anticipated employment and other particular national circumstances and needs.

"Education sprees" in crime prevention should be avoided; both over-education and under-education are undesirable and usually cost-unbeneficial. While training programmes are necessary to maximize staff capacity, the resulting specialization of crime prevention personnel must not result in an alienation of the population. Social pressure and aid extended by peers is usually more efficient than official action exercised by the agents of an anonymous authority. All planning for training should aim at popular participation, which in itself requires a sensitization of the public and training of community volunteers.

Training for crime prevention and criminal justice must be future-oriented, i.e., anticipating prospective problems and tasks, and modular, i.e., allowing for the diversified employment of personnel, as the occasion arises.

It is necessary that model training curricula for the education of criminal justice specialists be prepared, based on the experience of both developed and developing countries, and that these be discussed with educational planners for use in all States.

While the United Nations has achieved considerable success in providing inter-regional and regional services in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice planning, through its network of institutes, national correspondent system, meetings, courses, technical assistance and publications, such efforts need strengthening in order to broaden their reach.

Governments should be encouraged to make better use of United Nations aid such as expert services, including those of inter-regional advisers and fellowships; to co-operate in the organization of, and participation in, courses and the establishment and strengthening of United Nations institutes, in order to assure the greatest possible effectiveness of national crime prevention and criminal justice planning.

The Australian Institute of Criminology is to hold a course on planning for crime prevention in 1976, intended to bring together economic and social planners, regional planners and senior administrators with qualifications in criminology in order to study each other's fields, take part in special planning projects and, then, to collate these experiences. The Institute was urged to extend this kind of aid, at appropriate levels, to other countries in need of such assistance.

Utilization of research results in policy formulation and planning

It must be acknowledged that there is inadequate utilization of research results in criminal policy formulation and planning in the majority of the countries of the world. In addition to a shortage of criminological researchers, this is a result of - among other things -

(a) a lack of receptivity in research among line personnel;
(b) traditional complications and reservations in granting access to crime data;
(c) the failure of policymakers and administrators to

articulate research needs; and

(d) an unfortunate tendency for researchers to approach their tasks and reveal their findings in a complex, esoteric and often unsympathetic manner.

In order to be of maximum utility in policy formulation and planning, criminological research must -

(a) focus more directly on issues and problems involving the social fabric, rather than only on behavioural or clinical aspects;
(b) deal with well-defined subjects on which conclusions may be reached within a relatively limited time span;
(c) be concerned with questions in respect of which enlightenment is genuinely sought; and
(d) tackle problems permitting the testing of alternative policies and programmes adopted in the light of the research findings.

Policymakers and administrators, as well as line personnel, may derive considerable gain from the analysis of data already at hand; the development of a "research mentality" will lead to an approach to decisionmaking that will be more evaluative and innovative than is now the case. Furthermore, practitioners should involve themselves in defining the subjects for research to be undertaken and the approach to the task, and in the interpretation of the results.

In order to maximize the availability of research results in policy formulation and planning greater awareness and fuller utilization of already existing research facilities is needed. This includes national social science research institutes, universities, national statistical bureaux and the like.

To assure the availability of research resources for policy planning, caution should be exercised in attempting to have research units be responsible for training as well. Experience has demonstrated that where one body is charged with both functions, training becomes the ever-increasing preoccupation, to the detriment of research.

It must be recognized that research will not, and should not, be the exclusive basis for policy formulation and planning. The reality is that political, social, humanitarian, etc. considerations will determine policy often irrespective of the direction suggested by research. Planners must, accordingly, take into account these "reality factors" while welcoming research results as an essential though not exclusive resources.

Public participation

All the efforts of congresses and seminars will be in vain if the population has no genuine interest in the problem of crime. Conversely, crime prevention and criminal justice policies should reflect public values, serve the public interest and promote public confidence.

Finding itself in the midst of crime, faced with its threat, and yet not preoccupied with it, the community employs the police, the judiciary, correction officers and others so that it may avoid the problem. It is here that one has to backtrack.

It is necessary to alert public opinion to the fact that crime is a matter concerning everybody.

There are sensitizing, motivating and mobilizing techniques which can help to make citizens participate in programmes for the implementation of criminal policies, preferably through small-scale action at the local level, which has its roots in the immediate realities.

Regional and inter-regional co-operation

With respect to regional and inter-regional co-operation, it was emphasized that such co-operation required the full use of United Nations resources at Headquarters; the utilization of the facilities of the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in Rome; of the regional training and research institutes of the system of national correspondents, etc. Use should also be made of cadres of experts which have already been developed through the international and regional courses and meetings on the subject of planning to prevent crime.

Particular attention should be given to the existing capacity for the development of planning for crime prevention. In view of the capacity which the Australian Institute of Criminology had developed in this area, and the urgent needs of developing countries in this respect, it was requested that the Australian Institute of Criminology be asked to provide planning expertise and assistance to other countries.