

Proceedings of the
United Nations Interregional
Training Course on



CRIME PREVENTION PLANNING



Australian Institute of Criminology



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Introduction

The United Nations has been concerned with crime in the context of national development since the nineteen sixties.¹ The focus on planning for crime prevention dates from the latter part of the decade when it became increasingly evident that, contrary to general belief, development, higher standards of living, better education, health and social services, did not of themselves provide an insurance against crime. Indeed, the experience of many developing countries – like that of the developed ones – showed that unplanned and dysfunctional national development was all too often accompanied by rising rates of crime which nullified many of the hard-won gains of economic growth.

The persistent failure to take account of this fact and the reluctance of planners to take the implications of crime into consideration led to the convening by the United Nations of a meeting of experts on the subject of 'Social Defence Policies in Relation to Development Planning' in Rome in June 1969. It brought together criminologists and general planners. The working paper prepared for, and report of, this meeting was incorporated into the working paper on this agenda item for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Kyoto, Japan in 1970.²

Following this World Congress, which dealt with the subject in a larger perspective, the regional United Nations training and research institutes in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice held special courses on planning. The Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in Fuchu, Japan, held such a course for participants from its region in 1972; the Center for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (National Centre for Social and Criminological Research) in Cairo held one for participants from

the Arab States and Africa in 1973. The Latin American Institute on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, at San Jose, Costa Rica, held a seminar on the subject in 1975.

Since early 1975 the Australian Institute of Criminology has been concerned with the integration of crime prevention and planning in several of the growth regions in Australia. It has already held special seminars of a nation-wide character in the growth centres and is planning to open sub-offices to promote closer relationships between criminologists and planners in appropriate developing areas.

The present course, organised by the United Nations under the auspices of the United Nations Development Program, with the cooperation of the Australian Institute of Criminology, represents the first interregional initiative of its kind.³ The participants were drawn from fifteen countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The course was co-directed by Mr G.O.W. Mueller Assistant-Director in charge of the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section, Social Development Division of the United Nations, and Mr William Clifford, Director of the Australian Institute of Criminology, and had the benefit of three consultants: Professor S.C. Versele of Belgium, Mr Edward Galway of Ireland and Professor J.V. Delaney of the USA.

1. An item on 'Criminality and Social Change' was on the agenda of the Third UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Stockholm in 1965, and one on 'The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in the Context of National Development', on the agenda of the UN Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Geneva in 1968.

2. United Nations document A/CONF.43/1. See also 'A Policy Approach to Social Defence Planning' (UN publication Sales No.E.721V.9).

3. The title of the Course was originally 'Interregional Training Course on Social Defence Planning', but was subsequently changed for semantic reasons to 'Interregional Training Course on Crime Prevention Planning'.

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Inauguration of the Course

Opening Address: 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 has 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'¹, and I must say that it is only in recent times, 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 not long been established, and more particularly I pay tribute to Mr Bill Clifford. We now see emerging from that Institute publications which place great emphasis on the work which that Institute is doing, but 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. Crime prevention planning of course is important for the present generation in respect of today's problems, but I suppose one needs to emphasise 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 affect us at this very moment. We of course, all long for a society with less crime. 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 for experimentation. Australia is midway between the underdeveloped countries and what might perhaps be termed the overdeveloped countries – if those of you who come from them do not 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 perhaps for trial and error. 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 into a developing community and the type of planning which may hopefully produce less crime than we find in our larger cities. In Sydney, which is the largest city in Australia, with over 3,000,000 people, the crime problem is to be seen probably at its extreme by comparison with other cities of Australia. Indeed, this very fact makes it an appropriate place in which to hold a training seminar of this nature.

I noticed that there is an agenda 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 policy maker to conduct a 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, 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 policy makers; 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 better communication between the

policy makers 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: G.O.W. Mueller
Assistant Director, Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section,
on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

Thank you, Mr Attorney-General, for your warm words of welcome. We have learnt already that in Australia you are ahead of most of us by at least half a year plus 14 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 also 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. Those of us who come from those overdeveloped countries to which you referred look at your percentage of crime and are full of admiration and envy.

It is of great benefit to 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 do not know, Sir, 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 do not know whether he has been 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 Attorney, 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 functioned very quietly in the world of criminology and criminal justice. Then, all of a sudden, Australia made world headlines by providing us with the largest and most impressive example of progress in the field, and 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 as for the rest, we are of course happy and immensely grateful to you. Thank you indeed.

Statements by Co-Directors

Mr G.O.W. Mueller

Opening the course, Mr 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 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 commercial 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 governments, 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 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 rates in many parts of the world and to say that this was the best that could be done for the money available. But even in countries where the crime rate has been declining, for example, 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 our governments 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 intruders 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 to save the enormous expenses which most nations are incurring at this point in history in order to protect their 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 at 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 the problem of drug and alcohol-related crime which, he said, hardly existed in the 19th century. 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 cut 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 too was a phenomenon not confined to any one nation.

Another vast area of concern was international violence which affected relations across international boundaries. These were offences about which we should be concerned whether they were 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 while it did not approve of international violence, this violence was unlikely to recede until the underlying problems were dealt with. This meant that 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 — sudden movements involving millions of people, as in the Sahara. These were tremendous issues beyond anything which could simply be left to law enforcement.

Mr W. Clifford

In his opening statement Mr 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 to try to get something done about preparing for the kind of crime to come and about the kind of planning which completely ignored 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 was not economically respectable, if one could not show that the project was productive, then it was impossible to get any money for it. Maybe basic budgets were allocated for immediate expenses, but when it came to the development money needed to do something about the society of the future, nobody was interested. Nobody wanted to know about any sector of the economy which could not show a tangible increase in the GNP — 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 there was a

lack of interest in crime prevention because at first sight it did not 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 GNP being the sole criterion and the sole objective of planning, and a ready appreciation that there were returns in the quality of life not always easily quantifiable.

Most countries, he said, were now trying to balance the quantitative 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 Conference on Human Settlements about to be held in Vancouver, there was now a definite trend towards ensuring that plans were made for people — that they did not become merely plans for material benefit; that they were directly related to people's needs.

But although we had moved from this concern for purely economic issues, we were still dealing with human nature as if it were perfect, and we were still planning for perfection. 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 prevailed.

We did not like to admit 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, Mr Clifford said. Unless we plan now for this as well as for anything else, then we would create all kinds of panaceas which would surely fail. They had in fact failed 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. 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, it seemed that we were moving to do something more positive. While it had been all right to talk about principles up to now, we had to begin somewhere to talk about practice.

Mr Clifford expressed the hope that this week's work would

produce results to show how 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 the course was being held in a country which had tremendous interest in such planning. One of the reasons why Australia was important in this respect was that it was not yet so overdeveloped that it could not move back; it had a chance to re-think, it was still relatively open in its options. There were things which it could do more effectively than some other older and more committed countries.

In this sense Australia was a developing country; but it had resources; it was not a developing country in the sense that it had problems in mobilising the resources which it might need to use — it could not be called, in the global sense, a poor country.

Australia, therefore, 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, which was also an interstate institute in the sense that all States were involved in its running), had been brought into the direct planning of some of these areas. The Institute was thus 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 'All right, 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 held in Sydney.

1. See footnote 3, p.2.

Development and Crime

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 had been distributed to all participants.¹ This publication had opened with a fairly full discussion of the relationship of development to crime. In summarising it for his presentation, Mr Clifford said that the relationship between development and crime was a very real if not necessarily a causal relationship.

Countries with centrally planned economies 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 tended to increase 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 fewer crime problems than the richer, Western nations and it seemed, therefore, that crime was related not so much to actual material conditions as to

the amount of dissatisfaction and unfulfilled expectations generated 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 one.

It was necessary, therefore, to ensure that development planning improved. It was important that development planning provided nationally and regionally for the crime to be expected. If we know that a country's population is likely to increase at a certain rate, 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 families to break up and then worry about delinquency among 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 the rights of others. It was this balance between human rights and crime prevention 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

The Chairman, Mr E. Olewale, Minister for Justice in Papua New Guinea, then invited comments from the participants.

Mr Ali Zayed, (Jordan) said that the kind of planning now being considered would involve intervention in society even at the pre-delinquency 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 programs would have to be taken into account as being likely to prevent crime. This was an ambitious program, particularly as it was difficult to prove the relationship 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 storeys. Of course, this did not mean another storey, another increment of crime, but it did mean that it was possible to look at building designs with a view to crime prevention.

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

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

Mr Clifford intervened in the discussion to suggest clarification of the terminology. The course was titled '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.

Professor Versele (UN Consultant) 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 society, and that 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.

Mr Sanchez Galindo (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 programs and soft programs for the prevention of crime – something like the hard data and soft data that had been discussed in the context of research. The hard programs would be realised in a long period and the soft programs would be short in both time and space. It would therefore be possible to evaluate them 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 was no reason at all why people who have been through the experience of committing crime and being dealt with by the machinery of justice 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, cinemas and jobs for everyone. All these, in combination, were ways to deal with crime.

While 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 this 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 individuals and the development of better community preventatives for crime.

Professor Delaney (UN Consultant) made the point that in the United States criminal justice planning usually began when it was too late, 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 destroyed a hundred or more years ago.

These urbanised countries were obliged to rely on 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 Sanchez Galindo (Mexico) spoke of the social costs of crime. One of the problems was the high cost of each crime committed. For example, in his country, each one of the serious crimes such as homicide had a cost of 8 million pesos; about 700 American dollars. He had observed in his work that the most important way to impress Governments was by highlighting the costs of crime. The idea of the social cost involved included not only the cost of crime itself but also the cost of improving methods of rehabilitation and providing publicity on the methods

of preventing crime so as to involve communities, the cost of controlling crime and, of course, the cost of erecting new buildings and of 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. The aim was to demonstrate to all the governments the need to take preventative measures first and to consider treatment only as a second best.

Mr G.H. Vafai (Iran) referred 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 main source of a new industry, or of a series of new industries – and could along the way create serious crime 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 there was 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 profitable to do so, it would surely be rather difficult to establish 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, it might 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 what Mr Clifford had said about the environmentalists having been pathfinders in getting away from purely economic planning. He thought there was an analogy where, in several countries, the granting of a government licence for the construction of dangerous industries, for example, oil refineries, was conditional on the preparation of a plan that would satisfy the government that there was no adverse impact on the environment.

This has been done with mining. With strip-mining particularly, the industry had to obligate itself, sometimes by signing a bond, to undo the damage which it was temporarily doing by its open pit operations. Could one not similarly make it conditional to the granting of a licence to establish an industry by a private entrepreneur that he could show that he would not create the more obvious social problems such as crime? Could one not make it conditional to the granting of a licence to begin an industry that social facilities for its workers and their families, including recreation facilities, a school, a nursery and so on must be provided?

It was true that this might limit investment and drive an industry out of one community into another, less strict, community. To prevent this it might be necessary to adopt a national approach or perspective so that an industry or firm could not shop 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 industrial development was accompanied by social development. We could sometimes buy ourselves crime insurance at the cost of the private entrepreneur.

Some 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 costs of the repair and rehabilitation of a society deeply disrupted through the excessive urbanisation that the industry had created. Governments had 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 advised to read the report on a major pilot study carried out in one African country by the International Labour Organisation. While focusing primarily on problems of manpower distribution and employment opportunities, this publication emphasised the social breakdown and criminality that result from faulty economic planning. The flow of the unsophisticated rural population into the urban areas, seeking employment in the new enterprises which were allowed to continue to build excessively in centralised situations, created staggering social problems. One can see, therefore, that governments have an enormous stake in private investments because

eventually they may be obliged to solve huge social problems, including criminality, as a consequence of not having vigorously involved themselves in some of the original economic decisions. This was an area in which, in the past, neither the criminal justice people nor the planners themselves had taken much interest. Moreover, the people in the broad planning sectors had not seen 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 in the papers which had been prepared for the course and distributed to all participants. Similar points had been raised in discussion, such as the possibility of a government's licensing of development — and thereby saving money in the long run — by making sure that the private sector operated with sufficient thought for the social consequences. It had also been pointed out that there were some enterprises chosen as profitable by the private sector which could be disastrous from the point of view of crime. It might, for example, be asked to what extent we really need supermarkets in their present form of organisation and to what extent we really need credit cards. Of course, these things are convenient, but they are also impersonal and conducive to crime. They rely on processes rather than on people and they encourage a lack of supervision, a feeling that no one loses when you cheat the system. They also penalise those who do not try to get an illegal share.

Mr Clifford said that a lot of the things that had become normal commercial practices simply because they were profitable or showed a greater turnover could also be productive of crime. Some people profited from offering tremendous opportunities to others for crime. They did not worry about the cost of crime because it could be included in prices charged to the consumer.

What were 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? In considering this question it would be necessary 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 have not 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 have not done enough to provide answers. We should be able to help governments when they ask the relevant 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 focused on the mass of the people in an effort to increase incomes, reduce inequalities and promote a greater degree of social justice? Or was it the kind of development which served an elite 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 only in the countries represented at the course.

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.

Mr Clifford also drew attention to the significance, within this more general perspective which was now under consideration by the group, of the values prevailing 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 such as the USA or those of Europe where there was great disparity in basic value systems. Around the world there were different effects of development as a result of local differences of values.

Mr Yip Weng Kee (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 rapid industrialisation had placed strains on society, spread

permissiveness and disrupted family life. He agreed with the discussion so far which had related development to crime but noted, also, that cinema-going and the permeation of the mass media into people's lives had been responsible for a lot of the crime among 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 Dhavée Choosup (Thailand) said that his country was not capitalist and did not have a capitalist structure; nor was it fully socialist; 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 into the lives of the people. Increasing bureaucracy meant extending the opportunities for corruption. There were many offences which arose in this way and had to be dealt with firmly. Traditional proclivities were determining the use of modern types of sentencing. There existed, for example, mandatory gaol sentences and sentences with automatic remissions. The traditional ideas of the use of the prison were not always those of the West. Planning to prevent corruption had to begin by trying to deal with the cause, that is, the areas of bureaucratic control. This had proved a difficult task.

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 impatient, politically-motivated young people. In the past Thailand 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 had been adopted. The police force was doubled, prisoners trebled and a special new unit developed within the army. Thus about four years ago in Thailand there were 18,000 young people in custody. The government soon realised, however, that these traditional measures were not the real solution, that the solution had to be a political one. So the government consciously adopted a change of policy, including land reform legislation and a process of redistribution among young people, so that those

unemployed in the towns could be settled on land in the rural areas. Even those held in prison had been brought back to the courts and released on suspended sentences to allow them to be employed on the land.

1. This material has since been re-written and published as a book: W. Clifford *Planning Crime Prevention* D.C. Heath, Lexington Books, Boston, U.S.A., 1976. 125p.

3

Basic Principles of Planning for Crime Prevention and Control

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

Professor Versele opened the discussion by presenting a paper on the planning of criminal policy and criminal justice systems in developed countries. He pointed out that the widespread increases in the rate and seriousness of crime made it necessary to re-examine the foundations of criminal policies. The crisis in the administration of justice seemed to be the result of a social policy crisis rather than a legal policy one. Existing criminal justice systems suffered from inadequacies which impaired their efficiency. Among these inadequacies were: the overburdening of courts and prisons; cumbersome and expensive procedures; the criminogenic effects of imprisonment and perpetuation of criminal careers; and the variance between the self-image of judicial agents and their perception by others.

The 'values' of present criminal justice systems were increasingly being questioned, particularly as regards the moral rather than social basis of criminal law. Among the things being questioned were: the fact that penal rules and judicial machinery protect the 'established order', which entails too much discrimination and too many injustices; and the fact that legal and judicial regulatory mechanisms in some countries are often unrealistic and/or outmoded. Our systems were generating discrepancies between legal norms and human aims, between legal regulations and actual social needs.

The problem was exacerbated in many countries by penal inflation and regression. The potential of other than penal or judicial interventions was insufficiently exploited. Comparisons of official statistics and hidden criminality showed differential social stratification: judicial systems seemed to be biased so as to

produce and perpetuate certain kinds of social injustice. The labelling and stigmatising effect of penal sanctions could not be denied; the resulting social devolution contributed to alienation and recidivism. The populace did not have sufficient confidence in its system of justice which it saw as all too often unrelated to the social reality or the non-judicial specificities of the case. One could almost speak of the 'social schizophrenia of criminal justice' in that present-day justice was divorced from human expectations and needs.

A thorough study of desirable changes in our penal systems was required and, possibly, a new basis and new structuring of our control of deviance and delinquency. This was more than a matter of amending existing texts because new legal rules could be applied with a dated mind.

A basic requirement of criminal justice reform was to accept that law is relative, valid only for a given culture and moment in history. Economic and social change, new knowledge and experimentation in the behavioural sciences could challenge old traditions and disprove long-applied criteria and notions. The 'dark' figure of unreported crime and the 'gilded' figure of offenders who seemed to be immune from prosecution were illustrations of this fact. The undetected offenders apparently reinserted themselves in society without having been punished or 'rehabilitated'; the stigma which affected convicted offenders followed therefore from their judicial sentence and not from the criminal activity. The 'gilded' offenders (for example some multinational corporations) often exploited large numbers of citizens with relative impunity because of political or economic protection.

Criminal justice reform had to be phased: the short and medium term required the elimination of the most unreal criteria of law and judicial practice as well as compensation for the criminogenic effects of inequalities and injustices in existing legal and judicial machinery. In the long-term there would have to be a modification of the economic system so that it would not generate serious political, cultural and social inequalities, discrimination, privileges for a few, on the one hand and criminogenic handicaps for a great many, on the other.

Criminal policies, said Professor Versele, should be reconsidered with a view to their democratisation, rationalisation and

sensible planning. The general aim should be to elaborate policies responsive to present day social realities and needs, to present day human aspirations of all citizens and to present day scientific knowledge. Since it was part of overall social development policy and planning, criminal policy planning had to be integrated with planning for the overall progress of a community. It required a careful evaluation of requirements and means; consideration of all possible effects of existing and prospective policies; progressive programs and experimentation; and rigorous assessment of the results obtained. This, in turn, implied useful scientific research, appropriate legislative strategy, judicial adaptation to meet changing situations, and the supplementing of institutional treatment with other alternatives or preferably, their replacement by them. Much more was needed than only clinical research which used samples of offenders not necessarily representative of all offenders and which could lead to the illusion of individualisation of treatment not carried out effectively because of various constraints, such as the lack of institutional facilities and trained staff, inflexibility of judicial decisions and rigidity of prison regimes.

What was needed was a socially responsive criminology, able to give coherent indications of direction to those responsible for the administration of justice. Possible areas for research included studies of the machinery of justice and penal systems as well as of persons or groups having instituted these; of the public's reaction to criminality, the criminal, the administration of justice, judges and their auxiliaries; of its knowledge and opinions of the law; of the motivation and attitudes of the agents of the apparatus of justice, of socially harmful activities not prosecuted; of offenders not officially detected or prosecuted; of judicial ritual and decision-making, etc.

More effective policies needed to be adopted with respect to the different aspects of criminal justice systems. Legislative strategy, according to Professor Versele, should focus on social rather than legal aims. The criminal law should not be so static so as to create a social lag between legally protected interests and current values and needs of people and communities. Efforts had to be made so that the penal law did not continue to be discriminatory in different ways, focusing on certain people and certain forms of criminality harmful to persons, property and morals

rather than protecting the interests of most. A viable criminal policy meant justice that was not only superficially equal for all citizens; that was not so politically engaged in pressing for 'resocialisation' that it denied the 'right to be different', or so powerless in the face of new forms of social harm or so mal-adapted and unsuited to present day social requirements, particularly under the changed circumstances of developing countries.

A viable legislative strategy should express the people's will, avoid moral abstraction and judicial fiction, envisage decriminalisation and depenalisation of forms of conduct in the public view no longer requiring criminal repression or transferable to other forms of social control. It should introduce new criminalisation to delimit the socially harmful effects of technological progress (for example, pollution), or the abuse of political power (for example, official violence) and/or economic might (for example, speculation), with due consideration of the relative balance between positive and negative effects of the steps taken.

At the judicial level, Professor Versele pointed out, criminal policy should aim at the simplification of procedures and reduction of the number of cases to be processed. The administration of justice should avoid all discrimination and abuses, such as of detention pending trial, misuse of power by the police and other agents of control, as well as by the rich. Legal aid systems had to be reorganised to give easy access to justice to all citizens — a really equal chance. Judges had to be trained in the art of sentencing, with due respect for all human rights, despite conviction. The choice of sanctions should exact the least cost and should involve community participation. By-pass techniques to stop or suspend proceedings or transfer them to administrative or social agencies could be used, wherever possible, with the necessary safeguards and measures of redress such as victim compensation.

Prison systems had to be adapted to meet international norms such as the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Alternatives to pre-trial detention were required and, where necessary, special institutions for this purpose with more permissive regimes had to be established.

Disparities of different kinds had to be reduced, for example, between a strict judiciary and a rather flexible implementation of

dispositions, or in the execution of sentences harsher than intended. All possible efforts should be made to avoid human devaluation and stigmatisation, preserve contacts with the community and encourage prisoners to participate in the organisation of prison life. Special problems, such as that of short-term (as well as long-term) imprisonment, required attention if correctional policy was to be adapted to ongoing social transformations, the insights furnished by the behavioural sciences, the study of deviance and crime and the requirements of social education and re-education.

Professor Versele felt that since crime prevention was an aspect of general social policy, it could best be achieved through social justice. Economic and other inequalities generated frustrations and injustice in political, cultural and social matters. Criminal justice could not be achieved in the context of social injustice. But the realisation of real social justice, equity and equality varied in tempo with different countries, taking into account their traditions and socio-political choices. Excessive delays could give rise to revolutions. Certain forms of progress were illusory, creating new needs without providing the possibility of satisfying them, or engendering unexpected criminogenic situations.

Community crime preventive programs had to comprise both preventive arrangements in areas such as health, education, housing, employment, social security, and the provision of care for individuals involved in social (deviance) or legal (delinquency) difficulties. The general conditions of primary crime prevention were decentralisation, deprofessionalisation and popularisation. The mechanism of preventive action could take the most varied forms, such as councils of elders, comradeship courts, neighbourhood committees, conciliation or arbitration boards, solidarity groups and other kinds of popular organs or services. Care had to be taken to avoid excessive control and infringing on the right to privacy. Adequate crime prevention did not mean repression; each society had to find its own level of tolerance. The mass media, rather than capitalising on sensationalism, should serve as a means of enlightening public opinion and enlisting public participation.

Planning of crime prevention and control could be defined as the 'rational formulation of objectives and means necessary to put into effect a just and socially efficacious criminal policy'. The

problem in developing countries was made more acute by the rapidity of social change and acceleration of development which exacerbated the lag between technological progress and existing social institutions and services and prevented society as a whole from benefiting from development.

Planning, stated Professor Versele, required, first of all the assessment of current and prospective requirements and the means available in the crime field, with a view to gauging the extent, seriousness and social cost of crime and selecting the means to contain it which were least costly in human and material terms. Planning in this field had to be pluralistic, involving various ways and means, different approaches and alternative methods, since little was still known about the aetiology of crime except that it involved very complex configurations of many variables whose convergence led to certain individuals committing offences in certain situations.

Planning could not be static, but had, always, to take due account of social changes and variations in the nature, volume and impact of crime, and of the fact that 'progress' could be criminogenic. Planning had to be multi-disciplinary, representing the collective effort of political scientists, economists, sociologists, psychologists and jurists. It had to be realistic, in the sense of being based on scientifically observed and verified facts, corresponding to community needs and lending itself to execution with the means available now or likely to be available in the near future.

As to the objectives, Professor Versele stressed that planning should aim to dejuridicise and dedramatise criminality and to socialise criminal justice. The ultimate criterion should be 'to everyone according to his need', so that the poor and the disadvantaged (from an individual or social standpoint) would have a genuine right to receive what they needed to compensate for their handicaps. For the developing countries, it was important to build on indigenous traditions rather than merely copying foreign models, and to adopt solutions to complex problems such as crime stemming from the collective conscience.

A rational, planned criminal policy had to be based on scientific research, which should focus on social needs, be action-oriented, and be utilisable and utilised by those making criminal policy decisions, involving them in the carrying out of research.

Planning should imply a confrontation and produce a vital link derived from a dialectic between experimentation, evaluation and action. To be effective, criminal policy planning had to lend itself to and utilise cost/benefit and input-output analysis, and take due account of prospective conditions and developments. It 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 cultural, political, social and economic injustices and inequalities because these generated social frustrations and were directly criminogenic; international in that countries generally did not have the resources or time to individually undertake all the studies and experimental innovations which could serve their purpose.

Strengthened international cooperation permitted the interchange of the results of research and experience for mutual benefit. The regional institutes dealing with crime were major resources in this connection. Developing countries in some regions were well represented in the work of non-governmental organisations and scientific associations but others were not. All of these should be seeking to propose more progressive programs which would do justice to the youth of the Third World living in a context of economic and social development and accelerated change, as well as joining in the search for solutions that would be more human, of greater dignity and more socially efficacious.

Discussion

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

Mr Sanchez Galindo (Mexico) complimented Professor Versele on his statement which he felt was a placing of science against dogmatism more than science against traditional dogmatism. In Mexico, he said, 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 all citizens, and not just for judges and barristers. It was necessary to get radical change.

Mr Sanchez Galindo also welcomed change towards the objectives outlined by Professor Versele but suggested that it should be change by evolution and reform from within rather than by violent revolution.

Mr Vafai (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 supported the idea of change away from this wrongdoing to offenders, to a more enlightened, humane 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 could not be negative and refuse to look at possible improvements in countries under certain regimes, arguing that democratic institutions were lacking there and that therefore we could not 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 branded as a criminal and sent to prison. It would therefore be to everyone's benefit to improve the system.

Mr Vafai emphasised the importance of moral values and 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 believed more in moral precepts.

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 would not even have considered 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 creer une banque ou d'aller voler?

(Which is the most dangerous — to establish a bank or to rob it?)

Professor Delaney 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 to 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 an economic need.

In the general discussion of these points, the observation was made that, in the past, there had 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 a 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, courts 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.

Rather should we work for an equitable and progressive system which was justifiable in its own right. 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. While we were considering the ways to eliminate deeper social problems, authorities were spending money or making decisions on the allocation of resources; and crime prevention specialists had to be incorporated into this activity. Both morals and social objectives were values and the planner needed guidance on the way to invest resources.

Mr Mueller thought that systems could be changed by infiltration, legislation or litigation. First, it was necessary to be part of the system to work for change from within — even as volunteers. Second, it was possible to legislate for change — even by decriminalisation and the like. Third, it was possible to demonstrate that some practices and policies violated 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 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 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 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, since it was neutral.

The Planning Perspective: Sectoral and Intersectoral

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

Professor Delaney said that he would like to raise 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 the local, intermediate and national levels by people who are most deprived and many of whom are both powerful and wealthy. It was insufficient to cope with questions of corporate, business or professional crime committed by offenders who were typically affluent and powerful; and it was 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 on 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 there emphasised the obligations of a person to the community.

For criminal justice planning, Professor Delaney thought that no better definition was available than that provided by Professor

Versele and contained in the report of the United Nations Seminar on Criminal Policy Planning, held in Costa Rica; that is, that criminal justice planning should be understood as a process of social and political transformation basically seeking a criminal justice that is social in nature. Such planning should be 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 system but also 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, the cultural, economic, political and legal frameworks in a particular historical period. Second, the criminological substance of the perspectives being used in approaching questions of criminal policy. Third, the levels of criminal policy planning and technique. Fourth, 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. Planning, he said, does not operate on Mars but in particular contexts 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 a similar problem.

Discussion

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

Mr Montero Castro (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 was deprived of the benefits of economic progress should not be over-

looked. 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 that 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 showed that the major part of the profits from international economic transactions were not used for the benefit of the poor 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 predominated. Usually they were integrated with traditional values. He also said that sufficient attention had not been given to the crucial importance of education as a crime preventive measure.

Professor Delaney replied that in class-structural terms he was referring to rich, poor and middle classes 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 very urbanised societies traditional social controls such as the 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 was always the educational system. Used simply to transmit knowledge, it had failed in crime prevention terms because it

might have meant better educated thieves or embezzlers. 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 Mr Mueller had seen a new philosophy of humanism incorporated into the educational program. The UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Section was now going to look at contrasting cultural settings in which the schools have been revitalised for the purpose of transmitting values — in the Netherlands, the USSR, the USA and in some Third World countries.

Mr Clifford remarked that the whole question of how education fits patterns of planning for crime prevention was absolutely vital, perhaps more so 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 one hand there was a determined attempt to educate children for change, for ingenuity and innovation and 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 were complaining because we seemed to have an increase in, challenge to, and deviation from, established norms. Each country sooner or later had 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. This 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 this was important because we certainly owed obligations to one another: but there were also obligations which a State or government owed to individuals. Therefore, morality should include social justice as well as individual morality.

Mr Yip Weng Kee (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, there is a program of education for living and civic values, which emphasises respect for law and order and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

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. Under this system all young people attaining the age of 18 years are required to do national service. They were conscripted for a period of two years, followed by a period of reserve service up to the age of forty. During reserve training they were only required to attend during 40 days of the year. The objective of the national service system is what is called national education. 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 were incorporated in this code of conduct. There were only six simple rules but each of these was amplified in the code and the precepts were taught in basic training, orientation training and officer courses.

Mr Yip Weng Kee added that he had questions to raise on Professor Delaney'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 had their own notions of planning. They each planned for their own programs, the educationalists planning for educational programs, the ministry of health officials planning for health programs, 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 proposed to develop. Should there be a kind of Crime Prevention Commission or would there be a committee set up to explore the possibilities of coordination?

One of the main difficulties facing all countries was that of obtaining accurate and reliable information on criminality and related issues. Research was needed, but there was also 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 not a real delinquency problem in Australia because everyone was required to attend school until they reached 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 related to the inability to keep every young person within the school system until they were well into their teens, and problems of young people having to leave the school system because they had 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 raised the question of how a number of different problems of this kind could be dealt with integrally in 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 as incompatible with the overall approach and the stress on long-range planning. While this was going on, however, there could also be measures to deal with juvenile offenders and their problems. In fact the country's immediate pressing problem should be an aspect of long-range thinking and short-range formulation, analysis and action. Insight could thus be obtained. Was, for example, the dropout problem reflective of difficulties in a school curriculum? Did it reflect a changing kind of value or interest among students? Was there a problem between teachers and students? Was it a problem rooted within the school system itself or did it derive from that system being inadequate? Such considerations encouraged speculation on the long-term, but they also led 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 participants in the course that a discussion on cross-

sectoral planning had already begun. Nevertheless, he felt that it should be recognised that in the development of planning for crime prevention it was a relatively new idea to look at planning in other sectors.

It was useful therefore to focus on some of the premises which supported the suggestion that crime prevention agencies and specialists should look at sectoral planning as being essential to overall responsibilities for crime prevention. Mr Galway hoped that others around the table might be able to supplement the examples he would offer. One of these was that it was recognised as being unfair, unrealistic and even unscientific to assume that a national program for crime prevention could be effectively carried out only by the specialised services of 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 individuals who were caught up in it.

He also considered that criminal justice systems had been extremely defensive about the growing problem 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 and resocialisation programs were extremely wide, and to point out that the people in the criminal justice field, while having expertise that might be useful in their own sectors, could by no means assume the heavy responsibilities that the public and very often the government were inclined to assign exclusively to them. Mr Galway regarded it as very useful in this connection for the criminal justice field to look at developments in the health field under the leadership of the World Health Organisation which had been emphasising economic development and adequate nutrition as a solution to some of the problems of disease.

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 involved regulations to which there might be penal sanctions attached. When we thought of decriminalisation, it meant reviewing 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 direct relevance to the prevention of crime. In addition, 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 in crime prevention work but which could do related work of very great value. There were statistics-gathering bodies which could sometimes be used: the criminal justice services had not made sufficient use of related data and related services to achieve their own objectives.

It was therefore a case of integration and of cross-sectoral work being used to mutual advantage rather than a matter of recrimination because criminal justice had not been included in wider planning or had not made sufficient use of other resources. Mr Galway drew attention to studies of unemployment in Africa made by the International Labour Organisation with reference to the criminogenic situation created by 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 also the prevention of corruption or white collar offences which tended to proliferate and feed on the lack of coordination between criminal justice and these other sectors. In general, Mr Galway sought a change of perspective from narrow specialisation to a wider understanding of the development needs of different societies and a broadening 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, that is, before there was any social development planning, it continued as part of 'normal' operations; 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, traditional 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 or giving of bribes. It could become wrong by motive but in public practice it was often considered as a gift or a favour rather than as a crime, and this attitude to it had 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 and licensing system. The licensing system had to be completely public; the individuals involved in the licensing system had to have security of tenure and sufficient financial reward to prevent them from being tempted by bribery. Mr Galway thought that some held the belief that bribery and corruption could speed economic development and enable economic enterprises to materialise faster and that therefore such 'entrepreneurship' should be tolerated. He regarded this as economically false and thought that economists were slowly coming to realise this. 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 permanently, of any participation in the economic development of the country (in the case of a foreign company) or, in the case of 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 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. Mr Galway mentioned two other factors. 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 was not the heavy pressure to achieve these goals and status symbols at any cost, the motivation and outlook would differ. Second, there had been a tendency to think of corruption as a very specialised and separate phenomenon and even to create a separate judicial system for handling it. Some countries had separate corruption courts, separate prosecutors and so on and Mr Galway had doubts about this approach. From what he knew of successful attacks on corruption in those countries, they were convinced from their experience 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 had been built on to what were at one time perfectly normal and justifiable functioning systems of mutual support.

Mr Clifford made the point that it had been shown in the literature that where there were established bureaucracies which were so stiff and 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. This meant that instead of waiting five months for a licence you got one in two months. This kind of thing introduced another element in the sense that in planning for the future we had to remember that sometimes we had created corruption by the size and inflexibility of our bureaucracies.

Miss Melup raised the problem of a possible conflict between sectors, for example, 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 suffic-

iently — or have sufficient resources to absorb the educated people being offered. Expectations had been raised, disillusionment had followed and a highly criminogenic situation may have been created by this disparity between sectoral goals and programs.

Mr Clifford thought that this raised fundamental issues of policy similar to those in education which had been reviewed when Professor Delaney's presentation was discussed. He referred to the situation in Ghana in the early sixties when the problem identified by Miss Melup had arisen. 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 had been many people who had condemned the educational 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.

However 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, especially where they were 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 potential 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 who were 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 this underlined the importance of coordinating 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 criminogenic situations. Within the criminal justice system itself there was the acute problem of lack of coincidence between the policies of the police, courts and corrections. This made for dysfunctionality and provided an incentive for integrated national planning — including the planning of crime prevention.

Mr Vafai (Iran) agreed that there was often a conflict between helping each person to realise his full 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 resulting from this conflict.

Mr Galway adduced the experience of Tanzania. That country had had to decide with its limited resources between a very low-level education for everyone or a better education for a percentage (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, Mr Galway stressed 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 educational system serving this selected percentage, there were set up social education programs for people of all ages who were not attending 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 programs and had developed technical or craft schools. But everywhere, the problem of 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 (observer) 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 the Second World War there had not been much of a problem. But in the 1960s there was a vast problem. For this there was no plan of attack — no well-considered program. As the narcotic problem grew, everyone jumped in unsystematically. The Health Department set up programs to deal with it as a health problem, the Department of Corrections saw it as related to crime and 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 there 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. In tracing the organisations involved in treating addicts or organising programs 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 houses set up by ex-addicts themselves. From trying to find out what people were doing with and for addicts and from 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 Pennsylvania 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 field who were demanding more and more money.

The Pennsylvania unit eventually decided to set up what would be called a core program, that is, an intake process. Every addict was to be processed through this intake or core program in which problems were diagnosed and referrals made to one or other of the many other programs then in operation. 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 coordinated 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 coordination of rehabilitation programs but also with law enforcement — everything came under the one bureau which was a government service. However, there was also established in Singapore an anti-narcotics agency to coordinate all the voluntary work in this field.

Mr Clifford said that the presentation was an excellent demon-

stration of the need for planning of specific projects at a micro level but that there could be difficulties in conception if the macro and micro levels became confused in planning terms. Some of the participants from developing countries were unlikely to encounter problems in such terms simply because money would never be there in sufficient amounts for governments to disburse it to anyone in the community with a good idea or a good program. 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, that is, a person who was not only a drug addict but also a delinquent or a mental patient. Did he have to go through more than one core? Professor Adler said that the core unit tried to act as the core for all problems.

5

Methods and Techniques of Crime Prevention Planning

Presentation on Behalf of the Two Discussion Leaders

Mr Clifford said that he and Miss Melup had worked together for a long time on the ideas which would now be dealt with. He therefore hoped that she would correct or adjust any of the information which he would present.

In dealing with planning methods and techniques, there was still the need, which had already been noted, to keep in mind the differences of perception regarding the levels of application and the need to adjust methods and techniques to macro and micro levels. There might also be differences in the interpretations of terminology. Mr Clifford 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 the connotation of social administration at the national level involving ministries, services, 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, extremely difficult for Americans to think in broad national terms because of their 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 difference of perception had to be borne in mind if grave mistakes were to be

avoided.

Mr Clifford said that when we use words like planning, program and project, we could be thinking of the planning of a single service with its program of activities and the projects linked into programs, or we could be looking at combinations of departments or services with programs running across various ministries and with projects which were not local but national in scope. Similar principles were involved in building a gymnasium, that is, getting together the architect, contractors, financiers and users into a coordinated unit, as were involved in setting up a commission with membership from all the various ministries to coordinate a national plan.

One of the problems for any kind of planning was that of getting clear and unconflicting objectives. Criminal justice had been bedevilled by contradictory objectives and was still in grave difficulties. Internationally, it was significant that there were high crime rates in those countries which tried to accommodate a variety of different value systems and greater freedom of movement and expression. Obviously, less crime occurred where there was less freedom, 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, as much as for any other reason that ideologically united or religiously united societies, such as Moslem societies and 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. 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 coordination. 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 other's activities.

However, the attempt to get coordinated 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 were being examined and efforts were being made to try to do better in the future. The need for this kind of mutual understanding of what was happening was shown by the papers which he had been reading for the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements which was to take place in Vancouver in 1976.

Human settlements by definition must encompass all the different ways in which people live and have problems living together. So many of these were covered in the preparatory papers for the Conference. 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 was so firmly excluded from consideration that it looked as if all that citizens had to worry about was their physical and social welfare and everything else would take care of itself. One of the most conspicuous facts that had been ignored was 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 a widespread habit of excluding crime from consideration in national planning or in local planning, Mr Clifford said. He referred to his own experience in Kenya some years ago when as a member of a United Nations team for technical assistance, he was examining the planning which was being done in all the social sectors: education, health, public administration, local government, labour, etc. He had not been asked to look at crime prevention and control, 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 a very large proportion of the national income was being spent on social defence services. When Mr Clifford 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 Mr Clifford 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 to 16 per cent of their budgets on crime prevention and criminal justice services as compared with America's 3 per cent and the smaller amounts spent in many other parts of the world. Moreover this 3 to 16 per cent was spent only on those items in the budget which could be clearly identified as criminal justice: police, courts and corrections. 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.

However, 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 was an important part of the educational process and in every country represented at this course it should be possible to calculate how much was being spent on crime and how this could be better spent. It was a method of focusing attention where it was badly needed.

Returning to the need for coordination, Mr Clifford then said that it was important to have an organisational 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 coordination and should then be provided with the money.

However, it was futile to imagine — as most people with experience of government would understand — that interdepartmental committees alone could achieve coordination. Anyone who had sat on these committees understood the process whereby there was 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 coordinate everyone else.

On these committees, without additional funds, there was a willingness to coordinate providing one did not interfere with each representative ministry's operation of its own schemes. As long as they were getting their own money separately through the Treasury for their own programs then it was extremely difficult to persuade them to pool some of this in the interests of coordination. However, once the structure was established, it was not so difficult to make money available for the purposes of coordination so that the ministries could then obtain additional funds providing that projects were coordinated and met all the requirements of the coordinating body.

Mr Clifford then drew attention to the list of possible techniques applicable to planning which had been provided by Professor Delaney. 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 attitude prevailing 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, even 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 to programs 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 allowed for. In fact, to fund in

this way was to invite mismanagement and venality, that is, 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. Using education, for an example; if there were now 200 schools and 400 schools was 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 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 the question of what efficiency meant.

Again it needed to be recognised that any plan should be dynamic, not static. This meant that it should be sensitive to feedback and could be modified where necessary. Also, it would need figures and Mr Clifford said that the limitations of crime statistics were always realised. Method and accuracy as well as analysis of crime statistics needed improvement. There was a modern attempt to set the figures for official cases dealt with against the data provided by victimisation surveys.

All this was important, but Mr Clifford said that 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, GNPs, etc., — must not be overlooked. He gave examples of discrepancies in export figures from one country when counted as imports to the other and of a British mistake in its capital reserve figures because of a computer mistake of 20 per cent. Against this crime figures did not seem so bad. 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 to help him get his direction clear.

It was necessary always to look at the services involved in crime prevention as an interrelated system. It was not enough to see if each service worked — the way it worked in relation to the other services also had to be examined. 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 was difficult to apply to criminal justice. However, in the paper circulated, a complete example had been provided of the cost-effectiveness approach 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' for example, 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 his labour in some other sector like agriculture or industry.

Program budgeting 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 was now being accorded. Critical path analysis was an attempt to identify a process at each decision stage, showing options and deciding on possible deadlines.

Simulation models and the development of future scenarios could also be used in the difficult processes of planning, but simulation models could have prophecy-fulfilling complications, that is, one could unconsciously or consciously proceed towards what has been 'foreseen' or decide on other directions as a result of the 'foreseeing', so that the simulation affected the process it was supposed to be objectively forecasting.

Finally, Mr Clifford said that, criminologists had to provide guidance in three main areas. First, planners needed to know what measures in criminal justice and crime prevention actually worked. We did not know enough about this yet, he said. Second, planners needed to be made more aware of the decision-making process and its dynamics. Third, planners needed as much information as could be made available about past failures in planning. Participants should go back to their countries and collect all the data available on the past planning failures in their countries. 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. From statistics she had the impression that much more was available than was actually being used.

There were some quite inexpensive techniques which could be used. The United Nations had 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 the United Nations and in the OECD in developing integrated systems of social and demographic statistics, and social indicators, including indices of personal safety, public security and 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. Miss Melup's point was that in planning there should be a willingness to look at numerous rather than single indicators of the crime problem.

Miss Melup drew attention to recent work on the cost of crime in various countries and said that some measures of equity in criminal justice systems might eventually be developed. She thought that evaluation could become an inexpensive process if a recent approach by which it took two men only two days to evaluate a program were to be utilised.

As to cost-benefit and resource allocation, these were often less a matter of sophisticated and expensive techniques 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 she said.

She said that one tended to think of computers as prohibitive in cost for the developing countries. However many ministries in developing countries already had computers for other purposes so that for crime prevention planning purposes there was always the possibility of shared computer time.

At the same time a system could be developed, even without

using computers, whereby the total configuration of the pattern of interrelationships of crime control could be kept in perspective. Perhaps the failure of most policies for crime prevention and control today could be attributed 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 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 of reducing and redistributing crime costs, since reducing the total volume of crime *per se* 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.

Much of the discussion was concerned with clarifying 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 what this would mean to the existing responsibilities of ministries – and to a wide variety of coordinating interdepartmental or specialist bodies which had already been created to focus attention on outstanding problems. The possibility of all these conflicting with yet another supervisory coordinating body was considered.

It appeared that there could be no single model for all countries. Planning for the country as a whole was sometimes the responsibility of one ministry, sometimes entrusted to a special organisation or agency and sometimes attempted by interdepartmental or interministerial 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 United States of America had no central commission but it had the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency with the funds to instigate and coordinate 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, confining 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 coordination could be seriously hampered.

It was important 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 carried out under 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 coordination. However national planning is by definition a process which has to cover all official and private economic and social activities. It is designed to command ultimately the rational allocation of national resources. Therefore it could hardly be treated as any other kind of activity which needed coordinating and it required decision-making at the highest level.

Mr Yip Weng Kee described the pattern of organisation in Singapore and Mr Vafai his experience with the Plan Organisation and its subsequent devolution of implementation responsibilities onto the ministries. Mr Montero Castro described how a committee of judges had been set up 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 tried to define the total crime problem and who were collecting data for computerisation to present the crime situation. Proposed solutions to the crime problem could then be studied.

Mr Mueller referred to the need to avoid the multiplication of coordinating bodies as a device for over-riding 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.

Evaluation of Progress in Planning for Crime Prevention and Control

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

In making this presentation Professor Delaney said that he wanted to do four interrelated things. The first was to provide some examples of conspicuous and dramatic failures as a result of non-planning in the United States. Second, he wanted to consider 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 also with some negative experiences. Third, for some positive aspects, he felt that he should deal with success achieved in the United States in terms of program 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. Fourth, he wanted to speak generally on certain principles and conclusions related to evaluation and review.

After World War 2 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 increase the size of the police department. 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 New York State there were about 1,500 inmates in the State correctional system and the operating budget was \$163 million. The cost for an inmate was a minimum of \$13,000 for the year. While this expense may have

been justified, its impact in terms of rehabilitation was now recognised to be minimal. In terms of the protection of the public, the general consensus was that the contribution was extremely modest. If one gauged, therefore, the success or failure of the system from the standpoint of deterring others, the general consensus was that the contribution was extremely low. If one gauged the success or failure of this system from the standpoint of the contribution to the public good, it was almost nil because the prisoners were shut up in large prisons, isolated in rural areas. This created a situation where the public spent an enormous amount of money to support prisoners who made no contribution to the public welfare while in prison and who, when they came out, frequently returned to crime. Professor Delaney thought that the failure of this model was implied in the kind of questions that have now been asked in terms of alternatives, for example, how many of these men really need to be locked up in prisons? Some of the most experienced superintendents suggested that the proportion was 5, 10 or 20 per cent of the total and that the others could be released. If this was so, then it was a conspicuous demonstration of the failure of the simple monetary approach.

Professor Delaney then spoke about the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Since 1968 billions of dollars had been spent in grants from the Federal Government to police, courts, corrections, delinquency services, etc. It was originally perceived as a crime reduction program. That was the formal purpose, the political purpose and the legislative justification. By that standard it seems to have failed. If on the other hand one judged in terms of improving the quality of justice perhaps it had mixed results. If judged from the standpoint of contributing to the public benefit and using offenders for socially constructive purposes, then once again, the expenditure had produced very modest and mixed results.

The final example of non-planning given by Professor Delaney was of education. In New York City there are about 70,000 teachers and teachers' aides in the public school system and while this system worked for some groups, there was again a general consensus that it failed for tens of thousands of students notwithstanding the enormous expenditure on education. The conclusion, again, was that money itself simply did 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 realistic to expect that merely increasing the number of policemen would halve the problem of crime after World War 2 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 it would cost another one to two billion dollars and that this would still not solve the problem if only because the policemen would be only on one side of the square block. 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.

When it came to prisoners, there were specific ways in which offenders could earn money, perhaps to compensate some of the victims. Maintenance of the typical prison was 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, planning and evaluative, 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 was closely related to crime, the whole emphasis had been on increasing the number of teachers, building more schools, using more teacher equipment — all of which had had a very mixed effect. Again, the application of quite simple analytical evaluation techniques would have made a substantial contribution.

However, this might be too simplistic and one could never escape the question of power. It sometimes was a question of politics and sometimes of motives. The mayor avoids criticism 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, in a sense, symbolic.

At this point Professor Delaney stopped and asked for discussion. Mr Valai referred to the question of educated, unemployed people produced by an educational system quantitatively oriented

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 had eventually become too costly. This was, admittedly, only a way of buying time and using young people in the development of the country. There was 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 labour was employed, because as fast as labour was trained for sophisticated work, advanced machines were produced which made it unnecessary. 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 was being increased rather than decreased. All kinds of measures had been adopted including sending some people back to their rural areas but they only returned. Millions had been spent on rural development but again this did 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 served 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 problems existing among 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 experiences which had been discussed with the problems in the United States. He said that the second part of his presentation was more positive. In the late 1960s in Massachusetts, a State on the eastern seaboard of the United States, conditions and results of training schools were scrutinised. They were mainly reformatories dealing with children who had committed various offences or who were brought into public care, and contained 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 rehabilitation of the young person. Rehabilitation proved to be less successful than expected, the training schools were expensive and there were negative results in terms of exploitation of children by other children, sexual exploitation, physical exploitation and staff brutality. All this received wide publicity. There was a general feeling that admitting large numbers of children to training schools by the official process of arrest, court action and commitment would inevitably produce a criminogenic sub-culture. The children would learn criminal ways from one another and be committed eventually to that style of living. The situation resulted in half a dozen legislative investigations and numerous newspaper exposures. The State Governor had to find someone new to come in and clear up this situation.

A screening committee of public officials and private citizens selected a new Commissioner. For two years he tried to improve the training schools as they existed, to make them more efficient, effective, humane, and rehabilitative, and to get rid of some of the problems already mentioned. At the end of 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 programs.

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 illustrated what useful evaluation could do in covering the variety of political, bureaucratic and other considerations. There was a monitoring and briefing of the legislators. 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 relevant department, where there was conflict between supporters of traditional and innovative methods.

In the discussion which followed the second part of the presentation, Mrs Dewdney, an observer, said that she had just spent 16 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 an optimal level would be reached. Continuous follow-up was needed because the results might not be as expected. She had attended a law school seminar

which had qualms about the decision to switch the system so dramatically. The real problems were beginning to emerge. She was pleased that Scandinavian countries were compiling lists of failures. This was the beginning of a really scientific approach to crime prevention planning, she said.

Professor Delaney agreed with this. There were really two criteria for evaluation: the measurement of projects against stated goals (for example, crime reduction, or increased efficiency of criminal justice services) and the justice, fairness or 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 perhaps eliminating brutality and making human dignity a priority in the determination of conditions. There were minimum standards which might 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 when dealing with the problem of youth and youth unemployment, we were dealing with deep political, social and economic issues. We could not think here just of planning techniques but of deeper value judgements for society as a whole. They affected the way in which the citizens' lives 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 criminals. Unfortunately, when they did it caught the public eye far more than the 99 per cent of the unemployed youth who did not become criminal, so that governments needed to be given precise recommendations on how 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 to looking at the personal and familiar, which in a longer sense was also political, social, economic and cultural. In our personal lives we were expressing a personal drama, a familiar role, an odyssey in life which had enormous meaning for us, but it also had its part in 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 he had circulated which delineated in systematic form some of the processes that one might go through in evaluating any specific program or group of programs. He reiterated that any planning or any attempt at an analytical approach that did not include an emphasis on evaluation was incomplete. This form of evaluation should apply not only to experimental or new programs but also to all existing programs. It was interesting to note that, although rehabilitation programs were now being very carefully evaluated and found defective, there appeared to be no similar focus upon the evaluation of retributive or general deterrence programs.

Professor Delaney said that research was not simply technical, neutral, technological or scientific. It involved a choice of 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, had called 'agency research', that is, research commissioned by agencies to justify their programs. The political, bureaucratic and social contexts tended to determine what research questions were asked and what research directions were followed. It was not only what was done in research and evaluation but what was *not* done. This was true not only in economics but also in terms of selectivity of research. Research into rehabilitation could mean not research into retribution, deterrence and the criminogenic elements of the criminal justice system itself — but rather wider political, economic or social research which had relevance to the problem of crime and its treatment. While research techniques and planning techniques were presumably neutral, their use was not neutral, it was political, bureaucratic and social.

Professor Delaney said that there was a continuing need for scepticism regarding data, a realisation that data emerging from official statistics was really very selective. Although it provided numbers and might appear to be hard, this type of data was really very soft because it left untouched the so-called 'dark figure' of crime and it was usually inadequate as regards business crime, professional crime and corruption. Therefore the question of facts or data must always 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 collecting 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 every professional sub-culture. Researchers and evaluators build up their own professional jargon, styles of operation and 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, that is, money or other values, there were five essential questions to be asked:

1. What were the objectives – were they achieved? (Each project should ideally begin with a statement of objectives.)
2. Are the objectives still relevant?
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, she said. To what extent, for example, are health services or crime prevention services distributed fairly throughout the community? She added that in studies done of evaluation it had been shown that there was a fallacious kind of reasoning associated with programs which have concentrated upon change in the offender as a criterion for success or failure. The recidivist criterion 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 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 programs 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 of whether the evaluators should be

part of the planning team or independent, and who should evaluate the evaluators? Professor Delaney thought that they ought to be integrated administratively but he still hoped 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 of programs for the prevention 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 one capable of judging and making pronouncements, he said.

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.

Utilisation of Research Results in Criminal Policy Formulation and Planning

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

Mr Galway began by reiterating those points already made during discussions. 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 1975, great stress had been laid upon the usefulness of simple, so-called 'soft data research'. Second, the strong tendency in some countries to concentrate on particularist and clinical studies which absorbed specialists and vast amounts of scarce resources and which had little relationship to the need for studies which could feed back into policy-making and policy development.

Finally, the maintenance of a mystique by researchers which he felt was dangerous because it cut them off from the keepers of data — and could cut off their colleagues from the kind of cooperation they needed. While the researcher could regard himself as shaking up the establishment, he felt that there should be caution exercised in playing this role especially in the Third World. Those who wanted 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 hinder progress.

Mr Galway said that despite lip service the world situation regarding support of research and use of its results in policy-making were not encouraging. There had been a few studies done of the relationship between research and policy development and they had been discouraging. Some time ago Professor Katja

Vodopivec of Yugoslavia conducted 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 policy-makers. Her report was discouraging. More recently there had been more sophisticated studies of the ways in which research results reach policy-makers, the extent of distribution of material and the capacity of administrators and policy-makers to digest research findings — again with discouraging results.

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

While lip service was paid to the need for research, administrators and policy-makers remained reluctant and suspicious. They 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 carried out. It had been difficult for policy-makers to understand 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 formulation. Mr Galway said that while visiting other countries he had been able to sit down with probation officers and in a few days 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 had not made adequate use of sample surveys available from general agencies — to check possible public reactions.

An important issue for policy-makers and consumers of research was the identification and articulation of their own research needs. It was important for the researcher to have his work relevant and useful not only for potential consumers but also to have access to data which he required. He had to demonstrate his usefulness to the potential consumer of all the collaborative effort that was necessary 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 policy-makers and heavily pressed administrators in simply giving access to staff, files, inmates and court materials over the required period. On one hand there was a tendency in many countries for such data to be classified as confidential in the sense that it was unnecessarily unavailable to researchers. This often came from an old police and prisons orientation within defence or national security systems. On the other hand, when administrators provided full access at what they regarded 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 cooperation.

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

In collaboration between potential consumer and researcher, it was also important that whatever was to be done should be relevant, that is, something which was of concern to policy-makers and planners and perhaps to the public generally. Again, it had to be something that someone could do something about. It was extremely important that problems be tackled where there was a reasonable assumption that research results could influence choices of future policy and programs. Too often research pointed to things which hopefully might be done but which, in reality — under 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.

While 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, research resources and research facilities had sometimes been created 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. At a conference on the utilisation of research in policy 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. 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. 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 used advanced types of equipment. Frequently these facilities could be used by crime prevention specialists to set up criminological research projects, to help analyse data and to help establish the collection of data into meaningful forms. However this kind of aid was rarely requested.

Discussion

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

Mr Mueller said that those possessing information about 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 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 researchers and administrators. Senior administrators in these countries had generally come up through the ranks and had not had the advantages of higher education. The bright, better educated younger person seeking more rapid advancement had gone abroad to improve his educational status and sometimes returned to do research. When he approached administrators, there was not only the complication of different levels of education but also 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. Even in Europe and North America it was difficult 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 might be qualified and have research experience themselves — they were now sometimes being recruited from the universities. However this was something which it was not always easy for the developing countries to do.

Professor Adler gave an example of how the name of an outside research team going into an agency was changed to 'technical assistants' — with encouraging results. While collecting its own information, the team did a job for the agency by keeping information flowing to its administrators. 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 was better if an office or agency did not regard the research as deliberately evaluative but as a project in which they were involved. If the researchers worked with the line staff on joint projects, these were 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 the experience in Singapore where efforts had been made to set up a coordinated form of research to cover police, prisons, social welfare, etc. This had failed for lack of funds but, while 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. This has not happened. Moreover, it seemed to be a mistake to have put training and research together because the section tended to do more training than research. At present, in Singapore, there is a coordinating 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 administrators, the researchers and technical assistance experts who might be supplied by multilateral 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 had to satisfy either those who provided the funds for research or maybe his professor who had identified a particular task within a selected and perhaps academically oriented concept or frame of reference.

The researcher, to satisfy these expectations, might need to collect knowledge which served his own purposes but which did not satisfy the line requirements. When administrator and researcher came together, what might look like cooperation was in fact 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 well as nationally there were fashions. Experts sometimes went from country to country starting the same kinds of projects favoured by the head office whether or not

the particular project was really in keeping with a country's needs. Of course the country had to agree and even apply for the project, but this was 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 the Treasury. Very often there might be three persons or types of persons engaged on the same project but pulling three ways.

Mr Pinto (Peru) said that having outside researchers come into a department was not always 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 many problems to deal with, including improving environmental conditions and reducing inequalities. Research might not be unbiased.

Mr Mueller welcomed this contribution because while one usually thought of research as widening the options for planners and policy-makers, it could in fact reduce them. Research should avoid political involvement if it was to preserve freedom for policy-makers.

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 objectives which were often in conflict, but he felt that the matter went beyond objectives. 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 could talk and pretend in quite a sincere way to be discussing something jointly, and even agreeing with each other, when in fact there was little communication between them because of different mental constructs with which

they worked. So often the different professions pretended to agree and pretended to work together but the differences persisted to obstruct and defeat evaluation, planning and program implementation.

Mrs Dewdney (observer), took up the point made by Mr Pinto that outside researchers were not always practical and gave an example from her own experience. The Correctional Service, where she was head of a research section, had many requests from outside researchers to come into the system to carry out inquiries. It was 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 prisons, talking to inmates and developing ideas in exploratory discussions with them. This was very difficult to fit into the daily routine of institutions and Mrs Dewdney's section had devised a questionnaire for each applicant researcher to complete - giving details of aims and proposed methodology. Merely calling for such a questionnaire to be completed had helped to crystallise the thinking of many applicant researchers, and of their supervisors. In addition, the questionnaire sought the researcher's opinion on what immediate or long-term practical benefits the research proposed might have.

This proved useful for the section which could then go round to the various sections of the Correctional Service inquiring whether there was need for research, and in what 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 said 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 could be able to centralise a mass of data already available on probation, parole and prison statistics. She thought it remarkable that there were subjects that people said needed research yet took for granted that no data had been collected. Her experience was that there were masses of data but, as had been said earlier, with no system.

From an internal information core of this kind could flow monthly statistics, weekly statistics, and yearly statistics. Most of

the information required internally and externally could be provided. It was not always as suspect as had been implied when a Department did not provide information to researcher workers. Often the information was just not available in the required form. But if there was an internal research unit, the information could be made available more easily. Also, the reluctance to impart information from a department had been due partly to a tendency towards simplistic interpretation – by the public, politicians and academics. An internal research unit could provide not only the needed information but also an analysis of it.

Finally, in providing regular statistical and other information on every part of the department, 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 should be presented in a comprehensible way. In many cases there was a need for the results of research to be rewritten for the layman.

Training for Planning in Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice

SECTORAL TRAINING

Presentation by the Discussion Leader

Mr Mueller began by issuing three warnings: against overlooking the significance of in-service training, as well as formal courses; against 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 at hand. Mr Mueller then presented his concept of the training process in the criminal justice system in diagrammatic form. He traced needs of different professions and aligned them with kinds of subjects which needed to be taught. From this he sought to link training to manpower requirements – and to the relative costs of different levels of training.

Applying cost-benefit considerations, he said 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 Ph.D. level, it would be possible to train a large number of policemen. 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 was 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. 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 should also be direct lateral entry of better qualified people from outside to some of the higher levels.

Mr Clifford said he 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 especially in the developing countries there was a limited reserve of qualified or qualifiable people. Why not 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 seemed to meet the shortage of professional personnel — and volunteers could be incorporated as appropriate. Crash training programs or specially designed *ad hoc* training could provide a means of developing longer-term and better systems from the acquired experience.

Mr Vafai said that in Iran they had established a Police University with different faculties for different ranks. The courses varied 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 occurring as frequently 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, he said. People who had qualified in law or for the police were not prepared to go on serving unless they got a promotion when they expected it. Mr Zayed said he 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 said he thought that crime prevention training should be incorporated into some of the police and law schools. It should be taught as a subject. Mr Clifford agreed with this, providing 'crime prevention' was given the broader meaning understood by this course. There was also 'crime prevention' in purely police terminology which was concerned simply with the locking of doors, securing cars or property, etc.

TRAINING INTERSECTORALLY

Presentation by Discussion Leader

Mr Clifford said the concept of training for crime prevention planning should include various sectors outside direct crime prevention and criminal justice which would need to become involved in any form of integrated planning. One needed an idea of national planning such as was typical of developing countries, where 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 such as the United States of America, this kind of national development planning was difficult to conceive. Indeed merely to think of planning specialised criminal justice services in 50 states, such as in the USA or in 30 states such 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, fully understanding planning procedures, as well as appreciating difficulties being experienced in other sectors, such as health, education, labour, etc. They could also be professional planners who had been trained in criminology, understanding the problems of crime prevention and criminal justice, and appreciating 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 other's problems. Planners and criminal justice specialists must communicate with each other to allow a fuller understanding of each other's needs and potential contributions.

Part of this could be done in courses currently 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. Subjects of interest to one sector could be 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, now occurring within universities and other teaching institutions.

To provide competent, qualified crime prevention planners, training 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, or psychologist, or have professional training in police, prisons or corrections. Then he would have to undergo equally intensive training in planning. This would include economics and statistics as well as applied sciences relevant to planning. This kind of specialisation would be extremely difficult to provide and we could only expect it to develop in the long-term.

However planning for crime prevention was needed now. Therefore it would have to be ensured that planning would be done by people who were competent. This meant building on existing specialisations, that is, taking trained and qualified planners and alerting them to the problems in crime prevention and

criminal justice; and taking crime prevention and criminal justice experts and training them in planning methods and orientations. This could only be done with people at higher levels who were already policy-makers and who could be spared from their jobs long enough for this kind of training to be given.

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 in institutes and institutions where the problem was understood and this meant bringing into focus the existing institutions doing this kind of work, for example, the United Nations' regional institutes and the Australian Institute of Criminology.

Discussion

Mr Galway said he had been delighted to learn of the inclusion of information on national development planning in 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's 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 required to obtain intersectoral training.

Mr Galway said he could see no reason why courses in social statistics could not be introduced into the ordinary training of police, corrections and judiciary personnel. Discussion had already shown that the field is awash with data inadequately used and often regarded as a nuisance. This attitude stemmed in part from a lack of appreciation of statistics and the proper use of statistics. He said at certain levels in various professional courses, some appreciation of social research should be introduced. In his opinion there was a staggering lack of information on the national resources which were available to a practitioner to assist him in analysis and evaluation, and in developing social perspectives. It would be valuable for each of the professional courses to have included in their curricula, a complete inventory of the resources of the public and private sectors which criminal justice personnel

might call upon in analysing policy and program development, Mr Galway said.

Dr Schmalzbach (observer), a psychiatrist, felt that the entire course had emphasised sociological and environmental work and had ignored psychiatric elements. He felt that this should not be omitted from consideration.

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

Mr Clifford said that in the total perspective of training for crime prevention planning, it was naturally assumed that psychiatry would take its place among 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 coming before the courts and the provision of institutions to deal with them adequately would naturally come into the whole planning area. The way such psychiatric offenders should be dealt with — in or out of institutions, in ordinary hospitals, in their own homes, etc., — should be considered. It was essential that prison medical officers had sufficient background training to deal with this kind of case. In the developing countries this might not be too easy to provide.

Mr Mueller said that Professor Adler was teaching at a school recently established by the State of New Jersey where she helped design curricula aimed primarily at senior level law enforcement personnel with college degrees. 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. Mr Mueller gave examples of the curricula and the requirements, showing that each student had to cover a wide perspective in his choice of subjects.

Mr Galway, returning to his earlier point, said that it might be useful for criminal justice and crime prevention personnel to attend (if only as observers) social welfare courses sponsored by the World Health Organisation, UNESCO and the United Nations

which dealt with the subject of planning. The fields of health and education had started planning much faster than other sectors, and there was now even 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 using this in 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 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.

9

Enlisting Community Support of and Participation in Crime Prevention Planning

Presentation by Discussion Leader

Professor Versele approached this subject by suggesting that since crime was a social phenomenon, why could not society 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 professionals or technicians — police, judges and prison guards. The community paid others so that it could avoid the problem and it was necessary to make the public aware that crime concerns everyone. All should become involved with this problem, 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 measures applied by officials would depend upon acceptance by the community and its willingness to intervene.

In Belgium there were innumerable agencies for dealing with young people and specialised juvenile courts. However the results were so unsatisfactory that young people had recently set up their own centres, giving advice and help without formality and without even asking for names and addresses. Similar non-governmental agencies had developed which dealt with drug victims. There had also emerged 'store-front lawyers', accessible to anyone who wanted to seek aid. There were also three clinics to non-officially help girls who wanted an abortion. All these were community services set up to provide what the official services were not providing. Yet it was odd that while some of them received subsid-

ies from the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Justice sent the police to raid them. There were good reasons why efforts to educate the public should be concentrated upon the rising generation, Professor Versele said.

Discussion

The Chairman thanked Professor Versele, who had also asked for examples of public involvement in other countries, and invited contributions.

Mr Yip Weng Kee said that this kind of public education campaign had been undertaken in Singapore. There the community development effort was coordinated 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 drew on the participation of schools, community leaders and community agencies. At 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 on society, the causes of crime in society and aspects of crime and more general social controls.

Apart from this, 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 were trained as police officers. 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.

This mobilisation of youth helped to eradicate the long hair and hippie problems among young people.

Within the school setting, children at the 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 crime prevention or with criminal justice services. Among 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 although non-governmental and including businessmen, had police and correctional service representation.

Mr Clifford said he thought that there could be different conceptions of the kinds of associations described by Professor Versele for Belgium 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 USA (for example, store-front legal services and drug addict counselling services). All these things emerged because the people involved were opposed to the system and they wanted a separate system of their own. They were in fact politically different – and Mr Clifford thought this 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 rather extensions of existing and established services deeper into the community. Mr Clifford referred back to earlier discussions about planning for crime prevention in societies with deep value conflicts and in societies which did not have these conflicts. This dichotomy of approaches to community response was a good example of this, he said.

Mr Jayawickrama (Sri Lanka) referred to the pattern of citizens' associations in Sri Lanka. Many 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 could be called upon by the police in time of need. These rural volunteers sometimes went out on patrol with the police. The police in Sri Lanka also helped discharged prisoners and tried to find employment for ex-prisoners. A police commission, appointed about eight years ago, had issued a report, a paragraph of which Mr Jayawickrama read out as he thought it would be of interest to the participants in the courts:

'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 felt by 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 cooperation can be gained. The outlook and attitude of mind towards the public has to change. Courtous 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 referred to the problem of a person having to rehabilitate himself after a prison sentence. His criminal record followed him and militated against community attempts to reabsorb him. Sri Lanka 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 received a small government subsidy but was essentially a voluntary and community effort. It ran a half-way house and helped ex-prisoners to obtain employment. The Singapore Council of Social Service was also a voluntary agency. There was a wide range of voluntary associations in the country, participating in the social service program — which included social defence. The government input was a good deal less than the voluntary input.

In Singapore there were many high-rise housing estates in which crime and delinquency proliferated. 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 addressed the people he reminded them about revealing the wrong-doers,

especially thieves, because, he said, they were the ruin of society. He appealed to people to come forward and report crimes.

Formerly in Kenya, the society was always involved in what was happening, that is, 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. It accepted responsibility, when necessary, for what he did by providing the compensation necessary for those wronged. All this was disappearing with the growth of cities and large communities, and Mr Valai said he 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 commonsense types of laws and forms of conduct which should be incorporated into the normal process of formal education.

Regional and Interregional 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 was asked what he wanted for the next year or the year after and he began to ask for resources. If civil or other trouble broke out, he might get more resources than he expected, perhaps more than he could handle. There were many developing countries where networks of police stations were created when disturbances were growing on the eve of independence. However this was not the kind of planning for crime prevention with which this course was really concerned.

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 failing to obtain resources for the development of better crime prevention work in the developing countries from the earlier United Nations Technical Assistance Board, the earlier Special Fund and the present United Nations Development Program. It became quickly evident that planning for economic and even for social development in the developing regions was ignoring the area of crime 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. However 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 on industry, commerce, education, etc., were unable to concentrate on their 'developmental' work because of their 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. 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 point out 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. This would then qualify them 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 meetings and international congresses on crime prevention and the treatment of offenders. 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, subsequently, at 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. They had 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, planning courses were organised by the regional United Nations training and research institutes.

A basic need was for priority to be accorded by each government in its requests for aid. Participants would need to alert their governments to the resources, national and international, available to develop the area of crime prevention planning, but the requesting governments must be prepared to accord it the appropriate degree of importance. In this respect, there had often been in the

past a lack of adequate communication between 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 the regional institutes around the world. The importance of an interflow of ideas and the long-term consequences were not appreciated enough, he said. But he had been impressed with Mr Dhavee Choosup's account of what had happened in Thailand. Mr Choosup had in 1973 attended a United Nations seminar in Denmark on the use of research. Upon his return to Thailand he had put the recommendations into practice and thus, for this course was able to prepare a well-researched paper for Thailand. Providing continuity by allowing some people to participate in more than one meeting on the same subject, a body of expertise could be built up. Identifiable international experts could develop subjects in different types of courses around the world — and, of course, 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 underestimated, at times, the difficulty of obtaining information from different countries, Mr Clifford said. There was the obvious problem of language barriers, but it went deeper than that. The participants had been around the table for a week, listening to experts, sharing experiences and hearing a great deal about each other's countries, but, when all had returned 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 of course would not be readily obtainable. Regional institutes should therefore keep records of such data and become clearinghouses 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 their treasuries. Evidently this was a continuation of the communications gap: crime subjects, even crime prevention planning, was not regarded as their domain. Because of that, one had been preaching this week to the converted, he said. This underlined the need to get into and use, as Mr Galway stressed, the services and facilities available 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 in crime prevention. 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 said.

He explained the work of the small headquarters section 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 crime trends and research efforts so as to create a data bank of research results which could be computerised and made available to anyone needing it. The Rome Institute was not yet geared to report on data not as yet within the public domain, that is, the experience that had been gathered within police departments, planning agencies, and correctional systems around the world, even within the research community itself. However 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 yet, however, progressed very far with its research. Chronologically, the second regional institute was that in Cairo, Egypt, which, at one time had the ambition of servicing the entire African and Middle East area. However it was finding it difficult to reach south of the Sahara, so that it served principally the Arab countries. It was engaged in research and had conducted a series of training courses, so that its graduates were to be found all around the Arab and African region.

The third regional institute was that for Latin America recently set up in Costa Rica. Its director, Mr Montero Castro, was a participant in this course. Efforts were now being made to establish another institute at Helsinki to bridge the barrier which often arose between socialist and non-socialist countries in this type of work. Funding was being sought 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 referred to the United Nations system of national correspondents on crime prevention and criminal justice which enabled the headquarters unit to keep in touch with what was happening.

Mr Galway added four points to the discussion. First, he thought that the emphasis which countries might place upon the aid they needed for research or planning aspects of crime prevention was not only strategic in terms of the application (because it 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 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. Second, sufficient use had not been made of the potential which the United Nations technical assistance programs 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 asked the help of UNDP to mount a national meeting on the utilisation 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 subject. This had the double effect of creating awareness in the thinking of those in the criminal justice field, and of enlightening planners on the need for more planning attention in this field. The idea could be exploited by other countries.

Third, Mr Galway drew attention to the recommendations of the Fourth and Fifth United Nations Congresses on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, referring to the need for 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 the Fifth Congress in Geneva had expressed regret that the countries of Asia had not followed it up since Australia was ready and willing to cooperate. Fourth, 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 that a recommendation be made by the participants of this course that the Australian Institute of Criminology should be invited to extend such aid and that it should be regarded as of great assistance to those countries and to the United Nations. Finally, Mr Galway said he felt that it would be helpful to those responsible for United Nations programs if participants could clearly identify the particular types of help they felt they needed most.

Miss Melup, referring to the importance of alerting governments to needs in the criminal justice area, cited the experience of Mr Galway as a former United Nations Interregional Adviser in 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 Interregional Adviser for this kind of work who has had to be suspended because of financial constraints. 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, needed at both national and international levels.

Similarly, governments could seek fellowships for their representatives to allow them to undertake study or observation tours or periods of training in specific areas. There had been both

individually arranged study tours of this kind and group study tours involving representatives of several countries following the same program of visits as a group. This meant that practitioners could help with the exchange of information and also 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 action in crime prevention 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 Rican Government entirely to get the Latin American Institute operational. Finally Miss Melup spoke of the need for translations to make relevant information easy to disseminate between countries. Where there were data banks there should be adequate language services so that data could be widely and intelligently used.

Professor Delaney spoke about the work of a variety of non-governmental organisations and 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 said. 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. Groups of directors of research institutes in Europe and North America had also been formed. All of these were able to contribute to the kind of programs for regional and international collaboration which were now being considered.

Conclusions and Recommendations

At its final session, the participants in the course adopted a number of conclusions and recommendations emanating from the proceedings. A number of participants expressed their satisfaction with the course. All were asked to fill out evaluation questionnaires giving their assessment of the course and possible suggestions. Following the closing speeches by the co-directors, the participants adopted a statement of appreciation to the Director and the staff of the Australian Institute of Criminology for the excellent substantive and organisational support of the course, and to the Attorney-General of New South Wales and the New South Wales Police for their valuable cooperation and the host facilities provided.

Development and Crime

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

2. 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. Such a plan must never be formulated as if crime did not exist.

3. Crime cannot be divorced from more general social, cultural, economic and political issues. 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.

4. 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.

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

6. (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

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

8. 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 available options.

9. Criminal policy should be dejuridicised and dedramatised. It should be popularised and socialised, particularly in light of the

fact that traditional retributive systems of criminal justice have failed to prove their effectiveness and have frequently been proven inhumane.

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

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

12. Criminal policy planning presupposes a range of possible choices among different criminological approaches within which specific programs can be formulated.

13. Criminal policy planning requires both broad and long-range policy planning and related, specific and short-term planning aimed at important current issues.

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

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

16. 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. It must apply equally to the 'gilded' number of offenders who often enjoy relative immunity from it.

Cross-Sectoral Planning

17. Regarding cross-sectoral planning: for too long both the public and those in the criminal justice field have 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.

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

19. National planning lately has raised its objective from gross economic development to the maintaining and enhancing of the quality of life. Therefore the time is at hand to ensure that all national efforts are viewed from the perspective of crime prevention and control, particularly in view of the enormous and growing burden which criminality, and the machinery to deal with it, places upon society. It follows 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 prevention. In such an undertaking, specialists in crime prevention should be expected to play a collaborative role.

20. Since sectoral planning (agricultural, and 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 in 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 programs are appropriate to society's capacity to incorporate them without detriment to its well-being.

21. 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 cooperation (for example, 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.

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

Methods and Techniques

23. Regarding planning methods and techniques, it was noted 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.

24. 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 reorganisation or which emerge in spite of it.

25. 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 may of course adopt more ambitious or inspiring objectives since they are not hampered by ideological conflicts.

26. 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 assessing current and prospective requirements in the crime field and available means. Planning means a rationalisation of expenditures.

27. Crime prevention planners will need to use all the techniques available to economic and social planners, that is, data-gathering and analysis (including official crime statistics and indicators and data obtained through sampling procedures such as victimisation surveys), establishment of bench-marks, cost-benefit analysis, program 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.

Organisation and Implementation

28 In order to facilitate intersectorally coordinated approaches to crime prevention planning, a powerful policy and planning agency must be established in every planning jurisdiction (international, national, regional, local). The structural form of such a body depends on governmental circumstances. It could be a central commission or agency, an inter-disciplinary or inter-agency committee, a coordinating council or an institute or core group. Such a body, established to coordinate crime prevention planning, would have to include representatives of all the services and

organisations likely to be involved, yet be small enough to serve as a task force. The pattern of such a coordinating body will differ according to the country; federal systems, for example, may have to adopt different approaches from unitary States.

29. 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.

30. 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.

31. 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

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

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

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

35. Criminal policy research and evaluation should be aimed at fundamental matters of fairness and humaneness as well as to crime reduction efforts. The impact of crime upon victims and degrading and brutalising practices directed against offenders should be included.

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

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

- (a) Determining the scope of evaluation, for example, the specific program focus or the emphasis of several related programs.
- (b) Specifying program objectives.
- (c) Specifying processes by which the program seeks to achieve objectives.
- (d) Identifying evaluation measures for the program, for example, crime reduction, fairness and humaneness.
- (e) Determining realistic data needs.
- (f) Determining methods of analysis.
- (g) Monitoring implementation of the evaluation plan.
- (h) Assessing the degree of success or failure and the reasons for the results (including unintended results).

Utilisation of Research Results in Policy Formulation and Planning

38. It must be acknowledged that there is inadequate utilisation 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 policy-makers and administrators to articulate research needs.
- (d) An unfortunate tendency for researchers to approach their tasks and reveal their findings in a complex, esoteric and often unsympathetic manner.

39. 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) Become concerned with questions about which enlightenment is genuinely sought.
- (d) Tackle problems permitting the testing of alternative policies and programs adopted in the light of research findings.

40. Policy-makers 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 decision-making that will be more evaluative and innovative than is now the case. Furthermore, practitioners should define the subjects for research and the approach to the task and become involved in the interpretation of the results.

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

42. To assure the availability of research resources for policy planning, caution should be exercised in attempting to have research units become 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.

43. It must be recognised that research will not, and should not, be the exclusive basis for policy formulation and planning. The reality is that political, social and humanitarian, 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 essential, although not exclusive, resources.

Training

44. Training for planning to prevent crime must begin with the adequate preparation of professionals in their own fields. There must be effective basic training within the criminal justice system. Law enforcement, court and correctional personnel must be exposed to each other's expertise. The necessary legal, sociological, psychological and other elements of a total training program must also be included. However, this is not sufficient. It is also important to establish communication between planners and criminal justice specialists, to sensitise planners to crime prevention needs, and to acquaint criminal justice personnel with the scope and techniques of planning.

45. An effort should be made to include planners from other sectors (for example, health or education) in criminal justice courses, and to obtain the participation of criminal justice experts in training programs 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.

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

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

48. 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.

49. 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 relevant disciplines and techniques, the intensity and amount of such training depend on the level of anticipated employment and other particular national circumstances and needs.

50. 'Education sprees' in crime prevention should be avoided. Both over-education and under-education are undesirable and usually cost-unbeneficial. While training programs are necessary to maximise staff capacity, the resulting specialisation 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 sensitisation of the public and training of community volunteers.

51. Training for crime prevention and criminal justice must be future-oriented, that is, anticipating prospective problems and tasks, and modular, that is, allowing for diversified employment of personnel as occasions arise.

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

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

54. Governments should be encouraged to make better use of such United Nations aid as expert services, including those of inter-

regional advisers and fellowships. They should cooperate with the UN in the organisation of courses and the establishment and strengthening of United Nations institutes. This will assure the greatest possible effectiveness of national crime prevention and criminal justice planning.

55. The Australian Institute of Criminology is to hold a course on planning for crime prevention in 1976. It will aim 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 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.

Public Participation

56. 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 public interests and promote public confidence.

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

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

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

Regional and Interregional Cooperation

60. Regarding regional and interregional cooperation, it was emphasised that such cooperation required the full use of: United Nations resources at headquarters; the facilities of the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in Rome; the regional training and research institutes; and the system of national correspondents etc. Use should also be made of units of experts, developed through international and regional courses and meetings on the subject of planning to prevent crime.

61. 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.

Appendix 1

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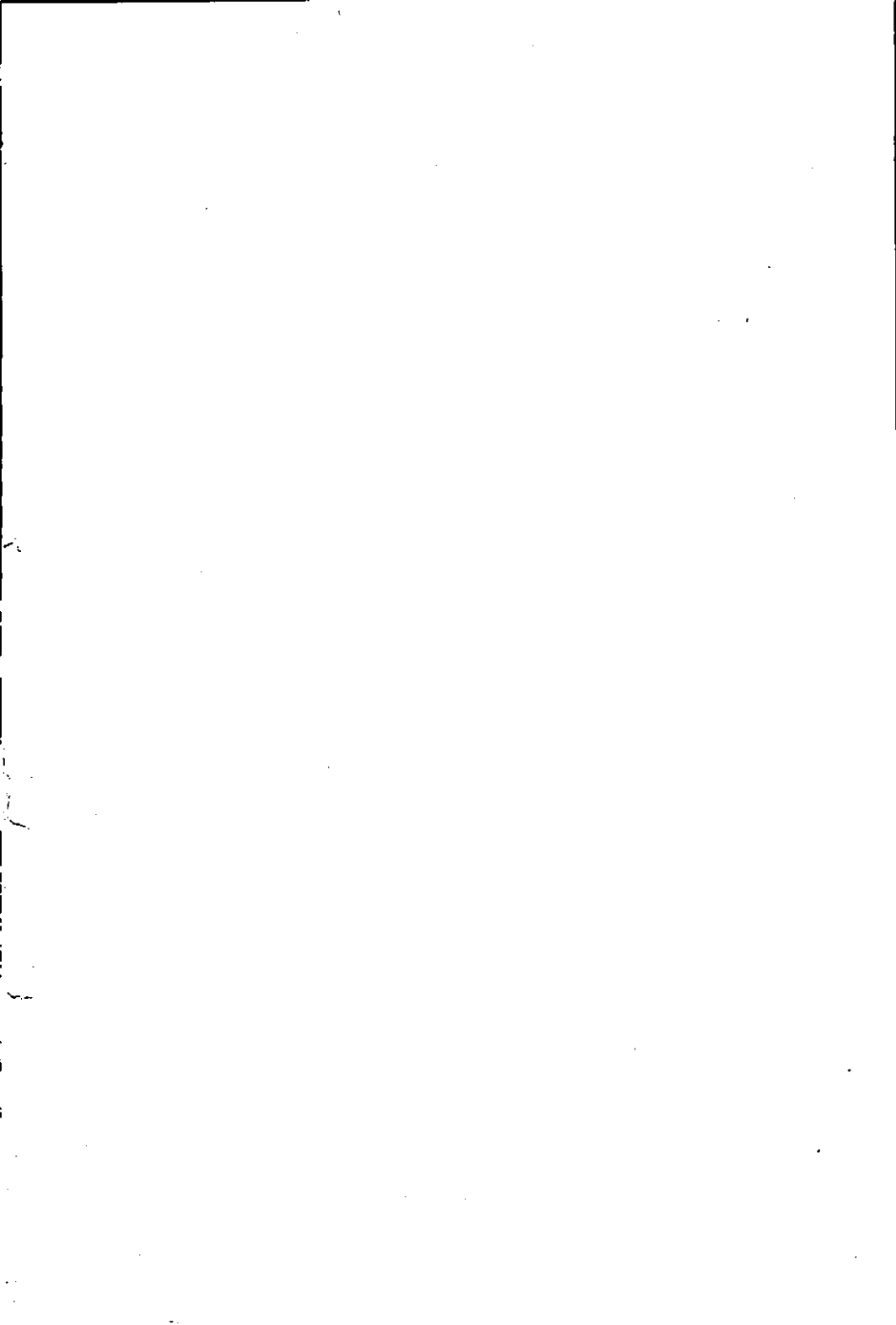
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