

Robert

Crime and Prevention Policy

Kriminologische Forschungsberichte
aus dem
Max-Planck-Institut für
ausländisches und internationales
Strafrecht

Band 60

Herausgegeben von
Prof. Dr. Günther Kaiser

Crime and Prevention Policy

Research and Evaluation

edited by

Philippe Robert

Freiburg i. Br. 1993

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Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Crime and prevention policy: research and evaluation / [Max-Planck-Institut für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht]. Ed. by Philippe Robert. – Freiburg i. Br.: Max-Planck-Inst. für Ausländisches und Internat. Strafrecht, 1993 (Kriminologische Forschungsberichte aus dem Max-Planck-Institut für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht Freiburg i. Br.; Bd. 60)
ISBN 3-86113-003-3
NE: Robert, Philippe [Hrsg.]; Max-Planck-Institut für Ausländisches und Internationales Strafrecht <Freiburg, Breisgau>: Kriminologische Forschungsberichte aus...

© 1993 Eigenverlag Max-Planck-Institut
für ausländisches und internationales Strafrecht,
Günterstalstraße 73, D-7800 Freiburg i. Br.
Telefax 07 61/70 81 294

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Printed in Germany/Imprimé en Allemagne

Herstellung: BARTH • computersatz & druckservice
7639 Kappel-Grafenhausen
Telefax 0 78 22/6 11 58

Gedruckt auf chlor- und säurefreiem Papier

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Preface

A preface to the present scientific publication is an excellent opportunity for me to clarify what I expect of research on prevention.

Often politicians and people in the administration view it as a fashionable gadget, a sort of prestigious accessory, the use of which is unclear.

This is not my conception at all! For ten years I have been thinking about and acting towards developing a response to crime which would not neglect prevention, which is the most economical, most effective means: first in France, with the Mayor's commission and the National Council on the prevention of crime, now with the National Council of Cities, and next in Europe within the framework of the Forum of European territorial communities and last, at the global scale, with the Montreal and Paris conferences. I have long been convinced that any action, however wholehearted, however generous, gets bogged down or ends in discouragement if it is not grounded in accurate knowledge.

Precise targetting of programmes, the detection of possible perverse effects, the evaluation of concrete results: beyond these programmatic contributions, research makes it possible to situate this particular type of policy - the prevention of crime - within the current trends of the society in which we live.

When dealt with improperly, crime causes concern and controversy, and is quite capable of poisoning public life. I favor true, serious, ongoing dialogue between scientists and the people in charge of prevention at the national and local echelons. I am for accurately targetted, properly evaluated prevention, along with intelligent, well-organized repression so that recidivism will no longer be the usual outcome.

It is only by their combined efforts, reflexions and action that the indispensable cultural change will be accomplished, so that both peoples and governments may reject any fantasizing, subjectivity and fictions pertaining to law and order, and demand that it be treated in the logical manner it requires.

It is for this reason that I felt it essential that an international scientific committee be associated with this second world congress on prevention. On my recommendation, the organizing committee asked *Philippe Robert* to set this committee up. Since it was to provide participants in the congresses with a global assessment of the state of knowledge, it had to begin its work far in advance: to establish partial round-ups, hold a pre-congress seminar, make the fruit of its research available, in lasting form, to all officials and professionals, whence a French edition, soon followed by the present English version.

The congress is simply a high point, however. In the long-term, it is to be hoped that the dialogue between researchers and practitioners will become an everyday reality. I strongly recommend this in my own country, and hope for it in others.

Gilbert Bonnemaison,
President of the Forum of European
local communities for urban safety,
President of the Organizing committee for
the 2nd International Committee on safety,
drugs and prevention in urban settings

Introduction

Philippe Robert *

In October 1989, the first European and North American Conference on urban safety and the prevention of crime, held in Montreal, arrived at the conclusion that repression through the criminal justice system alone is unable to maintain peace and security in cities; the need for preventive policies was proclaimed. In itself, the idea was not very new. The great novelty, however, was the appearance of municipal officials on the scene: for the conference had not been convened by any governments, professional criminal policy-makers or scientists, but by several federations of local communities: the Forum of European local communities for urban security, the Canadian Federation of Mayors and the Mayor's Conference of the USA. Through this innovation, the idea prevailed that prevention was essentially, although not exclusively, in the hands of local officials.

While the first conference "put the idea on the market", so to speak, a more austere but now quite necessary task devolved on the second, held in Paris in November 1991: the mechanisms must be reviewed, the objectives clarified and the results evaluated.

This probably explains why its organizing committee, headed by Gilbert Bonnemaïson, solicited the help of a scientific committee.

The latter is composed of some fifteen specialists from a wide range of continents, countries and specialities.¹ This committee was asked to assess

* Director of research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) (Paris), President of the Scientific Committee.

1 The list of members is appended. At the last moment, a few of the people solicited were unable to participate actively, thus depriving the committee of its Japanese and Soviet representatives, in particular, and limiting the African participation. Further, specialists were not available in every part of the world. In all, the range is a very wide one, as will be seen.

the state of knowledge on the themes of the conference. It chose to approach its task methodically, in four phases: first, each member drew up an assessment for his or her country or region; next, a seminar² was held in Paris on May 3-31, 1991, after which an overall report was established by its president for the conference.

The present work contains the president's general report for the November conference, the fifteen specific reports by members, and last, a summary of the debates at the May 1991 Paris seminar. These documents cover a vast field. It is the hope of both the organizing committee of the conference and of the scientific committee that this publication will facilitate exchanges between researchers, officials and professionals in a dialogue that is respectful of the specificity of each role.

Composition of the Scientific Committee

Sergio Adorno, professor at the University of Sao Paulo (Brazil), director of the study group on violence.

Hans-Jörg Albrecht, researcher at the Max Planck Institute of Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany), assistant director of the criminology section.

Lola Aniyar de Castro, professor at the University of Zulia in Maracaïbo (Venezuela), senator of the Republic of Venezuela.

Jean-Paul Brodeur, professor at the University of Montreal (Canada), director of the International Center for Comparative Criminology.

Duncan Chappell, director of the Australian Criminology Centre in Canberra (Australia).

Esther Gimenez-Salinas i Colomer, professor at the University of Barcelona (Spain), director of the Centre for Legal Studies at the Justice Department of the Generality of Catalonia.

Patrick Hebberecht, professor at the University of Gent (Belgium).

2 This seminar, hosted by the Caisse des dépôts et consignations, opened by Mr. Bonnemaïson, president of the Forum of European territorial communities for urban safety and of the organizing committee for the Paris conference, was visited by the French ministers of Research (Mr. Curien) and of Urban Affairs (Mr. Delebarre). Representatives of the United Nations, of the EC Commission and of the Council of Europe attended its discussions, as did the international consultant for the Paris conference, Mr. Waller. The logistics were taken care of by the Committee for the preparation of the Paris conference (and especially G. Dijoux) and the general secretarial staff of the Forum (E. Dufour) and the GERN (M. Souliman).

Giuseppe Mosconi, professor at the University of Padova (Italy).

Christopher Nuttal, director at the Research and Planning Unit, of the Home Office (England, United Kingdom).

Femi Odekunle, director of the United Nations Institute in Kampala (Uganda).

Philippe Robert, research director at the National Center for Scientific Research (Paris, France), director of the European group for research on normativities, president of the scientific committee.

Irena Rzeplinska, professor at the department of criminology of the Institute of Legal Studies at the Warszawa Academy of Science (Poland).

Jerzy Sarnecki, director of research at the Northern Council on Crime Prevention in Stockholm (Sweden).

Joanna Shapland, professor at the University of Sheffield (United Kingdom).

Wesley Skogan, professor at the Northwestern University in Evanston (USA).

Jan van Dijk, professor at the University of Leiden (Netherlands), director of prevention within the Netherlands Ministry of Justice.

Researchers and Prevention policy *

Philippe Robert **

The role of a Scientific Committee is often merely to lend the moral prestige of its members to a conference. In this case, however, a precise task was demanded of the Scientific Committee: that of taking stock of the current state of research and information on the themes to be discussed at the Paris Conference. A step-by-step approach was adopted; each member of the committee began by assessing the state of affairs in his own country or region; these various points of view were then discussed at a preparatory seminar (Paris, May 1991). The present report is based upon the findings of the Paris Seminar.

In most countries criminal policy appears to have become more repressive on the whole over the last ten years. Where reliable statistics are available, this can be seen in the general increase in the detention rate. At the same time, however, the idea seems to have gained ground that penal sanctions alone are not enough to guarantee security, especially in major conurbations. Stretched to bursting point by the increase in the number of offenders it has to deal with, criminal justice systems often seem to act as a weak deterrent, not to mention the fact that their avowed priorities are at time out of step with the needs of society. Preventive action thus appears to be more and more necessary. This was the message delivered two years ago by the First European and North American Conference on Urban Safety and Crime Prevention (Montreal, October 1989).

* General scientific report presented to the 2nd International Conference on Urban Subjects, Drugs, and Crime Prevention (Paris, November 1991).

** Director of Research at the CNRS, Director of GERN (Paris, France), Chairman of the Scientific Committee.

Now that all the initial enthusiasm and tentative groping is over, the time has come to define exactly what the term means and to assess the results. Failing this, scepticism and disenchantment threaten to set in. Hence in this survey on information and research, the synthesis of a joint effort carried out by an international committee of scientists.

I. Prevention: What it covers and the forms it takes

But what exactly do we mean by prevention? The policies, programmes, and experiences are so diverse, their aims so varied, at times so uncertain, their results so difficult to judge ... This is the dreadful aporia which so often thwarts progress in research and affects its quality. Attempts have often been made in the scientific literature to provide a definition but they have rarely been conclusive, much less convergent. They repeatedly founder on the controversies inherent in the very notion of crime, and at times do no more than reproduce these points of contention. It is certainly not the aim of this report to criticise them or weigh their merits. Suffice is to say that prevention aims to reduce the frequency of certain types of behaviour which are punishable by law - but also "incivilities" which are not necessarily classified as criminal offences - by resorting to solutions other than imprisonment. To achieve this, prevention policy tries to act upon and/or norms - on the former to reduce opportunities which are conducive to such behaviour and to conditions hostile to it, and on the latter to encourage the development of general social norms conducive to law and order.

When we say that prevention resorts to measures other than imprisonment, we are generally referring to the fact that it mobilises parties or institutes other than those within the criminal justice system. It is possible, however, for the law enforcement agencies - the police, public prosecutors and judges, for example - to participate in prevention schemes, but in so doing they resort to other methods. The criminal justice system, of course, espouses the same cause: that of reducing the frequency of criminal behaviour, but it does so by dissuasion¹ rather than by prevention. For the sake of clarity we shall reserve the use of the latter term to refer to actions which lie outside the realm of law enforcement proper. Having said this, it is possible to see how prevention ties

1 Certain advocates of the penal system have also claimed that in addition to its dissuasive function prison can be instrumental in reeducation, reintegration and social rehabilitation. This is neither the time nor the place to discuss the pros and cons of this thesis ... Suffice is to say that it exists, and the generally speaking there has been little evidence to support it.

in with certain attempts to keep offenders out of court, like mediation and compensation, which also aim to curb criminal behaviour without resorting to imprisonment. These solutions are much more limited in their scope than prevention, however; their action remains comparable to that of criminal agencies; they sanction breaches of the law even though their method of punishment is reparatory as opposed to punitive. Moreover, they can only be applied in certain situations: the frequent anonymity of the author in thefts and burglaries, for example, severely limits recourse to mediation in such cases; it is easier to apply, on the other hand, in the event of brawls and incivilities, where the individuals concerned are more readily identifiable. Prevention and repression work side by side once again in the application of "alternative" penalties which involve neither fines nor imprisonment - community work is an example - and which often constitute an area of cooperation between prison institutions and local prevention programmes. Available studies hardly confirm role as an alternative to prison: they seem rather to serve as an alternative to other forms of punishment. Such "alternative" penalties can therefore only occupy a very secondary position in prevention policy unless one considers that prevention is in fact above all a substitute for a criminal justice system which is stretched to the limit.

Now that we have outlined the boundaries between crime prevention and repression, let us move on to another distinction: prevention policy requires space in which to flourish, without which it is no more than "plaster on a wooden leg". In the present situation three macro-constraints² constitute a serious threat. The first concerns the labour market. If we resign ourselves to considering unemployment as the lasting fate of a substantial segment of the population, then prevention will soon come to be regarded as a mere ruse or subterfuge. This macro-constraint cannot be remedied without focussing attention on training or employment policy.³ The second macro-constraint concerns urban relegation: if the pressure of property prices is sufficiently strong to render this tendency perpetual, if there is no solution to the problems of suburban living or inner-city ghettos, then is no time at all prevention will suffocate. The last macro-constraint concerns ethnic or immigrant minorities. Two main models are traditionally referred to: one, of a more American nature,

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- 2 The report on Africa particularly stressed the need to deal with prerequisites before envisaging the development of a coherent prevention policy.
 - 3 In my country, for example, the feeling has grown that there have been fundamental errors of orientation in these two areas, with the result that unemployment has acquired a viscosity higher than that found in comparative countries in Europe.

is based on the coexistence of several communities; the other, more European in nature, relies on a system of individual integration. Both, however, seem to have broken down, or are at least beset by doubts. In a context of vast population movements, however, the existence of a clear policy is a prerequisite to any form of prevention. But also the success of prevention policy depends largely on our ability to reduce the stranglehold of these macro-constraints, such general actions fall short of prevention proper, otherwise the term would have no real meaning.

Having failed to find a suitable definition for prevention or clearly to indicate its scope, specialists have frequently increased the number of classifications so as at least to distinguish several types, at the risk of placing everything under the umbrella of prevention, adopting an outlook which is more voluntaristic than analytical. Three levels of prevention are thus often identified: primary when it acts on the context in order to render it unfavourable to crime; secondary, when it attempts to avoid criminal behaviour; tertiary, when it is concerned with preventing recidivism ... Several members of the committee made reference to these categories of prevention in their reports. It is unnecessary for us to employ them in the present report. We shall confine ourselves to two distinctions:

- certain prevention programmes address potential offenders in an attempt to curb their criminal or anti-social behaviour; others are concerned above all with inciting victims to take adequate measures to protect themselves and their belongings;
- prevention schemes are specific when they aim directly to reduce the frequency of crime or anti-social behaviour; and they are general when they attempt to influence the social, cultural or economic context in the hope that, as a result, potential offenders will adopt norms of behaviour more in keeping with the law.

If we combine these two categories we can distinguish various approaches to prevention. Two principal models are currently in practice. The first is the situational model, found mainly in the U.K. and North America as well as in the Netherlands and Scandinavia. Specific in nature and aimed on the whole at potential victims, it seeks first of all to change situations and make them less propitious to the development of criminal or anti-social behaviour. Neighbourhood Watch is a typical example. This situational model frequently goes hand in hand with a police hegemony in the running of prevention programmes. It is above all a matter of supplementing what the police does or of delegating those jobs which the police cannot, or can no longer do.

The other main model is generally referred to as social prevention: it involves programmes of a more general nature, aimed at less specific target groups. The goal of a social, cultural or economic activity scheme is to improve the overall conditions in a district in the hope of influencing crime indirectly. The French prevention policy of the 1980s is generally quoted as an illustration of this model: it has, however, gained support much further afield: in Southern Australia or Western Canada, for example. Here, the police force is just one of several partners in prevention policy; the driving force comes mainly from local authorities and associations.

These models rather idealise the situation, however. In practice things are often much less clear-cut. Bearing this in mind, the distinction is still interesting from the analytical point of view: it helps to highlight the limits or risks inherent in each type of prevention.

Prevention of an exclusively situational nature tends to mobilise above all those communities which are the least vulnerable, eventually widening the gap between safe zones and problem zones. This is why certain studies indicate a greater influence on the feeling of insecurity than on crime. As for social prevention, there is a constant danger of it being treated as a kind of "cash dispenser" for financing socio-cultural activities possibly devoid of any real impact on crime and anti-social behaviour. After all, the overwhelming number of major prevention programmes of yesteryear ended in this way in the sixties: it became apparent that their overly general and unspecific nature did nothing more than cream off the local elite without any notable effect on crime. Thus it was that the great cycle of repressive measures and the police-prison tandem came into their own.

Is it the desire to avoid these risks or these antihetical deviations that has given rise in several countries to a growing concern to combine situational and social prevention? In more general terms, one might say that any prevention policy wavers between over-specialisation and over-generalisation. In France, for example, good use was made of specialised prevention during the sixties and seventies, but by the mid-seventies the lack of a more general accompaniment was felt; as a result, general prevention became the preoccupation of the eighties; today, however, people are wondering whether we are not in danger of being swamped by so much generality.

Be that as it may, the types of prevention sketched above reveal a striking development: above all else, prevention traditionally meant actions aimed at actual offenders, to change their behavioural standards. This specific type of prevention, directed toward offenders, now seems to be losing ground; it has not necessarily disappeared, but it appears to be generating less interest. The situation varies, of course, from country to country, but generally speaking

there seems to be a preference for actions designed to chance the situation, or to encourage victims to "make it harder for criminals". The great weakness of prevention policy at present may very well be this emphasis on "defensive" strategies and this relative disinterest in more "offensive" steps. Although it is easier to put into effect and more in keeping with modern attitudes, this type of prevention policy may well have only a minor impact on crime, and its repercussions on the feeling of insecurity are debatable; so there is a great danger of both situational and social prevention getting lost in a maze of haphazard and badly assessed actions which may even have undesirable side-effects.

II. The protagonists in prevention

Having situated the scope of prevention and its main tendencies, research moves on to a more concrete level: that of identifying the main actors involved. Here again, the situation obviously varies from country to country, so it is difficult to generalise. Observers do agree, however, on the importance of the "local" level. What do we mean by this? Whatever form prevention takes, it is only really tangible at a highly decentralised basic level. It is the kind of public policy that will not bear a centralised approach. In this particular case it would be more accurate to speak of a central-cum-local approach. Several examples point to the fact that local initiatives, however dynamic they may be at the outset, find it hard to stay the distance if there is not also a central dimension, a partner to coordinate, finance and above all supply the wherewithal required to implement to action and assess the results. Let us say, therefore, that prevention takes place at a local level, but requires a central-local dialogue.

Having established this, what actually constitutes the central level varies according to the type of political organisation in each country: in single-state countries it is generally the central government, whereas in federal countries the "central" partner is usually the state government. The situation also varies according to whether the style of government administration is highly centralised or otherwise. The "local" partners vary even more, with a preference for the town or city; but they may larger (conurbations, counties...) or smaller (neighbourhoods, zones). Above all, the local pole is not the exclusive preserve of the local political authorities: a wide variety of associative structures is also there, alongside them or facing them. Relations between these two types of local partner can be more or less complex, depending on the degree of autonomy enjoyed by each.

Does this mean that prevention policy is actually implemented thanks to the enthusiastic mobilisation of the communities concerned. The answer varies from country to country, and should be treated with caution. Many members of the committee stress the fact: prevention acts **for** people rather than **with** them. We must not be fooled by all the talk of community prevention. The truth of the matter is that the community is not always active enough. Or to put it in more precise terms, it is easier to mobilise the community in neighbourhoods and areas where a climate of fear reigns than in those where crime is rife. In neighbourhoods and suburbs where the situation is really serious, the state of relations between the inhabitants and the authorities is such that the mere notion of partnership in matters of prevention, or in any other area for that matter, is often wishful thinking. Besides, is it not true that certain prevention schemes unintentionally help to disrupt social life in the neighbourhoods concerned? The Scientific Committee did indeed express this fear in certain cases.

Other actors are also involved. The criminal agencies, for example, especially the police, but also the courts, and occasionally the prison authorities. In certain cases the police can even play a leading part: "prevention is a police matter", so to speak. I am referring to actions designed so supplement or replace police activity. In other prevention models, the role of the police is much less prominent. Without going into the infinite range of practical possibilities here, let us note the paradox: prevention can hardly survive in the criminal agencies are hostile or indifferent; on the other hand, their main function as members of the criminal justice system is different from that of prevention and at times contradictory, as we shall see in the examples given below. Criminal agencies are thus inclined to consider prevention as an extra, an addition to their main purpose, thus preventing it from thriving. One member of the Committee raised this problem of entrusting the brunt of the responsibility for prevention to bodies whose main purposes and outlooks diverge to such a large extent, i.e. the role played by criminal agencies in prevention policy is as necessary as it is delicate, and indeed unstable.

Finally, research pinpoints two further actors whose role, although important, often goes unnoticed: insurance companies, whose safety requirements literally govern the security market, and private security firms. The latter play an essential role in prevention programmes operated by organisations or companies; they have been in the public eye of late for another reason: their increasingly frequent brushes with the offenders from whom it is their job to protect their clients, particularly in the retail distribution sector. The truth is that not much research has been done on the role of these partners in prevention programmes; the void is even greater for insurance companies than for private

security firms. The feeble efforts deployed by those in charge of prevention programmes to establish a dialogue with these private concerns are quite remarkable to behold.

So while prevention is operated on a local level, it is not a matter for the local authorities alone. There are numerous other parties involved, some better known than others.

III. Decision-making aids

If we had to retain but one conclusion from the debates of the Scientific Committee,⁴ it would probably be the following: prevention policies need more support and more systematic assessment. All too often they are based upon studies which are much too cursory, and their results are rarely assessed. Understandable in the initial spirit of enthusiasm, this state of affairs must not go on; in the long run it could put the very survival of prevention at risk: why spend hard-to-come-by public funds on poorly researched operations, the results of which are so uncertain? In so doing we run to risk of reverting to a purely repressive system.

This is what the essential contribution of the central administration should be to those responsible at local level. Its financial backing should be an incentive, seeking above all to encourage the use of decision-making tools.

1. Observation

In general, the information available is poor and difficult to exploit. In the first place it is scattered over different agencies, each jealously trying to preserve its monopoly over any scrap of information. Secondly, it is often unavailable at the very local level where preventive action is actually carried out. Sometimes it is simply administrative data, such as police statistics, which naturally obey the logic of the criminal justice system; so it is insufficient on its own as a basis for decision making. In more general terms, a single piece of information tells us little or nothing at all;⁵ it only becomes useful in the light of other related information. Police statistics are only interesting when compared with the number of complaints filed by, victims, and their expectations ... and vice-versa.

4 At the time of its seminar, from 30 to 31 May, 1991 in Paris.

5 Principal message of a seminar organised in Barcelona in 1990 under the auspices of the European Forum of Local Authorities For Urban Safety.

Hence, the idea of setting up observatories to gather all the scattered items of information, compare them and possibly fill in the gaps. Such structures are needed not only at the central level, be it federal or national, but also at the local level. They will be of little use, however, if they confine themselves to compiling administrative data, such as criminal statistics limited to those produced by the different agencies. An observation apparatus such as this should also, and above all, gather information on the state of society's needs, especially as perceived at the local level - for the needs of society are of course many and varied, and often contradictory to a certain extent: the shopkeeper's needs for security is hardly compatible with the need felt by unemployed youngsters living in problem areas to express themselves ... Let us add that these various demands are not all equally capable of making themselves heard. A prevention policy sensitive only to those who are best at expressing their needs can produce serious side effects.

It is understandable that this data cannot be confined to crime alone, whichever way one looks at it. Research on the feeling of insecurity also highlights the importance of "incivilities"⁶: those nuisances which the law does not always punish, and which go such a long way to deterioration local life.

It should also be remembered that fear of crime and concern about delinquency, the two sides of the feeling of insecurity, only partially cover the risk or the experience of victimisation. Hence the advantage of collecting more data on opinions. Certain experts, however, warn against the dangers of security "overkill" that can result from over-simplistic or ill-conceived investigations into the feeling of insecurity.

Popular images and attitudes cannot, of course, be reduced to what the media say. In this respect the Committee feels that the media message is now well known, with its scope, its deformations and its simplifications. We are equally aware of how it is received, at least in the sectors of society which are exposed to constant bombardment by the media and little else. On the other hand, the influence of the media on popular ideas and attitudes remains much more uncertain. Essentially, the media only seem to have a real influence when their message is consistent with people's concrete experience.

While some experts persist in treating victimisation surveys as a way of measuring "real crime", there is a growing tendency to see them as a source

6 For example, the vandalism of letter boxes, staircases, cellars or green spaces in council housing complexes.

of information on how people react to situations of victimisation, what steps victims take and what they expect ... on a type of social need in short. Local surveys are therefore those which attract the most attention.

2. Assessment

If one expert on the Scientific Committee states that his country earmarks 10% of all prevention funds for the assessment of results, this is the exception rather than the rule. On the whole assessment seems to be scarce and of mediocre quality. Here again, the Scientific Committee has some urgent recommendations to submit to the Conference. It proposes four rules:

First of all, assessment should be competent: feeling concerned is all very well, but knowing how to go about it is another matter. It is a type of research which has its own canons and specialised literature, and of course specific prevention lends itself more naturally to such assessment.

Secondly, for the sake of objectivity, assessment should be external to the preventive apparatus: otherwise it is reduced to a simple audit, however useful that may be.

The assessment should also be systematic: no prevention programme should be left out. How can any additional funding be granted without first assessing the results that have already been achieved?

And finally, the assessment should be complete: not only should it attain the objectives and targets set out beforehand by those responsible for the prevention scheme, but it should also, and above all, take into account the populations actually affected. The Scientific Committee's seminar stressed that an assessment cannot be considered complete if it does not look into the unwanted or unanticipated side effects produced by the prevention scheme. And this is probably where the main difference lies between an administrative audit and real evaluative research.

IV. A few contrasts

A review of the information on the themes to be covered at the Paris Conference in November 1991 has revealed several important contrasts, not to say contradictions. We shall be considering three examples: drug abuse, prevention aimed particularly at young people and finally, what people call "local responses to recidivism".

1. Drug abuse

The information available reveals a web of contrasts.

The contrast between passions, beliefs and pressures which are carried to extremes and scientific research which is often very patchy and at time dependent on a large number of clinical treatment cases.

But also the contrast, noted by European and Canadian reporters in particular, between the enormous international diplomatic pressure to define national policies and the lack of solid information about the extent of the phenomenon and the forms it takes.

Finally, the contrast between a "O-tolerance" policy and the needs of certain major risk prevention issues, in particular the AIDS problem: the controversy surrounding the needle-exchange programme shows the full extent of the problem.

Such a state of affairs is scarcely conducive to the rapid growth of concrete knowledge.

If we attempt an objective assessment, however, we are immediately struck by the uncertainties we come across. Three of these are particularly flagrant:

- uncertainly about the incidence or extent of the phenomenon: more often than not, there are simply no reliable assessments.⁷ In the rare cases where even slightly serious efforts are available, in certain Western Europe Countries, for example,⁸ we find relatively low rates of drug addiction in the age groups at risk. But it is impossible to say whether these findings are applicable to other contexts. Note also that rumours from both North America and Western Europe,⁹ announce a stabilisation or a decrease in the incidence of drug addiction, albeit at the cost of a higher dependency amongst heavy consumers.
- then there is the uncertainly about the link between drug abuse and crime and its meaning: common sence tells us that drug abuses commit crimes on order to finance their habits. There exist hardly any empirical studies capable of giving greater details on this link or of accurately defining it. In

7 Quite simply because the postulates of calculation are unknown.

8 In the Federal Republic of Germany or France, for example.

9 See the reports on America, Canada and the Netherlands, for example.

various countries, empirical research has led to the hypothesis of an opposite relationship, where crime (and imprisonment) precede drug abuse rather than following it.

- and finally, the uncertainty surrounding the generally assumed importance of the link between population migrations and drug trafficking.

In other words, there is an urgent need for information on the extent of drug abuse and related matters. We think that we know a lot, but the truth is that we know very little, certainly not enough to be able to develop solid policies.

Drug policies generally hinge on three factors: information, treatment, repression. In most countries there is a dire lack of assessment of results in each of these fields. When sufficiently systematic assessments exist,¹⁰ the results are very tentative:¹¹

- information campaigns are received above all by those sectors of the population least affected by drugs, almost entirely by passing the drug abusers themselves;
- treatment programmes are only effective when followed right to the end, but many addicts drop out before the end;
- finally, repression programmes seem to have only a very slight deterrent effect, and they often lead to serious complications, such as further deterioration in relations between the authorities and young people in the target areas.

An enigma arises here, however: not one of the programmes can claim to have achieved any really conclusive results. What, then, is behind this stabilisation we seem to have witnessed over the past few years? Does this mean that while nothing in particular works, the whole nevertheless produces a certain effect? Or should we look for the cause of this inflexion outside the efforts deployed by the public schemes, as is often the case? It is difficult to say ...

It is not enough merely to develop epidemiological and evaluative research, however urgent the need may be. The Scientific Committee has also called attention to the inadequate amount of work done on the fundamental question: why does drug addiction exist, what does it mean? Here too more information

10 See synthesis of U.S. report, for example.

11 Sole exception: the Netherlands report, which tells a success story.

is needed. If none is forthcoming, it is because research concentrates too much on forms of intervention and their piecemeal approach, making it difficult to cast a fresh and productive glance on the social phenomenon. It is also important that abuses of all types of substances be considered in the investigation, including drinking and smoking.

2. Prevention and young people

The members of the Scientific Committee had some difficulty in coming to terms with the specific nature on this question: almost all crime prevention is heavily aimed at young people, at least when it is not dealing with organised business crime. Or in more concrete terms, the programmes concerned are designed with potential criminals or delinquents in mind, rather than potential victims.¹²

In this sector there reigns a contrast verging on contradiction. On the one hand, emphasis has been placed for some time now on the respect and even the promotion of young people's rights, in particular the right to enjoy all the constitutional guarantees that adults enjoy. At the same time, another trends seems to be gaining ground: that of dealing with juvenile delinquency outside the court system with its guarantees. Available research stresses the risk of an adverse effect: the "ghettoisation" of unemployed youth.

The controversy between specific and general prevention often reaches a climax here. It is rendered all the more acute by the extremely piecemeal nature of prevention programmes. As a result, there is far too little assessment of results here too. At times those in charge of the programmes are unable to justify the adoption or abandonment of a programme. One could almost suspect them of succumbing to passing trends.

In any event, from the mass of juvenile delinquents there emerges a small minority who are all too readily classified as "hardened offenders". Should we jump to conclusions and see this as the beginning of a life of crime, as some criminologists eager to fall back on old reflexes might suggest? It is a highly controversial issue: many researchers feel that the data point to a compulsive period rather than a lasting career.

The specialised literature also stresses the part played by ethnic minorities in juvenile delinquency: certain works explain the phenomenon in terms of the socio-demographic structure peculiar to these minorities which contain a high

12 The African and Latin-American reports stress the immensity of the problem posed by the masses of children in the streets of their major cities.

proportion of categories at risk, while others point to the uncertain position of such groups with respect to the norm, particularly when their socio-economic situation further hinders the integration process. There is nothing really new in all this literature that never tires of juggling with highly conventional ideas.

By sticking to the hard core of truly specific juvenile delinquency prevention programmes and carefully assessing their impact and their repercussions, perhaps we may be able to develop fresh information.

3. Local responses to recidivism

In the face of the overall rise in the detentions and the disappointing results of research on recidivism, a counter-trend has developed that seeks to reestablish stronger links between local communities - cities basically - and prison in the hope of reducing the number of returns to prison. Is this not simply a form of nostalgia quite incapable of combatting a thoroughly prison-oriented system?

So the greatest hopes are placed in so-called, "alternative" solutions, such as community service. It is as if an attempt were under way to repeat the success achieved at the end of the 19th century, when the number of detainees was reduced by the system of probation and suspended sentences. Breaking with a trend which favours state control and professionalism, attempts have been made here and there to mobilise local energy to take charge of all or part of these alternative solutions. Faced with its own poor performance, the criminal justice system attempts to enlist the help of local communities.

But there is still much doubt amongst the specialists: are measures such as the community service or really alternatives to prison? However difficult it may be to demonstrate, there is little empirical evidence to support this notion.

There remains a more radical form of substitution: instead of sub-contracting punishment alone, why not dejudicialise the situation altogether, my mediation, for example. Apart from the fact that such methods are still in the experimental stage, their real potential must be investigated, and the probable impact of current schemes measured.

In any event, if we manage more or less to measure the number of "returns to prison", a serious difficulty arises when it comes to making comparisons between the rates of recidivism for different punishments¹³ or different

13 E.g. c.s.o., probation and imprisonment.

channels¹⁴ the populations and procedures concerned are not comparable, which means that the notion of all things being equal is hard to apply.

Conclusion

An austere report indeed, forever demanding assessments and accounts, and continually warning of unwanted side-effects.

But prevention needs such austerity if it is to avoid disappointment after the initial flurry of enthusiasm.

We are no longer feeling our way in the dark. The time has come for clearly defined goals, targets and methods.

We must avoid giving way to the passions, pressures and beliefs at work in certain areas, such as drug abuse and migration.

We must make the best possible use of such aids to decision making as we have at our disposal, such as observation of the phenomena and policy assessment.

And as essential as this applied research may be, a need is felt for research beyond the immediate spheres of action, research to help shed light on the social stakes involved in prevention. The two types of research are not incompatible or mutually exclusive, on the contrary, they are interconnected and complementary: if it is to be effective, prevention must be built on operational research, which in turn is only valued if set in the sociological context.

14 E.g. penal system and mediation.

The State of Knowledge in Brazil

Sergio Adorno *

Introduction

In Brazil during the past fifteen years, the scientific approach to crime has changed its focus, moving beyond the narrow limits of its legal description, which had long been its basis. Instead of situating, describing, and explaining crime solely in terms of legal knowledge and criminal legislation, the sociological approach in its broadest sense has sought to think about the possible connections among the rise in violent crime, the prevailing model of social and economic development in this agro-industrial society, the way the State exercises political power, and security and criminal policies that are holdovers from the authoritarian regime. There has been a proliferation of sociological, political, anthropological, and historical studies on this subject in a short period of time. Each field examines the phenomena of violent crime in its own way.

This specialized literature can be examined from different points of view. I have chosen, however, to focus on the relationship among social control of crime, violence, and power. This aspect highlights the social organization of crime, which is considered to be the product of a complex network of social relationships connecting criminals and the agents of various law enforcement institutions. This complex network of social relationships is the focus of special study, analyzing the way power and culture are interwoven; within organs of social control, this interaction gives rise not only to conflict, but to negotiation and accomodation.

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One possible approach to this phenomenon classifies the main lines of these Brazilian studies into four categories: first, studies dealing with patterns of crime; second, those that describe and call into question preconceived ideas regarding the social profiles of criminals; third, studies that examine the social organization of crime from the criminal's point of view; and fourth, those that analyze public policy.¹

Patterns of Crime

The studies dealing with patterns of urban crime focus on analyzing the trends and characteristics of criminal practices. The purpose is to discover, for a given period of time, what types of criminal cases have increased or decreased in relation to an earlier period, in order to identify possible causes or explanatory factors. From the sociological point of view, the existing studies attempt to determine whether there is a correspondence between the popular perception that crime is on the rise, as is indicated in particular by public opinion polls and by the study organized by *Zaluar* (1989a), and the actual incidence of crime.² Even if the lack of objectivity of the data source is taken into account, it is possible to identify certain trends in urban crime in major Brazilian cities. The studies by *Paixão* (1983), *Campos* (1978a, 1978b, 1988), *Caldeira* (1989), and *Adorno* (1991) confirm the rising trend in so-called violent and organized crime³ in Brazil's three largest metropolitan areas (Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo), as demonstrated by the significant increase in levels of theft, homicide, and drug traffic.

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- 1 It is true that rising urban crime has been a pre-occupation since the 19th century. The scientific interest, however, dates from the 1970s. This period certainly contributed to draw the attention of social scientists to political authoritarianism, which has been responsible for exacerbating social conflict both in the countryside and in the city in various areas of social life. In this review of Brazilian scholarship, I highlight the research which has been carried out in the research centers and universities during the past twenty years. I also emphasize a specific disciplinary aspect, i.e. studies done in the fields of social science, history and social psychology.
 - 2 As is widely recognized, the primary data sources for these studies are official crime statistics. These raise a number of problems, including the suspicion that the figures are "inaccurate", the intervention of bureaucratic criteria for evaluating democratic process, simultaneous "negotiations" between the victims, their aggressors, and the authorities, and the implementation of specific public security policies. On this subject, see *Paixão* 1983 and *Campos* 1987a.
 - 3 What is referred to as violent urban crime consists of crimes against property (theft and theft aggravated by murder); against human life (felonious homicide); against public health (drug traffic and abuse); against mores (rape); as well as criminal

Caldeira's study (1989) for the city of São Paulo from 1981 to 1987 showed that at the beginning of the decade, the rate of violent crime in relation to all crimes reported stood at approximately 20%. By the end of the decade, it had reached 30%. Among violent crimes, theft and felonious assault and battery were the most prevalent offenses. As of 1983, theft accounted for some 50% of all reported crime. Consequently, theft-related behavior strongly influenced the types of violent crime committed. The homicide and attempted homicide rates rose rapidly during the 1982-1983 period (by 48% in São Paulo), and the rate did not drop when calculated proportionately per hundred thousand inhabitants. This data is even more surprising if we consider only actual homicides, excluding attempted homicides. In this case, the rate rises to 53.8%.

The issues of drug traffic and drug abuse reveal an irregular pattern: after increasing from 1981 to 1985 in metropolitan areas, they showed a decline during 1986-1987 before starting to rise again in 1988. It is very probable that these variations reflect the behavior of the police services in combating this type of crime more than any changes in patterns of the traffic or user habits. Finally, it is important to note the sharp rise in misdemeanors for unauthorized possession of weapons, especially from 1981 to 1985. This behavior stabilized in the following years. Furthermore, *Coelho* (1988) has demonstrated the expanding role of children and adolescents in Rio de Janeiro in rising levels of theft, including theft aggravated by murder.

"Interference" from socio-economic factors can have an impact on the statistical distribution of crimes and misdemeanors and can cause a higher or lower incidence of specific forms of criminal behavior, such as homicide, theft or rape. Among such factors, it is important to emphasize the probable influence of the depressed economy on driving new recruits into the ranks of criminals, as *Feiguin* (1985) and *Pezzin* (1986) have demonstrated in their studies, and on the directions taken by security policy. In their study of repeat offenses in the State of São Paulo, *Abreu* and *Bordini* (1985) proved that the highest percentage of such convictions by criminal justice occurred among the perpetrators of theft, armed robbery, and drug traffic. In contrast, the level

misdemeanors (illegal bearing of arms). Violent crime includes both attempted and committed actions. Brazilian lawmakers have distinguished between crimes and criminal misdemeanors. Behavior classified as crime is more serious, and can be subject to prison terms reaching a maximum of 30 years. Criminal misdemeanors are less serious and are punishable by fines and short terms of detention.

of repeat offenses is relatively low for persons convicted of assault and battery or homicide. This observation reflects a preference among judicial authorities for issuing mere admonitions.⁴

Lastly, it is noteworthy that the popular perception that violent urban crime is increasing at an exceptional and uncontrollable pace must be qualified. This phenomenon may indeed be growing in absolute terms, but it is increasing less rapidly than the population's growth rate. *Paixão* (1983) made this correlation and observed that in Belo Horizonte between 1932 and 1978, the average overall crime rate fell substantially, as did the crime rates for each category studied. In the case of the city of São Paulo, this report revealed some surprising results. For 1982-1983 and 1983-1984, the crime levels per hundred thousand inhabitants showed a rise. During the following periods, these levels systematically declined. The level for 1987 was nevertheless some 747 cases of violent crime per hundred thousand inhabitants, which was higher than the 1981 level of 685.6 cases (*Caldeira* 1989).

Consequently, the relative rise in rates of violent urban crime does not necessarily mean that new citizens are joining the ranks of criminals. It may, however, be associated with those who specialize and develop careers in crime. These observations reveal that the crime-prevention and crime fighting agencies prefer to focus their efforts on individuals already catalogued as criminals. This in turn tends to drive up the figures concerning repeat offenses, which are assumed to be high (*Rodello et al.* 1984).

The Social Profile of Criminals

Who actually commits crimes? A number of studies have examined this question (*Campos* 1980, *Paixão* 1983, *Adorno/Bordini* 1989).⁵ The main results of these studies indicate that criminals are recruited primarily from among groups of low-income urban workers. This means that their social

4 See also *Adorno/Fischer* 1987; based on an analysis of the correctional policies formulated and implemented by the government of the State of São Paulo between 1950 and 1985, this work demonstrated that the orientation assigned to the criminal investigation and police forces had had a decisive influence on the behavior of the courts and prison life.

5 Generally speaking, these investigations are based on secondary data collected from official sources, statistics, or archives, the limitation of which have already been discussed. The exception is a study done by the *Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento* - CEBRAP (*Brant et al.* 1986), which collected its data from organizations belonging to the correctional system of the State of São Paulo.

profile is the same as that of the poor population. These studies fail to confirm the pre-conceived notion that criminals are by nature inhumane, perverse, and perverted, and that this nature is an expression of their supposed racial, ethnic, social and cultural inferiority. From their observations of prisoners in the penitentiary system of the State of São Paulo, *Brant et al.* (1986) concluded that the image of criminals as illiterate, virtually unschooled individuals or as members of the ranks of the chronically unemployed did not stand up to analysis. In fact, the study revealed an average illiteracy level of less than 3%. This strikes a blow to the common image that "criminals are uneducated". By the same token, the study showed that 55% of the convicts had held a job at the time they were sent to prison. Among the 45% unemployed, 37% had lost their job no more than six months earlier. The study concludes that "the prisons are filled with prisoners who for the most part have a well-defined professional background, corresponding to their social category, as they have held regular jobs in various sectors of the economy" (*Brant et al.* 1986, p.98). The results of this study coincide with those obtained by *Adorno* and *Bordini* (1989).

As for crime as a career, the available data reveal that the most prevalent activity involves crimes against property. This suggests the importance that criminals and/or police authorities attribute to this type of criminal activity (*Abreu/Bordini* 1985). The data also show that most of the individuals convicted by the criminal courts, at least in the State of São Paulo, receive medium-length prison sentences. This observation challenges the image of the biographical profile of the prison population which the written press and other media have disseminated in public opinion, namely of terrible, extremely violent criminals sentenced to very long jail terms. Consequently, everything tends to suggest that the problem lies in explaining why some members of a given segment of the population choose the path of crime, while others prefer to make their way as "normal" workers and citizens. This question is marked with fundamental ambiguity, as *Foucault* has shown.

The Social Organization of Crime

There are a few points to be added regarding the studies that attempt to explore the specific nature of organized crime, namely what its members are like, how they live, and how they relate to others and to society in general. The anthropologist *Alba Zaluar* has devoted herself to this subject. In her book (1985) she discusses the criminal's identity, first establishing a dichotomy between "bandits" and "workers", and then proposing a whole kaleidoscope of attitudes toward work, that either valorize or depreciate it. As a result, these two identities become very fluid, while remaining profoundly distinct. *Zaluar*

then turns to an analysis of crime and crimes in the lower classes of Rio de Janeiro. These results appear in several of her writings (1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1989b, 1989c, 1990a, 1990b).

Zaluar has observed that there are several types of criminal social organization, and that they are becoming increasingly similar to models from the legitimate business world. She notes the presence of women in crime and the recent entry of young people into the drug trade. In the latter group, she detected a high value placed on bearing arms, on controlling a drug "point of sale", on the money involved, on styles of dress, and on the willingness to kill as symbols of power, wealth, and prestige. She has also taken note of the "illegal" warfare in the lower-class neighborhoods of large cities, which pits the police against the "bandits", who come to represent the poor. She has further observed the process by which gangs develop into the central authority in the **favelas** (slums) and how individuals enter into the world of crime, by assuming a criminal identity; this process may lead to gradually or completely abandoning the working world.

These results reveal the changes taking place in criminal sub-culture, which is shifting from a cult of **malandragem** (which can be roughly translated as "petty crime")⁶ to a cult of violence, and from distaste at having to work to a participation in a profitable business. Relationships based on loyalty and solidarity are giving way to relationships based on force, as a result of the more widespread possession of firearms and economic power. These results further indicate that it is first of all necessary to reconsider the theories establishing a dichotomy between "social order" and "social disorder in the **favelas**". Crime today has evolved into organized crime in the areas of the drug trade and "jogo do bicho".⁷ Second, it is important to reconsider the theories of marginality classifying the poor as having a limited sense of law and order. In fact, the poor also have their conceptions of what is moral and what is immoral, what is legal and what is illegal. There are no irreconcilable differences between the Penal Code and the code governing life in the **favelas**. Third, it is important to challenge the idealistic image which the institutions responsible for maintaining public order have of themselves. In the specific

6 Until now, the "traditional" bandit in cities like Rio de Janeiro was characterized as a skillful, intelligent criminal who acted independently and whose only resources were his personal qualities. He did not see violence, and especially gratuitous violence, as a necessity.

7 This is a type of gambling which has been outlawed. It is nevertheless very widespread, especially among the low-paid working classes.

case of the police, their actual image is very negative. They are perceived as an institution that humiliates and oppresses poor workers, and contributes to crime.

Public Criminal Policy

Brazilian researchers have increasingly adopted the theory that it is impossible to understand patterns of urban crime without taking into consideration the way crime-control and crime-fighting institutions operate. The failure of law-enforcement officials to observe the legal principles intended to protect civil rights is often cited, especially by human rights organizations. This is mentioned as one cause of the persistent state of tension that exists within the criminal justice system (*Pinheiro/Braun* 1987). One of the prime targets for study and reflection is the police apparatus.

In a study of police organization in a major Brazilian metropolis, *Paixão* (1982) analyzed both the formal structure and the way police officials actually carry out institutional policy. He emphasized the haphazard nature of formal inspection systems, the generalization of a patronage-based organization model, and the tenuous connection between formal structure and actual practices. These practices, *Paixão* observed, are guided by a number of theories about the "nature" of criminals and by the stock of empirical knowledge built up by the organization. This is the "working logic" used in police milieux, and it consists of a set of categories of potential criminals, types of criminal action, and methods used to develop evidence, which involve setting up a network of informers who facilitate police investigations. The outcome of this confrontation between the formal organization and "organizational culture" is that the rule of law is discredited, and police officials frequently consider it to be more of an obstacle to social control than a guarantee thereof. Police officers see themselves as responsible for "purifying" society, but they contribute to the routine use of illegal investigative methods, including the use of torture and occasionally even summary executions (*America Watch* 1987, *Pinheiro et al.* 1990). They thereby drive certain segments of the population, ill-prepared to defend their civil rights against the arbitrariness of the organization, into crime (*Paulo Sergio Pinheiro* has highlighted this aspect in his studies; see *Pinheiro* 1982, 1983, 1984; *Pinheiro/Sader* 1985, *Pinheiro/Adorno* 1988).⁸

8 See also *Paixão* 1988.

Tensions between the two spheres of an organization can also be observed within the judicial system. On the one hand, there is the abstract and idealized supremacy of law, set down in the law books, taught in the academies, and solemnly proclaimed in the courtrooms. On the other hand, there is the daily application of these legal principles, which become the subject of dispute and negotiation among the various actors, each of whom is caught up in this issue of morality and interprets these principles in terms of his own interest and those of the organization. This confrontation has many implications. First, a constant tension opposes the ideal of individuals as moral beings and the reality of hierarchies based on wealth and power. Second, a tension exists in democratic societies between the law, on the one hand, and security and order on the other. Third, as a result of the first two observations, the criminal justice system is perceived as badly organized, inefficient, and incapable of attaining the goals for which it was created (*Paixão* 1988).

Though the total number of studies on criminal justice in Brazilian society is limited, in recent years anthropologists, historians, and sociologists have taken an interest in studying judicial practices (*Correa* 1983, *Fausto* 1984, *Chalhoub* 1986, *Esteves* 1986, *Zenha* 1986, *Ardailon/Debert* 1987, *Herkeinhoff* 1987, *Freitas* 1989). In an investigation focusing on the empirical analysis of judicial practices in judging crimes against human life, which is the domain of the Court of Assizes,⁹ it was demonstrated that the outcome of the legal process is the result of a complex operation involving both subjective and objective fundamentals. On the one hand, it is impossible to ignore the institutional and bureaucratic fundamentals, the way the Court of Assizes is organized and operates, the legal parameters set down in the legislation and regulations, and the interplay among different roles, including "technical operators"¹⁰ and protagonists, each cast in their positions as plaintiffs or defendants, victims or aggressors. On the other hand, the analysis changes when the issue of subjective motives is raised. In this area, what seems to be judged is something very different from the crime committed. The issue

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- 9 In Brazil, crimes against human life are, according to Articles 121 and 127 of the Criminal Code, the responsibility of the Court of Assizes. This type of crime includes felonious homicide, whether merely attempted or actually committed.
- 10 The category of "technical operators" includes the figures responsible for determining penal responsibility: inspectors, judges, technicians, court clerks, police commissioners, defense lawyers, and prosecuting attorneys who work on different phases of the legal process, in addition to experts, assistants for the defense or the prosecution, professionals responsible for implementing operational directives, and psychologists, social workers, and therapists.

becomes the world of human beings, their behavior, desires, personalities, virtues and foibles, strengths and weaknesses. This analysis takes us into the realm of culture. What is at the heart of the debate is not so much the protection of property or human life; what divides the technical operators and the protagonists is the protection of legal models of the relationships between men and women, adults and children, blacks and whites, workers and non-workers - models which are challenged by the protagonists and factual reality (*Adorno* 1990a).¹¹

The prison sector, however, is where public criminal policy seems to find itself in the most sharply accentuated impasses. A study analyzing the public criminal policies implemented by the government of the State of São Paulo between 1950 and 1985 (*Adorno/Fischer* 1987) examined the declared aims of policy makers and described the management practices applied to the prison population. The result of this study showed that the dominant emphasis of public criminal policy is to promote segregation and isolation among convicts, through a program that progressively increases the number of prisoners accepted in the penitentiary system. This has several clear effects: the use of coercion is extended; the prisons are overpopulated; their administration is inefficient; discipline is tightened without successfully controlling the escalating violence and the succession of rebellions occurring in recent years; technical measures are insufficient and incompatible with the program of physical expansion; it becomes impossible to implement a coordinated criminal policy; no explanations of goals are offered, and consequently, there is no coherent, integrated, systematic program for intervention; different groups dispute their influence on institutional power; as a result, the ideology of order, security, and discipline is reinforced. All these problems converge toward the same point: the recognized incapacity and incompetency of the public authorities to manage a large prison population. This thesis also underlines the studies sponsored by the Fundação João Pinheiro (1984), the results of which have been partially published in *Paixão* (1987) and *Coelho* (1987b).¹²

11 A recent collection of articles edited by José Eduardo *Faria* (1989) provides some important thoughts about legal power in its many dimensions: political dynamics, bureaucratic organization, ideological compromise, and the training of judges. This collection examines three major subjects: the crisis of the liberal model of law and State, the contradictions in the liberal model for the administration of justice, and the democratization of the judicial branch.

12 An analysis of the impact of criminal policy from the criminal's point of view may be found in *Ramalho* (1983) and in *Adorno/Bordini* (1989).

Comparable conclusions have been drawn in studies looking at institutions responsible for taking in, protecting, and assuming legal guardianship of young people who have become juvenile delinquents. The scenario in this case is extremely ambiguous: these institutions are supposed to operate like virtual cities in which order and harmony reign, yet at the same time, they surround themselves with towers and walls in a rigid security system intended to prevent both rebellions and escape. Like prisons, these institutions are typically oppressive, because they operate by classification, exercise close supervision, and lack any tangible cultural values. Within this institutional ambiguity, the children and adolescents develop ambiguities of their own, in a mixture of decency and **malandragem**. On the one hand, they must become resigned to institutional violence by showing daily signs that they are "recovering", e.g. by following the daily routine, performing productive work, going to school, and cooperating with law enforcement agents. Yet they cannot get away from the world of delinquency. They update their delinquent "repertory", extend their range of action and their contacts, and become even more daring. This is how connections are created between crime-fighting agencies and this young segment of the urban population. The only possible outcome is the continuous reproduction of delinquency and violence, in the same pattern, revolving on itself like a story without end (*Adorno 1989b, Alvim/Valladares 1988, Arruda 1983, Bierrenbach et al. 1987, CEBRAP 1972, Guirado 1980 and 1986, Ferreira 1979, Queiroz 1984, Silva, R.M.R. et al. 1988, Violante 1983 and 1984*).

Conclusion

As *Paixão* has emphasized (1988), the relationship between public security policy, justice, and the development of democratic institutions is based on legality as a fundament of social order. The critical problem lies in "the interaction among democracy, public bureaucracies for social control, and legal forms. This interaction leads to the classification of certain classes of behavior as 'criminal', while it guarantees civil rights and effectively limits the arbitrariness of political power and its agencies" (*Paixão 1988, p.179*). The task, consequently, is to relieve the constant tension between law and order, between legality and morality, by which Brazilian society is particularly afflicted. This political task calls for a new legal rationale, capable of consolidating effective social justice.

Despite their varying theoretical and thematic approaches, these Brazilian studies have moved in this direction, mainly because researchers quickly

distanced themselves from the traditional debate between solutions calling for distributive justice (equal distribution) and solutions calling for retributive justice (equal retribution).¹³

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13 For a better understanding of this debate, see *Coelho* (1988). A different interpretation of the debate on measures for containing urban violence may be found in *Zaluar* (1989a). These studies suggest that a democratic means of fighting urban crime cannot be limited to reducing social inequality or simply reinforcing dissuasive measures. The point of view must be shifted toward the growing importance of legal pluralism and social norms in democratic societies, at the expense of a law-centered judicial system. Reaching such a stage necessitates institutionalizing a new judiciary system incorporating other principles of assessment and judgment. These principles in turn attribute responsibility to a collective body - society as a whole - and this causes a significant shift in the rationale underlying the right to punish. The fundamental importance of individual freedom is giving way to the fundamental value of human life. This is the new horizon toward which the studies examined in this review seem to point.

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The State of Knowledge in the Federal Republic of Germany

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1. Introduction

When reviewing selected topics related to each other by the concept of prevention it is certainly justified to start with some remarks on common problems embedded in the preventive approach. Preventive concepts usually are associated with demands for **joint approaches**, the establishment of liaisons between fragmented pieces of society, interagency cooperation and coordination and recommendations to eliminate the sources of conflicts, non-cooperation and inconsistencies in defining the nature of social problems, the root causes and in designing the way they should be handled (Council of Europe 1987). Furthermore, prevention usually emphasizes efficiency and technical rationality and tends to neglect normative and moral decisions implied in crime and delinquency prevention. Finally, crime prevention is associated with a rather uncontrolled extension of social control as prevention obviously refers to "the total of all policies, measures and techniques, outside the boundaries of the criminal justice system, aiming at the reduction of various kinds of damage caused by acts defined as criminal by the state" (*van Dijk* 1990, p.205) placing heavy emphasis on early intervention and the need to target the field of predelinquency. The danger arising out of such developments concerns the possible erosion of the system of "checks and balances" set up with different perspectives on delinquency and crime independent from each other in terms of organization and functions. The perspective which at the end of joint approaches is likely to prevail certainly is the crime control perspective. Therefore in designing crime prevention strategies it is of para-

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mount importance to respect that all those institutions regularly associated with the emergence of crime have to fulfill other functions than those of crime prevention, functions which sometimes may even create obstacles to crime prevention.

2. The Prevention of Drug Abuse

As the Federal Republic of Germany shares the international awareness of a dramatic growth of illicit drug use and related problems since the mid-sixties, research on the prevention of drug abuse and the treatment of dependent or addicted drug users continues to boom (see *Kreuzer/Wille* 1988; *Reuband* 1990). Although the focus of research is essentially on illicit drugs we may observe in recent years a renewed interest in the alcohol and tobacco issues. On the one hand historical research on the development of alcohol and tobacco control seeks for a better understanding of the conditions of integration and disintegration of various drugs in societies (*Hess* 1987). On the other hand the prevention of alcoholism and alcohol problems has been made a major issue at the place of work (*Albrecht* 1988).

Basic trends in research on the prevention of drug abuse concern essentially research on prevalence and incidence of drug use as well as triggers of drug use and its consequences during the life span of drug using individuals, evaluation of treatment of drug addicts and other strategies of demand and supply reduction. But as drug abuse problems have attracted various professions and disciplines we observe a rather **heterogenous** picture of research questions, research-guiding paradigmata and theories as well as low visibility of ongoing research and low levels of coordination (*Reuband* 1990, p.151). Moreover, research on drug problems in general is heavily influenced by organizations and institutions involved in the treatment of drug addicts bringing upon problems in terms of seriously biased samples studied (focussing on the hard core addict and neglecting non-problematic use of drugs) as well as in terms of vested professional interests guiding research questions and assessment of research findings. Drug abuse prevention therefore, but also out of other reasons, represents a highly sensitive policy field where moral, medical, legal and economic viewpoints and positions clash.

A major issue in research on drug abuse has been and still is prevalence and incidence of drug use. Survey research, taking off at the beginning of the seventies, usually covers the age groups from late childhood to early adulthood in monitoring attitudes towards various types of drugs, dangers perceived as well as experiences made with various types of drugs (*Reuband*

1988). Although serious methodological problems in targeting the problem drug user by way of interview-based research have to be taken into account, data from this type of surveys together with other methods of tracing drug users demonstrated that while rather substantial groups of young people report one time or occasional use of various illicit drugs, chronic drug abuse is rather rare. Estimates of the number of young people (14-24 years old) chronically abusing illicit drugs in the FRG range between 40.000 and 100.000, or .4 to 1.0 % of the respective population (*Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit* 1983; *Albrecht/van Kalmthout* 1989). Furthermore, information from these surveys suggest that the risks of chronic licit drug abuse (alcohol, tobacco, medicaments) outweigh sharply those presented by illicit drugs. On the other hand, among illegal drugs cannabis is still the drug most commonly used (*Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit* 1983; *Reuband* 1988). The use of heroin and cocaine, but also use of amphetamines and glue sniffing is extremely rare although regional differences exist, pointing to certain (sometimes very short-lived) epidemics. The spread of drug use follows the network of intimate relationships or peer groups, be it the use of licit or illicit drugs. First time drug use is triggered almost exclusively by close friends (*Berger/Reuband/Widlitzeck* 1980). Overall attitudinal patterns point to a substantial decrease in the attractiveness of licit and illicit drugs in the groups of juveniles and young adults throughout the eighties (*Reuband* 1988).

A second major topic in research on drug abuse prevention concerns causes of drug use and causes of abstaining from drug use or of exiting from chronic drug use (*Silbereisen/Kastner* 1983). Longitudinal research dealing with these questions came up with results showing that causes of illicit drug use obviously do not differ from those made responsible for the use of licit drugs. While retrospective studies on drug abusing persons usually report characteristics which are known also from research on delinquent youth, in general highlighting unemployment, school dropout, the broken-family syndrome and other social symptoms, longitudinal and prospective studies indicate that these variables are not sufficient to explain chronic drug abuse and the emergence of drug problems at large.

In the last decade mainstream thinking on the drug abuse problem and the prevention of these problems referred basically to the idea of strict separation of approaches in the control of supply and demand with using the iron fist vis-a-vis the drug trafficker and the velvet glove or treatment and persuasion vis-a-vis the drug using or drug prone individual (*Kreuzer* 1989). Evaluation of the outcome of this policy supports the view that

problems associated with drug use have at least two roots: the substance itself and the way the substance is controlled. This has turned the attention of research on the relationship between drug problems and drug control as well as unintended but essentially negative effects of prohibitive policies in terms of the black market problems which in turn create serious obstacles for attempts to reduce drug problems. Furthermore the role and function of the drug problem in the spread and escalation of social control by means of criminal law has found attention, as drug-related legislation obviously produces a modern type of instrumental and preventive law perfectly suited to justify extension of police powers as well as centralization of executive powers threatening in turn the traditional system of checks and balances through marginalizing the role of the judiciary (*Albrecht 1987; Meyer 1987*).

Evaluation of the effects of mainstream drug policy has shown that despite considerable investments in treatment programmes, efficiency of treating drug addicts into abstinence is rather low and demand reduction does not take place. On the other hand it is found that open drug scenes display serious signs of a rapidly proceeding worsening of health and social problems experienced by drug users. The threat of AIDS plays a prominent role since the mid-eighties in debates on adequate concepts of drug prevention (*Reuband 1988*). As the criminal law approach is master-minding drug law and the health perspective represents but an annex to criminal law enforcement the problem of compatibility of strategies designed to prevent drug abuse on the one hand and strategies devised to prevent health and other risks associated with drug abuse on the other hand has turned out to become a major issue in recent years. **Risk minimizing** approaches in terms of needle-exchange programmes, shelters where drug use is tolerated and medical help and social support can be offered, maintenance programmes partially have been implemented and are assessed positively, at least as far as feasibility is concerned (*Hellbrand 1988; Kreuzer/Wille 1988; Gros/Best 1990; Weber/Schneider 1990; v. Bülow 1990*). As treatment and drug counseling staff feel seriously restricted by drug law enforcement activities (because staff may become a target of criminal prosecution themselves or get involved in criminal proceedings against clients) (*Kreuzer/Hürli-mann/Wagmann 1990*), the issue of strengthening the health perspective in legal procedures seems to represent now a point of legislative concern (*Meyer 1989*). On the other hand voices are raised in favour of **incapacitating** strategies vis-a-vis the chronic drug user arguing that his or her demand for drugs should be reduced through mandatory terms of enforced treatment in closed institutions (*Katholnigg 1990*).

But proper comparative evaluation research assessing the relative impact and cost-benefit-ratios of different approaches to the prevention of drug abuse problems is lacking (*Albrecht 1991*).

The current emphasis on criminal law enforcement in preventing drug abuse has also raised the question of the overall performance of criminal law in shaping the general levels of supply, demand and drug associated health risks. Although in general international drug policy as expressed in the UN-Conventions of 1961, 1971, 1988 (*Chatterjee 1989*) has succeeded in creating a trend towards harmonization of national drug laws, comparative analysis of law enforcement styles in the drug field came up with vast differences in prosecution and conviction rates (*Kaiser 1988*). In Western Europe drug suspects per 100.000 of the population vary between some 50 and more than 400, the corresponding rates of sentenced drug offenders vary between 5 and 160 (*Albrecht/van Kalmthout 1989*). Research therefore is increasingly heading towards an international comparative perspective. Preliminary research results suggest that the rather large differences in the levels of law enforcement are not followed by corresponding differences in drug consumption and other indicators of drug abuse problems (*Rüter 1988; Albrecht/van Kalmthout 1989; Reuband 1988*).

3. Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

Research on the prevention of juvenile delinquency surely is one of the favorite topics of criminology. Research traditionally has followed the framework set by German youth law. Youth laws pursue a bifurcated approach to problem children and problem youth. While the juvenile criminal justice system takes care of juveniles (14-17 years) and, under certain circumstances, adolescents (18-20 years old) suspected to have committed a criminal offence, the social welfare approach applies to those children and juveniles (up to the age of 17 years) perceived to be in need of care and supervision as a result of neglect, maltreatment or general problem behaviour. Research on prevention of juvenile delinquency and the concept embedded in juvenile law traditionally were based on common assumptions or beliefs about youth, youth crime and preventive interventions: 1. the belief that juveniles are different from adults in terms of psychological, physiological and social properties, 2. the belief that the psychological and social status of children and juveniles makes them especially susceptible to interventions aiming at support, help and behaviour-modification, 3. the belief that interventions should take place as early as possible.

Research on the "causes" of juvenile delinquency usually came up with findings pointing to the relevance of the broken family, bad parenting, school problems and unemployment. Therefore formal measures provided by criminal law for delinquent juveniles were designed to match to the educational deficits rather than to be proportional to the offence committed.

Since the mid-sixties results from darkfield studies on delinquency and crime on the one hand and a shift from etiological concepts to the labeling theory led to new perspectives in research on juvenile delinquency and delinquency prevention. The finding that delinquent behaviour is rather ubiquitous in youth populations (*Kaiser* 1988), while official criminal law-based interventions concentrate on a rather small proportion of those who could be the target of legal interventions gave rise to the assumption that juvenile delinquency represents "normal" behaviour while preventive efforts within the framework of juvenile justice and juvenile authorities serve to discriminate against marginal and deprived youth and to deepen disintegrative processes. Conclusions drawn from these studies supported the view that prevention of juvenile delinquency should rely heavily on non-prosecution and diversion, restrict the use of the youth prison as well as other types of detention and refrain from using characteristics of social deprivation as guiding criteria in juvenile court decision-making. As the eighties saw an increasing use of diversion practices in terms of non-prosecution (*Heinz/Hügel* 1986) and community-based measures such as community service, social training courses, most recently restitution, conflict mediation and reconciliation schemes (*Albrecht* 1990), evaluation studies focussing on the impact of diversion in terms of recidivism as compared to traditional juvenile court procedures and measures were given high priority (*Heinz* 1989; *Heinz/Spieß/Storz* 1988). While this type of research on the prevention of juvenile delinquency is guided primarily by the pragmatic goal of identifying procedures and measures better suited to prevent **individual relapse** in crime, other studies took up the question of general prevention and general deterrence and the role of criminal law in influencing behaviour patterns and crime related decision-making of juveniles (*Blinkert* 1981; *Schöch* 1985; *Schumann et al.* 1987; *Schumann* 1989). Findings from these studies revealed that criminal law plays but a marginal role in explaining youth compliance with social and legal norms. Informal sanctions and informal systems of control as represented by the family, peer-groups, schools seem to outweigh formal systems.

In turn we observe a renewed interest in family, school, religion, employment as decisive elements in the prevention of juvenile delinquency (*Schumann* 1989). This renewed interest corresponds also to a shift in

theoretical thinking on juvenile delinquency and its prevention, switching the focus from stress and labeling theories to control theories. On a macro-level research turned to the question of how the large-scale changes in the role and functions of the family, the school etc. in post-industrial societies could be related to changing patterns of juvenile crime. Two alternative explanations are offered with respect to the substantial increase in police-recorded juvenile crime during the last decades. On the one hand it is argued that the potential of the family, the school, the neighbourhood in providing bonds between juveniles and society has diminished steadily. On the other hand it is argued that probably nothing has changed in terms of behaviour patterns of juveniles but that rather systems of informal control have broken down, thus exposing children and juveniles to formal control systems with respect to behaviour which would have been handled informally in the past. Both explanations point to a common perspective for prevention: strengthening the role of the community, the neighbourhood, family and the school in preventing and in handling problem behaviour of juveniles. But as evaluation of various alternative and informal measures has not demonstrated significant outcomes in terms of lower rates of recidivism, scientific attention centers rather around the issue of how formal control measures, especially detention and imprisonment can be prevented (*Heinz 1989*). The focus of research currently is on the feasibility of replacing formal juvenile court responses to juvenile delinquency through restitution and victim-offender reconciliation schemes especially in terms of the acceptance by the public and victims (*Voss 1989; Albrecht 1990*).

In the eighties two subgroups of juvenile delinquents have attracted considerable attention of criminological research. These subgroups concern ethnic minorities and the chronic juvenile offender. Research has pointed out that substantial proportions of police recorded crime and self-reported delinquent acts can be linked to a disproportional small group of juveniles (*Karger/Sutterer 1988*). This observation has led to a growing interest in identifying early signs of chronic offending in order to be able to concentrate preventive efforts on this group. Although research still is going on we may conclude that probably it will not be possible to convert the retrospective finding of high rate juvenile offenders into ethically and economically feasible prospective prevention strategies (*Albrecht 1990*). Ethnic minority juveniles are targeted also for preventive reasons. Here, surface analysis of police and court statistics suggests that crime rates among certain ethnic minority groups are the two- to fourfold of those observed in the majority group (*Walter 1987; Karger/Sutterer 1988; Schöch/Gebauer 1990*). The answer to the delinquency problem perceived to be located predominantly

in minority youth belonging to the second or third generation of immigrants usually is found in improving education and employment opportunities, strengthening the legal status of minority youth and establishing a "multi-ethnic society". However, indepth research did reveal that police crime data are neither an indicator of disproportional crime involvement nor of disproportional crime control. They rather reflect demographic differences between minority and majority groups (*Albrecht 1987a*).

Criminological research on the prevention of juvenile delinquency is paralleled by legal research on the status of prevention in juvenile criminal law and juvenile justice decision-making. As a pessimistic view on the preventive and rehabilitative potential of the juvenile justice system prevails, the discussion centers around the problem of how segregation of juvenile delinquents from the adult system of justice can be justified (*P.-A. Albrecht. 1987*).

4. The Community and Prevention of Crime and Delinquency

The analysis of the community's role in crime prevention may be split up into two perspectives, one of them treating the community as a dependent system which has to be fit into the overall criminal justice response to crime while the other perspective stresses an access to crime prevention independent from the criminal justice system. The second, independent role of the community in preventing crime and delinquency has not received much attention by criminological research in the FRG (see e.g. *Graham 1990; Jung 1990; Vahlenkamp 1989; Kaiser 1988*). Research has addressed the role of the private sector in framing the official crime rate with the role of the victim as a gate-keeper to the criminal justice system and private control and private justice at the place of work (*Kaiser/Metzger-Pregizer 1976*). Furthermore, it is suggested to pay more attention to the study of crime and delinquency on a community level in order to be able to get a better understanding of the relationship between crime and crime control embedded in a local culture and local particularities (*Villmow/Stephan 1983*). With respect to certain public order offences the issue of conflicting perspectives of community based crime control on the one hand, with an interest in maintaining public peace by mediative styles of policing, and the centralized view on the delinquency problem, stressing criminal law enforcement and escalation-prone strategies,

has been raised (*Albrecht 1987b*). Finally, the topic of planning and adjusting the urban environment according to crime prevention needs has received some attention (*Kaiser 1988; Schwind/Baumann 1990*).

The rather modest activities of research with respect to community and crime prevention might be explained at least partially by the distribution of powers in the FRG allocating most policy fields relevant to crime prevention (e.g. education, school, family, police) at the level of state governments.

On the other hand the community's role within the criminal justice response to crime and criminal law-based prevention has found growing interest in terms of both, criminological and legal research, in recent years. Growing interest is due partially to the process of unification of the FRG and the GDR. As crime prevention policy and crime control in the former GDR relied heavily on so-called "**community courts**" (*Gesellschaftsgerichte*) which dealt with minor offences in the neighbourhood and at the place of work as well as citizens' cooperation and active **participation** (*Albrecht 1983; Eser 1985*), it was discussed whether some of the elements of community justice and community prevention should be included in a revised criminal code. The treaty on unification now provides for a virtually unmodified extension of the West-German criminal justice system to the territory of the former GDR. But nevertheless the topic of extending the community-based approach to crime and restricting formal criminal justice is still placed rather high on the agenda of criminology and criminal law sciences. This coincides with a trend towards development of local schemes of victim-offender-reconciliation and mediation.

5. Developing Local Responses to Recidivism

The task of prevention of recidivism in the FRG basically is assigned to the criminal justice system with sentencing guidelines placing emphasis on rehabilitative needs of offenders, a legal framework of the prison system giving top priority to rehabilitation and social services (court aid, probation) designed to concentrate professional help on offender groups at risk. Thus, the basic concept is determined by the idea, that prevention of recidivism is something which has to be organized within state administration on a professional and centralized basis. Local responses to recidivism therefore did not attract much attention. It is only recently that a shift towards **decentralization** of rehabilitative efforts takes place. Furthermore, private and local initiatives have implemented half-way houses for released prisoners providing support in terms of housing, employment and counseling.

6. Insecurity, Delinquency, and the Media

The concept of insecurity points to subjective or perceptual and to objective or factual elements. Measures of the objective dimension of insecurity are hardly available. Police crime statistics, victimization surveys and self-report studies cover but certain facets of the security problem (*Kerner 1980, Kaiser 1988*) and even if succeeding in producing valid and reliable risk estimates the essentially normative problem of drawing the line between a state of security and the state of insecurity would remain unsolved.

Criminological research in the FRG put the focus on the perceptual dimensions of insecurity and the sources and determinants of feelings of insecurity (*Kerner 1980; Arnold 1986*). Although in general it is accepted that the concept of insecurity involves behavioral, emotional, perceptual and cognitive aspects (*Arnold 1984*), up to now the question of how these dimensions should be operationalized and integrated in a meaningful measure of insecurity is still open. These aspects refer to fear of crime, taking precautions against certain crimes, feelings of safety or unsafety, perceptions of the rise or decline of crime rates in different regions of the country, perceptions of the likelihood of becoming the victim of various crimes, ratings of the magnitude of the crime problem etc.

In testing the assumption that fear of crime and other indicators of insecurity are driven by experiences with victimizing events research came up with the finding that direct links between different measures of insecurity and actual experiences of victimization do not exist although in those (small) groups having suffered from serious violent crimes effects of victimization in terms of increased levels of fear have been reported. Research has demonstrated also that rising crime rates and crime problems usually are perceived to affect the country or the nation at large, while the immediate neighbourhood and the residential area are perceived to be rather safe or at least to pose no particular crime problems (*Stephan 1976*). Moreover, international comparative victimization research has pointed out that perceptions of the risk of becoming a crime victim and fear of crime measures are independent from rates of actual experiences with victimization as well as from the rates of police recorded crime (*Arnold 1986*).

The absence of a positive relationship between experiences with victimization and insecurity measures usually is explained by the trivial and petty nature of the bulk of victimizing events which are reported in surveys.

But if perceptions of the crime problem and feelings of insecurity obviously cannot be linked to experiences or to personal communication on experiences with crimes, then there must be other determinants or sources

of insecurity. In this respect the **role** of the **media** has been highlighted. It is suggested that the paradox of individuals' perceptions of a nation affected by major crime problems while the respective residential areas are not seen as suffering from crime should be explained by the way the crime problem is presented in the mass media (*Stephan 1976; Kerner 1980*). But although presentation of crime in the media has received considerable attention in criminological research (see the summary in *Schwind/Baumann 1990*) and clear evidence could be provided that crimes of violence and exceptional crimes are disproportionally represented in all types of media, it is not clear how insecurity and crime in the media are intertwined in terms of theory. On the one hand it is assumed that distorted presentation of crime in the media, focussing exclusively on violence and exceptional crimes has a **direct influence** on the level of insecurity felt in the public (*Förster/Schenk 1984*). On the other hand this assumption is rejected, reasoning that media may have an agenda-setting function but that in general reports on crime are evaluated on the basis of rather inflexible predispositions with respect to crime and insecurity (*Feltes/Ostermann 1985*). The latter proposition is supported by the plausible assumption that in complex and fragmented societies experience-based knowledge is restricted to the immediate environment of individuals while collective patterns of knowledge acquired through socialization and shaped by general value and interest patterns guide the individual in understanding and interpreting those phenomena not subject to his or her immediate experience. At least short-term, direct effects of the mass media on feelings of insecurity then cannot be expected to occur because information received through media are evaluated according to these. But on the other hand long-term effects of the mass media in producing such collective patterns of knowledge on security or insecurity cannot be ruled out either.

Another possible link between media, crime and insecurity concerns the assumption that the wide availability and reception of media products presenting violence and pornography triggers violent crime and contributes to an increase in sexual harassment and sexual offences. This issue recently has received renewed attention as far as video-tapes and easy access to children and juveniles are concerned (*Schwind/Baumann 1990; Glogauer 1990*). But research findings with respect to such links are not conclusive and preventive strategies going beyond mere appeals to behave responsibly and general youth protection immediately clash with constitutionally protected values.

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The State of Knowledge in Latin America

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Introduction

Latin America has a limited number of institutions specializing in criminological research.

- a) The Justice Ministries of some Latin-American countries, as well as other qualified official organizations, focus on **prevention**, but tend to stress concrete action programs rather than research.
- b) University research only go off the ground during the last decade. But, apart from Venezuela, Mexico and Columbia (Venezuela has the largest number of university research centers specializing in this area), other countries have few exclusively research-oriented institutes, and research is carried out mostly by students and professors as an integral part of the Curriculum. They engage, for the most part, in macro-economic, socio-political and critical research which has no practical application.
- c) The Latin-American Institute of the United Nations for Crime Prevention and Delinquency Rehabilitation (ILANUD) has a large research team which has lately focused essentially on the issue of the administration of justice in a democratic society.
- d) The most responsible and consistent research over the last fifteen years has been done by the Latin-American Group in Comparative Criminology whose projects include "Violence in Latin America", "White-collar Crime in Latin America", and "Social Control in Latin America".

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Crime Prevention Among Youth At Risk

There are two different approaches to this issue: a) the first is related to the most recent movements which tend to stress the humanistic reform of institutions - although this is not always explicitly stated. Its goal is to prevent delinquency and to require that the legal procedures applicable to minors conform as much as possible to those which apply to adults, and that all guarantees inherent to Human Rights be fully and thoroughly enforced; b) the second, and more traditional, approach focuses on the identification of causes, and advocates protective laws in a positivistic spirit, which thereby weakens the above guarantees.

Research on the essential guarantees which must be afforded to juvenile delinquents standing trial:

1. Infancia, Adolescencia y Control Social (Childhood, Adolescence and Social Control). (Comparative historical and critical study carried out by the following countries: Argentina, Columbia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Uruguay and Venezuela. ILANUD and UNICRI are jointly responsible for this project, and its general coordinators are Messrs. Elias Carranza (ILANUD) and Emilio Garcia Mendez (UNICRI).

In this context, researchers analyze the social and political events that led to the creation of institutions and measures whose aim is to protect and assist abandoned children and delinquents: the Juvenile Code, institutions for the protection of children and the family, some aspects of family law, to mention the main ones. They also work on the concept of custody for minors; they speak out against the lack of distinction between delinquent minors and abandoned children, indeterminate punishment, the lack of a legality principle, and the issue of culpability; and they call attention to the fact that the general crisis in the Latin American criminal justice system is more acute where minors are concerned.

This particular state of affairs can be highlighted by studies bearing on the origins of Latin American institutions relating to minors.

The main stance of these researchers is that, given the fact that "the illuminist legal doctrine has failed to solve the problem of child protection outside of the narrow framework of segregation and repression", their overall goal is to "seek concrete forms of child protection which will circumvent traditional segregation and repression mechanisms". This research evaluates the effectiveness of the system of social and criminal protection in terms of its application of national or international Human Rights regulations (1985 Beijing Ruling and 1989 Convention on Children's Rights).

2. *Garcia Mendes, Emilio*: Para la Historia del Control Social Penal de la Infancia en América Latina: la informalidad de los mecanismos formales de control social (The History of Social and Criminal Control of Minors in Latin America: the Informality of Formal Social Control Mechanisms). This study was part of the Control Social en América Latina Project run by the Latin American Group of Comparative Criminology at the Institute of Criminology of the University of Zulia in Maracaibo, photocopies. September 1987.

The issue of the legal and social policies which apply to minors is a very serious one indeed, to the extent that failing to support minors' legal and social rights and guarantees entails the risk "that all criminal law might be reduced to a 'criminal law for minors'".

In the final analysis, cultural models must be changed and the absurdity of attempting to protect the most vulnerable sectors of our society by merely segregating them must be clearly demonstrated.

3. *Palomino Marquez, Gabriela*: La Prevención de Conductas Antisociales de los Menores en el Derecho Mexicano (The Prevention of Minors' Antisocial Behavior within Mexican Law), published in Revista Mexicana de Justicia, No.4, Volume VII, October-December 1989, Mexico.

Documentary research. Crime prevention is essentially based on two elements: a) information given to judges about criminal behavior and b) punishment dealt to minors who are guilty of such behavior. The aim here is to eliminate from positive law those rulings which ignore personal guarantees, namely, all those which are supposedly intended to reduce the risk of crime.

4. *Fellini Gandulfo, Zulita*: Menores Infractores (Juvenile Delinquents), published in Alegatos/I: Publication of the Law Department of the School of Social and Human Sciences, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Mexico, September-December, 1985.

This article deals with the goal shared by psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, criminologists and criminal law specialists, in approaching the issue of juvenile delinquency prevention. The author reaches the following conclusions:

- 1) Criminal policy relative to juvenile delinquency should adhere to the principle of minimum intervention;
- 2) the non-application of criminal law in the case of minors is based on the assumption that, given their age, their level of energy to engage in crime is lower than that of adults;

- 3) this non-application of criminal law in the case of minors must not, however, lead to the elimination of the constitutional guarantees which adults enjoy;
- 4) the validity of the legality principle must be acknowledged;
- 5) the proposed reform should include rules of procedure for the establishment of an indictment system which guarantees a minor's right of defend himself or herself;
- 6) state organizations should allow the maximum amount of time for inquiry.

5. *De la Barreda, Luis*: El Menor en el Derecho Penal (The Minor and Criminal Law), published in *Derecho y Sociedad Mexicana*, Journal of the Social and Human Sciences Department, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Volume III, No.5, January-April, 1982, Mexico.

Legislation concerning minors works against them, insofar as the rules of procedure it applies deprive the latter of the right to defend themselves, and thus violate their constitutional rights in regard to criminal law.

6. *Garcia Ramirez, Sergio*: Consideraciones Criminológico-Jurídicas sobre los Menores Infractores. *Questiones Criminológicas y penales contemporáneas* (Criminological and Legal Considerations Concerning Juvenile Delinquents. Contemporary criminal and criminological issues). Cuadernos del Instituto Nacional de Ciencias Penales, No.6, Mexico 1981.

Even though juvenile delinquents may be given light sentences, the latter are nonetheless tied to criteria of retribution, expiation and example which characterize sanctions applied to adults. The innovative idea of this particular thesis has already been brought up at the Third Latin American Conference on Social Defense (Mexico 1979), and invokes the need for constitutional guarantees that minors will be granted proper recourse to legal procedure.

7. *Guerra de Villalaz, Aura*: Protección de los Derechos de los Menores Infractores (Protection of Juvenile Delinquents' Rights) School of Legal and Political Sciences. Yearly issue. Universidad de los Andes, No.12, Merida, Venezuela, 1981-1982.

Descriptive research bearing essentially on the rights of juvenile delinquents and on the historic evolution of those rights, from the publication of a List of Children's Rights (1929) to the signing in Panama of the Charter for Juvenile Delinquents (1978).

8. *Huggings, Magally*: La Situación de Peligros para los Adolescentes (Adolescents at Risk), published in the Journal of the School of Legal and Political Sciences, *Derecho Penal y Criminología*, No. 68, Universidad Cen-

tral de Venezuela, Caracas, 1987 (Carolina Uslar Rehabilitation Center - Luisa Caceres de Arismendi Rehabilitation Center).

Descriptive research, carried out in Caracas in 1985, concerning female minors charged with contravening the law. In such cases, the legislation relative to minors is applied, and the INAM, which administers it, intervenes. This study aims to determine who falls into the above category and why.

An analysis of article 85 of the Law on the custody of minors which defines the "at risk" category with respect to female minors, leads the author to the following conclusions:

- 1) being the chief cause for the commitment of female minors to special institutions, the "at risk" situation as defined by law, seems to be the most common law-breaking situation in that particular sector of the population;
- 2) adolescent girls are more severely punished than their male counterparts;
- 3) a female minor is said to be "at risk" when, through her behavior, she breaks away from the role assigned to her by society. It is thus an established fact that the admission of female adolescent minors to special establishments is determined in terms of values tied to an abstract moral code.

9. *Aniyar de Castro, Lola: La Realidad Contra los Mitos (Reality as Opposed to Myth)*. Chapter: *La delincuencia femenina en Venezuela: Ideológica de la Diversidad y Marginalidad. (Female Delinquency in Venezuela: the Ideology of Diversity and Nonconformity)*, Universidad de Zulia, Maracaibo, 1982.

Positivist Approach:

1. *Lima, Maria de la Luz and Rodriguez Manzanera, Luis: Jóvenes en Situación de Peligro. Pornografía y Colonialismo Cultural (Youth at Risk. Child Pornography and Cultural Colonialism)*, published in *Criminalia*, Porrúa Publishing Co., Mexico, 1987.

This descriptive research denounces the crime-prone values covertly peddled by the Garbage Pail Kids cards of the American chewing-gum factory, Topps Chewing Gum Inc. Such values are supposed to foster a deviant children's sub-culture which can, later on, constitute a sizeable market for new products.

2. *Cortes, Juan Gerardo*: Características Psicosociales de los Menores en Situación Irregular (Psychological and Social Characteristics of Minors Contravening the Law), published in: Boletín del Instituto Interamericano de la Infancia, No.227, Volume 61, January-June 1987, Uruguay.

Bibliographic research. The concept of a "minor contravening the law" takes on an essentially legal connotation and refers, in real fact, to abandoned minors, vagrants, drug users, beggars, thieves, children whose physical and moral integrity is threatened, those under no adult responsibility, and so on. Each one of these is in itself an unlawful situation, but they are rarely unrelated in real practice.

Because minors come from different backgrounds, we need to consider them as individuals with specific needs, requiring special assistance strategies designed to fit their own personalities, aptitudes and limitations. **Proposal:** in defining programs and activities, it is especially necessary to respect their learning pace, identify their emotional deprivation, and understand their reticence and lack of trust. Intervention strategies, including preventive ones, should also give priority to work within the family and the community.

3. *Zerpa, Dora*: La Inimputabilidad del Menor y el Derecho a Castigar (The Non-Accountability of Minors and the Right to Punish). Anales Internacionales de Criminología, 1983, Volume 21, No.2.

This research tries to show that there is no real policy in Venezuela today for the protection of minors or for delinquency prevention, not to speak of rehabilitation and social reintegration.

4. *Villalba, Carlos*: Propósito de la Violencia Juvenil (Focus on Juvenile Delinquency). Criminología, Academia Mexicana de Ciencias Penales, XIX, No.12, Porrúa Publishing Co., Mexico, 1983.

What is meant by "juvenile violence" seems to derive from a personal pathology, and that is why the struggle against delinquency gives priority to early detection of a minor's tendencies rather than to the later analysis of the environment which influenced him.

5. *Quiroz Cuarón, Alfonso*: La Clínica Criminológica en el Tratamiento de los Menores de Conducta desviada (Criminological Teaching. Treating the Deviant Behavior of Minors). Criminología, Ministry of the Interior, Department of Social Integration.

This descriptive research, based on an experiment in Mexico, comes to the conclusion that minors with a deviant behavior are the product of society, and that it is up to all of us to try and set them back on the right track, and to keep other children from following the same path.

6. *Quiroz Cuaron, Alfonso*: El Tratamiento del Menor en el Estado Antisocial (Dealing with Minors' Antisocial Behavior), published in No.10, Mexico, 1978.

The author reaches several conclusions, among which: 1) adolescence is, for minors of both sexes, a period when antisocial behavior tends to come to the fore; 2) driving permits should not be delivered to youngsters under 18; 3) Mexico urgently needs to institute a Federal Code of Protection for Minors.

7. *Medina Meza, Carlos*: Ministry of Justice, Columbia 1990.

Criminal policy project which sets general guidelines for the Columbian Ministry of Justice during a campaign promoting crime prevention. It suggests that policies be either all-inclusive or sectorial, and that bills and decrees be based on the notion that the national police force, the criminal investigation department, the judiciary, and the penitentiary system are the pillars of prevention.

8. *Rodriguez de Hernandez, Judith*: Un Estudio Sobre Menores en Situación de Peligro (Study on Minors at Risk), published in Relación Criminológica, Penal and Criminological Research Institute, Universidad de Carabobo, Law School, 8th year No.14-15, 1975.

This research is centered on a group of minors at risk in the state of Carabobo, in Venezuela - the term "minors at risk" refers to those who are described in article 11 of the Statute of Venezuelan minors, and it analyzes two types of "at risk" situations. In conclusion, this study proposes various solutions revolving around two fundamental poles: medium-term action, concretized by prevention policies, and immediate, directly applicable measures (general, specific, and "very early" prevention), to be implemented as part of emergency politics to resolve one specific problem.

9. *Fernandez, Sora*: Atención a Menores con Conductas Desviadas (Aid to Minors Exhibiting Deviant Behavior), published in Legalidad Socialista, 3/89. Department of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic of Cuba.

This evaluative research recommends that a criminal policy be designed. It is the duty of the authorities in charge of law enforcement to improve the rehabilitation system, through constant revision of methods used and evaluation of the scientific approach used by educators whose rule and influence on minors must be reinforced.

10. *Raimundo Torrado Maria Mercedes*: Son los Menores más Propensos a Cometer Delitos? (Are Minors More Inclined To Commit Crimes?), published in Legalidad Socialista 4/87, Department of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic of Cuba.

Preventive measures adopted to combat juvenile delinquency are the following: a) broad measures (general prevention), whose aim is to develop a national system of education for the new generation; b) specific measures (specific prevention) for the direct elimination of factors which are conducive to criminal acts. The author insists on the fact that prevention is a collective responsibility.

11. *Vega Vega, Juan: La Prevención Delictiva: Tarea de Todos (Preventing Crime is Everybody's Business)*, published in Cuadernos de la Legalidad Socialista. Selection of Technical and Legal Data, Department of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic of Cuba, 16, No.2, Cuba, 1987.

A proposal for a crime policy. In a socialist society, the essential theoretical and practical contribution of delinquency prevention to the social defense movement is two-pronged: on the one hand, it promotes the activities of humanitarian institutions, and reinforces preventive methods with respect to negative behavior, and on the other, it triggers society's reactions to early manifestations of delinquency.

Seeing that a socialist society evolves and functions in such a way that it does not foster misdemeanors, the struggle against delinquency can only achieve more and more positive results.

12. *Gonzales de Rivera, Dagyi: Situación del Menor de Conducta Irregular en el Estado de Carabobo. Analisis Sociologico (The Situation of Deviant Minors in the State of Carabobo. Sociological Analysis)*, published in *Relacion Criminológica*, Publication of the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminological Research, Universidad de Carabobo, Law School, Valencia, 9th Year, No.16, Venezuela, 1976.

The author raises the following questions: 1) What are the factors which contribute to a minor's deviant behavior? 2) Which are the most determining ones? 3) In what way does social disorganization condition a minor's deviant behavior?

Proceeding from a clearly functionalist framework, this research is founded on concepts of social organization and disorganization which become manifest through the behavior of minors. Social disorganization does, in effect, lead to the collapse of the various institutions to which all individuals belong throughout their lives.

The author concludes that while this type of behavior is sometimes due to personal reasons, its causes are multiple and predominantly social.

13. *The Justice Ministry's Department of Social and Legal Research and Crime Prevention: Prevención del Delito Para la Libertad, la Justicia, la Paz y el Desarrollo (Crime Prevention for the Sake of Liberty, Justice, Peace and Development)*. Bogota, Columbia.

This descriptive research, which bears an official and general stamp, evaluates several aspects of preventive action in Columbia, including that which concerns drug trafficking. In regard to minors, it underlines the fact that age is a determining factor with respect to criminality, and suggests that the latter be viewed, not at successive stages, depending on age, but as a whole, insofar as chronological events and biological development are not always symmetrical, and a process which begins in childhood may only fully develop in adulthood.

This study also lists the various forms of assistance which the Columbian Institute of Social Welfare offers minors, depending on their age (children under 12 and between 12 and 16 years of age), the types of assistance, the various centers for protection and rehabilitation, training centers, youth homes and shelters, placement with parents, living as semi-boarders or in foster homes, release on parole, and temporary return home. Finally, it analyzes the regulations which apply in this area (organic rule on the defense of children, law of 1983), which outlines directives relative to lawsuits arising from paternity disputes, alimony and child custody, and specifies the manner in which they are to be applied (protection centers and custody boards), while acknowledging that their inefficiency is due to insufficient means.

14. *Sanchez Galindu, Antonio: Presentación del Contexto Preventivo y de Tratamiento de Menores en el Estado de México (The Context of Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency Among Minors in Mexico)*. Paper read at the 1st National Convention on the Legal Status of Minors, Mexico, August 1973.

Conclusions and suggestions drawn from this evaluative research: 1) a wholly integrated system must be created at the State level, which will coordinate its action with that of the State, to work on the prevention of parasocial and antisocial behavior among minors; 2) such a system should include a) the promulgation or reform of the laws applicable to minors, in accord with modern approaches, b) the construction of appropriate centers, c) proper training of specialized personnel, d) a combined approach to family and community, e) the development of a procedure that is radically different from that which applies to adults, f) the modernization of an archaic nomenclature; 3) interdisciplinarity (psychiatry, psychology, social work, pedagogy, medicine, etc.) is to be encouraged.

15. *Coll.: Mesas Redondas Sobre Prevención de la Delinuencia Juvenil en Panamá* (Round Tables on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in Panamá). Universidad de Panamá, Institute of Criminology, July 1979).

This research led to the following conclusions: 1) juvenile delinquency prevention has become an almost limitless field; 2) planning is essential in the area of crime prevention in general, and among young people in particular, given the various elements at stake, namely, housing, the social impact of the media, education, schooling, the acquisition of moral and family values, and the active participation of the community in organizing an acceptable standard of living; 3) prevention is imperative in the face of situations and behaviors which do not contravene the law, but are just as dangerous; 4) in Panama, the problem has not received the attention it deserves; 5) the government has acted in a sporadic manner, limiting its action almost solely to the capital city; 6) prevention suffers from a shortage of funds; 7) the custody court has a strictly advisory capacity; 8) the community should take a positive attitude and participate in solving the problem; 9) the various competent institutions must collaborate closely and coordinate their activities.

Insecurity and the Media

1. *Aniyar de Castro, Lola: Publicidad del Delito e Inseguridad Ciudadana* (Advertising Crime and the Private Citizen's Sense of Insecurity), published in: Capítulo Criminológico No.14. Institute of Criminology, Universidad de Zulia, Law School, Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1986.

This theoretical and empirical research includes inquiries on various topics, such as the growing number of victims, sources of information about rising crime statistics, fear and the feeling of insecurity, the pages on which particular news items appear, opinions concerning police raids and searches and the sense of security they may foster. This study also lists the various power structures in the media; it analyzes the latter's relationship with political and economic power, and brings up the issue of a social construction of reality, the preferences of some sectors of society in terms of news coverage (the lower classes are more prone to reading sensational news items, the type of influence the various media have, and the way clichés about delinquency go around. It shows that much of the information about the rising crime rate comes from the media and is based neither on real fact nor on oral information, resulting in the following consequences: 1) the sense of solidarity within a particular social class vanishes; 2) the feeling of insecurity increases; 3) the latter is

disproportionate to the real extent of insecurity; among the lower classes, especially, people are calling for more police intervention and the use of harsher law enforcement.

2. *Montenegro, Hernan*: *La Televisión y los Niños* (Children and Television), published in *el Boletín del Instituto Interamericano del Niño*, July-December 1984, No.222, Volume LIX, Uruguay.

This study is based on the known fact that television is one of the catalysts of the rapid change which is presently affecting all kinds of areas. It stresses the power of images and the ecological impact of this media (the relationship between the child and its environment). The author suggests that the following preventive measures be taken: 1) preschoolers should not look at television, except for the educational programs specifically designed for them; 2) explanations should be given to school age children about the kinds of programs that are beneficial for them; 3) children's critical ability should be developed; 4) parents and children should watch programs together and subsequently share their reactions to them.

3. *Zeledon Cambrobero, Mario* (publisher): *La Desinformación de la Prensa en Costa Rica: Un Grave Peligro Para la Paz* (Media Disinformation in Costa Rica: A Serious Threat to Peace). Instituto de Estudios Sociales of Costa Rica, 1987, San José, Costa Rica.

This is an anthology of a series of articles and works on how journalists do their work in Costa Rica and how that is reflected through the media. The author delineates the interests which are at stake in this milieu (information used to political ends, manipulation mechanisms, the media's influence on public opinion), and deals more particularly with the exaltation of the fighting spirit in Costa Rica at a time when peace in Central America is seriously endangered.

4. *Los Medios de Difusión y el Estereotipo del Delincuente* (Mass Media and the Delinquent Stereotype): *Delito de cuello blanco en America Latina* (White-collar crime in Latin America), 1987.

The various Latin-American teams (Columbia, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela) have shown that their respective countries do not handle white-collar crime and more traditional crime in the same way. They develop a stereotyped image of the delinquent, and they associate feelings of insecurity only with delinquency in the lower classes. Among the more noteworthy of these studies, one may mention those of the Universidad Externado of Columbia, and of the Institute of Criminology of the University of Zulia (cf. *Tineo, Audelina*, *The Delinquent Stereotype*, published in *Capitulo Criminologico 13*, a publication of the Institute of Criminology of the Univer-

sity of Zulia 1985). The Institute of Zulia analyzes the content of information on white-collar crime and traditional crime, and shows the relationships that exist between the amount of space devoted to that kind of information, the vocabulary used, the selected pages in the newspapers, on the one hand, and the stereotype of the delinquent, on the other.

5. *Valderrama de Patino, Ines and Patino Angarita, Margarita: Violencia en los Medios de Comunicación Social (Violence in the Mass Media)*, published in *Derecho Penal y Criminología, Journal of the Institute of Criminal and Criminological Sciences of the Universidad Externado de Columbia*, Volume 2, No.6, Librería del Professional Publishers, July 1979, Columbia.

Study done as part of the Latin-American Group of Comparative Criminology's Project on "Violence in Latin America".

Historical summary, including an analysis of the present situation and limited empirical research. Three media (the press, radio and television) are covered by this study which reaches the following conclusion: "the media are just as efficient in conveying the dominant ideology and the educational system, religion and the Law, thus facilitating the dissemination of values, principles and behavior produced by a society centered on a particular mode of production, and of which we are led to believe that they are natural, universal and immutable.

The media also transmit and freeze cliches, including those having to do with delinquents, and thus help trigger secondary deviancy processes.

6. *Ejias, Elisa, Xalabardes, Emely, Pina, Reyna and Jubes: Normas Que Inciden en el Control de la Publicidad de Bebidas y su Aplicación (Regulations Bearing on the Control of Alcoholic Beverages Advertising and their Application)*, Universidad de Los Andes, Law School, Merida, No.4, Venezuela, 1979.

This study deals with alcohol consumption in **Honduras** and the primordial role played by a barrage of advertising in instigating this phenomenon.

7. *Gomez Grillo, Elio: El Delito y los Medios de Comunicación Social (Mass Media and Crime)*, published in *Anuario del Instituto de Ciencias Penales y Criminológicas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, School of Legal and Political Sciences, No.5, 1973*).

Bibliographic research which accuses the mass media of contributing to criminality in Latin America.

8. *Medios de Comunicación y Comercialización del Escándalo (Mass Media and the Commercialization of Scandals)*, published in *Derecho Penal*

y Criminología, Journal of the Institute of Criminal and Criminological Sciences of the Universidad Externado de Columbia, Volume 2, No.5, Librería del Professional Publishers, 1979.

This study refers to the use of sensationalism as a means of influencing the sentence, and to the significant changes that have been introduced into the art of punishing: scandalous acts are publicized, or the punishment itself is turned into a spectacle, just as any other consumer product; the authors underline the important role played by the press and television in bringing about such distortions.

9. *Arteaga Sanchez, Moises Alberto*: Cine, Televisión, Persona Humana y Delincuencia (Cinema, Television, People and Delinquency), published in Anuario del Instituto de Ciencias Penales y Criminológicas, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Law School, No.1, 1967.

Bibliographic research leading to the following conclusions: 1) Cinema and television can be instrumental in helping devise a criminal project by supplying potential delinquents with methods, techniques and systems which make carrying out the actual act easier; 2) commercial cinema and television change the nature of children's and adolescents' personality; 3) but it is the breakdown of the family unit which most contributes to juvenile delinquency.

10. *Antony, Carmen*: Los Medios de Comunicación Social Como Instrumentos de Control Social Informal en Panamá (The Role of Mass Media in Panama as Informal Instruments of Social Control). 1850-1857. 3rd Seminar of the Latin American Group of Comparative Criminology, The Project on Social Control in Latin America, Institute of Criminology, Universidad de Panamá, Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1987.

This text retraces in detail the history of the mass media in Panama, comments on their evolution from a legalistic viewpoint, and considers the issue of the media as introduced on Panamean soil by the Americans who thus reinforce their ideological control in the region.

11. *Zambrano Pasquel, Alfonso*: Medios de Comunicación y Estrategias de Control (The Media and Control Strategies). Issues of Criminal Law and Criminology, 1988.

This research bears on the informal control which the media exert in civilian society as means of control and political domination. It examines various studies on mass media, and raises a few questions about the way news circulate, the establishment of a new economic and social order, cultural dependency, and the theory of social responsibility; it provides information

about multinational news agencies, suggests that news be controlled in certain Latin-American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Ecuador) and lastly, analyzes the communication policies of Latin-American governments.

12. *Garcia Mendez, Emilio*: Política Criminal y Medios de Comunicación de Masas (Crime Prevention Policy and the Mass Media), published in Capítulo Criminológico (Chapter on Criminology) No.4, University of Zulia Law School, Institute of Criminology, Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1976.

The overall aim of this study is to analyze: 1) the possible connections between a crime prevention policy and the media; 2) the mechanisms at work; 3) the goals to be achieved; 4) and the consequences.

The author also explains how the media can play up an offence until it turns into a "special criminal case".

13. *Iruzun, Victor, Navarro, Guillermo and Rivas, Liliana*: El Impacto de los Medios de Comunicación (The Media's Impact), published in Cuadernos de Legalidad Socialista (Socialist Legality Journals), 19 - No.2, 1988, Selection of Technical and Legal News, General Court of the Republic of Cuba, Center for Technical and Legal Documentation, Ministry of Justice, Havana, November 1988.

This bibliographic research analyzes the double impact of the mass media: 1) the various ways in which the latter refer to criminal behavior; 2) opinions expressed before the trial by the competent legal authorities regarding the conduct of the accused, which can affect the latter and influence the final decision.

14. Research Project Aiming to Understand the Connections between the Media and Crime

This study first explains the ways in which the media contribute to the socialization process. Then, on the basis of an analytic description of each of the media in Venezuela (television, radio, newspapers, journals and cinema), it asserts that there is a connection between those and criminality: 1) the media have grown at a faster rate than the legal instruments liable to control them; 2) crime is part of a dynamic process, since it varies according to the characteristics of the society which generates it. The text dealing with this topic approaches the issue from two radically opposite viewpoints, namely, that: a) the media have no influence whatsoever on the incidence of violent behavior, and b) quite to the contrary, they definitely influence it.

The author suggests that a research project be designed to understand the connections between the media and crime, and outlines the content of such a study.

15. *Antony, Carmen: La Violencia y los Medios de Comunicación Colectiva (Violence and the Media)*, Latin-American Convention on the Media and Crime Prevention. Panamean Journal of Criminology, University of Panama, Department of Law and Political Science, University City, Panama, 1979, No.8.

The aim of this study is to try and determine the role played by the media in Panama, and to analyze the level of aggressiveness and/or violence which they convey.

The more noteworthy of their conclusions are: 1) detective film series, which are a great favorite with the general public, take up more viewing time than any other program; 2) research shows that a high percentage of children and adolescents watch violent-type programs.

This situation of alienation, dependency and oppression could only be altered through massive mobilization, i.e. if the entire community became involved.

How to Prevent and Treat Drug Abuse

1. *Kaplan, Marcos: Prevención y Tratamiento del Abuso de Drogas (Prevention and Treatment of Drug Abuse)*. Aspectos Sociopolíticos del Narcotráfico (Socio-Political Aspects of Drug Trafficking), published in the Journals of the Inacipe, No.34, Mexico, 1989.

The author of this bibliographic and critical study believes that, even though repression is viewed as one of the crucial elements of a replacement policy and strategy, the possible legalization of drug use should also be considered both in American and Latin-American governmental discussions, and within the framework of North-South and international cooperation.

2. *Martines Rincones, José Francisco: Prevención Integral del Delito (General Crime Prevention)*, published in the journal of the Valle Board of Lawyers, March 1985, 1st Quarter, Volume VII, No.14, Cali, Columbia.

This study lays the foundations of a political model of social intervention to change the living conditions which are conducive to crime in Venezuela.

It reaches the following conclusions: 1) delinquency and crime reflect the contradictions of society; 2) certain social and political factors make changes in the area of crime prevention imperative; 3) the foundations for general crime prevention exist both in the Constitution and in the demystifying theses of criminology; 4) real prevention must be backed by a social policy.

3. *Gabaldon, Luis Gerardo: Control Social Informal y Prevención del Delito (Informal Social Control and Crime Prevention)*, United Nations

Inter-Regional Institute for Research on Crime and Justice (UNICRI), *Criminología en América Latina (Criminology in Latin America)*, Publication No.33, Rome, May 1990.

This study proposes to analyze informal social control relative to prevention by raising the following questions: 1) out of the numerous organizations involved in preventive action, while not being specifically mandated to do so, which authorities act consciously and exclusively to contain and limit criminal behavior; 2) how do these authorities determine what is undesirable, or what criteria do they use to define a situation in which a particular type of behavior occurs which is initially held to be either unacceptable or hardly acceptable; 3) how do these authorities relate with the official organizations which are habilitated to handle such cases, both in terms of competition and in terms of transferring authority to rule in particular cases, and which of them makes the final decision; 4) what individual characteristics, such as socio-economic level, education, leadership, unequal distribution of power and nearness of parents or neighbors, help determine whether the action is carried out predominantly by informal or formal control organizations.

Drug Prevention and Treatment

Introductory note: In Latin America, research on the issue of narcotics has an essentially socio-political dimension; it shows that countries are interdependent, and that there is both a supply (producing countries) and a demand (consuming countries). The authors of this report believe that any search for an alternative solution to outlawing drug use must necessarily involve research on prevention.

Socio-Political Research

1. *Carrasquilla, Juan Fernando: Hacia una Alternativa para la Política de las Drogas en América Latina. Drogas, Problemática Actual en España y América (An Alternative to the Latin-American Drug Policy: Present Drug Problems in Spain and Latin America)*, Temis, Bogota, 1989.

The author of this study suggests, on the one hand, that a serious, honest, logical and efficient fight be waged against drug trafficking and use - a problem which tends to be the same internationally - and on the other, that drugs be legalized in "controlled" fashion, (i.e., by linking progressive legislation with strict administrative controls. This latter solution is defended by a moderate faction or by those opposed to the abolition of the present principle

of prohibition). But this policy is unlikely to be adopted since the present situations is modeled after the Single Convention on Narcotics imposed on an international scale by the United States.

2. *Del Olmo, Rosa: La Sociopolítica de las Drogas (The Socio-Political Implications of Drugs), Siglo XXI, Mexico, 1976.*

This is the most significant and complete list of the political and economic consequences of drug commercialization at the national and international levels.

3. *Aniyar de Castro, Lola: Legitimación Interna y Estrategias de Dominación en la Campaña Contra las Drogas en 1984 en Venezuela (International Policy Legitimization and Domination Strategies in the Anti-Drug Campaign in Venezuela in 1984), published in Capítulo Criminológico (Chapter on Criminology) No.13, University of Zulia, Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1985.*

This critical research is based on the study of newspaper articles published at the time, and in which, according to the author, anti-drug campaigns play an important role in the social construction of reality, insofar as a problem which did not yet exist in the country then was in effect manufactured out of the blue. In her view, these campaigns were designed to legitimize the international policy of governments and to support the policies of producing countries on which consuming countries depend. A comparison between the 1984 campaign and that of the 70s, also in Venezuela, leads her to the conclusion that both were meant to justify the reinforcement of police forces internationally. This study also stresses: 1) the important strategic international interests at stake and the role played by such factors as the use of clichés in which drugs are associated with subversion; 2) the economic and political danger resulting from the criminalization of drug trafficking and use. One of the author's conclusions should be noted, namely, that, while a socio-political approach to the problem may not be the only valid one, it does not show that a topic involving such emotional and catastrophic connotations as drug abuse does entail many and very different consequences which are primarily socio-political in nature.

4. *De la Barreda, Luis: Capitalismo y Drogas (Capitalism and Drugs), Fourth Seminar on Critical Criminology in Latin America, September 1986, Cuba.*

The drug problem is a constant cause of conflict in regard to international relations.

The three political analyses done by the author here could point the way to more thorough studies: 1) youth rebel against the status quo, and the media

feed this rebellion; 2) the imperialist power tries so hard to subject nations to its influence that it violates their national sovereignty; 3) at whatever level, the private and public sectors work hand in hand.

Specific Prevention and the Treatment of Drug Abuse

1. *Marcano, Zaira and Diaz, L. Antonio*: Algunas Acciones del Docente en el Proceso de la Educación Preventiva de la Farmacodependencia en el Segundo y Tercer Círculo de la Educación Básica (Some of the Activities Designed by Teachers in the Area of Drug Prevention Education in Secondary School and Universities), Thesis, University of Oriente, Sucre Branch, School of Social Sciences and Education, Venezuela, 1985.

The authors of this thesis focus on the theme of preventive education with regard to drug abuse, and provide guiding principles based on criteria derived from biology, psychology and sociology. According to their analysis, prevention should 1) be all-inclusive, 2) take into account the way in which an individual arrives at a decision, given that drug use or abuse is a personal choice, 3) involve the entire community, and finally, 4) vary according to age, sex, occupation, educational level, interests, etc., of the individuals involved.

They suggest that teachers adopt the following prevention strategies against drug use: 1) provide their students with truthful information concerning drug use; 2) keep calm and refuse to engage in any kind of sensationalism; 3) avoid any value judgment and moralizing; 4) supply students with straightforward, correct and up-to-date information about products which lead to dependency; 5) differentiate between the experimental and social uses of narcotics; 6) show the connection between individuals, drugs and the cultural context; 7) avoid any approach that might cause fear; 8) avoid any sense of panic in the face of the drug problem; 9) create an atmosphere of trust; 10) encourage informational discussions.

2. *Rondon de Millan, Yadira*: Aportes del Trabajador Social en un Programa de Prevención Comunitaria Sobre la Problemática del Uso y Abuso de las Drogas (The Role of the Social Workers in Implementing a Community Drug Prevention Program), Thesis, University of Oriente, Sucre Branch, Venezuela, June 1984.

This bibliographic study concludes that in order to set up a prevention program at the community level, it is necessary to identify those factors which will facilitate the establishment of such a program and be conducive to social change, as any curtailment of the destructive and self-destructive behavior that is common among drug abusers can only come from such a change. The author studied the following factors: a) the biological criteria (to show the connection

between drug abuse and the physiological aspect of the drug user); b) the psychological criteria (psychological causes which incite the individual to take drugs; c) the social environment (influences affecting behavior changes); d) the need for individuals and the entire group to assume responsibility as regards decision making; e) cooperation and community action as basic elements of prevention.

A different strategy can be used to fit each of the five criteria based on the "drug", "individual", "context", "behavior", and "intervention" variables: 1) threaten and/or punish drug users; 2) set up prevention campaigns to contain the number of drug users so as to avoid "contagiousness"; 3) know that desire or the lack of it are dimensions of social behavior and that they are culturally acceptable; 4) seek to introduce changes in keeping with the social context; 5) proceed from the relationships between genetic traits, the social climate and individual behavior.

The suggestions made to the social worker involve three basic areas: 1) an analysis of the means, organizations and resources of a given society to develop preventive programs; 2) the need to know the past history of individuals and the group to which they belong before a social worker is assigned and psychological and biological treatment is recommended; 3) therapeutic action which must take into account the social, community and family environment of the persons involved.

3. *Garcia, Bertha*: Diseño de un Programa Introductorio de Información y Educación Preventiva en el Consumo de Drogas (Designing an Introductory Program of Drug Prevention and Education), Thesis in Psychiatry and in Clinical and Community Psychology, Caracas, 1987.

On the basis of her bibliographic research, the author observes that the drug problem can be analyzed according to five basic criteria: 1) ethical and legal; 2) medical and epidemiological; 3) psycho-social; 4) socio-cultural; and 5) bio-psycho-social. As prevention must be all-inclusive, it is in fact necessary to take into account the biological, psychological and social aspects of the issue, as well as the decision-making process which should involve the whole community, in a spirit of cooperation, and which must vary according to the group's individual and social traits.

Conclusions:

1) Professors approach the issue of drug use in a partial and descriptive manner; 2) this problem does not involve youth alone, but other sections of the population and other social classes as well; 3) the use of legal drugs such as liquor and tobacco are tolerated to a degree.

4. *Garlin, Fernando*: Modelo de Programa Sobre Educación Preventiva (Preventive Education Program Model), Thesis, Central University of Venezuela, School of Social Sciences and Education (no reference to the year).

Bibliographic research. It would seem that the criteria used by educators and social workers in all the research work that we looked at are the same as those which apply to research on drug abuse (ethical and legal, medical and epidemiological, socio-cultural, psycho-social and bio-psycho-social criteria). The author of this thesis defines his criteria in terms of preventive education and he argues in favor of: 1) training and advanced courses for people in charge of preventive education in the Venezuelan educational system; 2) the development of such a program, including assessments of its success and adequate follow-up; 3) the proposals concerning educational measures are the following: a) preventive education programs should be developed and better integrated into the curriculum at the national level; b) teaching personnel should be trained to apply criteria and design preventive education strategies which are compatible with their usual work.

5. *Reyes Rodriguez, Rosa*: Modelos de Intervención Social Para Adictos de Drogas (Models of Social Intervention on Behalf on Drug Addicts), Work Done in Connection with a Promotion. University of Oriente, Sucre Branch, School of Social Sciences, Cumana, Venezuela, 1975.

The author introduces a model of social intervention involving drug addicts. Her frame of reference is existentialism and her method consists in observation carried out in therapeutic centers. This type of intervention presupposes that addicts receive medical and clinical treatment, and is based on group therapy. The role of the professional is to help addicts alter their behavior so they may be cured and rehabilitated, whereas the work group's aim is to make sure that patients are integrated and that they adjust. The author bases her work on sociological and psychological theories as well as group dynamics, and she suggests that Lawrence Shulman's theories be implemented (68).

Her goal is to prove that a small work group can confront some of the drug addict's traits through the simultaneous use of techniques and individual abilities which allow both the group and the patients to achieve the proposed goals and succeed in rehabilitating addicts. The author also refers to the drug problem in Venezuela, its increase, legal aspects, prevention and treatment, thus giving the reader an overall ideal of the situation. She draws a number of conclusions, makes suggestions to any person directly and/or indirectly interested in the problem, and finally alludes to the difficulties entailed by the treatment and rehabilitation of addicts. Namely, the complexity of the prob-

lem, the patient's weak personality, the need to find funds to finance the creation of therapeutic groups, the fact that patients cannot be made to seek a cure, the community's negative attitude, and the family's limited participation.

Research on Community Prevention

These experiments, which are primarily intended for minors, are carried out for the most part in Cuba where prevention control is handled by official institutions which are also active at the community level. A prevention program has been developed on an experimental basis by the School for Residents, but its goal is more to keep the number of victims from growing, than to engage in overall or specific prevention as such.

1. *Gabaldon, Luis G.*: *Patrones de Respuesta Policial y Efectos en Vecindarios de Bajo y Alto Estrato Socio-Económico en Venezuela (Police Intervention Criteria and its Effects on the Upper and Lower Classes in Venezuela)*, Paper read at the Tenth International Convention on Criminology, September 1988.

The author of this field research focuses essentially on the interactions between police and population, and on the definition of authority in matters of control, and he reports on the following facts: 1) the police intervenes mostly in the public domain, whereas the community acts on private issues or at a more limited level; 2) police action is primarily concerned with controlling certain legally unacceptable behavior; 3) the police tries to strike a balance between efficiency and the approval of residents in the area where it intervenes; 4) the community is mostly involved in controlling the type of behavior which can be detrimental to individuals; 5) the more means it has, the less it needs to call on the police; 6) it turns to the latter all the more readily when there is little connection between the offender and the victim in a particular situation. The author also shows that: 1) the population is ambivalent about the role and methods of the police as a means of control; 2) the police tries to work towards a balance; 3) it tends to intervene in public places for the most part.

2. *Martinez Rubio, Frank*: *La Organización Juvenil y Experiencias en la Labor Preventiva (Youth Organization and Experiments in the Area of Prevention)*, XXXIXth International Seminar in Criminology, Havana, Cuba, 1987.

The various experiments to curb criminal and antisocial activities, and in the area of social welfare, since the advent of the Commission on Prevention

and Social Welfare which bring together all the State organizations, the Union of Young Communists and social organizations. Its aim is to combat criminal and antisocial activities and to root out their causes and conditions.

How to Deal with Recidivism

1. *De la Barreda, Luis*: Los Jinetes de la Peligrosidad, published in the Mexican Journal of Justice, Mexico, October-December 1987.

Bibliographic, critical and legal research in which the author asserts that the most telling elements of the political prudence that is typical of Mexican legislation are the control methods, the notion of recidivism, prevention measures and the fact that sanctions are justified on the basis of the danger posed by crime.

2. *Villalobos de Marquez, Marcela*: Perfil Criminológico y Social en Panamá: Delincuentes Habituales y Reincidentes en Robo y Hurto (Social and Criminal Profile of Inveterate Thieves and Recidivists), University of Panama, Panamean Journals of Criminology, Volume 1, No.2, November 1973.

In this study, the author describes delinquents who have been found guilty of violating property laws, classifies them according to their place of residence at the time of the crime, and constructs the criminal and social profile of inveterate thieves and recidivists.

Garcia Sucre, Victor, Wolfemann, Beatriz, Casanova, Marco, and Zotes, Begona: El Estigma del Antecedente Delictivo Como Generador de Violencia (Crime Antecedents as a Source of Violence), Journals of the Cenipe, No.2, University of the Andes, Venezuela, 1977.

This research evolved from the observation that the insufficient economic resources of individuals who have already committed a crime is the cause of recidivism, as are antecedents which tend to induce new and more serious criminal behavior. The authors review the program which cancels the individual's past police record, and they doubt that criminal recidivists who are prosecuted are happy doing what they do.

It is necessary, among other things, to: 1) cut down on the printing of administrative papers relative to police records; 2) depart from the law relative to vagrants and law-breakers; 3) stop using the criminal, prison, judiciary and police records as a cause of detention; 4) gradually put an end to police raids, or at least reduce their number.

The authors view the program which consists in not issuing police records as an experimental solution, and stress the fact that it has achieved excellent results (0% recidivism).

6. *Irurzun, Victor, Navarro, Guillermo and Rivas, Lililana: El Proceso Penal Como Refuerzo de la Conducta Desviada (Criminal Trials as a Source of Deviant Behavior) Cuadernos de la Legalidad Socialista (Journals of Socialist Legality), 19, No.2, Ministry of Justice in Havana, November 1988.*

Bibliographic and documentary research in which the authors recommend that 1) competent organizations in matters of criminal law be better coordinated; 2) behavior which can be otherwise controlled by social means not be penalized so as not to weigh uselessly on the criminal justice system and discredit it; 3) issues that can be settled at the administrative level under the competent judicial organization not be brought to court; 4) traditional prison sentences and fines be replaced by new sanctions; 5) preventive imprisonment be eliminated as much as possible, to keep the accused from being condemned in the long run; 6) to bring together, in a coherent whole, the aims of the sub-systems of the judiciary administration.

The State of Knowledge in Canada

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Crime Research and Prevention in Canada

This report consists of two parts. In the first, we will provide a very brief description of research matters of criminal justice in Canada. In the second, we will review in greater detail the research being conducted on the themes set forth for the **Second International Conference on Urban Safety, Drugs and Crime Prevention**. These themes concern: (1) preventing and treating drug abuse; (2) responding to the needs of young people at risk; (3) developing local responses to recidivism; (4) involving the community in crime prevention and (5) the relationship between the news media, insecurity and crime.

We have intentionally limited the scope of this study to research conducted in the decade since 1980. Even with that restriction, the amount of sociological and clinical work produced in the field of criminal justice is considerable. Given the fact that there are eight (8) criminology research centers in Canada, we will only be able to give a partial measure of the quantity and quality of work produced. A full report would greatly exceed the limited purpose of this text, which, as we would like to stress once more, will only address the essential issues.

1. A General Description of the Research

Nuttall (1989: 478) has stated that Canadian researchers have not as yet produced a specifically Canadian theory of criminology. A former senior

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official with the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, *Nuttall* does not deny that original work has been produced in Canada, but rather claims that the explanations for delinquency, like the proposals for crime prevention, are based on the same theoretical assumptions as those of other Western democracies. As we shall see, there is a good deal of truth to that statement. Canadian researchers are very strongly influenced by the works of their colleagues in the United States, Great Britain and France.

The two largest institutions specializing in criminology in Canada are the University of Toronto Center of Criminology and the University of Montreal School of Criminology. These two bodies are at opposite ends of the spectrum. The first is essentially a research center, training masters and doctoral students only, while the second is a professional school involved primarily in training practitioners. In between these two, some university departments combine both teaching and research. Finally, there are also such research centers as the International Center of Comparative Criminology, which are exclusively devoted to research. Nevertheless, the kind of polar relationship referred to above is exemplary in our view.

In fact, with regard to matters of criminal justice in Canada, research may be divided into two basic types. The first is relatively abstract and theoretical, devoting little attention to practical application. At the other extremity is applied research, concerned above all with providing information to the professional world. Before describing each of these types of research, we should first stress the somewhat dichotomous nature of criminological research in Canada, which is generally either too removed from or, on the contrary, too close to actual practice. There is a paucity of research work based on an integrated approach, posing an original theory of criminality on which criminal policies and intervention programs are then explicitly built.

1.1 Theoretical Research Work

We would first like to moderate slightly our statement to the effect that such theoretical work tends (intentionally) to neglect the application aspect. True, all this research work has in common a relative remoteness from practice. However, as we shall see, this remoteness cannot be reduced to a single cause, amounting to a lack of interest in the practical implications of the theories developed. We will now illustrate this assertion.

1.1.1 The Critical Tradition

There has been and continues to be a strong critical tradition in Canada. A number of Canadian researchers, most of whom work in the western part of the country, are among the last to hold that Marxist thought can still serve as the foundation on which a modernized, more accurate form of criminology can be built. These researchers have published two series of texts which serve as their manifesto: *The New Criminologies in Canada* (Fleming (ed.) 1985) and *State Control: Criminal Justice Politics in Canada* (Ratner and McMullan, (eds.) 1987). They also founded a review in 1989, entitled *The Journal of Human Justice*. This tendency is not secretarian. On the one hand, it receives contributions from such researchers as *Reasons* (1978) and Ratner and Burtch, who apply a Marxist frame of reference in a relatively orthodox manner. On the other hand, there are researchers like Richard V. Ericson and Ross Hastings, whose critical thinking reflect very little Marxist influence. However, the practical spin-off of such works is, admittedly, relatively minor. This does not mean that these researchers are unconcerned with practice; quite to the contrary, it is one of their major preoccupations. The difficulty lies in the fact that the reforms they propose are too radical to be taken into consideration by government authorities. At the beginning, these researchers were strongly influenced by the British criminologist *Ian Taylor*; they have not apparently rallied around New Left Realism, inspired principally by *Jock Young* of Middlesex Polytechnic in Great Britain. The latter outlook may well prove to be more compatible with government priorities.

1.1.2 Pure Research

While the above group cannot be claimed to be unconcerned with practice, that assertion does apply, to varying degrees, to the works of Cusson (1983, 1987 and 1990), Pires (1990), Hagan (1988) and Ericson (1981-1991). These authors represent completely different tendencies and have dealt with a broad range of subjects. Cusson and Pires both examined issues involving the legitimization of the penal system, but obtained fairly conflicting results. Ericson's work involved policing and the press. John Hagan analyzed the effects of such differentiating factors as economic status, race and sex on the penal decision-making process. However, a common denominator runs through all this work; an essentially theoretical intent, a high degree of generality, and a refusal to draw explicitly the implicit practical conclusions. Cusson, for example, considers that practical interpretation of theoretical

work is not the researcher's job. To cite one final example, Ericson's pessimism leads to an apparent impasse, insofar as he almost seems to believe that penal reform of any kind only worsens matters.

1.1.3 Specific Research

This category is very similar to the above. It consists of spadework in fields of research which until then had received little attention in Canada. Research in this category includes works by *Shearing and Stenning* (1981, 1987) on private security, *Turk* (1982) on political deviance and *Brodeur* (1984, 1991a) on Boards of Inquiry and police informants. The central goal pursued by this research is to structure the subject matter and use it to produce a body of knowledge. During an initial phase, the researchers invested all their energy in that effort and postponed formulating practical recommendations to a future time. The *Brodeur* report (1991a) on police informants did, however, include several recommendations which could be used to set up guidelines for recourse to such informants.

1.1.4 Historical Research

A number of historical works have been published by researchers with Canadian universities. These include, for the last decade, the works of *John Beattie* (1986) on the Courts in England, *Jacques Laplante* (1989) on incarceration in Quebec, *Fecteau* (1989) on the relationship between crime and poverty in Quebec in the 19th century, and lastly, *Danielle Laberge* (1985, 1987-1988) on how juvenile delinquents were dealt with in the United States during the 19th century. There is a strong interest in historical research in Canada, as exemplified by the publication of an issue of the journal, *Criminologie*, on the history of social control. While such work may of course serve as an inspiration for determining current practice, it is by definition remote from contemporary applications.

1.1.5 Essays and Manuals

In Canada as in other countries, introductions to criminology, essays and manuals are published regularly. Two noteworthy works are those of *Ellis* (1987) and *Griffith and Verdun-Jones* (1989). The first of those works is an introduction to criminological theories, the second, a review of all aspects of the criminal justice system in Canada. Another work worthy of special mention is the treatises in four volumes by *Nettler* (1982) on criminal careers.

While a relatively complete treatise on criminology, it is only remotely related to practice. Indeed, the final volume, entitled **Responding to Crime**, devotes only one paragraph to crime prevention.

1.2 *Applied Research*

Applied research takes two specific forms in Canada. First, a fairly large number of periodicals and news bulletins are published by the Ministries concerned with criminal justice and by professional organizations. Among them may be cited **Forum**, the excellent review published by the Solicitor General of Canada, **Liaison**, **L'Avisé**, **Le Bulletin** by the Canadian Association for Criminal Justice, and the magazine **Entre-Nous**, published by the Canadian correctional authorities. The aim of these publications is to inform their readers as to new developments in matters of criminal justice and to disseminate findings in applied research.

The second, and by far more significant, form of applied research consists of research reports published by the Solicitor General of Canada, the Canadian Department of Justice and a number of provincial ministries. In this second source could also be included the numerous reports published by the boards of inquiry set up by the various public authorities in Canada. While designed to respond to a specific issue, some of those reports also encompass a theoretical dimension and are thus comparable to research work. One such example is the report on alternative solutions to imprisonment by a research committee chaired by *Pierre Landreville* (Landreville 1987a).

Furthermore, not only do board of inquiry reports sometimes present a distinct theoretical interest, but, in addition, boards of inquiry often commission a large number of research reports in the course of their proceedings, which are later published. The Canadian Sentencing Commission, for example, has published more than ten research reports which raise most of the sentencing-related issues. This snowball effect generated by the boards of inquiry extends beyond the work they commission. The research work by *Landreville* (1987b) on electronically-controlled home detention is just one aspect of the abundant activity this researcher has assumed as chairman of a board of inquiry on alternative measures to imprisonment.

The research reports published by Ministries may be divided into two categories. The first consists of what we will call the instrumental report. The prototype of such a report is a bibliographical compilation. Another example is a review of the literature. These do not constitute research as such, but rather instruments for use in research or decision making.

The second category concerns research reports using empirical research methods. Like the Home Office in Great Britain, the Solicitor General of Canada has subsidized considerable research on highly specific aspects of the workings of the penal system (e.g., mental illness among prisoners, solitary confinement, the effects of long-term incarceration, prison violence and the factors leading to the repeal of release on parole). As these examples show, government-subsidized research must have an immediate connection with the mandate of the Ministry which commissioned it. The result of this requirement is that the vast majority of such works deals with a specific aspect of the penal system. With the exception of a few nationwide surveys on the victimization rate, there is little government research on crime as such.

The second category also covers two other types of research: repertoires of the programs administered by a given Ministry and assessment research. The program repertoires could equally well have been included in the instrumental research category. These most often consist merely of a series of descriptions, generally incomplete and inaccurate, of the initiatives taken by the Ministry in question (such as a list of crime prevention or community policing programs). There are a fair number of such repertoires. To cite examples, *Snyth* (1988) inventories drug addict treatment programs, *Kopelman* and *Moyer* (1985) describe various programs for decriminalization and prevention of juvenile delinquency in Canada and *Linden* (1984) describes a number of different community policing projects.

Assessment research in Canada is conducted mainly under the auspices of the Federal Department of Justice. Its purpose is to assess the effects of new legislation, as, for example, the redefinition of rape as a kind of act of violence. Current assessment research is handicapped by the fact that government-subsidized research remains almost non-existent.

2. Research in the Field of Crime Prevention

We will now review the research which has been conducted in the fields selected as themes for the conference, starting with a presentation of the various general viewpoints on crime prevention which have been developed in Canada.

One of the first workshops to be organized on crime prevention in Canada was held at the Center of Criminology in Toronto in 1975. The workshop chose five themes: (1) improvement of the physical environment; (2) medical and psychological intervention; (3) community involvement;

(4) police participation; (5) legal reform. Within the exception of the last theme, it is evident that little progress has been made and that the debate continues today to be dealt with in terms all too similar to those of 1975.

Three general programs of crime prevention have in fact been launched in Canada. All three of them were strongly influenced by what was being done elsewhere. They were all fairly similar and launched almost simultaneously. *Waller and Weiler* (1984) suggested preventing crime through "social development". This relatively imprecise concept corresponds to what is usually known as primary and secondary prevention. As defined by *Waller and Weiler* (1984, 35-38), the sectors for social development are employment, low-income housing, social services, social security, education and health care.

A second, probably more original notion of crime prevention was proposed by *Paul and Patricia Brantingham* (1986, 1990). *Brantingham* and *Brantingham* (1984) developed the interesting concept of micro-spatial criminology. This concept was based in part on the idea that criminal behavior may be more fully understood by examining how space is perceived and structured by the potential criminal. That viewpoint ultimately led the *Brantinghams* to adopt the British concept of prevention (**Situational Crime Prevention**, see *Heal and Laycock* 1986). If presented very concisely, this viewpoint has two characteristic traits, measures for target hardening of criminal behavior and adaptation of those hardening measures to the specific nature of the various spaces to be restructured. A Canadian version of situational prevention is developed by *Brantingham* and *Brantingham* (1990).

Irvin Waller, who is an energetic programmer, recently proposed other approaches to prevention (*Waller* 1989, 1990). *Waller* draws his inspiration from models developed in a number of different European countries, France in particular. The French model, as presented by *Waller*, has four features: (1) a highly polyvalent approach, "polyvalence" here referring to the fact that people from a variety of fields group together in a team to solve problems of prevention; (2) this polyvalent approach is far less dependent on police leadership than the American or British approaches and in fact it appears that the police are not as yet full-fledged members of those polyvalent teams; this situation is likely to change, with the police playing a more essential role; (3) another feature of this approach is its focus on the local needs of a community; it is, in other words, a decentralized approach; (4) finally, the United States (its major cities) serves in this approach as the example to be avoided, in that the goal of prevention is often defined by a negation, i.e., keeping the major cities of the western world from getting to

be like certain areas of New York (especially the Bronx). The advocates of this approach show signs of a good deal of optimism and consider that this objective can be attained through concerted effort. This optimism contrasts sharply with the pessimism of certain American researchers, who are at loss as to how the quality of life in North American urban ghettos can be improved.

2.1 *Prevention and Treatment of Drug Abuse*

The work done in this field may be classified into three categories. First of all should be mentioned the intense debate surrounding the issue of legalizing drugs. This debate has been fired essentially by the work of *Marie-Andrée Bertrand*, who advocates the International Anti-Prohibitionist League (see *Bertrand* 1990 inter alia). *Marie-Andrée Bertrand's* proposals do not meet with unanimous approval. *Line Beauchesne*, who has produced a considerable volume of work on drug abuse, offers a critical point of view regarding the legalization of narcotics consumption (see *Beauchesne* 1989, 80; this article contains a list of Mrs. Beauchesne's work on the drug issue).

A subset may be included under this first category, covering a whole group of research investigating the origin of the laws on narcotics consumption (*Comack* 1985). In this respect, the work by *LeBeuf* (1990) holds a special place. Indeed, there is a frequent tendency to forget that alcoholism is a form of drug addiction. *Marcel Eugène LeBeuf* has made an in-depth analysis of the origin of the legislation regarding drunken driving.

A second set of studies is to be read on a meta-discursive level. The aim of this work is not so much to propose treatment programs per se as it is to reflect on both the ethical and legal restrictions to be imposed on action in relation to drug addicts. The works by *Brochu* (1990) and by *Brochu* and *Frigon* (1989) partake of that viewpoint.

Finally, a third category of research comprises relatively heterogeneous works, reflecting the lack of an integrated, commonly accepted approach to the problems posed by narcotics consumption. *Ellis* (1988), for instance, proposes a critical assessment of the recent use of urinalysis for drug addiction screening. A collection of text compiled recently by *Blackwell* and *Erickson* (1989) is a particularly striking illustration of the relatively unconcerted nature of Canadian research work on drug addiction issues. Apparently the only common thread linking these works is a will to promote de-escalation in the sanctions imposed on drug users. In this respect, the idea that drug consumption should be decriminalized is receiving increasingly widespread favor among researchers.

Police action is in sharp contrast with the progressive attitude of researchers. Canada is ever more strongly influenced by the American example and our police forces commit themselves to drug control campaigns under the banner of zero-degree tolerance of drug consumption (whether soft or other).

2.2 *Crime Prevention with Young People at Risk*

There has been a significant amount of research work conducted on this subject in Canada. Since the report by the Canadian Sentencing Commission, which expressed marked scepticism with regard to rehabilitation programs, was published, a whole series of works have attempted to prove that *Martinson* (1974) was mistaken and that rehabilitation programs, for adult and young offenders alike, do work (*Gendreau and Andrews* 1990; *Andrews* 1990; these articles contain exhaustive references to the meta-assessment work on rehabilitation programs for young and adult offenders).

The work we have just mentioned is highly polemical. Other studies do, of course, exist. There would in fact seem to be a distinct difference between the work published in English and that published in French. A law on young offenders (replacing the obsolete law on juvenile delinquents) was passed by the Federal Government in 1982 and put into effect in 1984. Quebec had long since implemented a similar legal reform on the provincial scale. This explains why the promulgation of a new Federal law in the field of juvenile delinquency aroused more interest in English Canada than in French Canada. Much of the work published in English consists of assessment of the new legislation's impact. Other work dealt with the origin of the law and denounced the apparent replacement of the ideal, which was to rehabilitate young offenders, by the notion that they are to be held accountable for their acts and, as such, subject to punishment (*Beaulieu*, ed., 1989 is a compilation of research work representative of this approach; in it, a text by Mr. *Jean Trépanier* offers a particularly far-reaching analysis of the new offenders dispositions).

In the mid-70s, the creation of the Groupe de Recherche sur l'Inadaption Juvénile (GRIJ) on maladjusted youth triggered the development of a now solidly-rooted tradition of empirical research in juvenile delinquency in French Canada. The GRIJ is no longer in existence but the researchers behind it assembled the results of their work, an effort which has given rise to a large number of publications. *Cusson* (1981) offered an explanation of juvenile delinquency based on a multi-factorial analysis and set forth a first version of the strategic analysis, which is a criminological approach in-

fluenced by the rational choice theory. Even though *Cusson* shows little inclination, as we have already remarked, to draw practical conclusions from his work, some of his co-researchers have produced works of immediate practical relevancy. Noteworthy in this respect are the works of *Pierre Tremblay* (1986 and 1989) and *Gilbert Cordeau* (1989a, 1989b). *Tremblay* worked out a micro-sociology of crime, which led him to highlight the existence of displacement and substitution phenomena in property crimes. *Cordeau's* work concentrated on a particular criminal group, the motorcycle gangs; through an analysis of cases of retaliation, he attempted to devise a concept of endogenous dissuasion which could partially explain why a criminal career is abandoned in such environments.

Nevertheless, the work produced most regularly in the field was that of the tandem *LeBlanc* and *Fréchette* (*LeBlanc* 1983; *Fréchette* and *LeBlanc* 1987, *LeBlanc* and *Fréchette* 1988; *Loeber* and *LeBlanc* 1990). *LeBlanc* and *Fréchette* have left few stones unturned with regard to juvenile delinquency. *LeBlanc* (1983) established a systematic and highly critical assessment of a youth rehabilitation institution (Boscoville). However, it was only after 1985 that *Fréchette* and *LeBlanc* succeeded in laying out their theoretical model. This model was initially influenced by *David Farrington* and now by *Rolf Loeber's* work.

Within such a limited framework, there is no way to do full justice to *LeBlanc* and *Fréchette's* work. To summarize then, this work restates with particular clarity the bifurcation thesis, which was first formulated by *A.E. Bottoms*. According to this thesis, there is a dichotomy in the way the penal system operates. Anyone not identified as a career criminal, a dangerous or recidivist criminal, receives a relatively lenient penal treatment (such as a fine), while someone who does fit into one of the above three categories is faced with extremely severe sanctions. As we see it, what *Fréchette* and *LeBlanc* propose is the application of this thesis to juvenile delinquency. They establish a distinction within that group. For the majority of young offenders, delinquency is a transitory epiphenomenon which could be assimilated to a rite of passage to adulthood. *Fréchette* and *LeBlanc* advocate distinctive penal tolerance toward all those young people, who will cease to be delinquents when they have established stable affective links. There is, however, another profile of the young offender, those youths who early on demonstrate a seriously deviant behavior and who, it is predicted on the basis of a whole set of criteria, will become career criminals. For those youths, *Fréchette* and *LeBlanc* recommend long-term intervention beginning at an early stage - the future criminal could be detected in grade school or even nursery school. Such interventions involve the use of large-

scale therapeutic resources. Through their collaboration, *LeBlanc* and *Loeber* strengthened efforts to determine the premises behind serious adult crime by tracing them as far back as adolescence or even childhood. Attempts may be made to verify the hypotheses of an almost hereditary nature regarding the transmission of personality traits leading to deviance.

2.3 *Developing Local Responses to Recidivism*

The partial adoption in Canada of the British model of situational prevention, which stresses the need for local initiatives (*Brantingham* and *Brantingham* 1990), might lead one to believe that considerable work has been done on this topic. As we have seen, *Waller* (1989, 1990) also stresses the importance of local initiatives.

In fact, however, there is an undeniable emphasis on programs today. As we will see further on, in the discussion on community policing, there are relatively few local initiatives in Canada. Consequently, we can but hope that the programs which do call for increased attention to local needs will ultimately be implemented and that they will then give rise to assessments or other forms of research. Furthermore, it should be stressed that assessment research is far less developed in Canada than in the United States. Hence, there may be some doubt as to whether local programs for the prevention of recidivism will in the long run give rise to scientific research work.

There are, however, other reasons for the gaps in research on local prevention of recidivism. As we stressed in the Canadian Sentencing Commission report, information systems regularly collecting data on criminology are sorely lacking in Canada, despite the existence of the Canadian Center of Legal Statistics. Without access to information on the nature and extent of recidivism in a given community, it is difficult to set up local prevention programs.

In the final analysis, most of the Canadian research effort in the field of recidivism has been devoted to setting up recidivism prediction tables. A number of factors - the reform of release on parole, for example - have created a high demand for aids in assessing offender dangerousness and predicting risks of recidivism. The fact that the journal *Criminologie*, devoted an issue to the prediction of the criminal phase (*LeBlanc* 1986) is a sign of a renewed interest on the part of researchers in the prediction of criminal behavior. This revival of interest is apparent in English Canada as well (see in that respect *Webster* 1990).

2.4 *Involving the Community in Crime Prevention*

Community involvement has taken two forms in Canada. The first, which is the least significant and most episodic, consisted in setting up neighborhood watch programs. Local citizens group together to handle activities similar to those of a police patrol. Such programs have generally been fairly short-lived and few examples exist in Canada.

The second form is much more significant. Known as community policing in Canada and the United States (in France the preferred term is *police de proximité*), this is a relatively controversial subject.

First, it is important to note the clear discrepancy existing between the volume of references made to community policing and the actual number of programs of that type. Community policing undeniably represents a common ideology today for all those involved in the policing field. The booklet published by the Solicitor General in October 1990, entitled **A Vision of the Future of Policing in Canada**, which takes a very clear stand in favor of community policing, is a sign of the fascination in Canada for that viewpoint (see *Normandeau and Leighton 1990*, a background document appended to the Ministry's discussion paper). However, the reality, as revealed by an examination of the community policing programs actually implemented, is quite different. We ourselves are conducting research in the field and have only been able to identify 8 cities in Canada where such programs, generally of a fairly limited scope, have been set up (Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Halton, Halifax and Fredericton).

Several assessment studies have, however, been devoted to the few programs that were implemented. The Victoria program was evaluated by *Walker (1989)*; that in Edmonton by *Breiden* (not yet published); most importantly, that in Halifax was the subject of a book written by *Clairmont (1990)*.

The findings of the assessment studies are somewhat ambiguous. First of all, it seems that the results of the programs assessed do not correspond to their initial objectives. However, policing practice is in such a deadlock that it seems worth not rejecting the concept of community policing outright. Work by *Murphy (1988)* and *Brodeur (1990 and 1991b)* are further signs of that ambiguity. This work is highly critical of the community policing concept, but does not propose a model capable of replacing it.

2.5 *The Relationship between the News Media, Insecurity and Crime*

One of the most productive criminologists in Canada, *Richard V. Ericson* (1987, 1989, 1991) has written a trilogy devoted entirely to the relationship between the mass media and deviance. These studies were received favorably by the critics and may well come to be considered as "classics".

Nevertheless, the findings of that work are somewhat disappointing as regards the relationship between the mass media, crime and the feeling of insecurity. For example, neither the term "fear" nor any of its synonyms are listed in the subject index of *Ericson's* first two books (the third is not yet commercially available). *Ericson's* most recent work consists mainly of a sociology of the press (printed and televised), which is strongly influenced by interactionism. *Ericson's* aim in his work on policing was to demonstrate that the police produces crime (the title of *Ericson's* book (1981) on police investigators is **Making Crime**). Yet the police as object did not easily lend itself to a radical constructivist study; while the police may indeed, in a certain sense, produce official criminality, it nonetheless does not itself actually commit the actions which are defined by the penal system. There is, on the other hand, little risk of error in claiming that the press produces news, in the fullest sense of the word (one of the thinkers who most influenced *Ericson* in his study of the press was *Tuchman* (1978), whose book was entitled, very significantly, **Making News**). Then and there, the press became one of *Ericson's* favorite subjects and, between **Making Crime** and **Making News**, his emphasis switched entirely to a sociology of the mass media. *Ericson's* most recent work offers a wealth of information and far-reaching theoretical observations on the press. However, despite what is suggested by the titles of those books, the first volume of which is **Visualizing Deviance**, they give relatively little information on the media's making of criminals. The classic study by *Doob and Roberts* (1983) on the public's view of severity in sentencing is more instructive. The latter study showed that if the version of a sentence provided by the press is complemented by more impartial information, the public adopts a much less punitive attitude. Another study on this issue, by *Brillon* (1986), resulted in similar findings.

Although the work by *Ericson* is the most extensive, it does not exhaust all aspects of research on the mass media. In more specialized efforts, several researchers have attempted to evaluate the success of the crime prevention or enforcement programs promoted by the press. *Silverman and Sacco* (1980) evaluated the results of press campaigns against crime of one

type or another. Their evaluation was essentially negative insofar as those campaigns resulted in no tangible outcome. Similarly, *Carriere* (1989) attempted to evaluate the "Crime Stopper" type programs. To describe briefly how these programs work, a re-enactment of the offence is broadcast on TV, giving information on its alleged author, with the hope that a member of the public will be able to identify the actual author of the offence and inform the police as to that person's hiding place. Despite police claims, the assessment of such programs have also proven negative.

Finally, we should mention a very interesting book published in English by Mr. *Yves Brillon* (1987). This work does not deal with the press as such but rather with the deep-seated feeling of insecurity to which the elderly are subjected. *Brillon* convincingly demonstrates that the intensity of that feeling of insecurity is not dependent on variations in the crime rate in an elderly person's neighborhood. The feeling of insecurity is governed by relatively complex subjective rules.

3. Conclusion

At a symposium held on the topic of community policing in Winnipeg (Manitoba) in 1990, *David Bayley*, one of the most influential sociologists of policing in the United States and in Anglo-Saxon countries generally, had the following warning to give. Community policing programs, he began, are designed to set up a less repressive police corps, so-called "soft policing" (in the Anglo-Saxon countries, the expression "feel-good policing" is sometimes used in reference to the community policing model). There is a noticeable trend toward a less punitive way of operating, at least on the verbal level, throughout the entire penal system. *Bayley* stated his agreement with that trend, but claimed that it could only become reality if, over coming years, we are spared from explosions of mass violence, such as race riots, popular uprisings and prolonged confrontations between police forces and armed factions of the population.

All of Canada was shaken during the summer of 1990 by what is now known as the "Oka crisis", when an armed group of Native Indians belonging to the Mohawk tribe maintained a prolonged siege against the Canadian police forces, later joined by the Canadian Army. There is some reason to fear that this crisis may only be the prelude to violent action carried out by armed groups of Native Indians, demanding that the injustices they feel they have suffered for at least two centuries be repaired. The eventuality that

other Canadian ethnic minorities may follow the example of the Native Indians and seek to redress their situation through violent means must also be envisaged. Explicit threats to that effect have already been made.

Canadians are ill prepared to confront this kind of unrest, should it arise. Little research exists in Canada on crises management of the Oka kind. The Canadians who will be attending the Paris Conference in 1991 will probably not come away from it any more enlightened with regard to the issue, which has been given a very high priority for coming years by the Canadian governments, as far as research and legal reforms are concerned.

There is a saying that generals plan their next campaign as though it were to have been launched during the previous war. As for ourselves, we were surprised by the conservative nature of the themes selected for the Paris Conference (drugs, youth, recidivism, community involvement and the mass media). This group of themes seems to us to be based on somewhat idyllic premises, according to which the problems of the future will be determined more by individual behavior typical of offences or delinquency than by collective movements triggering violent confrontations capable of threatening law and order. Such optimism may be well-founded in countries where ethnic conflicts have subsided and where they are not likely to be revived by immigration policies. Sadly, this is not the case with Canada.

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The State of Knowledge in Australia and New Zealand

*Duncan Chappell**

Background

Both Australia and New Zealand enjoy a contemporary international image as nations which remain relatively peaceful and isolated havens from most of the evils, including crime, which afflict so many other portions of the globe. Located in the deep reaches of the South Pacific, they continue to attract significant numbers of tourists and migrants seeking freedom from the tyrannies of violence, pollution, overcrowding and related conditions which detract from the quality of life experienced by the bulk of the world's population.

Unfortunately, Australia and New Zealand's image on this front is not in complete accord with reality. Thus, a recent cross-national crime survey (*van Dijk et al. 1990; Walker et al. 1990*) has revealed that, in the case of Australia, general rates of victimization for violent and property offences seem to be akin to those encountered by crime ridden North Americans, rather than their less crime troubled counterparts in Europe. Although directly comparable data is not available for New Zealand, official crime statistics also suggest that nation's reported rate of property crime is high by international standards (*Norris and MacPherson 1990*).

New Zealand's reputation for tranquillity has been further punctured by the tragic mass shooting in November 1990 of 13 persons by a dangerous gunman. This incident, which occurred in the small rural community of Aromoana in the South Island of New Zealand, shocked a nation whose homicide rate, like that of Australia, still remains relatively low (*Mukherjee and Dagger 1990:26*).

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Australia, too has experienced incidents of this type. In 1987 in two separate mass firearms slayings, 16 people died and 22 were wounded in Melbourne, the nation's largest city. The killings prompted the Prime Minister of Australia to convene a summit meeting of the country's political leaders to consider the need for stricter controls over guns and related issues. The summit led, in turn, to the establishment of a National Committee on Violence (NCV) with a far-reaching mandate to examine the incidence, causes and prevention of violence in Australian society. The NCV, chaired by the present writer, reported its findings and recommendations to all governments in February 1990 (*National Committee on Violence* 1990).

Given this very briefly sketched state of crime in Australia and New Zealand, it is not surprising to find that 'law and order' issues have in recent years achieved a high profile and priority on the political agendas of governments in both countries (*Hogg* 1988; *Pratt* 1988; *Pratt and Treacher* 1988; *Chappell* 1989). Much of this political attention has been linked to moves to bolster the powers and resources of the criminal justice system, and especially of police (*Grabosky* 1988; *Pratt and Treacher* 1988). These trends, which mirror those of many other nations during the 1980's, have also been accompanied by a number of important, and expanding, crime prevention initiatives of a less traditional kind. It is these initiatives, and accompanying research, which form the focus for the balance of this paper. This focus is organized around the conference themes, commencing with a review of public perceptions and fears of crime, largely generated through the media, and turning then to more specific illustrations of community crime prevention initiatives: youth issues; the prevention and treatment of drug abuse; and community responses to recidivism. But to better understand what follows, a short account must first be provided of the geo-political structure in which crime and justice functions in Australia (*Chappell* 1983) and New Zealand (*Cameron* 1983).

Australia, a country with a vast land mass roughly equivalent to that of the continental United States, possesses a population of approximately 17 million.

The role played by the mass media in providing information about the state of crime, and in influencing the commission of violence and other forms of criminal behavior has been widely canvassed over recent years in Australia and New Zealand (*Grabosky and Wilson* 1989). In the latter jurisdiction, an official inquiry into violence concluded that 'there was enough established knowledge and public concern about the long-term cumulative effects of viewing high levels of violence to warrant action to reduce the amount of it shown on television' (*Committee of Inquiry into Violence* 1987:131). This

conclusion followed that of another inquiry covering the same subject area a year earlier (*Royal Commission of Inquiry into Broadcasting and Related Communications* in New Zealand 1986).

In Australia, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal (ABT), a federal body regulating the electronic media, conducted a major inquiry in the late 1980's into violence on Australian television. The ABT, which worked in collaboration with the NCV, commissioned substantial research regarding public perceptions of televised violence (*Australian Broadcasting Tribunals* 1990; Vols. 1-IV; *Wright and Aisbett* 1989). This research showed that the majority of people wanted more controls on the amount of violence shown on television. The research also highlighted the complex nature of viewer perceptions of television violence, the purpose for which the violence was being portrayed influencing its public acceptability (*Sheehan* 1991).

Overall, both in Australia and New Zealand society, the past and current decades have witnessed a growing public awareness and understanding of the significance of media portrayals of crime upon levels of community fear. Nonetheless, controversy and uncertainty remains about the measures which should be taken to control media activity in this area, and about the nature of the causal relationship, if any, between this activity and criminal acts.

Community Crime Prevention Initiatives

The mobilisation of community groups and resources to combat crime in Australia and New Zealand has gained increasing momentum. Influenced by the public concerns already described, governments in both countries have commenced a range of community crime prevention initiatives. Many of these initiatives have origins which can be traced to the Northern Hemisphere. North American crime prevention programs, for example, like Neighbourhood Watch have been adopted broadly across Australia since 1984 (*Mukherjee and Wilson* 1987). More recently European crime prevention models, and especially the French *Bonnemaison* Approach (*King* 1988), have become most influential. Information about " various approaches to crime prevention has been communicated through publications like the Australian Institute of Criminology's widely read Crime Prevention Series, which includes reports on car theft and crime in car parks (*Geason and Wilson* 1990), in protecting counter and interviewing staff from client aggression (*Swanton and Webber* 1990) and combating crime in Aboriginal communities (*Hazlehurst* 1990). Information disseminated through activities associated with the organisation

and conduct of the Eighth United Nations Congress on Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Offenders, held in Havana, Cuba, during 1990, has also been persuasive.

In New Zealand the former socialist government launched a Prime Ministerial Safer Communities Council (PMSCC) in July, 1990, designed to 'give expression to the partnership between central and local government that is the essence of crime prevention' (*New Zealand Government* 1990). The PMSCC is also to promote liaison between police and local community groups working on crime serious financial and related damage, they still influence levels of community fear and insecurity about crime.

Official action to deal with youth crime in Australia and New Zealand has until quite recently been focused principally upon legislative and related initiatives designed to strengthen the operation of each nation's juvenile justice system (*Murray and Borowski* 1986; *Morris and Young* 1987). In New Zealand, for example, significant reforms were introduced by the **Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act**, 1989. The new statutory framework contained in this act is intended to achieve a number of objectives, including encouraging the use of informal methods of handling juvenile offenders, and to minimise the imposition of punitive sanctions through court initiated proceedings (*Young* 1991). A major research study is currently in progress evaluating the juvenile justice provisions of this 1989 act (*Young* 1991).

Regrettably, evaluation research of this type is the exception rather than the rule. As the authors of a comprehensive review of the cost and effectiveness of Australian crime prevention programs for young people recently noted:

"We deplore the lack of proper evaluations of juvenile prevention programs that marks Australian work in the juvenile delinquency field. Millions and millions of dollars have undoubtedly been wasted not through the lack of good intentions but by the lack of proper evaluation strategies. Programs are copied from one part of Australian to the other without any evidence that they are cost effective" (*Potas et al.* 1990:4).

Despite this justified criticism there are a few examples of Australian youth crime prevention programs which have been evaluated. One of these which deserves a specific mention is the Youth and the Law Project (YALP), a community based youth participation initiative founded and funded by the Law Foundation of New South Wales (*Hockley and Robertson* 1989). This program, currently located in a large and recently established "new city" near Sydney, has a unique and unconventional approach to motivating, training and engaging young people in the identification and solution of local community problems. The approach which embraces personal and social development of

participants has a clear crime prevention objective in its design and implementation (Robertson 1991). Following a positive appraisal of YALP's effectiveness this approach is now being applied to a broader range of youth activities in New South Wales, including a long established network of Police Citizens Youth Clubs. A further evaluation is planned of this expanded program (Robertson 1991:11).

In addition to YALP there are other crime prevention programs for young people in Australian and New Zealand which appear to have merit, but which, unlike YALP, remain unevaluated. Descriptions of these programs can be found in a range of recent Australian Institute of Criminology and other publications, including those relating to sport and recreation (Mason and Wilson 1988), school based community policing (Challinger 1987), and preventing graffiti and vandalism (Geason and Wilson 1990).

Drugs

Of the broad conference themes, probably none is surrounded by greater concern and controversy on an international scale than the prevention and treatment of drug abuse. That concern and controversy certainly extends to Australia and New Zealand where intense debate continues regarding the policies that should be adopted to curb the use and abuse of licit and illicit drugs.

In this space available it is impossible to do more than provide a glimpse of these policies, and their linkages to research.

In Australia perhaps no single source better captures and documents the nature of the debate about drug policies than the 1989 report by the Parliamentary Joint Committee on the National Crime Authority (PJCNA) "**Drugs, Crime and Society**". This federal parliamentary body conducted far-reaching hearings on this topic as part of its oversight responsibility for the National Crime Authority (NCA) - a new and powerful multijurisdictional law enforcement agency established in Australia in 1984 to deal with organized crime (Chappell 1986; Bersten 1990). The PJCNA concluded that

"Over the past two decades in Australia, we have devoted increased resources to drug law enforcement, we have increased the penalties for drug trafficking and we have accepted increasing inroads on our civil liberties as part of the battle to curb the drug trade. All the evidence shows, however, not only that our law enforcement agencies have not succeeded in preventing the supply of illegal drugs to Australian markets but that it is unrealistic to expect

them to do so. If the present policy of prohibition is not working then it is time to give serious consideration to the alternatives, however radical they may seem" (PJCNCA 1989:xiv).

An alternative policy which has been pursued very actively in Australia, in tandem with law enforcement measures, has been a major media campaign, called the 'Drug Offensive', aimed to increase popular awareness of the dangers of drugs, and to educate individuals about the responsible use of licit drugs (*Blewett* 1987). An evaluation of the effectiveness of this campaigns suggests that while some of its components have worked there are particular groups in society, including males and the young, who are less likely to perceive the campaign as having been successful for them or who are simply not reached by its content (*Makkai et al.* 1991).

Demand reduction techniques in regard to the use of licit drugs like alcohol and tobacco have also been considered or used to an increasing extent in Australia and New Zealand (*Vernon* 1990). The PJCNCA, for example, recommended that the federal government ban all advertising of alcohol and tobacco products on all forms of media (*PJCNCA* 1989:xvi). Although not accepting this proposal in toto, the federal government, together with other levels of government in Australia, has taken action to impose many restrictions on the advertising of these products on electronic and other types of media.

Associated campaigns to combat the spread of HIV/AIDS in Australia and New Zealand have also influenced drug policies. Thus needle exchange and methadone maintenance program are now well developed in a number of Australian cities, while bleach is issued to prisoners in a number of Australian gaols (*Norberry* 1991).

More radical approaches to dealing with the demand for illicit drugs in Australian and New Zealand, including the possibility of providing heroin to addicts and decriminalising the use of cannabis, are still largely matters for discussion. In South Australia an "on the spot" fine system introduced in 1987, for simple cannabis offences appears to have worked well (*Sarre* 1990), but this so-called "cannabis expiation notice scheme" does not make small scale cannabis possession, cultivation or use non criminal offences. In the Australian Capital Territory a similar scheme has been mooted by the government, together with a proposal to make heroin available to local addicts. The latter suggestion while challenged by many, has not as yet been dismissed from the government's reform agenda (*Canberra Times* 1991).

Community Responses to Recidivism

An admission of failure on the part of the criminal justice systems of Australia and New Zealand to prevent re-offending by a significant proportion of those coming under their control will surprise no one who is familiar with the extensive international literature in this field. Neither nation's criminal justice system can lay claim to major innovations in dealing with offenders, although both Australians and New Zealanders have for much of the present century displayed less punitive attitudes towards convicted criminals than many other countries. Capital punishment, for instance, has been abolished in New Zealand since 1961. In Australia no execution has occurred since 1967 and the death penalty was formally abolished in all jurisdictions by 1985 (*Potas and Walker* 1987). Australia and New Zealand also have, on an international scale, quite low rates of imprisonment (*Walker* 1988).

Although these trends are encouraging, they are marred in the case of both nations by a dismal record of treatment of their indigenous peoples - the Aborigines and Maoris. Accounting for one per cent of Australia's population, and 12 per cent of New Zealand's, these original inhabitants are now disproportionately represented in each country's criminal justice systems (*Hazlehurst* 1987; *Hazlehurst and Dunn* 1988; *Midford* 1988). Rates of recidivism for Aborigines also seem to be significantly higher than for non Aborigines (*Broadhurst and Maller* 1990) and a disturbing number of those incarcerated have died while in custody. The latter issue continues to be the subject of intensive investigation in Australia (*Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* 1988).

Slowly, and often begrudgingly, there does appear to be a growing recognition by those Australians and New Zealanders who are not related to the original inhabitants that this situation cannot be allowed to continue. At the same time, the indigenous people themselves must be empowered and encouraged to develop their own initiatives and solutions to deal with the alarming level of violence and self-destructive behavior which is ravishing their communities (*Hazlehurst* 1990; *Hunter* 1990; *Tatz* 1990).

Conclusions

This paper began with a romantic and idealised description of Australia and New Zealand which no doubt fits an image held by many non residents. What has followed has almost certainly detracted from that description but in a way which it is hoped will provide a better understanding of the context in which current crime prevention research and policy is being conducted in these two

South Pacific nations. It may also help to put all of this back in an international perspective by concluding with the following words penned by this writer after spending more than one year inquiring into the state of violence in Australia:

"By international and indeed by its own historical benchmarks, contemporary Australia is a relatively tranquil place. In contrast to Latin America, where tens of thousands of men, women and children have died as a result of political violence in the present decade alone. Australia is free of strife. No head of government has been assassinated, as has been the case during the 1980s in Sweden, the Arab Republic of Egypt, India, Pakistan and Lebanon. No Australian aircraft has been the target of a terrorist bomb. Gang wars are not fought with automatic weapons in the streets of Sydney or Melbourne as they are in Los Angeles or New York.

The rate of homicide in the national capital of the United States is more than thirty times greater than that of Canberra.

The problems of homeless youth in Australia and their vulnerability to violence pales in comparison to that of Brazil, where 12 million children live on the streets, and where over 600 street children were reported murdered between January 1988 and June 1989. Assaults and intimidation of Australians at work is minimal, compared to the People's Republic of China where, according to the **People's Daily**, 13 tax collectors have been murdered and over 6,000 beaten up since 1985.

Whatever anti-social behavior may be manifest among spectators at Australian sporting events, it is minor in comparison with that of the notorious British soccer hooligans. Whilst Korean students, with deadly aim, hurl rocks and petrol bombs at police, the aggressions of their Australian counterparts have been limited to occasional jeering and chanting over such issues as student fees" (*National Committee on Violence 1990:liiii-liv*).

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Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology 23, 39-59.

* The author is most grateful for the valuable assistance provided in the preparation of this paper by *Sylvia Falxman*, *Judy Iltis* and *John Myrtle* of the AIG; *Warren Young* of the Institute of Criminology at Victoria University of Wellington; and *Rhonda Moore* of the University of NSW.

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The State of Knowledge in Spain

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Introduction

It is difficult to sum up in a few pages all the leading research carried out in recent years on such vast subjects as those proposed here. We have therefore decided to organize our analysis along two main lines. First, we wish to identify those studies that are likely to have the greatest impact on crime policy, i.e., whose results may lead to changes or improvements in a given policy. Second, we shall focus primarily, but not exclusively, on the Catalonia region (in which Barcelona is located), to be better able to achieve the first objective.

When analysing Spanish research (of which the main studies have recently been catalogued under the title *La investigación de las crisis* (E. Gimenez-Salinas and J. Funes 1990), an important point, however, must be recognized.

In Spain, it was only in the early 1980s that the first empirical research was done in this field. The death of General *Franco* and especially, the new Constitution promulgated in 1978 brought about a complete revision of Spanish legislation. New laws followed each other in dizzying succession (but unfortunately, not always with the necessary coherence).

Such is the case with criminal law, which is our particular interest here. The first new legislation was the **Ley Organica General Penitenciaria** (General Correctional Act) of 1979. The reason for this was the political situation: as the amnesties of 30 July 1976 and 15 October 1977 applied only to political prisoners and not to common criminals, a more progressive law was needed to remedy to some extent the defects in the system. The General

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Correctional Act, however, required a reform of the Criminal Code, which has not taken place yet. It was a case of putting the cart before the horse. Many other fields demanding reappraisal have been affected by the economic recession in Europe, without so far being able to impose their urgency as crises. Let me explain. In 1973, the concept of the social welfare state was theoretically undergoing its great crisis and decline in Europe. Spain was still under a dictatorship, but it was already experiencing this crisis. The possibility of setting up a social welfare state in Spain arose following the promulgation of the new Constitution, which defined Spain as a State governed by the rule of social democracy, but this had to be managed while Europe was in the midst of an economic recession. The same was true for the notion of "resocialization" (social rehabilitation) provided for by Art.25.2 of the Constitution. In Spain, prisoners were to be resocialized, whereas Northern Europe began abandoning this notion in the 1980s, considering it inapplicable in prison (*E. Gimenez-Salinas* 1990).

Consequently, empirical studies need to recognize and understand realities that are often covert or secret (police, prison, justice), but they are doing so at the very moment when these realities are being transformed and their social usefulness or lack thereof is profoundly controversial (*E. Gimenez-Salinas* and *J. Funes* 1990).

Research in this field in Spain is therefore difficult, first, because so many things were covered up for a long time, but also because just when the facts are beginning to come to light, attempts are being made to change things. Any empirical research aimed at contributing information towards an improved crime policy must be careful in the way it interprets this information. The early 1980s were especially difficult in this regard. In the latter half of the decade, Spain experienced a relatively stable political situation, with a major decentralization of government services and a distance of ten years from the fall of the dictatorship. For this reason, studies carried out after 1985 are more useful, because they are not only more objective, but also more well-founded.

It must nevertheless be stressed that Spain lacks a tradition of research. The country's current problem does not lie in the quantity of studies, but in the fact that they are due more to the effort and persistence of individual researchers than to any institutional policy. It is therefore difficult to classify research with reference to schools or methods, because for the most part, we find a strange mixture. I would not qualify this mixture as entirely negative, but in any case, it is somewhat odd.

Given the lack of objective data, the difficulty of gaining access to institutions, and the disorganization of the institutions themselves when it

comes to collecting data, any research that contributes to empirical knowledge is especially valuable.

In accordance with the outline proposed, we shall address the five suggested themes, but with the reservation that we shall only discuss empirical research. Moreover, the section on Insecurity, Crime and the Media is composed of the full report of the aforementioned study by *E. Gimenez-Salinas* and *J. Funes*.

1. Prevention and Treatment of Drug Abuse

In Spain, as in most countries sharing our social and cultural environment, the prevention and treatment of drug abuse still remains an unsolved problem. It is certain, however, that progress has been made in understanding the mechanisms of drug dependency and in developing techniques for intervention.

In keeping with this trend, numerous institutions in Spain have launched projects and research related to the prevention and treatment of drug abuse. The drug phenomenon is a fact associated with urban insecurity, and is constantly being analysed by all the news media.

In the early 1980s, the purpose of research in this field could be summed up as the need to know what impact this phenomenon was having on society. An example of this is a study of drug abuse carried out by the Barcelona Mayor's Office (*Ayuntamiento de Barcelona* 1985) analysing 1982 figures on the use of legal and illegal drugs in that city. The study reflected the opinions and attitudes of people aged 15 to 64 concerning drug use, including the characteristics of drug users, the motivations and causes of drug abuse, and information about drug treatment centres.

To act, however, we need information. This is the reasoning behind the study, *La droga* (Drugs) by *P. Ibanez Lopez* and *M. Alfonso Sanjuan* (1983), who set out to investigate the reasons why young people use drugs. The study analyses the motive or motives that drive young people in Spain to take drugs. The ultimate purpose of the study is to have an impact on drug abuse prevention by influencing young people and society as a whole through information and public education, and to serve as a basis for the development of drug rehabilitation programmes. The goal, therefore, is to understand the causes that have driven people to take drugs, and to find out whether, after rehabilitation, the same causes continue to influence their sociological and psychological environment and make it difficult or impossible for them to become integrated into society.

In the framework of research on the treatment of drug addicts, mention should be made of a study conducted by *J. Funes* and *O. Romani* (1985).

Analysing the background of a heterogeneous group of former heroin addicts, the researchers sought to draw conclusions on the circumstances that kept former addicts from relapsing into the habit and ensured their successful reintegration into society or their discovery of a new, normal life. To quote the researchers' own words, the purpose was "to deepen the quality of this process through an exhaustive analysis of a collection of case histories. By seeking points of agreement or disagreement in individual case histories and in their alleged causes or circumstances, we can develop proposals for future services to be made available to drug addicts, to help them return to a relatively normal life in society."

Another study worth mentioning is one carried out by *J. Royo* (1988), which followed former heroin addicts for two years after the end of a drug-kicking programme organized by the C.T. (Comunidades Terapeuticas para Drogadependientes, i.e., Community Therapy). The study showed that people who stayed with the C.T. programme all the way to the end were in better condition than those who had left before completing it, either voluntarily or through expulsion. It was also found that those who had continued treatment after leaving the C.T. programme, in the framework of job-finding schemes, were better off than those who had abandoned treatment. Lastly, the study found that staying off drugs was fundamental to getting and keeping a job.

In concluding the discussion on drug treatment, it is interesting to note the study carried out by *D. Comas* (1988) at the request of the **Plan Nacional sobre Drogas** (National Drug Plan). The purpose was to gain detailed knowledge on the C.T. drug rehabilitation programmes, and in particular, to evaluate the potential role and function of psychotherapy provided by this type of institution.

As regards research on the prevention of drug abuse, we must mention the work of *L. Cano* and *E. Berjano* (1986). While teaching courses on "Basic Techniques for the Prevention of Drug Abuse in the School Environment", under the auspices of the Autonomous Community of Valencia, they conducted a survey among teachers in that community to record their opinions on drug use. On the basis of these results and the data they obtained directly through 30 courses, they hope to be able soon to set up an appropriate training programme for teachers, to help them deal effectively with the problem of drug use in the schools.

Another noteworthy study is one carried out by *G. Baulenas*, *T. Gracia*, and *I. Mayol* (1988), which focused on a specific population segment: juveniles in the hands of the Justice Department of the Generalitat (Region) of Catalonia. These youths had committed crimes and had been ordered by the courts either to be placed in a juvenile detention institution or to be assigned

for treatment in an open setting under the supervision of a juvenile social worker. In either case, drug addiction was not the main reason for placement. This study sought to gather information on the way in which these minors' consumption of legal and illegal drugs had affected their behaviour as individuals or as a group, and to propose educational activities within an overall strategy to change this situation. In the last section, the study offers some concrete recommendations, or "Recipes", for possible teaching methods to be incorporated into the schools which, if implemented, could serve to modify certain types of behaviour, and for developing other activities that could entirely replace the role played by drugs.

The authors developed what they call "Fixed Rules," as follows:

1. When faced with drug use, the first thing to do is to analyse the role of this behaviour: Why do they do it?
2. We must understand the extent and importance of the role that drug use plays in the minor's personal background.
3. To act on drug use and drug-related situations, we must apply the same rules that would be used to act on any other situation we wish to change.
4. We must work foster all those elements that can eliminate the purpose of drug use in the world of the minor.

As mentioned above, many drug abuse prevention programmes have been set up by various institutions in Spain. It is worth pointing out that, since 1990, the **Centro de Estudios sobre Promoción de la Salud (C.E.P.S.)** (Centre for the Promotion of Health Studies) has been publishing a newsletter called **Idea-Prevención** which reports on programmes being developed in Spain, as spontaneously described by those in charge of implementing them.

2. Juveniles at Risk

On the subject of juveniles at risk, a great variety of research can be mentioned. Again recognizing the need to delimit the terrain, we have chosen here to discuss only one field, child abuse. In fact, the concept of "juveniles at risk" raises such issues as family or school difficulties and social problems, which are impossible to summarize here. Child abuse, in our opinion, constitutes a grave danger for the future, and we shall limit ourselves here to that subject.

Before the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution of 1978, the agencies responsible for protecting minors were the **Juntas de Protección de Menores** (Child Welfare Authorities) for each province. The judicial instance was the

Tribunal Tutelar de Menores (Juvenile Court). After the enactment of the new Constitution and the creation of the **Autonomias** (Autonomous Communities or Regions), jurisdiction over the protection of minors was granted to the Autonomous Communities and incorporated into their Statutes of Autonomy, in the form of Decrees of Transfers of Authority. But the competent judicial organ is still the Juvenile Court.

It was only in 1987, with Act 21/1987 of 11th November, which amended certain articles of the Civil Code and the Law of Civil Procedure concerning adoption, that competence for the protection of minors was assigned to the civil authorities, and only subsidiarily, to Family Court judges. Thus, authority to intervene with minors at risk has really been taken out of the hands of the courts, and it is now the civil authorities that hold all the relevant powers.

In our view, these powers are excessive, because although the old system was very slow in intervening, the current procedure, while faster and more efficient, does not always guarantee the rights of parents or of the children themselves. An intermediate solution would have been preferable, but in matters of penal and social policy, the pendulum usually swings from one extreme to the other (*E. Gimenez-Salinas* 1988).

Before analysing the evolution of research in the field of child abuse, this brief introduction was necessary, because this situation has largely influenced the work undertaken on this theme.

The first general analysis was conducted by *J. Arana* and *J. L. Carrasco* (1980). It contains and interprets data from the report known as INAS-80. That study was carried out by the *Centros del Instituto Nacional de Asistencia Social* (INAS) (Centres of the National Social Welfare Institute) under the Ministry of Health and Social Security. The study looked at two control groups. The first group was composed of children whose family situation and economic conditions most closely resembled those of the children living in the homes run by the INAS. The second group was made up of children living in a happy family environment, at a high social and economic level. Lastly, this study offers a series of proposals, including the need for drastic reforms in the law and in therapy programmes (diagnosis and treatment).

How much public knowledge is there in Spain about the syndrome of child abuse? This question was analysed by *Y. Dominguez Frejo* and *M. Verges Alonso* (1987), using news items published in the press about cases of child abuse. The authors concluded that if these cases were true, the press was only publishing the most dramatic ones, those that made the front page, thus giving only a partial and often superficial picture of the problem.

R. Quillis (1988) also examined cases reported in the press, but only took into account those reported in the tabloids.

Coming back to the need to know how well-informed Spanish society may be, let us mention the qualitative study carried out by *Edis* (1988a) at the request of the Comisión Interministerial de la Juventud (Interministerial Commission on Youth), a group concerned with deviant minors. This study analysed how Spanish society, at this phase in its history, learns about the existence and magnitude of the problem of child abuse, by conducting a survey among experts in the field to collect their opinions and evaluations.

The studies we mention are an outgrowth of the assumption of responsibility by the Autonomous Communities.

V. Madrigal and *J. Alonso* (1990) took up the case of severely abused children who had to be hospitalized in Cantabria from 1977 to 1988. Another study in Cantabria was carried out by *J. M. Remiro Alegre*, *M. Lombo*, and *R. Blanco*, who examined the demand for child protection and support based on information collected between 1985 and 1988 by the Specialized Social Services Bureau of the Regional Office of Social Welfare.

In the field of health and clinical data, reference must be made to the work of *J. Dargallo*, *A. Martinez-Roig*, and *F. Domongo* (1981), pediatricians, who were pioneers in Catalonia in studying the battered child syndrome. Their research purpose, which is largely successful, is to contribute a diagnostic tool suitable for the majority of cases, making it possible to establish appropriate treatment and rehabilitation. We also mention the work of *X. Querol* (1986) relating to unusual clinical manifestations.

A different case is the work of *F. Elejabarrieta* (1989), whose research, also conducted in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, focuses on a comparative study of children who passed through the Catalonia Juvenile Courts between 1979 and 1984. The study examines the two types of power exercised by the Juvenile Courts, namely, the authority to protect, and the authority to reform. It looks at the courts' proceedings, the cases brought before them, and the decisions rendered. Among other conclusions, the author makes the following points:

1. The number of minors passing through the courts is declining. The author states that it would be senseless to interpret this decline as a decrease in the rate of juvenile deviancy and delinquency, given that the study covers precisely the worst year of the economic recession and its consequences.

2. The dominant trends are great diversity in the cases before each court, and the fluctuating and disparate nature of the criteria that seem to preside in their judgments.
3. The population segments with which the courts are concerned seem to constitute a permanent and deep-seated phenomenon in society.
4. Cases judged under the authority to reform primarily involve boys aged 12 to 16, while both sexes are equally represented in cases heard under the authority to protect, as well as in court wardship of very young children (from 0 to 6 years of age).
5. The authority to protect is primarily directed at cases involving the corruption of minors or dereliction of duty to provide assistance.

Since 1982, the year when the **Generalitat de Catalonia** assumed jurisdiction over the protection of minors, the author observes that the court's authority to protect has mainly been exercised on grounds of child abuse. At the same time, procedures are slowly being rationalized and harmonized; this can be observed in the measures implemented under both types of authority, but is especially true with respect to reform. In the latter framework, institutionalization is tending to be replaced by supervised freedom.

Another study in Catalonia is one carried out by the Head Office of *Atención a la Infancia* (the Childcare Bureau) of the Generalitat de Catalonia (1991). This study grew out of a political initiative in Catalonia, following the report of the Parliamentary Task Force on Child Abuse. This group set out to identify as many as possible of the cases that had occurred between 1st January and 31st December 1988. To do so, it contacted professionals in the various disciplines of outside intervention, people directly involved (families and children), and others close enough to detect or suspect child abuse (such as emergency room social services, public and private children's hospitals, pediatricians in public or private practice, and a sampling of public and private schools, especially schools for handicapped children). The committee also examined cases currently under the Child Welfare Department which had been transferred to it (at the time of the changeover from the old system) from the Juvenile Courts, the now-defunct Office for the Protection of Minors, or the ICASS (*Instituto Catalan de Asistencia y Servicios Sociales*, i.e., Catalan Social Services Institute).

All the above studies, which are based on different premises, methodologies, and population segments, arrive at the same conclusion: namely, an urgent need to define the notion of child abuse. It cannot be detected in middle and upper classes, and even if there is a conviction that it exists, its exact extent

cannot be known. Moreover, there is no uniform training for professionals that would enable them to detect such cases, get involved in them, and put them right.

In addition to general studies, let us also mention some research on specific aspects of this problem. One example is a study by J. A. Florez Lozano (1988), bearing on 100 children of alcoholics, aged 8 to 14, who were residents at a boarding school run by the child welfare authorities. The author attempted to differentiate the effects of the mother's, the father's, or both parents' alcoholism on the various parameters of their children's psychomotor, physical, intellectual, and emotional development.

Another study commissioned by the Interministerial Commission on Youth was undertaken by Edis (1988b), a group that deals with deviant minors. An opinion survey was conducted among parents of children aged 16 and below, among a sample of 1200 respondents from all over Spain, on their attitudes about parental aggression and violence towards their children. In summary, parents' approaches to their relationships with their children fall into four categories:

1. An attitude of intolerance and rigidity towards their children, which seems to be the most widespread, and in which the use of punishment or violence and physical aggression seems justified in the name of "order".
2. An attitude of treating the child as an object, administering sedatives and tranquilizers without medical supervision, and attempting by "mechanical" means to reduce the child's tensions and problems without taking account of his or her personality and psycho-social development.
3. A permissive, lax attitude, imposing no limits at all on the child, not exercising any physical violence, but resorting to other types of psychological aggression and violence.
4. An attitude of child abuse in the strict sense, expressed by forms of physical and psychological violence and aggression that are more serious and harmful to the child.

On the basis of a joint, simultaneous analysis of these attitudes, the authors established scales of violence, classifying parents according to the seriousness and type of behaviour:

- 16.5% of parents were ranked at the middle to upper (11.7%) or high (4.8%) end of the scale of physical violence.

- 17.1% were classified at the middle to upper (8.4%) or high (8.7%) end of the scale of psychological violence.
- 16.5% were placed at the middle to upper (12.3%) or high (4.2%) end of the scale of psychological and physical violence.

Concerning prevention and treatment, the **Universidad del Pais Vasco** (University of the Basque Country) carried out a study aimed at identifying the social and psychological risk factors of parents and the characteristics of the child that are conducive to child abuse or child abandonment in our socio-cultural context. The study also attempted to identify, as sensitively and specifically as possible, a list of children at high risk for abuse or abandonment among a representative sample in the Autonomous Basque Region, in an attempt to test the validity of the Castilian version of an American measurement instrument which had proven effective in identifying such children in the US: the Child Abuse Potential Inventory. The following results were obtained:

1. The study confirmed that the parents identified as responsible for child abuse or abandonment belonged to a very low social class, were severely deprived educationally, and suffered a high level of unemployment.
2. There was a high predominance of single mothers who had typically given birth to their first child before the age of 20 and had a large number of children closely spaced in age.
3. As regards their psychological aspect, the group studied was composed of mothers presenting symptoms of depression and anxiety.
4. A significant element of data was the high proportion of problems of alcoholism that appeared in families where child abuse occurred.
5. The children from these families exhibited higher than normal number behavioural problems, school absences or learning difficulties, and were behind in school.

To conclude this section, we shall simply mention the forthcoming publication of six child abuse studies undertaken in 1990 and 1991 by a division of the Ministry for Social Affairs, **El Centro de Estudios del Menor** (Child Study Centre), under the **Dirección General de Protección Jurídica del Menor**.

3. Community Responses to Recidivism

Very little empirical research has been carried out on recidivism. From the viewpoint of penal doctrine, a great number of works are available of interpreting it in criminal law. To mention only one, the outstanding example is the work of *S. Mir Puig* (1990), *La reincidencia en el Codigo Penal*.

In the field of criminology, mention can be made of the work of *R. Bergalli* (1980), *La recaida en el delito: Modos de reaccionar contra ella*. In the first section, the author addresses the issue of treating recidivism as the basis for heavier sentences, as well as the existing theories on the criminal personality, which the author calls the personality of *autores obstinados* (repeat offenders). On the basis of these data, the author presents a detailed analysis of social therapy and its methods and techniques, and concludes with a critical evaluation of what a return to the medical model could signify. The second section, entitled "The Development of Criminal Sociology and an Approach to Recidivism", diverges from the traditional conception of research on individual criminal behaviour and moves into the field of criminal sociology, thus offering a new approach to deviant behaviour.

Lastly, let us note the conclusion adopted by one school of thought on penal doctrine (*S. Mir Puig*), which rejects the practice of treating recidivism as an aggravating circumstance (in sentencing). In fact, in a State governed by the principle of respect for the law, there seems to be no justification whatsoever for increasing the penalty because of an action committed prior to the crime in question.

The usual legal foundation for doing so is that the subject is demonstrating a tendency to revolt and a leaning towards more serious crimes, and that from the viewpoint of criminal policy, it is necessary to increase the penalty.

In fact, we know of no empirical research whatsoever demonstrating such a need, nor has there been any proof that such individuals are more dangerous. In any case, the presupposition of a negative "criminal prognosis" on the grounds of a previous offence might be taken into account in imposing the full sentence, but never as justification for increasing it. In Germany, the Criminal Reform Act (Law 23) of 13 April 1986 suspended the clause allowing recidivism as an aggravating circumstances, on the grounds that it was contrary to the principle of guilt. In the Draft Criminal Reform Act of 1990, it has been altogether eliminated.

In any case, as we mentioned at the outset, we know of no empirical studies in Spain on recidivism from the viewpoint of criminology. This circumstance lends even greater value to a study by *J. Funes* and *S. Redondo* (early 1991), although all that can be reported so far are the study's working hypotheses:

1. Prisoners (both juveniles and adults) who have received and/or served longer sentences are more likely to commit repeat offences after their release than those who have served shorter sentences.
2. Prisoners (both juveniles and adults) who have served their sentences under the harshest conditions ("locked cell" regime) are more likely to commit repeat offences after their release than those who have served their sentences under less restrictive conditions ("open cell" regime).

To test these hypotheses, the authors are studying a population selected from among all the prisoners in Catalonia released during 1987. The study sample is composed of about 550 people out of a total Catalan prison population of about 4,000.

The study will analyse the ex-convict's previous criminal career and prison term from two aspects: the length of the sentence actually served, and the harshness of the regime.

In a second phase, the study will look at the ex-convict's criminal career after being released - that is, from 1987 through 31st December 1990.

In conclusion, the study will attempt to establish a correlation between the ex-convict's criminal career after release and the prison sentence served, from the viewpoint of the two aspects mentioned above.

4. Community Crime Prevention Measures

The issue here is not to expound on the interpretation of the terms "delinquency" or "crime", but two points should nevertheless be recalled. First, reported crime is only a small fraction of the actual crime total, and the figure for unreported crime varies from one country to another. In Spain, some studies have shown that known crime represents only about 21% of the real total (*P. Negre et al.* 1989).

Next, reported crime only concerns one segment of the population, i.e., the most deprived social classes. This is the reason crime is immediately identified with squalor and poverty. It is very interesting here to recall the case of juvenile delinquents. The minors appearing before the Juvenile Courts belong almost exclusively to the least privileged classes. According to a study by *E. Gimenez-Salinas*, *Delincuencia juvenil y control social* (1981), only 1.9% of the minors appearing before the Barcelona Juvenile Court belong to the middle or upper class.

In the aforementioned study by *Negre et al.*, it appears that out of a total sample of 944 juveniles, some 35.28% admitted to having committed a crime, while only 21.92% had been arrested. Ultimately, only 4.50% had been brought to trial.

For this reason, these two points must not be omitted when speaking of community crime prevention.

As regards research, two clearly distinct currents stand out:

The first type of research is aimed at defining the "criminal personality" and seeks to find individual differences between criminals and non-criminals. In our view, this is impossible to prove, but we include it nevertheless.

An example of this first group is a study conducted by *A. Diaz* and *M.J. Baguena* (1989), who compared juvenile delinquents held in penal institutions with non-delinquent juveniles, from the viewpoint of certain aspects of their socialization: abstract reasoning, antisocial conduct, locus of control, motivation/anxiety, ability to relate to others, and attitude towards authority. In spite of the small size of the samples (26 delinquents and 26 non-delinquents), two general conclusions seem well founded:

- Delinquents exhibit more anti-social behaviour as measured by the Eysenck scale (EPQ-J), as well as a larger locus of control.
- Abstract reasoning ability was notably lower among the group of delinquent boys.

In this category of research, mention should also be made of a study by *F. Silva*, *C. Martorell*, *A. Clemente*, and *V. Mestre* (1990) which offers a subscale of the Silva-Martorell Socialization Battery I, intended to identify juveniles likely to become delinquents. This 18-point scale, drawn from a preliminary study and subsequently subjected to crosschecking, demonstrates effective ability to distinguish juvenile delinquents from non-delinquent youths.

Let us simply recall, once again, that when studies use the term "delinquency" or "crime", they are referring to known crime, which, as we have seen, is not representative of the whole range of crime.

The second type of research covers initiatives by local authorities to prevent juvenile delinquency. An example of this is a study carried out by *J.M. Fericgla* and *F. Torrijos* (1987), which analyses a sample of young people in Prat de Llobregat, classified by sex, culture, ethnic group, use of space, use of time, and deviant behaviour during leisure time. The authors emphasize the need for new, comprehensive educational models, and consider it indispensable to develop a new approach leading to a total restructuring of time, especially in terms of the juvenile environment, to provide a channel of constructive information enabling young people to become integrated - de-

pending on their degree of marginality and deviant behaviour - into a common, shared reality. The authors conclude that, as long as many communities continue to present young people with too much uninformed leisure time and no structure for constructive use of time, such integration will be practically impossible.

Another interesting study is one by *J. Diego* (1989), which describes a police-sponsored crime prevention project sponsored by the Guardia Urbana (City Police) of Barcelona. The aim is to establish a specific crime prevention department within the general organizational structure. The local authorities would be expected to furnish the staff, organize various actions, and if necessary, train the people responsible for carry them out.

Lastly, under the heading of crime prevention research, we mention a study by *A. Luchetti* (1989), describing a municipally sponsored initiative in Roquetes (a deprived ghetto neighbourhood of Barcelona), which lasted three years (1988-1990). The Plan Integral de Roquetes (PIR) (Roquetes Master Plan) falls in the category of programmes aimed at revitalizing deteriorated urban neighbourhoods. In fact, the prevention of social problems (delinquency, drug abuse, etc.) largely depends on improvements in such areas as housing, job opportunities, and cultural life. Thus, crime prevention is linked to a real integration of the whole neighbourhood into the rest of the city, so as to counteract the trend towards "ghettoization".

We have only mentioned a sampling of the great many available studies.

5. Insecurity, Crime, and the Media

The study of victimization was not known in Spain until the early 1980s. For this reason, most Spanish research in this field dates only from the second half of the decade. In fact, the victim is the eternally forgotten figure in any criminal trial.

At times during the building of democracy in Spain, it has been suggested that a strong democracy could only be developed if urban security were increased. The concern was to avoid having urban insecurity blamed on the introduction of democracy. In this context, without paying much attention to the fact that urban insecurity is a serious problem for all major European cities, various Spanish researchers began studying such issues as victimization, subjective feelings of fear or threat of crime, and the effectiveness of existing responses to crime and of law enforcement agencies.

This research work has been invaluable. It has also, however, tended in many ways to reinforce the myths about security, ignoring the fact that "just

as behind the increase in crime there may be a whole cluster of factors, so behind fear, insecurity, and demands for law enforcement, there may be essentially a big political operation" (*Alabert, Aragay Sabate* 1988).

The first available source of information was the CIS Data Bank. As early as 1980, the CIS (Comisión Interministerial de la Seguridad), in its studies 1206 and 1251, undertook research on the issues of victimization, public feelings of insecurity, and appropriate measures to be adopted. The CIS has continued to address these issues periodically, in both general opinion surveys (studies 1360, 1361, 1736) and monographs (e.g. Study 1714, November 1987, *Terrorismo y Seguridad Ciudadana*).

But in this field, the landmark studies are those carried out by the Comisión Técnica de Seguridad Urbana del Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (Barcelona Mayor's Commission on Urban Security). This series of comparative studies covers the period from 1982 to 1988, year by year, using a methodology very similar to that followed in other EEC countries. This work, always based on samples of at least 6,000 people with a high degree of statistical reliability (margin for error plus or minus 1%), seeks to measure, in Barcelona and other cities, the following variables: the actual crime rate, its territorial distribution, and its impact on the daily life of the population; the ratio of reported crime; public opinion on security policies and public confidence in institutions; public feelings on safety; public opinion on reasons for insecurity.

The results constitute a truly coherent data base on public attitudes to crime. Just as in other countries, however, the data stand on the shifting sands of public ignorance as to what is actually being measured. Thus, for example, the spontaneous memory of victimization (J. Lahosa 1989) fell in 1988 to half of what it had been in 1986 (from 20.2% to 10.4%) while the fear of being robbed, attacked, or raped remained the main concern of citizens (almost at the same level as fear of unemployment). How real is this insecurity, and how can it be measured? What goes into building a sense of fear, safety, or compliance with the law? All these questions, in Spain as in other countries, remain unanswered by researchers.

Closely associated with attitudes to crime, and in any case, likely to influence and determine them, are cultural perceptions and images of other realities such as the drug problem. Some studies (e.g. *Hualde* 1986 and 1989) seek to establish an objective relationship between such cultural perceptions of the world of crime and the reality of today's rising crime rate. Other studies (e.g. CIS Studies 1206, 1360, 1714) simply lump them together and treat them uncritically as components of public insecurity and fear (see also the aforementioned studies of the Comisión Técnica de Seguridad Urbana).

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- Estudio de la prevalencia del abuso sexual infantil.
- Estudio sobre la situación en España del abuso sexual infantil. 7 fase: a través de los profesionales que intervienen en casos de abuso sexual.
- Estudio longitudinal secuencial de las consecuencias de la intervención sobre el maltrato infantil en tres contextos: Instituciones, acogimiento familiar y permanencia en la familia de origen.
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The State of Knowledge in Belgium

*P. Hebberecht**

Surveys of criminological research published in Belgium, both in Flemish and in French, between 1970 and 1987, in the journal, *Panopticon*, reveal that until 1985, criminologists had paid little attention to the overall issue of safety and crime prevention.¹

Universities began to show greater interest in these criminological issues when research funds were allocated by national and Community institutions, in the wake of some tragic events and following institutional reforms which defined crime and lack of safety as serious social problems calling for a political answer.

This paper describes recent research on urban safety and crime prevention in chronological order.

Following institutional reforms in Belgium, measures related to the protection of youth and to the public property sector have been aligned on Community legislation of the 80's.

In 1984, in order to develop a policy specifically aimed at youth protection, the Family and Social Welfare Ministry of the Flemish Community charged the **Seminarie en Laboratorium voor Jeugdwelzijn en Volwassenenvorming** (Seminar on Youth Health and Adult Training) of the Rijksuniversiteit Gent and the **Onderzoeksgroep jeugdcriminologie** (Criminological Research Group on Youth) of the Catholic University in Louvain to undertake research programs in the area of youth protection.

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1 *Panopticon*. Tijdschrift voor Strafrecht, Criminologie en Forensich Welzijnswerk, 1982, 2, 175-182, 4, 377-383; 1983, 4, 394-404; 1988, 2, 191-195; 1988, 4, 429-442.

The Seminarie en Laboratorium voor Jeugdwelzijn en Volwassenenvorming of the Rijksuniversiteit in Gent was assigned the task of doing field research on the possible functions of a mediating center for youth.² This research was interrupted by the authorities after an initial study of the literature and some round table discussions. So, the attempt to develop a general policy of crime prevention, based on a structural approach, was never carried out. After studying the literature and holding a series of round table discussions, the research team had opted for a structural approach to overall preventive action. This approach focused on the recognition of young people's basic rights, so as to improve their position with regard to the law. The projected mediating center for youth would have been a crucial part of that prevention strategy.

The Criminological Research Group on Youth of the Catholic University in Louvain³ was asked to conduct the research program and explore the issue of a general policy on prevention from both a theoretical and practical standpoint.

The first part of the research report, based on a study of the literature, defines the differentiated notion of "general prevention." It gives an overview of various prevention programs. The authors argue in favor of a "radical prevention" policy, which might help implement social change and a greater sense of autonomy.

Based on a survey and interviews, the scope of the study was broadened to include those organizations in Flanders which had developed a general prevention program.

An analysis of this data led researchers to conclude that these organizations' structure, the way in which they perceive their role, and the way they function determine the kind of general prevention programs that can be implemented. "Alternative" organizations, such as socio-educational residences, youth homes, counselling centers for youth, etc., add a dimension of self-liberation to the notion of general prevention. They tend, above all, to provide more diverse behavior alternatives for groups (delinquents) and for

2 *Verhellen, E., Spiesschaert, F.*: Jongerenombudsfuncties. Een onderzoek inzake algemene preventie en de jeugdbescherming. Seminarie en Laboratorium voor Jeugd-welzijn en Volwassenenvorming. Rijksuniversiteit Gent, 1986.

3 *Walgrave, L., De Caeter, F.*: Algemene preventie in Vlaanderen. Naar een differentiatie in theorie en praktijk. Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid, Afdeling Strafrecht, Strafvordering en Criminologie, Onderzoekgroep Jeugdcriminologie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1984.

youth; whereas, the so-called "traditional" organizations like the police, mental health centers, committees for the protection of youth, etc., tend to stress control and curtailment of possible ranges of behavior (delinquency).

The follow-up research done by the Criminological Research Group on Youth of the Catholic University in Louvain included a control study of existing socio-educational methodologies, based on the results of six different general crime prevention projects in Flanders.⁴ This study served as a basis for a **handbook of general preventive actions** intended for practitioners and counsellors involved in prevention projects.

The plan that was outlined in it amounts to a synthesis of various models of socio-cultural activity and training, information and organization.

The first part deals with "setting up the project" and describes the most relevant topics and possible research strategies for identifying and analyzing a problem to be resolved by means of preventive actions or projects.

The second part presents a detailed inventory of methodologies and significant topics in relation to "the definition of goals and strategies." The third part describes "the execution and evaluation of the project."

In view of the series of tragic events which took place in Belgium in the 80s, (terrorist acts by the "Cellules Communistes Combattantes", crimes committed by the deranged killers of the Brabant Walloon region, the Heysel stadium tragedy), *Mr. Nothomb*, Minister of the Interior in the center-right government at the time, decided as of 1986, to set up a scientific research program addressing issues related to the police and the safety of private citizens. In connection with this research program, the *School of Criminology of the Rijksuniversiteit of Gent* was assigned the task of analyzing the feelings of insecurity experiences by the inhabitants of Gent, as well as two programs in that city to fight insecurity, namely, a self-defense group and a prevention program headed by the police.⁵

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- 4 *Walgrave, L., De Caeter, F.*: Een methodiek voor de algemeen-preventieve projectwerking. Deel I, II, III. Katholiek Universiteit Leuven, Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid, Afdeling Strafrecht, Strafvordering en Criminologie, Onderzoeksgroep Jeugd-criminologie 1988.
 - 5 *Hebberecht, P., Pelfrene, E., Lippens, R.*: Onderzoeksproject Onveiligheid, Criminaliteit en Burgerwacht, Rijksuniversiteit Gent, School voor Criminologie 1986.
Hebberecht, P. Lippens, R., Hofman, H.: Onderzoeksproject Onveiligheid, Criminaliteit en Burgerwacht, Rijksuniversiteit Gent, School voor Criminologie, 1986

Research on feelings of insecurity was based on the results of a survey involving 500 residents of Gent, all aged over 16, and proportionally classified by nationality, age and sex.

The researchers first noted that people are really more generally concerned about crime than they are afraid of becoming victims of it. Women and the aged are most frightened by crime.

People with little schooling and low-level jobs tend to be most preoccupied by crime. These people are particularly worried about serious crime, whereas those who are frightened worry about their house being broken into or being robbed.

Any significant correlation with the reading of crime headlines in tabloids was only found among people who are generally worried about crime, rather than among those who are frightened of being victims of it.

Next, the researchers looked into the history of the creation of a self-defense group in a suburb of Gent.

The reactions of the police, the courts, and politicians to this initiative and information about it in the media were analyzed, based on interviews with the parties involved.

Finally, the researchers examined the planning and operation of a "Neighborhood Watch" program headed by the police.

A theoretical approach was used in studying this prevention program. Based on a description of the program, researchers attempted to determine the ideas, concepts and strategies central to this preventive strategy. Research showed that this program has a specific approach to the reality with which it must deal. It presupposes a particular vision of prevention that would include an option for social and informal types of control, seeing crime as something that does not belong to the local community, a traditional and individual perception of the criminal and his behavior, and a concept of the central role of the police in our society as upholders of order and essential values.

As part of a second research program on police and the safety of private citizens, the new Minister of the Interior in the center-left government, the Socialist, *Louis Tobback*, set up two research projects concerning crime prevention.

The outcome of these studies should allow him to shift the main thrust of Belgian policy in matters of prevention from the national and provincial level to that of the municipality.

The outcome of this research should make it possible for him to devise a prevention policy that would integrate the concerns of broad social groups.

The task of making recommendations for a community-based prevention policy on the basis of research done on crime and safety at the neighborhood level went to the Research Group of the Criminology Department of the Rijksuniversiteit in Gent. The French-speaking, non-academic research Institute, Synergie (Youth Research International Division), was asked to analyze several Belgian and foreign approaches to crime prevention.

To study crime and safety at the neighborhood level, the Research Group of the Criminology Department of the Rijksuniversiteit in Gent picked 4 neighborhoods in the city of Gent: 2 lower-class neighborhoods, one of which had a higher concentration of migrant workers than the other, and one of which had a police-sponsored "neighborhood watch"; one middle-class neighborhood, and one upper-class neighborhood with a relatively older population.⁶

The research method used consisted, on the one hand, in doing a detailed public opinion survey (feeling of insecurity, relations with the police, victimization etc.) among representative samples of the population in 4 neighborhoods, and on the other, in studying police records of reported crime.

These results show that crime and feelings of insecurity are not perceived as the most important social problem, as opposed to problems concerning the environment and traffic.

The issues of crime and victimization have a strongly local character. The types of crime and victimization vary according to the neighborhood and the social groups living there.

There is a striking convergence between the descriptions of the criminal and the victim in the case of certain offences, like theft or assault and battery.

Assessment of the seriousness of a given offence, fear of being victim of it, behavior and willingness to prevent it also vary according to the social group and its interpretation and experience of criminal incidents. This analysis of neighborhood crime and insecurity led to the following recommendations concerning crime prevention.

The policy should address the historic evolution of physical and cultural factors which condition people to become either perpetrators or victims of crime, and which determine the manner in which crime is experienced in various social groups.

Prevention policy should therefore address concrete situations and problems of concern to the social groups involved.

6 *Hebberecht, P., Hofman, H., Philippeth, K., Colle, P.*: Een buurtgericht onderzoek naar criminaliteit, onveiligheid en preventie. Vanden Broele. Brugge 1991.

In designing policies for crime prevention, local authorities should take an integrated approach, both as regards the individuals involved and the strategies to be implemented.

Based on an analysis of crime patterns, focusing on a detailed profile of victims and offenders, and local evaluation of the crime issue, local authorities should involve relevant social agents in designing and implementing prevention work. These should include the police, local authorities, regional and State Government authorities, associations and citizen groups. The (short-term) strategy of technical protection and of situational prevention should be an integral part of a (long-term) social prevention strategy.

As already mentioned, in 1989 and 1990, at the request of the Interior Minister, Synergie, a French-speaking, non-academic research institution, analyzed several Belgian and foreign approaches to an integrated policy of crime prevention.⁷

A critical analysis was first done of some integrated crime prevention schemes in other countries.

Researchers reached the following conclusions about French, Dutch and British prevention policies. The French scheme, mainly put into place by the Socialist Government in the early 80s, stresses social prevention.

There is a political risk tied to this long-term strategy option, in terms of continuity. At the local level, the precise extent of police and judicial authority remains vague and poorly defined.

The Dutch crime control plan, "Society and Criminality", focuses on situational prevention, and is derived from a problematic theory of social control. This prevention policy takes no account of the factors that tend to lead to social exclusion.

British prevention policy also focuses solely on situational prevention. The police plays a central role in the process of designing and carrying out crime prevention projects. The involvement of government authorities and social service organizations in developing a prevention policy at the national and local levels raises serious problems in terms of coordination and concerted action.

Aside from the Government's prevention policy, a few Labour-dominated local councils have set up their own prevention projects, which makes British prevention policy appear somewhat contradictory.

7 *Poulet, I., Brion, F., Dupont, A.*: Prévention en concertation au niveau local. Vanden Broele, Brugge 1990.

Before analyzing Belgian supra-local and local prevention projects, the authors trace the institutional and political changes which have led to a new structural context in matters of crime prevention.

Belgian institutional reforms have allowed the French-speaking Community to set up youth protection programs on its own, without any intervention by the police or the courts. The crisis surrounding the legitimate role of the police and the judiciary has led to a new definition of local policies as a front line intervention force. The central government furthermore, has endowed local authorities, and especially mayors, with the power to institute their own policies, but the notion of greater autonomy for local authorities may take on different meanings, depending on political priorities.

At the supra-local level, researchers analyzed prevention initiatives devised by the Walloon region and the State government. The Walloon region calls on the social sector to set up preventive social actions aimed at integrating young people in the local community, by organizing the "Opérations Été Jeunes" (Summer Youth Programs).

By setting up a Superior Advisory Council and Provincial Commissions on crime prevention, whose members are primarily representatives of the police and the Public Prosecutor's Office, the interior Minister has stressed the value of a public information program, organized at the provincial level, both for the public at large and for potential victims.

As regards the local level, the authors analyzed the organization and operation of the crime prevention municipal commissions in Saint-Gilles and Anderlecht (two suburbs of Brussels). They analyzed the problems related to differing interpretations of such concepts as "local policy" and "local community". They attributed the two municipal crime prevention commissions inability to influence municipal policy to a lack of interest on the part of various local authorities, to poor coordination between police action and an integrated social approach to prevention, and to poor circulation of information among municipal social services.

They conclude their study of foreign and Belgian integrated crime prevention programs with the following consideration. Setting up efficient cooperation requires a lot of time and entails many problems. Cooperation also implies the inclusion of other social organizations and social groups. Including the police in a broader cooperative approach to crime prevention leads to other problems on account of their own views on the crime issue. The political ties of most of the people involved in a cooperative approach to crime prevention can have a negative influence.

The organizations responsible for coordination become isolated and loose track of their original purpose.

Concrete social and political context at the local level further complicate any prevention strategy aimed at developing prevention schemes that might be put into general use, on the basis of experimental pilot projects.

Synergie, in collaboration with the King Baudouin Foundation, has published a handbook on the prevention of juvenile delinquency, partly based on the research outlined above.⁸ The social grounds for an integrated prevention strategy are defined, based on an analysis of deviant and criminal behavior among young people, and the relevant reactions by the police and the Courts.

A socially integrated prevention strategy should deal with structural causes as well as with concrete acts of delinquency on the part of young people. It is obvious that the municipality has an important role to play in prevention projects.

The researchers present an overview of existing structures and of the possible dynamics that can result from a prevention policy (youth protection, welfare programs, teaching, jobs, public health, local police, etc.).

The authors also deal with the problems of coordinating concerted action in setting up a socially integrated prevention program. Their study ends with an outline and review of various prevention initiatives planned by Belgium's French-speaking community.

In this overview of recent scientific research on safety and crime prevention in Belgium, the importance of political backing and directives stands out.

This research was financed by the national and municipal authorities directly responsible for prevention policy.

This research does not break much new ground theoretically and methodologically speaking. Given the lack of fundamental scientific research on the issue of safety and crime prevention in Belgium, the researchers were bound to rely on theories developed abroad.

8 *Synergie, Fondation Roi Baudouin: Prévenir la délinquance des Jeunes. Mots et moyens pour l'action locale. Bruxelles 1989.*

The State of Knowledge in Italy

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I. Drug Phenomenon in Italy: Prevention, Education, Treatment and Law Enforcement in the Light of Contemporary Scientific Research

Introduction

Any analysis of the problems of drug addiction in Italy must take into account the fact that a new act came into effect six months ago, replacing the act that had been in force for the previous fifteen years, and introducing a rather "prohibitionist" social and legal approach to drugs. The new statute, known as Act 162/1990, provides for more severe penalties for drug offences, even for mere users. From this viewpoint, while "taking drugs" was not a crime under the previous law (Act 685/1975), the new act makes it so. This having been set forth by way of introduction, this paper purports to briefly summarize the most noteworthy features of prevention, education, treatment, and law enforcement regarding the drug phenomenon in Italy (*Arnao* 1990).

1. Prevention and Education

The aforementioned new act includes nine long, detailed measures for preventive actions of information and education. The aim is to promote major

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prevention campaigns in the mass media, and within the same framework, to carry out various "consciousness raising" initiatives at the local and regional levels. In this undertaking, special attention will be given to two sectors in particular: the schools and the military (*Lilliu* 1988). To accomplish this, an information and counselling centre will be set up in every secondary school. The Education Ministry will be in charge of coordinating and promoting health education activities. A comprehensive approach has been taken, based on the right to health protection, guaranteed by the Italian Constitution (Art.32). Therefore, the programme targets not only illegal substances but also tobacco, alcohol, and "related pathologies." Under the same legislation, the Defence Ministry has created training courses for military health personnel and informational courses for young soldiers (*Garavelli* and *Casselli* 1990).

2. Treatment

The issue of treatment of various stages of drug abuse has been referred to local health departments, under the coordination of regional authorities and the Ministry of Public Health. At present, there are 517 public drug therapy centres in operation, as well as 422 private centres. Much value and importance is given to these centres, whose stated purpose is "to prevent psychosocial deprivation and to offer assistance, treatment, rehabilitation, and reintegration to drug addicts" (*Pepino* 1989). Public services for drug addicts include providing each individual with diagnostic tests and a programme of therapy (usually by administering methadone), as well as social assistance and rehabilitation. There are plans to set up psychosocial health centres in each province, open to drug users and their families 24 hours a day, but these centres are not yet in operation. There are also plans to considerably increase the number of community therapy centres.

It must be noted that there are more than 300,000 drug addicts in Italy. Obviously, this figure only refers to known addicts, as no trustworthy data exist concerning so-called "underground" users (*Ministero degli interni* 1991). At present, 48,471 persons are undergoing treatment in various public services and community centres. The vast majority are males (90%), having an average age between 25 and 30. Some 40% of those under treatment are seropositive, and 80% have hepatitis.

The increase in drug-related deaths is particularly disquieting. In 1990, there were 1,149 deaths from drugs, up from 206 in 1980. In the first few months of 1991, there have been about a hundred deaths per month from drug overdoses, an increase of more than 22% over the same period last year (*Ministero della Sanita* 1991). On the basis of the official statistics, it is

possible to draw a profile of the typical "drug addict at risk." He is male, uses primarily heroin, lives in a major metropolitan area, and is 28 years old. In 98% of all cases, death is attributable to heroin. The other 2% are related to the abuse of cocaine, psychic medications, or other special "cocktails" (*R. Russo Jervolino* 1991).

3. Law Enforcement

The principle behind this new act (162/1990) is to prevent the illicit consumption of all illegal substances. Consequently, the new act abolishes the notion of "modest quantity" that had been tolerated under the old legislation (685/1975), for which there was no penalty for use. Instead, a new notion has been introduced: the concept of "habitual daily doses" per 24-hour period, which applies to users of both "hard" and "soft" drugs. For first offences, users are liable to a series of administrative sanctions (their driver's licence and passport are suspended, and they are required to remain within the municipality of residence and to report every day to the local police station). For subsequent offences, they risk prison terms. If the user sells or conveys his daily dose to someone else, even free of charge, he risks a prison term of 2 to 6 years and a fine of 5 to 20 million Italian lira.

On the other hand, the penalty for possessing illegal substances or introducing them into circulation is a prison term of 8 to 20 years, and a fine of 10 to 150 million lira. The new act imposes on drug addicts what some judges and sociologists have already nicknamed the "via crucis" (the Way of the Cross because it sets up a series of stations along the path). Thus, the judge can suspend the sentencing of a habitual drug user and send him to a therapy centre for the treatment he needs. If the user does not "cooperate", the judge then has the power to proceed with sentencing. The convicted user may request to be readmitted to the treatment programme, but he may only do this once. If the user completes a social rehabilitation programme, the charges are dismissed, but never more than twice for any given person. If the user abandons the programme, or if treatment produces no results, then the judge may proceed with the penalties (*Garavelli and Caselli* 1990).

3.1. Prison

Italian law provides for prison terms of varying lengths for drug addicts and recognizes their right to treatment and social services. Unfortunately, this standard has not yet been applied in practice. It must be noted that the number of drug addicts in prison continues to rise. They are estimated to compose 28%

of the current prison population, out of a total of some 32,000 prisoners (Aronica *et al.* 1989). Moreover, 4% of imprisoned drug addicts have been diagnosed as seropositive, while there are 56 recorded cases of AIDS.

3.2 Drug Traffic

In response to the growing spread of the drug phenomenon, the police acted vigorously in 1990, carrying out 16,353 anti-drug operations, 300 more than in the preceding year. They confiscated 898 grams of heroin, up from 684 grams in 1989 (an increase of 3%), as well as 798 kilos of cocaine (667 in 1989, or an increase of 28%) (R. Russo Jervolino 1991). During the past five years, about 100,000 drug suspects were reported to the police, a remarkable number, given that a significant portion of the drug market is underground and is difficult to measure. It is unnecessary to stress that police resources are totally inadequate to cope with the magnitude of the phenomenon. To remedy this, the State Police, the **Carabinieri** and the **Guardia di Finanza** have now been given new arms in the battle against drugs, e.g., the right to stake out deliveries, to set up "sting" operations ("bay and bust" deals), and to infiltrate dealer networks with undercover agents (*Ministero degli Interni* 1991).

4. The Current State of Scientific Research

Having set forth the main trends emerging in practice in Italy today, we now come to make specific mention of the contributions of medical and psychosocial research. It must first be noted that scientific research in this field has considerably developed, moving from isolated, unconnected efforts in international scientific circles, to a complete reorganization of the whole field of medical and psychosocial research related to drugs. The result is a vigorous current debate, in terms of both the wealth of research and the way theoretical research is organized. An overview of Italian research on the prevention and treatment of drug abuse reveals that the most important recent contributions can generally be divided into four categories, in which the most significant works are as follows:

4.1 In the field of theoretical research: Alberti 1985, Arnao 1990, Assini 1989, Balloni 1981, Bisio 1980, Boggio 1981, Caffarelli 1986, Cancrini 1980, Casonato 1986, Cirillo 1984, Cornacchia 1986, Constantini 1984, D'Amico 1985, De Caro 1980, Ferrarotti 1980, Garavelli 1990, Gius 1980, Giudicini 1990, Lilliu 1988, Maremeni 1988, Pierone 1982, Pepino 1989, Pissacroia 1985, Sposato 1982, Zerbetto 1982.

4.2 In the area of empirical research: Aronia 1989, Bellieni 1985, Berlinguer 1980, Brusa 1980, D'Arcaneggio 1980, Gius 1982, Maremani 1987, Russo Iervolini 1991, and reports published by the Interior Ministry, the Ministry of Public Health (1990), and the Education Ministry (1991).

4.3 In documentary research: Arnao 1980, 1983, 1985, Barbero 1981, Casini 1980, Dassori 1981, Gennaro 1983, Malizia 1988, Statera 1981, Tallandini 1982, Teodori 1989.

4.4 Research on drug information and application of policy: Andreoli 1984, Ambrosini 1982, Badaloni 1983, Battaglia 1984, Cancrini 1982, Cappelli 1983, Giuliucci 1986, Malagoli 1987, Mirena 1985, Tartarotti 1986.

II. Prevention of Juvenile Drug Abuse

The Italian juvenile justice over the past ten years has tended to limit the use of criminal measures to a minimum, and to avoid imprisoning juveniles. In place of punishment and prison, the trend is to encourage initiatives whose aim is to help young people become responsible, and to offer support to youths who are either already in trouble with the law or considered "at risk". This approach to juvenile justice began in the late 1970s, and has taken the form of regional programmes aimed at the condition of young people, with particular emphasis on deprived youth (as provided for by D.P.R. 616/77).

Recent legislation on penal procedure for juveniles has extended this trend by introducing methods of intervention modelled on the diversionary policies and probation procedures of English or American law (D.P.R. 448/89).

These policies aimed at shifting the emphasis away from punishment to preventive measures encouraging responsibility among young people have had the positive effect of broadening the scope of social intervention with "troublesome" youth. Instead of taking a narrow approach to the problem, policy now treats the general condition of young people as a whole. This viewpoint implies involving the community in youth programmes and breaking down the barriers between juvenile detention institutions and the society outside. The goal is to stop using institutional detention as the main means of control, and to experiment instead with measures of supervised freedom.

The implementation of these criminal policies varies from one administrative region to another, because of differences in their organizational structures and social services resources. Most regions, especially in Northern Italy, have developed formal youth projects, which cover, among other issues, the problem of adolescents at risk. On the other hand, in some situations, more

specific initiatives are planned to deal directly with the problem of juvenile delinquency (for a report on some of these programmes, see *Faccioli 1990*, and the following bibliography).

In psychology research, there is little literature on this subject. Some of the debate concerns possible paths open to juvenile justice, and the balance between the traditional demands of justice and a newer welfare-based approach, in a context where social welfare programmes are increasingly being preferred to criminal measures (see *De Leo 1986*, *Gatti and Verde 1987*, *Pitch 1989*). One aspect being studied is the possible danger that expansion of controlled supervision of juveniles outside confines of penal justice institutions may reduce guarantees of protection of these youths and expose them to abuses of discretionary and arbitrary power. In particular, attention is given to the issue of protecting the interests of young people, and to preventing the risk that paternalistic measures may make them less responsible for themselves and exacerbate the dependent status of the youths involved (*De Leo 1986*).

In addition, because of the increasing use of control measures aimed at teaching deprived youth to be responsible, it is becoming necessary to examine the basis and criteria for defining "juveniles at risk", and more generally, juveniles who can probably benefit from prevention programmes.

The concept of risk suggests a need to reevaluate the controversial and ambiguous category of "dangerous social character" under Italian law, which is nevertheless widely applied in practice by judges. Its use is generally based not on any objective standards, but on the characteristics of certain categories of juvenile offenders (juveniles who are immigrants and nomads, juveniles from broken homes, juveniles who live in areas controlled by organized crime, and generally, any youths seen as "beyond control", who are difficult to manage under social welfare programmes) (on these topics see *De Leo 1988*, *Pitch 1989* and *Faccioli 1990*).

III. Community Crime Prevention Measures and Social Intervention

The scope of the research and debate on crime prevention in Italy appears to be defined on one hand by the political and theoretical climate, and on the other hand, by the contents of legislation and changes in standards. As regards the former, predominant attention has been given to the theory surrounding the legitimacy of penalties and the needed reform of penal codes. Because of this, less emphasis has been placed on examining actual practice in the application of penalties, not in themselves, but as a prelude to reorganizing

the management of deviant behaviour in the community outside prison. Some organizational changes have been introduced in the penitentiary system, with a view towards extending the possibilities for granting alternative measures (L.633/8) and giving special powers to local authorities to provide assistance to prisoners and their families (D.P.R. 616/77). These changes have helped focus attention on the issue of community involvement in crime prevention, but there has been more debate than research, strictly speaking.

In fact, although there has been little formal research on the subject, numerous conferences have been held on the theme of local crime prevention and management, at which papers have been presented describing experiments in this field. Most of the contributions to these debates, however, are either theoretical or are aimed at interpreting the contents of the aforementioned legislation. Still others focus on the potential powers and means of intervention that would be feasible at the community level. In theory, community intervention is defined as providing the context in which social control can be exercised in a new way, with a view towards managing crime through initiatives intended to prevent delinquency and reintegrate criminals into society, and rejecting the philosophy of repressive measures or propaganda. Towards this aim, a plan has been announced to set up instances for dealing with conflicts and communication difficulties between the local authorities and the State prison system.

Many papers focus on the potential sectors for intervention by local authorities concerning the relationship between prisons and the outside world, based on a broad interpretation of current legislation (*Marotta 1990, Regione Emilia Romagna 1985, Comune di Padova 1987, 1990*). Sectors of community intervention include organizing activities in prison (schooling, work, cultural activities, sports and recreation), job training and job placement schemes, health services integrated into the local health departments, training for prison workers, rehabilitation for released convicts and those living on probation in the community, support for the application of alternative measures, assistance to the families of prisoners, support and coordination of activities of private benevolent associations and cooperatives in this field. More generally, there is a need to establish a balanced, integrated relationship between the prison and the community, depending on the number of inmates in each prison in proportion to the local population, the assignment of groups of prisoners to each locality (since each prison's population consists of convicts from the local region), and the integration of services within the official organizational network, avoiding a dependence on volunteerism and charity.

Speakers also frequently mention the necessity for local authorities to encourage a process of consciousness-raising and maturity in public opinion to create awareness of the problems of prisoners and ex-convicts, in order to facilitate rehabilitation and extend the use of alternative measures.

These general themes, often raised at conferences, have sometimes inspired specific projects, or have resulted in better organization of methods, time, and financing (*Regione Emilia Romagna* 1990, *Comune di Padova* 1990). Reports analysing various projects' accomplishments, however, are rare and vague, and the results of such projects are often disappointing.

In this context, particular attention is given to the subject of work. No specific research has been done on prison labour. The available data are furnished by the State prison authorities. The most thorough study is one undertaken by R. *Cicotti* and F. *Pitttau* (1987), which analyses the problem from the viewpoint of standards, penitentiary policy, and legal guardianship of the rights of prisoners. It also looks at the overall picture of work in prison, in terms of the types of work and the number of prisoners employed. Data on work in prison, broken down by territorial zone and legal situation, indicate that 30% of Italian prisoners work. Only a portion of these, however, produce work commissioned by outside firms, with the rest of the work being assigned by the prison authorities. An extensive debate on various aspects of work in prison is contained in the published papers of a conference on this theme held in Rebibbia in June 1986. The aim of the conference was to identify appropriate legislative changes to provide better legal protection of the rights of working prisoners, but so far, none of its recommendations has been applied. In this regard, the published papers of the Conference of Cooperatives of *Emiglia Romana* are very valuable, analysing work in prison in relationship to the cooperative movement (*Lega* 1991). These papers summarize the existing legislation that encourages and governs cooperatives, as well as proposals for the reform of work in prison and of the cooperative movement's role in rehabilitation. This publication also contains the results of a study directed by *Albeto Di Lazzaro* concerning all the cooperatives in Italy that are involved with prisons, analysed by business sectors, cultural positions, and organizational models. In general, as already mentioned, there is little empirical research on this theme.

The *Ufficio Studi Direzione Generale* (Research Bureau of the Directorate of Correctional Institutions) has recently carried out a survey on the social rehabilitation of ex-convicts. Interviews were conducted among a sample of 308 subjects, classified by age and sex. The hypothesis being tested was a definition of the problems connected with the individual's reintegration into the system, in relation to subjective factors for each ex-convict, the

surrounding context, and the position of public opinion on this issue. The questionnaire asked about the individual's occupation, civil and marital status, the job found upon leaving prison, his "criminal career", his general working and living conditions in relation to his past involvement with prison and the law, and about drug use. The results confirm that the greatest problems are related to finding a job and housing, and to general economic difficulties. This is especially true for unemployed, single men with little formal education. Even their social relationships are particularly difficult. These problems seem crucial, given that they affect about half of all those interviewed (almost 50% stated that these problems were not yet solved, and 66% said that they had experienced personality changes after being imprisoned, more than half of these negative, notably, loss of self-confidence). Positive personality changes (22%) were reported by those with more schooling, who had a job and satisfying family relationships. Nevertheless, 84% of all those surveyed complained of a negative change, namely, the development of prejudices. In spite of that, only 24% of those surveyed reported a deterioration of their family relationships. Overall, the data are presented in a rather disorganized fashion and interpreted rather superficially, whereas it would have been laudable to draw more conclusions from the available data.

A document published by the Emilia-Romagna region (1984) contains some data, without comment or interpretation, about community treatment of ex-convicts, job training courses in prisons organized by the EELL, and reports made to the regional council about municipal initiatives benefitting ex-convicts and the application of alternative measures.

Mention should be made of a study by *L. Pepa* (1987), which summarizes job training courses and other activities conducted in the prisons of the Emilia-Romagna region by various regional authorities. The study examines how the programmes were defined in the preliminary phases in order to take account of the needs of the users. It also looks at each programme's plans and goals, the way it operates, and the results. The study, including computerized data, is intended for use primarily by the ministry, but also by local authorities, school districts, and municipalities, as well as cultural associations and volunteer groups. Among the 53 courses surveyed, the most frequent type offers basic schoolings (20), followed in order by job training courses, and then hobbies. Quantitative analysis shows a variety of organizational aspects and gives some civil data about the users. The study highlights the problems, including, among others, the dropout rate of users, mainly because of transfers to other prisons. Other objectives of qualitative analysis are problems of starting up, targeting, and developing courses, and methods of courses evaluation by participants. It should be noted that the job training received almost

never leads to a job when the prisoner is released, although the courses are an excellent method of socialization in prison, which often bring about changes in attitudes among prisoners. The study concludes with a series of evaluations and proposals for greater integration of this sort of initiative in keeping with local opportunities and characteristics.

All of these subjects were discussed in depth during the constitutional congress of the national association, *Liberarsi dalla necessita del carcere* ("Let's get rid of the need for prisons") (Parma 1984). This conference focused on all the arguments for the viewpoint that imprisonment is outmoded in a post-industrial society and should be abolished as a solution (negative effects of prison, advancing beyond the ideology of punishment, considering each individual's circumstances beyond stereotyped treatment of criminals, developing possible alternatives to prison).

Another example are studies of informal, spontaneous groups scattered throughout the region, involved with various crime-related subjects. Such groups include mothers of drug addicts, addicts themselves, women against violence, relatives of victims of particular forms of crime, self-defence against organized crime syndicates, and groups within prisons (Manconi 1990, Pitch 1988, 1989). This work tends to be based more on developing models for interpreting the phenomenon than on reconstructing empirical data. It raises the question of the nature of the various movements and their position within larger processes of cultural transformation and forms of social organization. It also examines them in relation to the magnitude of the phenomenon and possible ways to change the way norms of social behaviour are established.

IV. Crime and Public Opinion

1. Evaluating the Seriousness of Crime

In comparison with other European countries, Italian research in this field is limited. The most extensive study, somewhat outdated now, was published by A. Giasanti and G. Maggioni (1980). Survey samples were chosen in four Italian cities, selected on the basis of their geographical and cultural diversity: Turin, Rome, Messina, and Cagliari. Persons surveyed were given a list of crimes from four different categories ("common" or ordinary crime, so-called "victimless" crime, "white collar" crime, and "blue collar" crime). They were asked to state their opinion on how each type of act should be treated, on a scale ranging from punishing it as a crime (if so, by what sort of penalty, up to the most severe) to total non-intervention, not treating it as a crime at all. Reactions were measured on two scales, which were then compared. The

results obtained were statistically significant. We shall mention only the most noteworthy aspects.

Indicators of indifference to deviant behaviour were highest in the larger cities (Turin and Rome), whereas in the smaller cities, emotional reactions tended to be statistically clustered at the extremes of either approval or disapproval, depending on the behaviour involved. A large, modern, industrialized and secularized city such as Turin showed the highest tolerance for non-intervention and the lowest demand for penal intervention. In contrast, a city such as Cagliari (in Sardinia), which is closer to its traditions, still has an ethnically homogeneous native population, and has less feeling of identification with public institutions, showed a low demand for penal intervention, associated with a high demand for social intervention (especially psychological and social services). Turin, and to an even greater extent, Cagliari, showed only a slight correspondence between strong disapproval for certain specified types of behaviour and a demand for penal intervention in common crimes (i.e., breaking the ordinary rules of law, notably crimes against persons and property). Only certain types of behaviour in this category (kidnapping, armed robbery, sexual violence) were considered grave enough to elicit a demand for severe penal intervention. On the contrary, others (thefts of public property, shoplifting) aroused little emotional reaction and only a moderate demand for penal intervention.

In general, there was a certain discrepancy between the institutional sanctions provided in the criminal codes and the demands and attitudes revealed in the public opinion. This was especially true regarding so-called victimless crime, for which there was widespread tolerance for non-intervention, even where there was a high level of disapproval. The same attitude was shown with regard to blue collar crime, while opinion on white collar crime was more variable and contradictory. This study offers significant food for thought on the legitimacy of existing penal standards, and the conclusions derived may not be what one would expect.

Similar research methods and organization were applied in a study analysing public reaction to juvenile delinquency, conducted by *M. Boffi, A. Gasanti, G. Maggioni, G. Pisapia* (1981). The authors interviewed 693 young people aged 14 to 17 living in Milan and other towns in the Lombardy region. They were given a list of deviant types of behaviour, and for each one, they were asked to express their degree of approval or disapproval and to evaluate the need for intervention or punishment. The actions studied were divided into four categories: violence and political or social conflict; the sphere of sexuality and morality; crimes against property; behaviours related to the use and sale of drugs.

Even in this study, while there appeared to be a relative statistical correlation between disapproval and the demand for personal or social intervention, a certain gap appeared between the level of disapproval and the demand for penal intervention. While the correlation was high between the first two elements, it was very limited for the relationship between disapproval and penal intervention. This remained a structural constant, although it tended to diminish proportionally for certain crimes such as theft, the sale of drugs to minors, political violence, football hooliganism, and pickpocketing. For these types of behaviour, in spite of a wide gap of 50% between disapproval and the demand for penal intervention, such demand did show a rising trend. In contrast, there was virtually no demand for penal intervention for any form of deviant sexual behaviour or for drug use, only a very low demand for punishment of shoplifting, squatters, or self-destructive practices, and a moderately low demand regarding petty theft.

The researchers then went on to analyse the relationship between these attitudes and the social status of the survey subjects. The most disapproval was shown by boys living in the country or small towns (in contrast with girls, or with boys living in a large city): the disapproval of these non-city boys was correlated with a demand for penal intervention. Others who showed this correlation were those in the youngest age group, those whose fathers were born in Northern Italy, those whose parents were small craftsmen, shopkeepers, or to a somewhat lesser extent, blue collar workers, and those whose political ideas tended towards the centre or right rather than the left or far left. This contrasted with those whose parents were self-employed professionals and managers, presumably having more education.

The study includes significant development and interpretation of the data, tending to highlight the way in which the younger generation, whose cultural values diverge from conventionally accepted norms, wishes to make itself heard as a decisive factor for cultural innovation and institutional transformation.

2. *Attitudes Towards Ex-Convicts*

Another study, concerning public attitudes towards ex-convicts, was carried out by the Ufficio Studi Direzione Generale (Research Bureau of the Directorate of Correctional Institutions) (1986). The study examined public opinion in Rome, through a questionnaire administered to a sample of 913 individuals, classified by social class (upper and middle class, lower middle class, working class), sex, age, and occupation. Those interviewed were asked what they thought were the main problems encountered by ex-convicts, what motives

they assigned to repeat offenders, whether they would be willing to offer housing or employment to an ex-convict, whether they would allow an ex-convict's children to play with their own, and whether they agreed in principle that a certain number of jobs should be set aside for ex-convicts.

In general, people showed great willingness to recognize that social causes and lack of support were the main reasons ex-convicts had problems becoming reintegrated in society and establishing positive social relationships and feelings of solidarity. More than 60% of those surveyed thought the main reasons for repeat offences were social problems (mistrust, hostility, isolation, lack of housing or work). Some 16% thought the biggest problems were caused by marginalization and prejudice. Some 82% said they would allow their children to play with an ex-convict's child. Some 72% reported that they would take in a relative or friend who had spent a long time in prison, while 44% said they would hire an ex-convict to work for them in their homes. The sharp drop in support in proportion to the intensity of direct personal involvement with the ex-convict is significant.

The subjective variables intermingled with the date did not seem to have a determining impact or cause major variations in the general trends. Nevertheless, younger subjects, those having more education, and those living in lower class neighbourhoods of Rome tended to be more in favour of greater openness of society towards ex-convicts. Even the victims of crimes did not have a more repressive attitude. In fact, the opposite was often true, no matter how much time had elapsed since the event. Women often seemed more willing to recognize the problems of ex-convicts, but less open when it came to direct personal involvement. On the whole, the study offers only a rather summary and superficial analysis of the data, although if it had provided a more detailed, in-depth breakdown, it would have offered significant matter for reflection and led to much more conclusive results. Nevertheless, from the methods adopted and the statements of principle expressed, it is not too difficult to grasp concrete attitudes.

3. *Research Hypotheses*

The journal *Inchiesta* published a special issue, under the editorial supervision of *G. Mosconi*, devoted to the subject of public opinion about prison and crime (no.79-80, 1988). The working hypothesis was that the prevailing attitudes in public opinion are not incompatible with a programme of shifting the emphasis away from prisons and punishment.

To test this hypothesis, *G. Mosconi* proposed a list of subjects of possible research: the relationship between the values underlying the criminal code and

the values held by public opinion; the relationship between the standard legal definition of a given deed and the way it is concretely perceived by the public; the relationship between the way the perpetrator of the deed is defined by the law and the way he is perceived by the victim at the time of the event; a comparison between the abstract values recognized by the law and the actual interests of individuals, and between individuals' statements of beliefs and their actual attitudes and behaviour towards crime; and the contradictions shown by individuals in their own values and attitudes, to test whether seemingly deeply-held beliefs are really profoundly rooted.

From this viewpoint, several of the articles in this issue seem significant. *P.G. Valeriani* refers to certain actual experiences of alternatives to prison in the Bologna region and emphasizes their successful public acceptance, more as a practical experiment than as a search for consensus in principle. *Pisapia, Giasanti* and *Faeti* report the data from a study they carried out on the perception of crime among road workers in Milan. These public employees, who were supposed to have a position midway between informal observation and formal public control, tended in reality to ignore the problem of crime and sought acceptable ways of living together with the marginal groups operating in their district.

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The State of Knowledge in the United Kingdom

*Joanna Shapland and Chris Nuttall**

The Essentials of Crime Prevention

Successful crime prevention initiatives, according to the research findings, are those which respond to clearly defined crime problems. The problem must be those seen as important to those living and working in the area. The responses must be targeted upon the problems - and the initiatives must be evaluated. Evaluation is crucial for the effective development of crime prevention. We cannot develop and build upon initiatives, or know how to transfer them to other locations, unless we know what was successful and why it was successful. The nature of good crime prevention practice is that it consists of different initiatives - at local and at national level - and so we need ways to harness these efforts and energies and learn how to convey and spread good practice. Evaluative research is the key to this coordination process.

Crime prevention initiatives in the UK have spanned a wide range of problems, techniques and methods. The major focus has been upon working with local communities to improve community safety. There are also, however, emphases upon the design and management of premises (to reduce opportunities for offending and to ensure safety), crime prevention in the business community, strategies for policing, the prevention of drug abuse, work with young people, and crime analysis. There is a plethora of activity: at national level, in local communities, in particular settings (work, school, leisure centres, etc.). There are a very large number of research studies (see the reviews by *Graham* 1990; *Hope* and *Shaw* 1988; *Heal* and *Laycock* 1986;

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Clarke and Mayhew 1989). We can only hope to touch upon a small number of these studies in this paper; and shall focus upon those particularly relevant to the topics of the conference.

Evaluative research covers not only the outcomes of the crime prevention initiative (reduction in police recorded crime rates, reductions in victimisation rates from victimisation studies, decrease in fear of crime etc.), but also the process of mounting the initiative. Process research monitors how the initiative was set up, what factors were crucial for its progress, and the way it was implemented, including difficulties that were encountered. The UK has now mounted a large number of major crime prevention initiatives, both nationally through government working with local authorities (5 Towns, Safer Cities, Priority Estates Project), and as more local initiatives, often facilitated by agencies such as the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO). The evaluations that have been completed on some of these programmes indicate that there needs to be a certain order of activities for effective implementation (see *Hope and Shaw* 1988). The order is:

1. the analysis of crime patterns for the particular area (recorded crime and victimisation figures from victimisation surveys, if available);
2. setting up one or more groups of people from the different statutory agencies, residents' groups, and voluntary associations that will need to be involved in work on the initiative (two groups may be necessary: one of heads of agencies to approve finance etc.; one of workers from the particular local area);
3. involving local people (residents, young people, business people) and finding out their priorities and ideas (through discussion groups, surveys, ethnographic work, development workers);
4. coming to a decision on the action plan for the initiative, which will set out the measures that will be taken and the way in which each will be evaluated;
5. arranging for people that will be working on the initiative to acquire the skills they will need to do the agreed tasks;
6. evaluation the progress of the project and its outcomes.

This model has been found to be useful in situational and in social crime prevention initiatives, in victim-oriented, offender-oriented, and situation-oriented initiatives, and in primary, secondary and tertiary crime prevention (see *Clarke and Cornish* 1985; *van Dijk* 1990).

In the process of setting up initiatives and then developing and spreading those elements which are successful, negative evaluation results can be as important as positive ones. It is essential to know in which situations particular ideas and techniques are successful - and where they are not. We need to develop a differentiated strategy for crime prevention which is responsive to local needs and conditions.

Crime Analysis

Clearly, the first element in a programme for crime prevention or community safety is crime analysis: what pattern of crime is to be addressed and what kind of problems people have. The most obvious goal for crime prevention is the reduction of crime. Here police recorded crime figures have been used to analyse crime patterns before and after initiatives (see, for example, *Bennett* 1990). The Crime Prevention Unit of the Home Office and others have developed computer packages to permit local analysis of police data to show crime patterns. Having the ability to analyse crime data allows local agencies to understand what needs to be addressed and suggests solutions.

However, if the initiative might change public attitudes to reporting crime, or is concerned with crimes which are often not reported (such as vandalism), then other measures of crime should be used as well as police recorded crime figures. The most often used has been victimisation surveys of residents (for example, *Bottoms and Wiles* 1986; *Bennett* 1991). The questionnaires for such surveys have built upon the data offered by the British Crime Survey (*Hough and Mayhew* 1983, 1985; *Mayhew et al.* 1989), and have included questions on fear of crime, individuals' crime prevention practices, and views about the area in which they live and about the police and other agencies, as well as 'counting victimisation' (see *Shapland* 1989 for a description of the developing role of victimisation surveys). Sometimes data on crime problems can also be gathered from companies or public utilities: on damage to telephone kiosks or public transport, for example. Recently, guides to crime analysis for business have been produced, to enable companies to carry out their own investigation into their crime problems (see *Burrows* 1988; *Shapland and Wiles* 1989).

The goal for a crime prevention initiative may not only, however, be a reduction in crime, but may also encompass reducing any inappropriate levels of fear of crime (or at least ensuring that levels of fear do not rise), or changing the views of residents about their area and the service provided by criminal justice and other agencies. In an area where crime levels are rising, it is common for other social indices of concern about the quality of life in the area

also to rise. In order to arrest social decline, it may be necessary to make the area more attractive to potential residents and so arrest its declining position in the housing market (see *Bottoms and Wiles 1986*). Tackling 'incivilities' (nuisances such as graffiti, youths hanging around in menacing groups etc., which may not be criminal offences) may also affect crime levels. However, it has been found that residents may find areas attractive even if they have high crime rates, so it is important for crime prevention programmes to consider carefully exactly which goals they are aiming for in the circumstances of that area.

When considering certain kinds of initiatives, the words 'crime prevention' seem less appropriate than 'community safety'. Projects which seek to improve the ability of the community to cope with crime and disorder - such as victim support, drug addict treatment programmes, and projects to reintegrate offenders - are of course potentially preventative of crime in the long term, but act through the medium of improving community safety. The several local area studies of crime in the UK have consistently shown that it is unhelpful to plan to prevent crime by fortifying communities against crime committed by outsiders. Quantitatively, much crime, especially property crime, is committed by local people (see, for example, *Shapland and Vagg 1988*). When considering community safety, we need to specify how we may prevent crime committed by local people, without destroying the viability of that community. In dealing with the specific topics of the conference below, we shall try to indicate what we know about maximising prevention, whilst minimising displacement, distrust and fear.

I. Preventing and Treating Drug Abuse

The UK has a five-point strategy for tackling drug misuse:

- improving international co-operation to reduce supplies from abroad;
- increasing the effectiveness of police and customs enforcement;
- maintaining effective deterrents and tight domestic controls;
- developing preventive publicity and education;
- improving treatment and rehabilitation.

Both prevention and treatment are, therefore, seen as important parts of a co-ordinated strategy and there have been several initiatives on both.

Both official figures and more detailed localised studies have been used to chart the changes in drug usage over time in different parts of the country. Just as it is impossible to measure the 'real' amount of crime, so it is impossible to measure the 'real' amount of drug misuse. But it is clear that there have been surges of use of particular drugs at particular times (*Annual Statistics of Addicts notified to the Home Office*) and there have been attempts to target prevention and treatment on these. There was, for example, major growth in the use of heroin in the Wirral during the mid-1980s, and this has been charted and the lifestyles of addicts explored during 1985-7 by *Parker et al.* (1988).

One of the major aims of the government's preventive activities has been to make the public more aware of the risks of using controlled drugs, particularly heroin. Annual public information campaigns have been run since 1985. The first was on the theme of 'Heroin screws you up' and latterly the emphasis has been on warning of the dangers of injecting drugs in order to reduce behaviour which may lead to HIV infection (*Home Office* 1990a). These campaigns have been evaluated for short-term effects in changing attitudes - with some positive results (*Power* 1989) - but there are no long-term evaluation studies. As well as national campaigns, there are also anti-drug education projects in schools.

The Central Drug Prevention Unit has been funded by the Home Office to set up local teams in areas where there is thought to be a high prevalence of drug misuse, particularly of cocaine or crack. Local teams work to re-inforce, harness and stimulate community action against drugs and to encourage parents, local business and other local groups to think of ways to prevent drug misuse. The concept is the same as that used in the Safer Cities initiative (see below), and the whole exercise is being evaluated (*Home Office* 1990a).

Syringe exchange schemes have been set up in many areas in the expectation that the free availability of sterile syringes and needles will reduce the sharing of injecting equipment by users and thereby reduce the risk of HIV. Condoms are also made available from the schemes. Evaluation of the schemes indicates that many hitherto unknown injectors have come forward and used the schemes' facilities, but fewer have been willing so far to engage in treatment programmes (*Lart and Stimpson* 1990).

Drug misusers may seek treatment as they choose from their own doctor (General Practitioner), from doctors working in specialist drug dependence units attached to National Health Service hospitals, from privately funded doctors and hospitals, or from a great variety of statutory and voluntary counselling and advice services (see *Home Office* 1990a). The nature of medical treatment is at the discretion of the individual doctor and can include

in-patient detoxification, prescription of methadone on a reducing basis (or not) over periods of time specified by the doctor, or individual or group psychotherapy. There are Narcotics Anonymous groups around the country (similar to Alcoholics Anonymous) and a few private establishments which operate the Minnesota Method (a form of group therapy). There is a lack of reliable evaluations of the effectiveness of different treatments for different drug misusers. Only doctors who are specially licensed by the Home Secretary may prescribe heroin or cocaine to addicts. They may prescribe according to their own clinical judgment, but few actually take this option. The licensing system includes a provision to take away the power to prescribe such drugs upon a finding by a tribunal of 'irresponsible prescribing'. There is evidence that when drug misusers are receiving treatment they are less likely to commit criminal offences than when they are not receiving treatment (*Jarvis and Parker 1990*).

II. Responding to the Needs of Young People at Risk

In working out the pattern of young people's offending over time, we are indebted to the work of *Donald West* and *David Farrington* in conducting their longitudinal study of a sample of London schoolboys from the ages of 6 to 35+ (*Farrington 1990*; *West and Farrington 1977*; see also *West 1982*). This work has shown that committing a small number of minor offences is normal behaviour amongst boys of 10 to 17, but that the frequent commission of offences or relatively serious offending is rare - and predictive of further criminality. Most boys 'grow out' of offending with age. Policy in Britain, therefore, has emphasized the need not to exacerbate offending by an over-reaction to one minor offence in this age group. From this has come the growth of cautioning and diversion schemes for young people who have offended - and we describe them in the next section.

Several research studies have attempted to consider the factors which are predictive of criminality in adolescence and which might be addressed for prevention. One of the more promising avenues is the work on parental supervision, which indicates that there is a relation between young people being given clear guidance about where they should be in the evening, and when they should be back at home, the enforcement of those rules by parents etc., and the likelihood of those young people offending (*Riley and Shaw 1985*), although there are methodological difficulties with all non-longitudinal studies on family variables (*Graham 1989*). Another avenue of research relates to the design and management of housing. Housing estates which contain too high a proportion of children with a relative lack of facilities for

those children are likely to suffer higher crime rates (*Wilson 1980*). Earlier research also suggests a link between the ability of parents to supervise their children and the layout of housing and play space for children out of doors (*Sprott, Jephcott and Carter 1954*).

It is now common practice for architects and planners to design provision for children and young people such that it provides a safe space which is supervisable and away from traffic etc. Building standards regulate finishes to prevent vandalism. Regulations over safety standards for materials and design of equipment. There are no specific evaluations of these measures, as they have been introduced country-wide. However, a current evaluation of a major improvement programme affecting the design of blocks of flats etc. (the DICE programme) may shortly provide some answers.

Crime prevention programmes have also been introduced in schools. Some affect design (the 'vandal-proof- school', which looks accessible and not like a fortress: *Department of Education and Science 1987*). Others focus upon the management of premises: not just by teachers and caretakers, but also involving pupils in working out crime patterns and the possibilities for prevention. *Clarke et al. (1978)* contains a summary of early evaluations of possible initiatives on vandalism, including some school projects. Several projects are now underway in schools to involve pupils, including making young people more aware of the disadvantages of crime and the possibilities for crime prevention. Junior Crime Prevention Panels, on a city-wide basis, also recruit young people's ideas. However, there are no clear evaluations of these projects as yet.

Since offending by young people can be highly situationally-based, it is important also to provide young people with activities and possibilities which meet their needs - and which are situated near enough to where they live and do not require long or costly journeys. School holiday projects run by the police or voluntary groups are active in several cities. They aim to provide interesting activities and to allow young people to improve their sporting skills etc., with the aim of decreasing spontaneous offending motivated by boredom. Some football clubs run similar activities at weekends. Most are successful in the sense of attracting a large population of keen young people - but their effect in directly affecting crime rates has not been tested.

Youth provision generally in Britain is harder to assess. The youth service does not see itself as directly preventing offending, and would, in general, not wish to see a link drawn between its activities and crime prevention (*Graham 1990*). One particular problem about the general organisation of provision for young people it is provided for youth, rather than stemming either from young people's own directly expressed wishes, or from a sound basis of research on

current youth lifestyles and needs. However, some voluntary and independent groups deliberately set out to cater for young people who have offended or who are obviously at risk, through running youth groups, or motor racing projects for car thieves etc. and the evaluation of some of these have been very positive in terms of reducing offending rates. These evaluations are as yet, however, few and far between.

III. Developing Local Responses to Recidivism

The major thrust of the initiatives in Britain in developing local responses to recidivism is the emergence of diversion schemes for young people. The proportion of young people prosecuted as opposed to cautioned has fallen dramatically in the 1980s, such that cautioning (a formal warning by the police) is now the majority response to offending by young people aged up to 17 (*Criminal Statistics* 1989). A caution may only be given if there would have been sufficient evidence to prosecute (to prevent 'net-widening'), if the offender admits guilt and if he or she consents. The growth of the use of the caution has been produced by the emergence of inter-agency panels to consider the case of such offenders, and encouraged by successive Home Office Circulars to the police.

The exact mechanism varies in different towns, but typically the police will refer such offending to a 'juvenile liaison bureau', which might have liaison with, or be staffed by, a variety of agencies including the police, social services, education staff and the youth service. The panel will consider the offence and the circumstances of the offender and recommend cautioning the prosecution. In some areas, the 'caution-plus' has been adopted, in which the young person is required to pay compensation to the victim, or to undertake various activities, in order to receive a caution. The few studies that have compared recidivism rates between cautioning and prosecution have not found significant differences; but the caution is clearly a far less intrusive penalty than prosecution, and so should be preferred as the minimum intervention for less serious offending. However, questions have been raised about further development of cautioning beyond its current 80%+ rate for those under 14, and majority position for those aged 14-16, because it does not necessarily provide the same safeguards as prosecution, and because victims' rights and needs are not necessarily respected (*Davis et al.* 1987, see also *Bottoms* 1991).

Cautioning for adult offenders is less well developed, and there is only one formal diversion scheme for adult offenders (*Dignan* 1990). This has, however, been subjected to a full evaluation, and it shows that scope was found to divert a considerable number of adults, with the agreement of both victim

and offender, and such that the majority of all parties were satisfied with the conclusion. Diversion involved not only the administration of a caution, but also often an apology or the payment of compensation by offender to victim. In addition, small mediation schemes have been set up in several parts of the country. Four of these have been the subject of evaluation projects (*Marshall and Merry* 1990). In general, the schemes have found it hard to acquire sufficient referrals, but have been relatively successful with those they have dealt with. They look to remain, however, as a minority response to offending.

Integration of offenders and prevention of offending within communities has taken place within the context of community crime prevention projects, rather than isolating the response to offenders (though NACRO, local authorities and others continue to run a large programme of training workshops for people at risk, including ex-offenders). We shall cover community projects in the next session. The *Woolf* report on the disturbances in several prisons in 1990 has recommended that there should be closer links between prisons, courts and those running community-based alternatives to custody, including local inter-agency committees, and this will clearly draw custodial institutions more closely towards the locally-based criminal justice system (*Woolf* 1991).

IV. Involving the Community in Crime Prevention

The major impetus for crime prevention in the UK in the last few years has been to involve the community in crime prevention. There have been major national initiatives to energise locally-derived action plans in selected towns (5 Towns, Safer Cities, Priority Estates Project, and the work of NACRO and Crime Concern). These have involved a large number of different statutory and voluntary groups (the local authority local business, residents' groups, specialist voluntary groups). There have also been innumerable local schemes in which one town, or one neighbourhood of a town, has attempted to mount particular crime prevention schemes (most notably Neighbourhood Watch, policing strategies, or Crime Prevention Panels). A free book about the precautions people can themselves take has been published by the Home Office and widely distributed. It is now in its fourth edition (Home Office 1991). Awareness of at least some crime prevention schemes is now almost universal: 90% of people surveyed by the 1988 national British Crime Survey had heard of Neighbourhood Watch, for example (*Mayhew et al.* 1989).

To what extent, however, has this crime prevention effort been effective in meeting its goals? There have been several research evaluations of Neighbourhood Watch (NW). Nationally, people support the ideal of NW: that those living in a particular small area should actively watch out for crimes being

committed, and report suspicious events to the police. NW schemes have a local co-ordinator and keep in touch with their local police. Often police forces will produce newsletters, containing local crime statistics and crime prevention hints. Two-thirds of those surveyed nationally and not currently a member expressed willingness to join a scheme if one were set up in their areas (*Mayhew et al.* 1989). However, evaluation results are mixed. It seems to depend upon how the scheme is set up and organised and how effectively it is matched to local conditions. NW schemes which cover 400-500 houses may not be particularly active, and in a careful before-and-after evaluation in one area, with a control area and a displacement area, there was found to be no effect on crime, though some suggestions of an effect in reducing levels of fear of crime (*Bennett* 1990). On the other hand, 'cocoon' NW (activating about eight houses to 'watch over' one which has already been burgled) is thought to be one of the measures in Kirkholt which led to a significant reduction in the rate of repeat victimisation through burglary (and, since there was a high rate of repeat burglary, had a significant effect on overall crime levels). Nationally, it cannot be said that NW scheme members have lower levels of burglary risk, but there seems to be some reduction of risk upon joining a scheme (*Mayhew et al.* 1989). NW requires considerable investment of time and effort by the police. If this leads to closer contact between police and public, then it may have significant effects on fear of crime and perceptions of the police, quite apart from any effect on crime rates. We suspect that the 'success' of NW will depend upon how active it is in an area, and so on organisational factors and how well enthusiasm is maintained by police and public. It may be better in some instances to help people to 'watch' informally in the ways they already do (*Shapland and Vagg* 1988), rather than to institute formal schemes.

It has proved very difficult to start NW schemes in some high-risk areas. This is a reflection of a more general finding: that high-crime areas are often poorly organised and that it is very difficult to inject enthusiasm and cohesiveness from outside. The work of *Sampson and Farrell* (1990) in attempting to set up nursery and victim support measures on a high-crime, run-down housing estate is a testimony to the effort required to surmount practical difficulties of setting up initiatives but even this amount of effort was not crowned with much success. With support (including financial support) from the local authority, with the active co-operation of the police, building on local groups (such as residents' groups) and with a facilitator or development worker from outside, to empower the local community and offer skills, then it has proved possible to get such projects off the ground (see for example, the institution of entry-management systems in blocks of flats in NACRO pro-

jects: *Bright et al.* 1985). But this is the major challenge for the 90s: to work out effective ways for crime prevention in high-crime areas which are actively supported by local people.

Policing projects have also shown some positive results. Police Crime Prevention Officers are the major source of advice on crime prevention for industry (together with insurance companies - *Johnston et al.* 1990). They also advise on domestic premises. The role of the Crime Prevention Officer is now being developed further by the Home Office Crime Prevention Centre at Stafford, and in a local evaluated initiative (*Shapland et al.* 1990), such that Crime Prevention Officers will become facilitators for an integrated crime prevention plan for the police division or subdivision.

In a replication of part of the Houston and Newark experiment on policing strategies for increasing contact with the public, it has also been shown that specifically tasking uniformed police officers to contact different sections of the community and talk about their perceptions of crime problems increases people's confidence in policing, and their confidence in their neighbourhood, though no direct effect may be found on measures of fear of crime (*Bennett* 1991). The role of the police is crucial to crime prevention in two different ways. One is in the analysis of local crime patterns and the ability to give this information out to local groups planning crime prevention initiative, together with advice on the potential and different techniques. The second is the place of policing strategies for crime prevention and reducing fear of crime. Some types of crime prevention are best done by police officers (checking the security of cars, investigating the activities of offenders causing a particular crime wave). The way in which the policing of an area is organised will also have significant effects on residents' and business people's views on the prevalence of problems (including crime) in the area.

The police are also now important in crime prevention through design - reducing opportunities for crime through the initial design of the built environment. Most police forces now have architectural liaison officers, who see plans for new development as they are being considered by local planners. They can make an input to both planners and developers about the likely effects of the development on crime and the (inadvertent) opportunities it may provide for offending. The need to 'build in' crime prevention to residential accommodation is now appreciated by many architects - although new house building provides only a fraction of the housing stock and much of the improvement in crime prevention terms will have to come from renovation of existing housing. Considerable work has also been done on situational crime prevention measures for residential dwellings (for example, *Winchester and Jackson* 1982; *Laycock* 1985a; *Forrester et al.* 1988).

The potential for crime prevention in the design of new industrial and commercial premises is, however, much greater than that for residential dwellings, as the planned life of these premises is shorter and the likelihood of substantial refitting for new owners much greater. The need for crime prevention in business has been a major initiative in the UK in the last few years. Work by the Crime Prevention Unit of the Home Office has evaluated initiatives in relation to chemists' shops (*Laycock* 1985b), hospitals (*Smith* 1987), small shops (*Ekblom* and *Simon* 1988) and robbery in bank and building societies (*Austin* 1988). An initial conference in 1988 for business, government and police brought out the need for business to take on board and manage the potential for crime in the business: in the physical design and management of the premises, in financial dealings, in preventing violence against staff, and in coping with the effects of crime (*Shapland* and *Wiles* 1989). A working party chaired by the Director General of the Confederation of British Industry has reinforced that message (CBI/Crime Concern 1990). The Health and Safety Executive has been very active in developing policies for the prevention of violence at work (HSE 1990). There are now several research studies on the difficulties of the retail sector (*Ekblom* and *Simon* 1988; *Hibberd* and *Shapland* 1990; *Burrows* 1988) and a major survey of the crime problems and crime prevention potential on industrial estates has just been completed (*Johnston et al.* 1990). These studies all tend to suggest that victimisation rates in the industrial and commercial sectors are higher than for residential premises - an impression fortified by the extent of theft of personal property at work shown in the 1988 British Crime Survey (*Mayhew et al.* 1989). The type of crime involved, however, differs significantly between types of business - and the crime prevention precautions that should be taken must also therefore vary. Factories have significant problems with burglary and theft from vehicles, and to a lesser extent criminal damage and theft (including by employees), but a low risks of violent crime. Retail premises face theft problems (by customers and staff) and a much increased risk of violent crime. The key to solving these problems is management initiative to analyse the particular crime difficulties of that business and the potential for loss, and then to target relevant measures for prevention and procedures for coping with crimes that do occur.

Fear of Crime

In promoting crime prevention initiative it is important not to ignore their potential effects on fear of crime. Measures which address fear of crime are clearly not the same as those which seek to prevent victimisation (*Bennett*

1991), but crime prevention measures, unless well-designed, may inadvertently increase fear of crime or increase the sense of guilt felt by victims of crime. The extent of people's fear of crime is affected both by the type of area in which they live and work and by their personal characteristics. Levels of fear are related to victimisation risk in the neighbourhood (*Bottoms et al.* 1990; *Shapland and Vagg* 1988), but the correlation is not perfect. Equally, women consistently show higher levels of fear than men, and there is also a relation with age, but the extent of individual variation remains great (*Maxfield* 1984, 1988). It is likely that people's current personal circumstances and previous life history strongly influence the way they respond to potentially threatening events (*Stanko* 1987). Women's response is also affected to a major extent by what are considered socially acceptable patterns of behaviour (going out at night alone, being accompanied by husband etc.: *Stanko* 1987).

Fear of crime and worry about victimisation is largely a fear of physical or sexual violence and people consistently overestimate the prevalence of such offences (*Maxfield* 1984; 1988). However, recent research shows the prevalence of everyday sexual harassment against women to be much greater than had been realized (*Young et al.* 1990), which may help to explain women's greater fear of burglary (leading to people staying in to protect their property) and fear of crime at work (*Johnston et al.* 1990), both of which will tend to exacerbate any trend towards people staying at home and being concerned about going out in the evening. Both these may need to be addressed in the future.

We have not yet seen levels of fear of crime and victimisation in the UK rising to the extent that people construct their homes, factories and neighbourhoods to look like fortresses, nor an extent of social mobility due to fear of crime which has led to the separation of income group neighbourhoods and ghettoisation. As we discussed above, such a strategy of fortress building is unlikely to be effective against the common property crimes, the local level of which is most influential in forming people's views of the kind of area in which they live and work. Such offenders are likely largely to be local offenders. Another key area for research in the future must be to learn more about offending so that we can produce crime prevention initiatives which are targetted not only on victim types, but on patterns of offending, and which seek to preserve and support neighbourhoods as living communities which can cope with crime without excessive levels of fear.

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The State of Knowledge in The African Region

Femi Odekunle *

I. Introduction

Considered within the ambit of intellectual honesty, the problem of crime¹ should be seen as one of the most illuminating means with respect to the socio-economic and political organisation of society because some of the most important issues of economy and politics, the ideology underpinning these and the kind of social relations they generate are revealed both in society's problem of crime and its attempts (formal and informal) to control the conduct and misconduct of members with regard to the problem.

The meaning of this is that the place to start any contribution to the issue of prevention of crime/delinquency/drug abuse is that place where the issue is generically-anchored: the level of economic and social development and the stage of development of the associated criminal justice system.² This pre-requisite is particularly so for the African region which has peculiarities that set it apart from other regions of the world in these matters. Three of such peculiarities serve as introductory background to this contribution.

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1 The "problem of crime" is used here in its all-inclusive sense: volume, types and seriousness of criminal delinquent acts; patterns, emphasis, efficiency and effectiveness of law-enforcement, justice-administration, offender-correction and community-response.

2 Again, "criminal justice system" is used here in an all-inclusive sense: from law-making to execution of penal sanctions.

II. Peculiarities of the African Region

Firstly, in addition to its well-known historically-determined under-development, the economic and social misfortunes of a majority of the countries of the African region have only worsened in the last decade (See Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1: Comparative Economic Indicators

	Sub-Saharan Africa	All low-income LDCs	All LDCs
Growth of per capita GDP, 1980-1986 (% yearly)	-3.1	5.6	1.8
Growth of per capita private consumption 1980-1986 (% yearly)	-2.4	3.5	0.9
Gross domestic saving as % GDP, 1986	11.0	25.0	24.0
Gross domestic investment as % GDP, 1986	14.0	29.0	24.0
Central govt. fiscal balance as % GDP, 1986	-6.0	...	-6.0
Growth of export volumes, 1980-1986 (% yearly)	-2.1	6.5	4.8
Growth of import volumes 1980-1986 (%)	-7.5	7.2	0.5
Change in terms of trade, 1980-1986 (%)	-13.0	-9.0	-7.0
Gross international reserves in months of import coverage, 1986	2.1	4.2	3.5

Source: World Bank, World Development Report 1988 and IMF, World Economic Outlook, 1989

Thirty-one (31) of the African countries are classified as "low income" and thirty (30) as "debt-ridden" (UN 1989a:10). Even though statistics abound on the economic and social meaning of this classification for the region's population of 553 million with a dependency-ratio of 93, youth unemployment of

about 75%, annual urban growth rate of 5.2%, literacy rate of 50%, infant mortality rate of 132 per thousand, life expectancy of 51, etc. (UN 1988:79-83; UNECA 1989b:4-7; and UNECA 1989b:30-34), it should suffice for our purposes there to quote from the latest summary-description of the dire economic and social condition of that population:

*Table 2: Developing Nations: 1980 Growth
(Average, annual percentage change in GDP per capita)*

Region	1980-1985	1986	1987
All developing nations	1.2	2.8	2.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	-3.6	-0.5	-5.1
East Asia	6.2	5.7	7.0
South Asia	3.1	2.4	0.5
Europe, Middle East, North Africa	0.6	2.0	1.1
Latin America, Caribbean	-2.0	1.6	0.4

Source: World Bank.

"... Having emerged from the decade of the 1980s with a sense of great loss, it has entered the decade of the 1990s with a lot of trepidation and scepticism. The 1980s were years of wasted effort and lost opportunities for Africa. In spite of all efforts in Africa's own backyard to faithfully implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and also of a number of initiatives at the international level, the outcome at the end of the day has been bleak in every sense of the word. Uninterrupted economic decline and falling standards of living of the African people have been the order of the day. As the rate of growth of the regional output fell, per capita income has continued to decline unabatedly, making Africa the only continent where such retrogression has taken place. Capital formation, export growth and earnings have equally declined; deficits in the balance of payments and inflation rates have accelerated while the debts and debts-servicing burdens have reached unmanageable levels.

The concomitant social and human impact has been truly devastating. The basic social services, such as health and education, have been rapidly deteriorating; per capita private consumption has fallen by one-fifth; unemployment has reached crisis proportions where over 13 million in the formal wage sector are unemployed and another 95 million are underemployed; real

wages declined; and poverty and malnourishment have been increasing (*Adedeji* 1991:1). With the undisputed relationship between crime and development, the criminogenic implications of the economic and social conditions just outlined should be obvious, especially for delinquency/youth crime, economic/organised crime and gravitation towards drug-related offences.

Secondly, as I categorically stated in another forum, the prevention and control measures, apparatus and processing in the African region today still bear the stamp of clear of the erst-while colonial administration: "... the criminal justice system in each of these countries is still essentially nineteenth century British, French or Portuguese; the colonially-inherited processing and sanctioning machinery has remained largely as it was ... "That is, criminalization of culturally accepted behavior; emphasis of individual rights/interests over collective ones; adversarial and criminal-centred system; formalization and technicalization of criminal justice administration and procedures; imprisonment and prisons as modal correctional tool; etc. (*Odekunle* 1990:1-2).

It is not to deny that there have been expedient and/or symbolic amendments here and there, then and now: new or "reform" provisions that are good to read on paper or encouraging to present at international meetings and conferences by governmental officials or law professors concerned more with symbols than with realities. Rather, it is to say that for the average citizen in the region, the day-to-day reality of prevention and control measures and their operations by the concerned agencies remains essentially as it has always been.³ In fact, the economic and social conditions briefly described earlier (as well as the political power or stance needed to contain actual and potential fall-outs from these conditions) have only exacerbated an inherent disposition to a "shoot-them-up" or "law-and-order" approach.⁴

Third, any pretences to the contrary notwithstanding, contributions from the African region must suffer some basic limitations or "disadvantages" relative to other participating regions in any international discussion of the problem of crime: the dearth of regularly collated and analysed (let alone published) crime and criminal justice data;⁵ the comparatively miniscule

3 This situation should be contrasted with that in some of the developed countries of North America or Europe where the criminal codes/justice systems have been subjected to comprehensive or meaningful overhauls in the last decade or two.

4 Unfortunately, the reports of Amnesty International covers only selected cases of celebrities and for offences that are "political" in nature.

5 During my initial priority-problem-identification "working visit" (as Director of *UNAFRI*) to a sample of African countries in all the sub-regions of the continent, officials were unable to meet my request for the latest published official crime/delin-

research efforts on the subject in the region; the virtual absence of research institutes and journals on the matter;⁶ the relative un-availability of published or unpublished research work, literature and related official documents;⁷ etc. While these limitations may explain whatever shortcomings of this particular contribution with respect to the African region, they do not detract from its substance or thrust. Furthermore, they should serve to indicate the probably differential interests, needs and emphasis of the region in the field of crime/delinquency/drug abuse prevention within the context of harmonized economic and social development.

With the foregoing introductory background and specification of limitations and using available research literature, official documents, and experiential observations, section III of this contribution outlines the extent of crime, delinquency and drug-related offences in the region; section IV briefly comments on the people's feelings about security; section V details operative old and new prevention efforts; and section VI concludes with two major recommendations for action by the countries of the African region in the field of prevention of crime, delinquency and drug-related offences with remarks on the role of the relevant international community and *UNAFRI* in the execution of such action.

quency/criminal justice statistics. In one country, I was informed that such publications were a "security-matter" that requires formal application and cumbersome processing before they could be supplied.

- 6 While the North American and European regions have, literally, hundred of criminological/crime prevention institutes and journals (in addition to regularly collected/collected/analysed/published statistics on national, sub-regional and regional basis), the African region with 51 countries can hardly boast of any. The fact that *UNAFRI* came into operational existence only in 1989/90 and is gasping against post-natal death because the African member states have failed to remit their assessed financial contributions are indicative of this problem. Some other UN regional institutes which have been in existence since 1961, 1968, 1975 cannot be said to be starved of funds.
- 7 There must be thousands of research write-ups/articles as well as Conferences/Seminar Reports on crime/delinquency/drug abuse and their prevention and control in the African region. For instance, in my University alone in Nigeria, I had supervised scores of small-scale dissertations/theses on the subject between 1975 and 1989; and during the same period, I participated in tens of conferences/seminars (mostly government-sponsored) on the subject. The problem of availability arises from lack of publication outlets as a consequence of which many write-ups remain unpublished and obscure (even at the national level) and a few are published in North American or European journals. Thus, to get at these write-ups and reports, one would have to undertake the impossible task of traversing the vast continent of 51 countries and "search" through the libraries of Universities and shelves of relevant government Ministries.

III. Extent of Crime, Delinquency and Drug-Related Offences

In spite of the unavailability of statistics⁸ at the national (let alone regional) level to back up any assertion, it is hereby submitted that both adult criminality and juvenile delinquency have steadily been on the increase in volume and seriousness. Furthermore, new forms and dimensions of criminality such as economic, organised and drug-related criminality have compounded the scene in the last decade.

The Seminar on planning for crime prevention and criminal justice in the context of development in the African region acknowledged the extent, forms and dimensions asserted above (*UNAFRI* 1987): with regard to delinquency, it stated that even though it is difficult to actually assess its scope, "the many offences committed by young people show that there is considerable juvenile delinquency" in the region, the "most frequent offences (being) theft, prostitution, vagrancy, begging, and the use of and dealing in drugs." The same view was expressed during the African Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UN 1989b) with respect to crime in general, and (in particular) economic/organised crime, drug-trafficking, and delinquency. On the latter, the Report stated the problem thus: "Youth crime was perceived as a particularly alarming phenomenon ... The high proportion of the population under 25 years of age made the phenomenon not only more visible but also critical."

Again, in terms of generalities, the information collected by *UNAFRI* on priority-problem-identification "working-visits" to a representative sample of African countries in 1990 appear to support this position with regard to increase, seriousness and new dimensions (see Table 3).

8 Even if the statistics were published and available for each of the 51 countries of the region, they cannot be accommodated in a contribution understandably limited to 10 pages. Besides, the consensus views or perceptions of the relevant parties concerned should be of importance.

Table 3: Priority Needs in some African Countries* in the Field of Crime Prevention and Control

Country	Stated Priority-Needs		
Egypt	Drug-Abuse	International Terrorism	Econ./Organised Crime
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice)</i>			
Ghana	Community-Corrections for Juvenile Offenders	Training of Middle Level of Police-men	Evaluation of Experimental Open Prison System
<i>(Focus: Policy Advice/Training/Research)</i>			
Libya	Evaluation of Innovative Approaches Being Implemented	Counter-Measures Against Infiltration of Crimogenic Values	Increasing Juvenile Delinquency
<i>(Focus: Evaluative Research/Associated Policy-Advice)</i>			
Malawi	Training of Personnel in Police, Community Service and Judiciary	Establishment of National Crime Prevention Board	Law Reform
<i>(Focus: Training/Policy-Advice)</i>			
Morocco	Transnational Econ/organised Crime	Drug Trafficking/ Use	Recidivism
<i>(Focus: Training/Research/Policy-Advice)</i>			
Nigeria	Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime	Fraud, Corruption, and Econ/Organised Crime	Drug-Trafficking
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice)</i>			
Sierra-Leone	Law Reform	Protection/Remedies for Victims of Crime	Non-Custodial Sanctions
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice/Training)</i>			

Country	Stated Priority-Needs		
Uganda	Banditry (in certain parts of the country)	Prison-congestion	Training of middle level police personnel
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice/Training)</i>			
Republic of Tanzania	Fraud Prevention and Detection	Prison-Congestion	Assessment of magnitude of problem Juvenile Delinquency
<i>(Focus: Policy Advice/Training/Research)</i>			
Zambia	Research for Law Reform/Development	Street and Elite Property Crimes	Drug-Abuse and Trafficking
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice/Training)</i>			
Zimbabwe	Development of Alternatives to Imprisonment	Rapid increase in property crimes (particularly economic and organised crimes)	Law Reform/Recodification
<i>(Focus: Policy-Advice/Training)</i>			

* This identification is limited to about 11 countries to which UNAFRI has paid "Working-Visits" to date.

Furthermore, indirect evidence in support of the submission here is that both prison admissions and convict populations have witnessed substantial increase in the region and the rate of prison-overcrowding ranges from about 30% to 200% (Odekunle 1990:3). And finally, indicative evidence stems from some research efforts and documentary sources. A recent and still-to-be published study on victimization in Africa states that "spectacular rises in robbery and burglary have been reported" and that there have been "rapid increases" in white-collar crime, especially corruption by public servants (Hatchard 1991:2-8).

With particular regard to drug-related offences, Walsh (1988:106-107) states that:

"Africa is a transit area, for example, that tends to figure with increasing frequency in reports of illicit drug seizures in Western Europe and North America. ... there must usually be an interim transit point such as Cairo, Nairobi, or Addis Abeba. ... Large quantities of cocaine, from South America are also being seized in Western Europe after having passed through West Africa. Nationals of West

African countries appear either to be used as couriers or to have become members of well-organised drug-trafficking groups. West African drug-traffickers recently arrested in Europe have been found in some cases to be addicts themselves, indicating that the spin-off effect notorious in transit states is occurring here (Africa) as well."⁹

Nigeria's data support *Walsh's* indication: in 1987, there were 2,396 "drug and narcotics offences" in the police records as against only 425 in 1968; and the arrest/conviction figure of Nigerians abroad for 1987 were 1,788/760 as against 1,261/282 in 1979 (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1990:30-31).

IV. Consequential Feeling of Insecurity

Writing on the problem of crime in Nigeria some years back, I had stated the problem of crime-generated feeling of insecurity thus:

"In addition to the material loss and personal distress caused by actual criminal victimization, the consequences of our crime-problem for the population are manifold. And most debilitating of these consequences is the population's unquantifiable but costly (material and mental) expenditure of resources on anxious fear of, and precautionary care against, potential criminal victimization ... fear and care that must arise out of feelings of insecurity and helplessness against criminals and out of a situation they must have considered and assessed as probably hopeless" (*Odekunle* 1985:1).¹⁰

This feeling of insecurity appears to apply to most of the urban areas of the African region. And it is manifested in various ways: un-African avoidance of strangers in need of help and unwillingness/reluctance to stop on the highways to assist other stranded motorists; self-engagement in iron-burglar-proofed dwellings in spite of need for escape in case of fire; self-imposed or government-ordered evening/night curfews; ubiquitous police check-points on highways; etc.

Of course, the feeling of insecurity ordinarily varies by type of community (rural or urban), by socio-economic characteristics and residential location, as

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- 9 The latter point here should be taken seriously by African states, contrary to their often-stated position that the problem of drug-related offences on the continent is mostly limited to alcohol, marijuana and illicit-trafficking.
 - 10 The feeling of insecurity is better described in prose than with figures or data. For instance, a middle-class professional was interviewed on Nigeria's national television about the un-usual packing and usage of his personal car: he stated that because of his fears of armed robbers/car-snatchers, he packs his car all nights and weekends at the secure premises of his work-place i.e. he uses the car only during office/working hours and takes public-transport to and from work!!!

well as by previous victimization experience(s). The findings of my study (Odekunle 1979) on this aspect in the supervision, are not dissimilar to those of the recent study by *van Dijk et al.*, in Europe and North America (1990:77-80).

As for the role of the mass-media in the matter, I am not aware of any African study or literature on the relationship between criminality/delinquency/generation of feeling of insecurity and mass media.¹¹ Thus, one has to rely for now on expressed opinions and speculations. There are those who believe that infiltration of Western values through "pornographic" magazines/literature and violence-studded movies and home-video cassettes contributes to the criminality, particularly among youth, an opinion strongly held by authorities in moslem-dominated countries and communities in the region. On the other hand, a minority of adherents of various kinds of "freedoms" do not share this position, perhaps out of a general or basic fundamental abhorrence of any kind of censorship. While I am not in a position to speculate either way, I have reason to suspect that the mass-media in the region positively contribute to fear of crime, feelings of insecurity and (therefore) precautionary care against victimization.¹²

V. Prevention of Crime, Delinquency, and Drug Abuse (Including Community Mobilization)

For each of the governments of the region, the enjoyment of public confidence depends in part on some apparent effectiveness in controlling the problem of crime, increasing the population's feeling of security, and providing an environment conducive to the attraction of much-sought foreign investments. Most government and community responses have been "conventional": brainstorming conferences, training seminars and workshops; law reform commissions; new statutes with reform provisions and/or stiffer penalties; more law-enforcement and criminal justice personnel; more modern enforcement material and prison structures; encouragement of, or a "blind-eye" approach

11 As indicated in note 7 above, this does not mean that such literature do not exist.

12 One may even argue that the media contributes, however indirectly any minimally, to the prevention and control of certain categories of criminality e.g. the publication of the pictures and names of arrested and convicted drug-traffickers (in and outside of Nigeria) in dailies and magazines in the country appears to be having some productive effect, especially with erstwhile public perceptions of the "newly-rich" and their associated consumption-symbols.

to, mob justice by self-appointed crime-prevention/control vigilante with mob and immediate justice on suspected offenders; forced repatriation of delinquents back to rural-origins; bi-lateral extradition and cooperation treaties, conventions or protocols; and the like of these.

Still, certain responses deserve particular attention either because of their extremity and implied desperation or because of their indication of fresh thinking or disposition in the right direction. A good example of a response which manifests extremity was the "declaration of war" against criminals by the Nigerian government between 1984 and 1985 through a set of Decrees that were considered draconian in their penal provisions by some but were initially accepted by the crime-beleaguered majority as necessary: Decree No.20 of 1984 which provided "death by firing squad" for a variety of offences is exemplary of that response (see Appendix).¹³ There is no doubt that similar measures are not uncommon in many other African countries. Some of the conventional responses have been accompanied with others which indicate fresh thinking. First, there are those in the category of prevention-response through socio-economic strategies and programmes. In Nigeria, certain enduring nation-wide structures have been established and are functioning with varying degrees of success, e.g. octopus agencies such as the compulsory National Youth Service Corps which guarantees immediate one-year post-graduate "employment" for graduates of post-secondary institutions among other probable crime-prevention/control benefits; the Directorate for Mass Mobilization (MAMSER) which is a propaganda machine against menaces such as indiscipline, corruption or accommodation of injustices; the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI) for the provision of amenities to rural areas, hopefully to reduce rural-urban migration; and the National Directorate for Employment (NDE) to encourage and provide financial and technical assistance to young graduates with entrepreneurial abilities to set-up themselves in private enterprises instead of looking-up to government for employment.

Tanzania concentrates development activities in rural areas to stem the tide of rural-urban migration by youths with the aim of reducing the incidence of delinquency. In Egypt, the Ministry of Social Affairs operates a "Productive Families Project" centralized in the Ministry but decentralized downwards in cooperation with the private sector to enable the viability of poor families and

13 Since the change of Administration in the last quarter of 1985, extreme provisions of the Decree have been amended. More importantly, the Government has embarked on more conventional reformist efforts.

promote their capacity to provide for their youth: by mid-1990, 222,000 families were benefitting from the Project and another one million families were on the waiting-list.¹⁴

A final example of this category of prevention responses is Uganda's hierarchical "National Resistance Movement" structure which starts from the grassroots village/parish/sub-county levels, through the district level, to the national (parliament) level. With the ideal base of about 300 households, these councils and their "executive" Committees are virtually all-purpose bodies with respect to their communities/areas of jurisdiction and with respect to two-way vertical communication between the people and the national administration. Definitely, the community-mobilisation effect of this arrangement should have some advantageous by-products for crime prevention and control as evidenced by the increasingly improving security-situation in the country after many years of destructive civil war.

The second category of these response-types relates directly to specific aspects of the crime-problem. In addition to its inherently less-crimogenic economic and social organisation, and its determination to prevent any tide of the infiltration of allegedly-crimogenic Western values, Libya operates a system of People's Committee and People's Court which should be contributing to positive community-mobilization for crime prevention and control. Ghana has started experimentation with Open Prisons and Prison Farms to reduce the nagging problem of prison-congestion. Tanzania has introduced "Case-Floor Management Committees" composed of police and court personnel to reduce prison-congestion by reducing the number of custody-remanded suspects. Nigeria has established a Drug Law Enforcement Agency under the supervision of the Federal Ministry of Justice to cope better with the problem of drug-trafficking, use and abuse, and its performance in its short-span of life has been credit-worthy.¹⁵

The grassroots base of Uganda's National Resistance Movement" (i.e. Village, Parish and Sub-County Resistance Councils and Committees) has statutory justice-administration and enforcement-of-sanction responsibilities not only to deal with civil disputes but with "petty" crimes as well (e.g. assault and/or battery, conversion and/or damage to property, criminal trespassing,

14 Report and figures given to me verbally by the Egyptian Minister of Social Affairs during my "working-visit" to that country in early July 1990.

15 This is notwithstanding the recent removal of the Agency's Executive Chairman amidst scandal that he had received bribe from an elite lady-trafficker. And in any case, he was a retired high-ranking police officer before the appointment.

and defilement or interference with girls under the age of 18), thereby reducing the pressure on the police/courts/prisons and mobilizing the communities for prevention of crime and delinquency.

On the whole, it can be said that while prevention-response from both the governments and the community in the African region has been largely conventional, indications of new thinking, disposition, and directions should be considered encouraging and rendered assistance by the relevant international community.

VI. Recommendations for Action in the African Region

To my mind, for the African region, the place to end this contribution is the place where it started. Consequently, the first major recommendation for action by the governments of the region is the urgent and tenacious pursuit of harmonized and balanced economic and social development to minimize the presently continuing crimogenic conditions. This is pre-requisitive and it has been repeatedly stated at many national and international fora with appreciation by highly-placed governmental officials, including erst-while adherents of the "economistic" view of development (e.g. UNECA 1989c:32-53). Most important, this responsibility for action, to repeat, lies with the government and leadership of these countries themselves, not with any international agency or organization.

The second major recommendation is the overdue need to make deliberate and concerted efforts towards a fundamental change in the principles and policies that inform and underpin the continued inherited criminal codes, procedures and systems. This would be a more productive and promising exercise compared to the present penchant for piecemeal "token" amendments here and there (or ill-considered provisions in response to episodic events) as some of such amendments and provisions have been subsequently shown to be substantively and/or procedurally out of context with the operative criminal justice system. And this position appears to be supported by the findings shown on Table 3: consistently, "Policy Advice" emerged as the focus of priority needs on the subject in the region.

At different times and places, I have suggested a "non-sacrosant" framework for such an exercise (*Odekunle* 1985:20-30; 1990:5-8):

- i) Perception of crime and its prevention and control in the appropriate and broader context instead of the present narrow legalistic sense;

- ii) Some dosage of "socialization" of the substantive criminal, penal and procedural laws to bring these in line with enduring and acceptable socio-cultural heritage/values/norms of the citizens and minimize the presently-observable social distance and cognitive dissonance between the orientation and emphasis of the criminal justice system and the mentality and perception of a majority of the peoples (e.g. decriminalization/criminalization as appropriate; re-weighting of penal sanctions on the basis of a cost-and-benefit approach; de-technicalization of procedures for justice-administration for a variety of non-serious offences; victim-centredness in line with the region's traditions; democratization of justice administration for a variety of non-serious offences to institutionalize community-participation; non-custodialization at both the pre-trial and pre-sentence stages for non-serious offenders, etc.);
- iii) Establishment of specialized law-enforcement and justice-administration bodies for specifically problematic criminal subgroups e.g. economic/organised criminals, illicit drug-traffickers;
- iv) Attitudinal and behavioural re-orientation and structural reorganisation of policing and law-enforcement away from presently observable "law-and-order" mentality/approach and from the authority-structure (docile obeisance to the "government of-day") inherited from the colonial administrations;
- v) Reductions in the use of prisons as the routine and modal correctional tool;
- vi) Substantial, if not total, divestment of the formal criminal justice system (in whatever "welfarist" form) from juvenile cases; and
- vii) Establishment of National Commissions or Boards for Crime Prevention and Control (with Institutes for research, training and policy-advice) to assist coordination of the prevention and control objectives and strategies of the various responsible conventional instrumentalities (law-makers, police, courts, correctional institutions) and other interested non-governmental and community organisations.

Again, the responsibility (particularly, the initiative and the will) for action with respect to such an exercise lies with the governments and relevant leaderships of these countries themselves, not with any international agency or organisation. However, this is not to say that many of the countries would not require some funding and/or technical assistance from such agencies/organisations and governments of developed countries.

The role of *UNAFRI* vitally inheres in the latter category of recommendations. By its statutory mandate, its existence as the outreach (in the African region) of the United Nations crime prevention and criminal justice programme, and by its stated advisory/training/research objectives, the Institute has the responsibility to assist the countries of the region in such and related exercises. And having designed various training and research activities for execution in the region, the Institute is more than ready, subject to availability of funds, to fulfil its mandate and achieve the state objectives.

For *UNAFRI* to perform the role expected of it however, the Institute must be "enabled" with the required financial support: first, from the governments of the African countries who sought its establishment in the first place (and "own" it) by paying their assessed financial contributions without which the core-staff and other recurrent operations cannot be maintained; second, from governments of industrialized/developed countries (and/or the international donor agencies which they control) in support of execution of the Institute's planned advisory/training/research activities for the region. For instance, activities approved, conceptualized and designed for execution in 1990 had to be re-scheduled for execution in 1991 mainly due to lack of promised funds; and as things stand, they may have to be re-scheduled for execution in 1992 for the same reason, e.g. the much-needed "First Survey of Crime, Criminal Victimization and Criminal Justice in Africa"; the "Training Seminar for the Prevention and Treatment of Delinquency in the Context of Development" and the Crime Prevention and Control Information Network for the African Region".

Appendix

Offences and Penal Provisions of Decree No.20 (Special Tribunal "Miscellaneous Offences") 1984

Offence	Penalty
1. Arson against public building etc.	Death by Firing Squad
2. Damage to public property (e.g. electric cables)	Death by Firing Squad
3. Tampering with oil pipelines	Death by Firing Squad
4. Tampering with telephone wires	Death by Firing Squad
5. Unlawful exportation of minerals	Death by Firing Squad and forfeiture of minerals and motor vehicle/vessel
6. Destruction of highways	Mandatory 5 years imprisonment
7. Tampering with posted matters	Mandatory 21 years imprison- ment
8. Forging & altering negotiable instruments	Mandatory 21 years
9. Unlawful exportation of food- stuffs	Mandatory 10 years and forfei- ture of vehicle and commodity
10. Selling prohibited goods	Mandatory 5 years imprisonment
11. Dealing in cocaine	Death by Firing Squad
12. Cheating in examination	Mandatory 21 years imprison- ment
13. Unlawful dealing in crude oil, pretroleum or petroleum products	Death by Firing Squad and for- feiture of motor vehicle/vessels and mineral oil concerned
14. Being accomplice in the com- mission of the offence [and if any of the offences is committed by a body corporate]	Penalty as for the principal offender
	Winding up and forfeiture of all assets to the F.M.G.

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The State of Knowledge in France

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In autumn 1990, the events in the Lyon's suburb of Vaulx-en-Velin, in which some demonstrations by high school students spilled over into violence, drew attention to French policy on prevention of crime and delinquency. A need was felt to assess the current policy, to evaluate its effectiveness, and to tighten measures. Very quickly, a Minister of State for Cities was named to coordinate the task nationally, while the State's local representatives (prefects) were reminded of their duties in this area.

Then military operations in the Gulf called public attention to more urgent issues, but our subject matter was not entirely laid aside: in fact, there were fears that confrontations might break out between various ethnic or religious minorities; it was a great relief to see these apprehensions recede thanks to the extreme vigilance of the authorities and the restraint of the parties involved.

Now the time has come to come back to last autumn's concerns: the urgency has been recalled by new incidents, this time in a Paris suburb, in reprisal for the death of another youth caused by an act of a private security guard. Furthermore, the new measures implemented by the authorities are being enforced: the subprefects, who are the local State officials, have been assigned a mission of coordination in thirteen sensitive areas. Parliament is debating a bill intended to establish equalization of revenue between rich and poor cities. Lastly, Paris will be the host city in November 1991 for the Second International Conference on Urban Safety, Drugs and Crime Prevention.

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In the 1960s, French crime prevention policy was mainly characterized by the establishment of specific programmes for preventing particular types of crime: one notable example was the CEP programme (clubs et équipes de prévention, i.e., prevention clubs and teams), set up to work with youth street gangs.

This tried and true formula proved remarkably adaptable to changes of context. Starting in the mid-1970s, however, it began to appear that this isolated approach was not enough; it needed to be supported by a general crime prevention policy. The atmosphere in the cities had become much tougher: endemic unemployment, linked to a series of recessions, made it hard for young people, especially those who lacked education or job qualifications, to find jobs and develop stable situations. Conditions also made it difficult to integrate migrants, even though French society has traditionally succeeded rather well in this respect. A further aggravating factor was very intense land speculation which quickly blocked the urban insertion of whole populations and relegated them to more or less neglected suburbs.

Consequently, the rate of property-related crimes, thefts and burglaries, which had been on the rise constantly since the late 1950s, became increasingly unendurable; the fact that very few of these crimes were ever solved clearly showed that the police were powerless, and probably had other priorities. The insecurity felt by many segments of the population became crystallized into fear of crime and public concern about criminality. Prodded by continual accusations of permissiveness, judges at that time began compensating for the low crime-solving rate by prolonging the duration of prison sentences. This policy, however, proved to have only a limited dissuasive effect; for this type of petty crime, the likelihood of being arrested is probably much more dissuasive than the severity of the penalty. At the very least, if arrest seems unlikely, then punishment is a vain threat. In the face of this deadlock, it became necessary to rethink the whole policy of crime prevention. The need was first expressed by the *Comité d'étude sur la violence, la criminalité et la délinquance* (Commission on Violence, Crime and Delinquency), which met in 1976-1977 under the chairmanship of *Alain Peyrefitte*. Thus, an initial network of national and local crime prevention commissions was set up. This first attempt, however, did not yield much in the way of immediate results: from 1978, the government seemed to have changed policies and lost interest in crime prevention. Furthermore, the local authority level chosen, the "département", was perhaps not the most appropriate one for mustering the requisite local energies. It took the disturbances that broke out in the summer of 1981, in the Lyon's suburb of Les Minguettes, to call to the attention of the authorities that there was a pressing need for renewed policies.

It therefore fell to a *Commission des maires* (Committee of Mayors), chaired by *Gilbert Bonnemaïson*, to get things going once again in the early 1980s. The intention of balancing specialized actions with a general social and crime prevention policy was underscored by the fact that the framework had been enlarged: simultaneously, two other measures were being implemented. One (*Schwartz*) was a job-finding scheme for deprived youth; the other (*Dubedout*) was a programme to renovate decayed neighbourhoods.

The leading feature of the new policy was the involvement of local political authorities - mayors of large and medium-sized cities - into an area previously characterized by State-sponsored collaboration with private non-profit associations. Hence the now-predominant clout of municipal commissions. The decentralization laws passed in France at the time have no doubt contributed to this trend; they have also sometimes complicated it. The "département", the local government level that has gained the most from decentralization, especially in matters of social policy, is not always the most appropriate framework for piloting crime prevention programmes.

The second main characteristic of the new policy was the amount of energy deployed to encourage local coordination between the various State agencies. The results seem to have varied greatly depending on the agencies involved; not only have they shown varying degrees of commitment, but some have depended for the most part on individual actions, a precarious state of things at best. In fact, much has hinged on the mayors' ability to serve as local catalysts, which in turn has depended on their political power and influence. Problems have also sometimes arisen about delimiting jurisdictions: although the best framework for crime prevention programmes might be the neighbourhood, the city, or the greater city area, the reference framework used by the State's local representatives has often been the "département". Lastly, the major State agencies have gradually committed themselves to modernizing their own services; crime prevention activities can only benefit from this, although modernization must not be allowed to become merely a facade or showpiece.

The third and final main characteristic was a deliberate intention to rebalance it by supporting it with a general prevention policy, which was missing in the previous decade. Over time, this generalization trend has become more pronounced.

During the so-called "cohabitation" period of government (1986-1988), the policy was maintained, but because of changes in the officials responsible for it, it got somewhat bogged down. After 1988 and a period of reflection, it was decided to give it a broader scope, merging the State agencies for urban crime prevention and social development programmes into a single Délégation

tion interministérielle à la ville (Interministerial Agency for Cities), without, however, either reducing the number of local players, or affecting other government agencies concerned with drugs, job schemes for youth, integration of migrants, or renovation of decayed suburbs. The recent creation of the post of *Ministre de la Ville* (Minister of State for Cities), held by *Michel Delebarre*, should probably reinforce this trend.

These recent changes seem to respond primarily to the authorities' desire to tighten up measures, to restimulate energies, to reinforce synergies - in a word, to enter a new phase. They may also be interpreted as reflecting a concern for broadening the margin for manoeuvre in crime prevention policy. Last autumn, and again recently, the narrow restraints were almost palpable.

With unemployment only slightly declining when the economy recovers, but consistently rising every time there is a dip in the economy, it would be unwise to let successful completion of secondary school be young people's only hope of getting their first job. The whole school system is heavily bloated by vastly increased enrolment, and it therefore operates too much through selectivity and the rejection of problem cases. The schools alone cannot meet such a challenge. It would probably be better to favour a variety of training paths providing entry into the world of work.

The problem of relegating the poor to urban neighbourhoods and suburbs is further entrenched by the pressure of real estate costs, as solidarity ends, at best, at the city limits. A bill proposes to alleviate this problem by providing more equal distribution of revenue between rich and poor cities.

Lastly, these two major rigid structural problems are particularly harsh on migrants. Moreover, the situation should not be allowed to become complicated by mirages of foreign "communitarization" of French society. France has a long tradition of successfully integrating immigrants. There is no possible reason that would justify abandoning it.

Even supposing that we could manage to set aside these situational (and perhaps structural) constraints to some extent, another problem still remains that must be solved in coming years, which is the opposite of that encountered in the previous decade: then, specific crime prevention programmes lacked the support of a general policy, whereas now, there is a risk of losing the focus on specific crime prevention actions. A few decades ago, other countries provided examples of large-scale urban crime prevention schemes that failed because they were too general and not specialized enough.

Their impact boiled down to creaming off the local elite. Any crime prevention policy must seek a balance between the general and the specific.

We have put the emphasis on a general policy, we now must not lose sight of specific crime prevention actions.

In other words, how can we avoid having crime prevention programmes and budgets become a catch-all source of State financing for any social or cultural programme? A recent study (*Lazerges et al.* 1991), examining a sample of crime prevention contracts signed between the State and the cities, brings to light certain worrying indicators: a great majority of programmes had little or no specified target; there was lax or merely formal compliance with the objectives of crime prevention; there was a certain stagnation of initiatives between 1987 and 1989. Likewise, a summary overview of the OPE programme (*opération prévention été*) for crime prevention during summer holidays (*Dubouchet* 1990) hesitates to draw any conclusion about whether the programme still contains any specific crime prevention actions, or merely organizes general social activities.

Having rapidly summarized the context, we can now look at specific areas of knowledge. We shall deal first with information tools, then with the ability to evaluate policy.

I. Information Tools

To avoid losing sight of specific crime prevention actions, national and local players must be provided with a good range of specific information tools. As police authorities themselves rightly point out, a crime prevention policy cannot be managed solely on the basis of police statistics or court and prison records. An isolated statistic is meaningless; only by comparing sources can we obtain reliable data. Moreover, data must be available from other sources than government files. Hence the importance of local studies on victimization, which provide information about people's expectations. Hence also the weight of field research.

1. Criminal Justice Statistics

Among all the statistics produced by the various branches of the criminal justice system to evaluate their own activities, the most frequently used are those of the police and the prison authorities. Police statistics are recent, and although long marred by doubtful initial choices, they have greatly improved in recent years. Prison statistics have the advantage of long continuity, which allows observations of long-term trends, even though there seems to be a lag in the addition of new statistics on prison populations and prisoner's dates of intake and release. As for the judicial system, it currently produces only

limited statistics on the initial phases of criminal legal procedure, and is mostly concerned with merely counting the number of convictions. On this last point, a statistical model finally seems to have been stabilized after a long period of chaos, which had led to great discontinuity in statistical series.

In varying degrees, all available criminal justice statistics present three major disadvantages. First, data managers rarely seem concerned about maintaining any continuity of series, thus making it more difficult to discover underlying trends and patterns. In reality, these records, greatly influenced by legal and administrative formalism, do not make much of an attempt to provide comprehensive information about the populations in question. This gives them a rather abstract character: nothing on plaintiffs, little concrete information on suspects or convicted defendants, especially about their social and professional status; as can well be imagined, these statistics are not much help in targeting specific crime prevention policies. Lastly, the geographical breakdown of these statistics is often difficult to correlate with the territorial zoning of crime prevention actions.

But what is mainly missing is a centralized location and a synthetic analysis procedure for dealing with statistics from different sources. Much more could be gained from them if they could be compared, and especially, if terms of comparison were introduced, either from other government statistical sources (e.g. tax records, customs ...), from other types of large-scale non-criminal surveys (demographic studies), or from studies on victimization, fear of crime, self-reported crimes, or field surveys. Taking each criminal statistic out of isolation and comparing it with other sources would also retroactively help identify useful improvements.

2. *Studies on Victimization*

In the field of crime research, the primary equivalent of a study on the "general population" would be investigations of self-reported crimes. However, because of the major limitations of this technique, it is used mainly with regard to juvenile delinquency. Instead, another similar approach is used, the study of victimization: this covers a very specific part of the field, namely, crimes with a direct individual victim.

In France, this survey technique has come into use rather lately, only in the 1980s. It is investigations comprising three phases: a qualitative survey carried out through retrospective interviews, a summary survey of a national sample of 11,000 victims, and an in-depth survey of 1,000 victims selected from the previous phase.

Drawing lessons from surveys abroad, French studies of victimization have especially focused on investigations of victim behaviour, expectations, and attitudes.

Interest is mainly concentrated on local or urban studies. An experiment feasibility study was carried out in two field sites at the request of the Délégation Interministérielle à la Ville. It remains to be seen whether this technique can be promoted for standardized usage and effectively managed and maintained. This will be an important challenge for the new Ministry of State for Cities, to enrich and diversify the data available to local players in this field.

3. *Feelings of Insecurity*

In France, this type of research has been developed mainly by political scientists and researchers on local life. Initially, it emerged spontaneously without its promoters having much knowledge of the vast body of foreign literature on fear of crime. Gradually, a solid body of research has developed in France, strengthened by original analytical work.

The first priority at present is probably to standardize the survey instruments sufficiently to facilitate comparison and to avoid duplicating or ignoring previous research. This priority presupposes a good dissemination of the best research, and the possibility of comparing initiatives.

4. *Migrants and Migration*

Here, we have good syntheses of historical data, enabling us to assess the place and the role of migration in French history. In addition to various statistics on migrant populations, a now significant number of recent studies are concerned with the multi-ethnic character of French society, with youth integration policies, with migrants arraigned before juvenile justice and involved with social work, and with the proportion of foreigners in the various criminal statistics.

On this topic, which is currently very sensitive and controversial in France, we are finally beginning to emerge from vagueness and contradictions, and to work on obtaining clear data.

5. *Youth Street Gangs and Forms of Juvenile Socialization*

Let us take time here to not a problem frequently encountered in the research fields relevant to crime prevention: in thirty years, a significant number of studies have been produced in France on youth street gangs, but the total

results remain widely dispersed. With each new era, everyone rushed to conclude that the "real" gangs, those of yesteryear, no longer existed, and that it was necessary to start over from scratch. By thus confusing the forms, which are indeed very changeable, with the substance of the social phenomenon, we risk having to improvise when the problem abruptly surfaces again, as is currently the case today.

6. *Drugs and Drug Addiction*

The "abolitionist" debate has not gained much ground in France, at least so far (however, see, for example, *Caballero* 1989). It should also be noted that France has a drug therapy system that is well equipped but very scattered and uncoordinated.

A certain number of epidemiological studies already exist, mainly in school or military environments. A noteworthy recent audit (*Padieu* 1990) proposes consolidating this data by creating a centralized repository ("observatoire") for these statistics, which could also contain surveys on the general population. In addition, such an institution could make use of the two other types of existing statistical data: first, surveys of treatment facilities; second, research using criminal records (essentially police and prison statistics) on the application of penalties for drug users or dealers.

This audit also enabled making an assessment of usable existing knowledge. It rightly insists on the need for researchers to be more energetic about standardizing the vocabulary in this field, in which differing interpretations of terminology are rampant. Insufficient distinction is made between different types of drugs, different effects - physical, psychological, social - and finally, different legal norms and grounds for incrimination. Consequently, the cumulative effect of the results is rather meager in relation to the amount of work that has been done.

From various studies about the way drugs are perceived socially, there appears to be a high degree of public concern, combined with a great scarcity of experience (*Percheron et al.* 1990): people have only abstract knowledge, but very determined opinions. Other studies on preference of penalties (*Ocqueteau, Perez Diaz* 1989) emphasise the contrast: a strong demand for punitive measures against dealers, especially in heroin, a less clearcut desire for punishing hashish dealers, and greater tolerance for drug users, with an opinion that they should be treated by private benevolent groups, education and therapy, rather than by punitive measures.

Most of the studies concern the psychological and psychiatric effects of drug addiction. Here the dominant theme is clinical etiology (pathological

states, personality disturbances, troubled family life and personal history), added to social and economic factors (housing, unemployment) or even environmental factors (the subject's relations with his or her surroundings). Generally, these studies are monographs on small populations of highly dependent drug users who are in the hands of justice or are undergoing therapy. The heterogeneity of the studies reflects that of the institutions involved. Under these conditions, any extrapolation from the conclusions would be foolhardy. The aforementioned audit emphasises the weakness of most of these studies with regard to their evaluation capacities.

Little research has been carried out using criminal statistics. There are a few old studies about the way the Act of 1970 has been applied by prosecutors. Some new research is under way, however, on legislative sociology and on drug-related criminal behaviour.

In short, the first facet shows the need for coordinating information tools and sources. Some statistical documentation repositories ("observatoires") exist or are under consideration to deal with migration and drug addiction. However, a gap still remains in the field of crime research: France has no centralized crime data repository. One of the priorities of the new Minister of State for Cities could be to set up a system of national and local documentation centres on crime. Such an institution could coordinate comparative analysis of the various statistics available, encourage standardized studies on victimization and insecurity, and compare the results of such research with existing statistical data and surveys. It should also be able to take advantage of the possibilities for comparison across Europe, using such sources as the criminal statistics compiled by the Council of Europe, or the "Intervilles" study carried out by the Pompidou group. It could use the now classic formula: one collegial body of partners producing data, another close-knit body of scientists, and a documentation centre.

Such an initiative would make it possible to implement the recommendation of the seminar organized in autumn 1990 by the city of Barcelona and the European Forum of Local Authorities for Urban Safety: to enable national and local players to compare multiple sources, including government statistics, major studies, and field research. It could thus flesh out the initial sketch for the creation of a model master plan for diagnosing local urban safety (*Estebe et al.* 1990).

II. Evaluation Abilities

Generally, even beyond the subject matter that concerns us here, evaluating public policy is a matter of great concern in France today, but it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between evaluative research - which has its own rules - and an internal or external audit. Moreover, the recent outburst of new crime prevention measures has had the effect of launching a major wave of research. Few current studies have evaluation as their explicit goal. We must rapidly examine what actual contribution they make towards this effort.

Broadly speaking, crime prevention measures can be aimed either at potential victims, to help them make themselves and their property less vulnerable, or at potential perpetrators, to dissuade them. The first type is easier to design; it is also the more likely to get lost in a profusion of actions whose impact remains hypothetical. The question of evaluation is particularly important here. The second type can originate with the police, the courts and allied sources. In this case, it is a matter of dissuasion in the strict sense. Anything would be valuable that would finally help increase the crime-solving rate for crimes reported by private citizens; so would anything that would reduce the profitability of petty property crime, e.g., actions against networks involved in receiving stolen goods ("fences"). Nevertheless, getting people to accept norms of social behaviour has a more long-lasting dissuasive effect than threats of punishment. Here is where the most specific type of prevention intervenes, that which seeks to influence informal norms, for example through actions directed as closely as possible towards groups of young people.

The available research on crime prevention is generally aware of the significant uncertainty that reigns in this field: the difficulty of clearly defining the subject matter. It is made all the more evident by the sudden broadening of the framework for crime prevention in the 1980s with the flood of new programmes on cities, the habitat, housing, employment, job training, school dropouts, drug addiction, recreation, etc., which all claim to have a preventive aim but often are not very specialized. For practical purposes, current research grants the label of crime prevention to any programme claiming to have this goal.

There is little nation-wide research. More typically, monographs examine one or several local fields, although some studies have borne on national initiatives for preventive measures and their integration into the central branches of State structures. However, most investigation has covered the place and the role of municipal authorities, the relations between the State and local authorities, the division of fields of competence between various institutions, and the redefinition of professional roles following the emergence of

new players. In short, these studies have mainly described crime prevention measures, especially local ones, and have discussed the restructuring effects resulting therefrom. We also find some studies on local participation in actions for the prevention of recidivism (e.g., community service order).

The whole forms a rather homogeneous body of research in terms of purposes and methods (participant or more distant observation, interviews, government statements, reports, legislation). Most observers generally agree on the following conclusions:

- There exists no single model for crime prevention. Instead, there is a wide variety of practices, sometimes contradictory, which depend heavily on local configurations. One study in particular (Roché 1990) underscores the fact that as people's social relations now reach beyond their local area, difficulties arise in defining territorial zones when targeting public policy (e.g., neighbourhood social redevelopment and renovation).
- New crime prevention policies have favoured a certain breakdown of barriers between various partners concerning practices and programme development.
- Consequently, new dimensions (health, housing, school dropouts) have had to be taken into consideration, while the distinction between the opposing concepts of prevention and repression has become blurred, with the risk of widening the net.
- Widely publicized in the media, the new policies are thought to have had a symbolic effect: perhaps they will contribute towards reducing public feelings of insecurity.
- A new profile of the social worker has appeared (although this is still a minority view): a manager capable of launching a "job" or setting up special projects, finding financing for them, implementing them, publicizing them, and effectively dealing with local stakes.
- Lastly, the target populations do not appear as willing to muster. The notion of "community prevention" is sometimes wrongly used to designate any programme involving multiple partners or aimed at overall social action. Strictly speaking, there has been little development of the concept of having social problems managed by the social group that produces them without any outside intervention beyond the initial help of some experts. The nearest approach to this is still "specialized prevention", but there are not yet many specific appraisals of the aforementioned CEP programme of street work that is supposed to be aimed at this goal. However, one study currently under way is providing a detailed description of a programme led

by "problem youths" for the benefit of their peers, using a crime prevention club as a basis. The success of this type of operation seems to depend essentially on the choice of pilots: it requires young adults who are recognized both by their peers and by the local authorities. But this "leadership" strategy always seems to be threatened either by the professionalization of these "pilots", or by the budding leaders' commitment to a process that ensures their own personal advancement but cuts them off from their base. In any case, we need to develop a more systematic way to evaluate the current practices of the CEP crime prevention street work.

In addition, certain points remain controversial:

- Some authors think that new local territorial assignments have made social workers and their structures subject to municipal authorities. Others believe, on the contrary, that the multiplicity of partners fosters the creation of horizontal networks that are difficult to control. The truth may be that there is not one right answer, that great variation exists in concrete situations.
- Likewise, some researchers believe that the multiplicity of measures allows any organization, even inefficient, to find one or more sources of public funds to finance it; others think, on the contrary, that coordination has had the effect of achieving a more rational use of resources.
- Some experts think that the openness to new measures has forced each promoter to justify his or her choices and priorities in order to win out in the competition for funds. But others observe that the need for at least apparent consensus leads to concealment of the points of disagreement.
- It has also been stated that the traditional professional identity of social workers has been called into question by the arrival on the scene of more pragmatic players and by the pressure to deal immediately with problems by creating special projects like the OPE programme for crime prevention during summer holidays. But other studies reach the opposite conclusion: hindered by the episodic and widely publicized nature of these operations, confirmed professionals prefer to cling firmly to their traditional professional identities and resist new orientations that would bring in volunteers or poorly-trained professionals.

In short, this body of research measures the effects of new programmes on conflicting competencies, political strategies, instrumental capacities, and more broadly, on institutional restructuring and reorganization in the field of crime prevention. In contrast, research is rather scanty on the impact on targeted populations. A small minority current, however, attaches importance

to measuring the development over time of people who have been taken into custody or undergone therapy. Here it runs into the classic limitations of clinical actions; in particular, it remains powerless to evaluate actions without a well-defined target.

In all, the available literature only partially responds to the concern for evaluating crime prevention policies. There are probably several reasons for this:

- First, it is frequently difficult to detect clearly stated goals free of any internal contradiction, or at least, goals sufficiently precise to enable an evaluation thereof.
- Next, the target populations are frequently poorly defined, and a high proportion of programmes are aimed at the public as a whole, or at least the entire population within a certain boundary.

In other words, it is very difficult to construct any rigorous method of evaluating crime prevention policies that are overly general and non-specific.

In addition, researchers in this field are not necessarily very motivated towards goals of evaluation as such. Evaluation of crime prevention policy rests on a large body of research generally done abroad; there is no certainty that this literature has become well known and widespread in France. Moreover, the development of studies strictly aimed at evaluation may be hindered by the relative confusion that often exists among officials between evaluative research must be given greater priority in future; this will call for converging efforts among authorities as well as researchers.

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The State of Knowledge in Poland

*Irena Rzeplinska**

I. Recidivism

The Polish penal code (Act of April 19, 1969) provides for a special penal reaction towards recidivists. The code specifies two categories of recidivism: general (Art.52) and special (Art.60 and the following contained in Chapter VIII of the code). General recidivism involves a previous conviction for an intentional offence (though not necessarily related to the succeeding one), or a similar unintentional offence. The court is obliged to take general recidivism into account as a circumstance conducive to aggravation of penalty: a less severe penalty can only be imposed in exceptional cases.

The code divides special recidivism into basic and multiple one. Special recidivism involves the following circumstances: 1) perpetration of an intentional offence similar to the previously committed one; 2) a prison term of at least 6 months served for that offence; 3) perpetration of another offence within 5 years after the prison term. Multiple special recidivism consists in: 1) conviction for the fourth time, including two convictions under basic special recidivism; 2) repeated perpetration of an intentional offence for material profit or a hooligan offence, similar to at least one of the previously committed offences; 3) confinement to prison for at least one year in the aggregate; 4) perpetration of another offence within 5 years after the last prison term.

The principles of increased criminal responsibility concern misdemeanors only. In cases of crime, the court treats the perpetration of a crime under Art.60 section 1 or 2 of the penal code as an aggravating circumstance conducive to aggravation of penalty.

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The principles of sentencing recidivists under Art.60 section 1 (basic special recidivism) and section 2 (multiple special recidivism) resolve themselves into a raise in the minimum and maximum statutory penalty for a given kind of offence. Section 1 of the discussed provision raises the lower statutory limit twice, and the upper one - by half. Section 2 provides for even more severe penalties: the minimum sentence amounts to three times the lower statutory limit but not less than two years, and the maximum one is the upper statutory limit increased by half; in the case of acts for which the maximum statutory penalty is up to 3 years, it is raised to 5 years imprisonment. In no case, however, may the actual sentence exceed 15 years imprisonment. The gradation of aggravated sentences contained in Art.60 of the penal Code is inconsistent, a recidivist guilty of a serious crime may receive a more lenient treatment than a recidivist guilty of a mere misdemeanor. Imposition of a more severe penalty on a recidivist convicted under Art.60 sections 1 and 2 of the penal code is obligatory.

Beside the above aggravation of penalty, the code until recently provided for special measures to be applied towards the category of recidivists concerned here: protective supervision and the social adjustment center. The recidivist was to be submitted to those measures upon completion of the prison term. The Act of February 23, 1990 quashed the provisions that concerned the application of special measures towards recidivists.

The special measures were protective supervision and the social adjustment center. The former was a measure applied in the conditions of freedom and consisted in supervision by a probation officer for up to five years. During that period, the recidivist was obliged to follow the court's instructions. The other measure involved isolation and was applied for the period of up to five years immediately after release from prison. It was intended for persons convicted under multiple special recidivism, and also a second degree measure in the case of failure of protective supervision. Thus the social adjustment center disciplined the performance of protective supervision. Beside preventing the recidivist from committing further offence, the two measures were also to resocialize him, that is to aim at his attaining social adjustment.

After 20 years of application of the above penal reaction, it was possible to assess it based on the findings of criminological studies into the functioning and effectiveness of both the whole of that reaction and its separate elements, that is the special measures. As far as those measures are concerned, it was found that the social adjustment center failed to adjust its inmates to society and deserved to be abolished as an ineffective institution. Further, as shown by studies into protective supervision, successful supervisions were largely due to those submitted to that measure. In most cases, though, supervision

could neither prevent a person from committing another offence nor resocialize him. An analysis of the system of punishing recidivist led to the conclusion that the longer prison terms to which that category of offenders was sentenced, made additionally longer by the application of protective supervision or confinement to the social adjustment center, were unjust and out of proportion with the actual guilt and seriousness of the act, the recidivists being punished rather for their lifestyle. Consequently, it was decided to relinquish both special measures (Act of February 23, 1990 amending the penal code); at the same time, though the principles of responsibility of recidivists and the obligatory aggravated prison sentenced were preserved.

The aggravation of penal reactions towards recidivists consists also in exclusion or limitation of their access to the benefit of a variety of institutions. A portion of such exclusion or limitations concern a category broader than that of recidivists - that is the previously convicted persons. As regards this category (recidivists included), the application of institutions such as conditions, discontinuance of proceedings or transition to a less severe type of penalty was made impossible, and separate more severe principles of erasion of the entry in the register of convictions were specified. Further, this time as regards recidivists only, the possibility of application of the conditional stay of the carrying out of prison term was excluded, and the use of release on licence was limited in the case of multiple special recidivists.

Specific decartures were made from the rigid and obligatory principles of sentencing under Art.60 sections 1 and 2 of the penal code making it possible to give recidivists a less severe treatment. The first such decarture ... of the penal code, is the possibility of assistance from imposing an aggravated penalty upon a special recidivist in particularly justified cases: the court may then treat the fact of perpetration of an offence in the conditions of recidivism as a circumstance conducive to aggravation of penalty and impose a less severe penalty not involving isolation; conditional stay of a prison term is impossible, though. What is possible instead is extraordinary mitigation of the penalty imposed on a recidivist; his act can also be found less serious and the social danger of that act - slight, and proceedings can be duly discontinued on such grounds.

The criminal policy towards recidivists has been specified explicitly and strictly in provisions of penal law. The freedom of limited sentencing by courts of this category of offenders has been limited by the requirement, contained in provisions, of obligatory aggravated prison sentence which can only be renounced in exceptional cases.

Recidivism in special penal law

As compared to the regulation contained in the penal code, there is a specific construction of responsibility in the conditions of recidivism in the Polish financial penal statute of October 26, 1971. The prerequisites of recidivism are as follows: previous conviction for an intentional offence; previous penalty imprisonment or limitation of liberty for at least 6 months or fine of at least 50,000 zlotys; perpetration of an intentional fiscal offence of the same type within 5 years after a prison term or limitation of liberty for at least 6 months or payment of a fine of at least 25,000 zlotys.

Unlike Art.60 of the penal code, the financial penal status does not require that the person to be treated as recidivist should necessarily have served a prison term limitation of liberty or fine suffice here as well. As in the penal code, the discussed definition uses formalized objective categories. Under the financial penal statute, the reaction towards recidivism consists in extraordinary aggravation of penalty as specified in Art.26 sections 1 and 2 of that statute.

II. Other Forms of Recidivism

Criminological literature (and research) uses two other types of recidivism beside the statutory one:

- penitentiary recidivism when one and the same person is sentenced to a prison term for at least the second time and
- criminological recidivism when a person commits at least the second offence, no matter if he had been brought before the court for the previous one or not.

The Notion of Habit and Relapse into Crime

The Polish penal legislation of today does not use the notions of habitual or professional criminal or of criminal "by inclination". The penal code selects recidivist based on formalized objective criteria; the fact of a previous conviction, a prison sentence, the serving of a definite portion of prison term, statutory similarity of the new offence to the previous one, repeated conviction before limitation of recidivism. Thus a recidivist is defined with the use of objective and legal criteria.

Assessment and Costs of Recidivism

The extent of recidivism in Poland (that is, the numbers of persons convicted under Art.60 of the penal code in the conditions of basic and multiple special recidivism is monitored in court statistics which register convictions for offences committed under Art.60 of the penal code. Recidivists constitute 10.9 per cent of all persons convicted in Poland (mean proportion for the years 1980-1990). All those previously convicted (convicted persons who have been convicted before for a misdemeanor or crime according to the data from the register of convictions, as well as recidivists) constitute 36.2 per cent of all convicted persons (mean proportion for the years 1980-1990). Thus, about one fourth of convicted persons are those with a criminal record (though not classified as recidivists).

Most of the previously convicted persons, recidivists included, are brought before the court for offences against property: thefts, burglaries, frauds, willful taking of motor vehicles for short-time use. Another offence which involves a large proportion of previously convicted persons and recidivists is evasion of the duty to pay maintenance.

The most frequently committed offence which makes itself felt in big cities in particular is burglary of private and public objects: flats, cars and shops.

As shown by the court statistics of convictions, the convictions of persons with a criminal record, recidivists included, are most numerous in the large and highly urbanized and industrialized provinces of Poland. The leading position in this respect is taken by Warsaw and Warsaw province, the provinces with big port cities, as well as those with the mining industry which constitute of highly urbanized city and industrial complex.

II. The Position of Recidivism Control in the Crime Prevention Policies in Local Communities

The State and Local Communities

As has been mentioned above, recidivists are sentenced to prison terms as a rule in Poland. The use of conditional stay of a penalty involving isolation has been excluded in their case. On the other hand, the special measures applied upon completion of the prison term are no longer used today.

The activity of the police and self-organization of society aim at defence against and prevention of crime in general rather than relapse into crime (i.e. recidivism). Such activities aim at defending society against the most annoy-

ing and at the same time widespread offences: burglaries of private and public objects. The proportion of recidivists in the population of persons convicted for those offences is quite considerable; it is therefore to this extent only that the activities aimed at prevention of and defence against this type of crime are at the same time aimed against recidivists.

Activities of the Police

In its preventive activities, the police lays emphasis on the following questions:

1. proper protection of flats,
following the police instructions at the stage of architectural design, proper window and balcony frames and locks (i.e. those "difficult" for the burglar).
2. protection of cars:
according to the police, cars are the least protected property. Due to the shortage of guarded car parks and garages, a car easily falls prey to burglars. Better protection is postulated (alarm device etc.) as well as organization of car parks in housing estates, guarded by the owner of cars.
3. demeanor of citizens:
the police stresses that the citizens should be regularly informed about the need properly to lock the door and windows of their flats, and warned against revealing and advertising their financial standing; the citizens themselves are often thoughtless and fail to follow the basic principles of safety, frequenting dark streets and parks, associating with drunks, or being careless about their bags or wallets, thus making them easily accessible for the thief.

As estimated by the police, a considerable portion of offences that are committed in Poland today are "occasional" offences which result above all from the citizens' carelessness about their own safety.

Beside the State police, municipal police forces were only established in one city early in 1991. Its short period of operation so far makes it impossible to discuss its effects.

Activities of the Citizens

For about ten years now, the Polish citizens have been involved in self-organization in defence against crime; this concerns housing estates in big cities and protection against car thefts and burglaries in particular. The basic form here is organization of parks guarded by car owners who take shifts guarding the property of all. For example, there were 210 such self-defence committees operating in Warsaw in 1984.

Also in housing estates in big cities, door-to-flat intercom systems in apartment houses are becoming more and more popular.

Moreover, the first private agencies were set up last year which offer services in the sphere of protection of both private and public objects.

As estimated by the police, the civil self-defence groups are among the most effective forms of crime prevention.

Gas-arms have recently gained popularity; their buyers are both ordinary citizens and those who run an increased risk of falling victim to crime due to their specific job, such as e.g. taxi-drivers.

An important part in crime prevention is also played by a proper informing of the citizens how to behave not to make things easier for criminals, and what situations to avoid. This concerns behaviour in public places, transport, department stores etc. The fact is stressed here that drunk persons often fall victim to offences (thefts or acts against person).

Assistance to Victims of Crime

Since 1986, there is in Poland the foundation of Assistance to Victims of Crime which provide financial assistance.

III. Participation of Polish Society in the Execution of Penal Sanctions

During the last 20 years, the Polish criminal policy towards recidivists has been highly punitive, over 90 per cent of all convictions of recidivists involving unconditional prison sentences.

As shown by criminological studies of the populations of recidivists, such persons mainly commit offences which can be called petty or fairly serious as far as the value of their object (in the case of offences against property) is concerned. Seldomly brought before the court are recidivists convicted for serious offences against person or property, and also the so-called professional

criminals who are even less frequently convicted as recidivists. The population of recidivists selected by the law enforcement system are largely persons whose offences result from excessive drinking.

As shown by criminological research, two groups can be distinguished in the population of recidivists. The smaller one is that of corrigible recidivists who cease committing offences as a result of their own decision and the help of their families. The larger group are persons who manifest a variety of forms of social maladjustment and have no intention to change their lifestyle. This latter group also includes those whose delinquency results from drinking, and whose social profile shows such feature as irregular family life, instability of employment (frequent changes of jobs, temporary employment only), lack of professional qualifications in many cases, as well as unstable housing situation. The steps taken towards that group which consist in creating the possibility for the convicted recidivists to avail themselves of assistance in finding a job, accommodation, withdrawal guidance or material relief, are those from the sphere of social welfare.

It seems that societies have to put up with the fact that there will always be in the population of convicted persons a specific constant proportion of recidivists - offenders who will relapse into crime despite a variety of steps taken towards them.

A draft Polish penal code published in January 1991 provides for a specific penal reaction towards recidivists which will make it possible to impose on them also penalties not involving isolation, and that to a much greater extent than today. Two of these major penalties are specified: deprivation of liberty with conditional suspension of execution, and limitation of liberty. According to the draft, the criminal policy towards recidivists would become much more flexible and less punitive than the present one, and would thus make it possible for the courts to diversify the sanction imposed on that group of offenders according to the degree of guilt and seriousness of the act.

IV. Coexistence of Prison and Community

There are in Poland 213 houses of detention pending inquiry and penal institutions, among them 42 very big units with over 400 inmates and 10 very small ones (under 50 inmates).

Since 1981, Social Penitentiary Councils are established that are attached to prisons. Their members are appointed by the President of the competent Provincial Court. The Councils are composed of representatives of social organizations. State institutions whose activities are related to the problems of resocialization, and also of trade unions from the firms that employ

prisoners, as well as the professional probation officers. Also the representatives of the local government may participate in meetings of the Councils. Members of the Councils have the right to inquire about the conditions of imprisonment, to interview the inmates, to assist them and their families, to intervene in matters concerning the course of imprisonment in any institution. The Social Penitentiary Councils have been organized in 154 prisons. As shown by studies, their activities were largely formal, and they proved totally helpless in the extreme situations such as prison riots.

Activities on behalf of prisoners and also for the social readaptation of ex-convicts are the domain of the Polish Penitentiary Association (founded in 1981) which groups representatives of different circles wishing to render various forms of assistance to prisoners and their families.

On the level of local community, the duty to secure accommodation, if required, to persons released from prisons lies with the community authorities (a community being an organizational unit of the local government). Assistance (material, pecuniary, as well as non-material such as organization of hospital treatment, help in obtaining disability pension, legal advice and family guidance) is rendered by the Polish Committee for Social Aid whose agencies operate in all capitals of provinces. As shown by studies, the ex-prisoners most frequently approach the Committee for money, clothes, medical assistance, and help in getting a job or disability pension.

Another institution that plays an important role in the social readaptation of ex-prisoners is the Brother Albert Society (called after Adam Chmielowski) which runs homes for the homeless. The first two such homes, started in Wroclaw and Warsaw, manifested the great need for such institutions: a considerable portion of the homeless are ex-prisoners.

An important factor in the etiology of relapse into crime, and also one that renders the social readaptation of ex-convicts difficult, is their excessive drinking. Persons with the alcohol problem are assisted by Withdrawal Clinics and AA groups whose effectiveness is estimated as much higher: The number of both types of institutions is highly insufficient in Poland.

During his term, the prisoner is obliged to work and may also supplement his education. Prisons have elementary, elementary technical and secondary technical schools; also various courses of instruction are organized for the inmates. Still, however, a small minority only of the inmates with unfinished elementary or technical school find it possible to complete their education during the prison term. On January 31, 1991, the Polish penal institutions housed 52,118 persons (those detained pending inquiry, convicted persons and persons punished by transgression boards), that is 137 persons deprived

of liberty per 100,000 of the population. As few as 39.4 per cent of prisoners had a job, most of them engaged in prison maintenance.

The present problems with employment of prisoners result from the changes of the Polish economic system: liquidation of the factories with which the prisons own enterprises cooperated, relinquishment of prisoners as manpower due to the need to reduce the factory's own staff. Today over a half of prisoners are not employed during their term.

Work is among the important factors of social readaptation of ex-convicts. As shown by studies into the attitude of managers of firms in a big city towards employment of ex-prisoners, most of them were well-disposed towards such persons. On the other hand, ex-convicts as employees were criticised for lower discipline, productivity and quality of work. Ex-prisoners more often get seasonal or temporary jobs as their absence from work without excuse leads to conflicts with the managers and eventually to dismissals.

The reinstatement of ex-prisoners in society and professional life is not an easy task. In cases where a member of that category will not or cannot submit to the requirements at his workplace (e.g. due to alcoholism), he can hardly be expected to turn out to be a satisfactory worker. This situation is caused by the prisoner himself rather than his social environment.

The State of Knowledge in Sweden

*Jerzy Sarnecki**

Introduction

In Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden a good organizational basis exists for the influence of research on crime policy. All four countries have crime prevention councils which have as one of their directives the work of seeing that scientific knowledge is incorporated into concrete policy measures.

The largest of these organizations, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, conducts its own comprehensive research and development projects whereas the other three work mainly as collaboration organizations and maintain a close relationship with a scientific institution. The smallest and youngest of these crime prevention councils - that of Finland - has a close relationship with the National Research Institute of Legal Policy which is responsible for the majority of the Finnish criminological and crime policy research.

Traditionally, the government invites representatives from the sphere of criminological research to participate in various committees and other types of working groups which are mandated to formulate new or revise existing legislation or in other ways modify crime policy. It is also common that researchers from these groups write various types of scientific works (often describing the "state of the art") which is then included as a basis for policy recommendations which the committee provides for the government, Parliament etc. In Sweden, for example, the assistance of *Eckart Kühlhorn* was requested to summarize the state of the art regarding individual and general prevention issues for the Committee on Prison Sanctions (*SOU* 1986:15);

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Per-Olof Wikström wrote the report *Crime in the City* which was included in the *Evaluation of Large Cities (SOU 1989)*. In Denmark, the Department of Justice includes a criminal justice research group. Their most recent report deals with the issue of use of alcohol among clients of the correctional system.

It often occurs that the government instructs the various countries' institutions within the field of criminological research to conduct projects which are directly relevant to planned policy decisions. This is particularly common in Finland and Sweden which have state research organizations in the area of criminal policy. At the National Council for Crime Prevention in Sweden, for example, governmental mandates have included a comprehensive project on white-collar crime in various industries (*Magnusson*, final report to be published Autumn 1991), child sexual abuse (*Martins* 1989, 1990), evaluation of community service (*Alexandersson* and *Andersson* 1991), as well as an evaluation and experiment project concerning measures for young offenders (*Sarnecki et al.* 1990).

Representatives from these research projects are often invited to various types of public forums or public discussions with legislative and executive representatives.

The Nordic researchers' contact with representatives for the government is often of an informal character. It is a tradition in public administration that representatives from the parliament, government and various governmental agencies which are responsible for criminal policy questions make direct personal contact with researchers to obtain their ideas regarding legislation, parliament bills, organizational changes or other relevant questions.

The direct and not always completely formalized relations between state powers and researchers has, in many contexts, greater importance for criminal policy in the various Nordic countries than the research projects which are initiated and conducted in the research world.

Crime Prevention Directions

The presence of the relatively influential crime prevention councils results in that a large part of the Nordic criminological research is directed toward crime prevention measures. In Denmark, a report on various aspects of crime prevention has recently been published (*Kyvsgaard, Snare, Wilhjelmsen* 1990). A book on crime prevention is also in the process at the Swedish council.

Over the past few years, a growing interest has been directed toward local crime prevention measures. An important aspect of these projects is the combining of local resources which a community has available to combat and

prevent crime. In Denmark great interest has been placed in the so-called SSP collaboration. SSP is an acronym for a collaboration organization working with crime prevention and substance abuse prevention among youth.

Involved in SSP are representatives from social welfare, sobriety organizations, schools, recreation and leisure and the police. The work of organizing SSP began in the end of the 70s; now there are such organizations in three-fourths of Denmark's 275 municipalities. Besides the SSP organizations, a number of local crime prevention projects have begun in several places in Denmark. In a number of larger municipalities, SSP has hired consultants who work directly with the crime prevention projects. The general opinion is that SSP has had a tangible effect on criminality among youth in Denmark. *Mehlbye* (1989) described the work of the SSP in 47 various municipalities and determined that it is an effective means of crime prevention. *Kyvsgaard* (1990) has also studied the SSP work and has come to a different conclusion. She maintains that there is no evidence that this large investment in crime prevention has had any preventative effects at all. *Kyvsgaard* work shows that crime trends among youth in municipalities which have worked according to the SSP model are either the same as the trends in communities which have not organized an SSP or that the trends are actually more negative.

Work according to an SSP model is also developing in Norway. Collaboration of this type was recommended by the Norwegian Council for Crime Prevention (KRÅD 1989). The work has been described in a report by *Askheim* and *Rønning* (1989).

The scientific oriented work for the developments of crime prevention measures is occurring in Sweden in the form of two local prevention projects. Both projects are working according to the principle that the crime prevention measures should build upon a careful description of the local level of criminality as well as a mapping of the resources which the community has allocated to various areas to prevent crime. The smaller of these two projects, the "Fisksätra project" (Fisksätra is a suburb of Stockholm with a population of approximately 7,000) under the direction of *Karin Ringman*, is just now entering its final phase where the effects of the implemented measures will be evaluated. It is already clear that the level of criminality in the studied community has declined over the time that the crime prevention measures were implemented. Furthermore, the development within the community has been significantly more positive than in the neighboring control community. If these positive trends are a result of the preventative measures or other factors are for the present time material for more intense study.

In the Fisksätra project, as in several other parts of the country, the delinquent networks among youth are mapped systematically. This mapping

is being carried out in similar manner to that which was conducted in the project "delinquent networks" in the Borlänge community (Sarnecki 1986). The idea is that through intervention measures with the central individuals in the delinquent network, both the criminal and the substance abuse trends will be hindered in their development among young offenders.

The second, and significantly larger local crime prevention project comprises the greater Stockholm area and is currently in the initial mapping stage. Within the framework of this project, a careful tracking of the criminality in 8 selected districts of Stockholm, as well as the Inner-city area, is conducted with the help of several different criminological methodologies (police data, self-report studies, surveys with school youth as well as victim surveys). The study consists of the following projects:

1. Criminality in the city, local centers, and in public transportation (*P.-O. Wikström*)
2. Neighborhoods, socialization, and criminal propensity (*P. Martens*)
3. Schools, housing, and juvenile delinquency (*P. Lindström*)
4. Criminality among persons with foreign backgrounds, in particular juvenile delinquency in immigrant-concentrated housing areas (*P. Martens*)
5. Social instability in housing areas and juvenile delinquency (*L. Domen*)
6. Physical design of housing areas and criminality (vacant)
7. Crime structure and the working methods of the police in different types of city environments (*M. Torstensson, P.-O. Wikström*)
8. Women, crime and city environments (*E. Tiby*)
9. Criminality and social work in different city environments (*M. Olsson*)

The first report from this project was published under the editorship of the project director, *P.-O. Wikström*. The project is conducted in collaboration with the local authorities in Stockholm and is unique in its size and comprehension.

Crime Prevention among Youth

Over the past few years the insight has grown much stronger that narcotics abuse and criminality is a result of, to a great extent, the same causes. Many

narcotics addicts began their career of deviance with extensive criminality (Sarnecki 1987, Solarz 1990). Measures for juvenile delinquents are often simultaneously measures against future drug abusers.

A particular interest has been devoted to crime prevention work in schools. The inspiration for this concentration is derived from Rutter's book "Fifteen Thousand Hours" (1979). In Sweden, the work has inspired one of the component projects in the above-mentioned Stockholm project.

In Norway an important project is currently underway to combat bullying in schools. Both the theoretical basis for this project as well as the practical program has been formulated from the work of the psychologist Dan Olweus (e.g. 1981). The anti-bullying programs have been implemented in many Norwegian schools. The project has been evaluated and was shown to have demonstrable effects on aggression and violent behavior among students. Measures against bullying may also have positive long-term effects on criminality (Olweus 1990). In Denmark, the research directed toward schools is conducted with the help of self-report surveys. Kyvsgaard has conducted a large study of this type in Glasaxe community (a suburb to Copenhagen as well as a number of municipalities in northern Jylland). The results will be published in the near future.

Mediation

An additional important area in Scandinavian crime prevention research is that of mediation. Inspiration for mediation, conducted to a great extent in Norway and Finland, comes from Nils Christie's work (1977, 1982). The idea is that less serious offenses can be dealt with in the local community, outside of the framework of the justice system, where the involved parties come to an agreement under the direction of an impartial mediator. In Norway, the first mediation project was conducted by Lier in 1981. The experience was judged to be very positive and a new project began in Majorstua/Frogner (1985). Currently a number of extensive projects are in process throughout Norway.

The Finish attempts with mediation have been described in very positive terms by Ilvari (1988). Nevertheless, there is also strong critique against mediation in Finland which will undoubtedly result in a critical examination of this project very shortly.

Victim's Issues and Direction

In all of the Nordic countries an interest in the problems of crime victim has risen over the most recent years, although the level of interest has varied. The

country most engaged in victim's issues is Finland. In 1988, the Finnish Central Bureau of Statistics conducted an extensive (called UHRI-88) victim's survey-study (preliminary results - *Central Bureau of Statistics* 1989). A comparison based on the results of this study and victim surveys conducted earlier, revealed that the official statistics provided a misleading picture of reality due to an increasing tendency to report offenses over the years.

Both Norway and Finland participated in the international victim survey which was inspired by an OECD recommendation in a report from 1983. As shown in the first report from this project, both of the participating Nordic countries had relatively low levels of crime. It has been pointed out from the Finnish council for crime prevention that the concentration on victims surveys has not only meant a greater knowledge of the trends in crime, but has also put the victim's situation in political view. The question of the fear of crime and the need for measures has also come into focus through this new direction.

In Sweden, the interest in victim's issues has been expressed through a report "Brottsoffer" (Crime Victims) which has been published by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention in 1988. The report was a result of a government mandate and has been successful in influencing the improvement of the situation of victims in the country.

Women as Victims and Perpetrators

In several of the Nordic countries, an increasing interest in women's issues in relation to crime and other forms of asociality can be seen. Probably Norway is the leading country in this area. As examples of this type of research one can refer to "Kvinnens Skyld" (Women's Guilt), under the editorship of *Holgard and Snare* (1983), "Tvang till seksualitet" (Forced Sexuality, *Sätre, Holter & Jebsen* 1986) and "Mannsrollen og mennes kriminalitet" (Men's roles and male criminality, *Taksdal* 1990). As examples of the interest regarding women and crime from the Nordic countries one can name the dissertation "Prostitution i Helsingfors-en studie i kvinnokontroll" (Prostitution in Helsinki - a study on the control of women, *Järvinen* 1990) and the report from the Swedish conference on "Kvinnor och Brot" (Women and Crime, *Wiklund* 1990).

Two areas seem to dominate this type of research: above all, the issue of women as victims is the most dealt with, first as victims of physical abuse and secondly in terms of sexual abuse. However, interest has arisen recently around the low proportion of women among perpetrators of crimes and those conclusions which can possibly be used concerning crime prevention.

Research on the Effects of Sanctions

The Nordic countries, with the possible exception of Finland, are known for their relatively liberal sanctions system. This can be attributed to cultural, political, historical as well as other factors in the history of the countries, but it must also be noted that this direction in the sanctions system is also strongly rooted in the world of research. In Sweden, for example, the work of *Börjeson* (1966) and *Bundeson* (1977 and 1989) have had great significance for the sceptical orientation to prison sanctions. Over the recent years, Sweden has to a great extent begun to directly examine the effects of legislative reforms. The above-mentioned evaluation of the legislation on young offenders and the experimental project with community service are such examples.

Of significance for the Sweden's criminal policy has also been the work of *Ahlberg* (1985 and 1990) which discuss the various aspects of collective incapacitation. In the first of the cited publications, an examination was made of the effects of the reform on part-time release which was implemented in Sweden in the middle of 1980s. The report showed that this reform had, to some extent, contributed to the increase in criminality. The second report examined the effects of various lengths of prison terms and revealed that an extensive decrease in the level of crime in Sweden cannot be achieved, given the political and practical possibilities of increases in prison terms.

In Finland, *Lappi Seppäläs* dissertation in penal law has had significance for the discussion on the weighing of sanctions. In the dissertation, a discrepancy was shown between the hard punishment for theft and relatively mild sanctions for violent crimes.

In Denmark, *Kyvsgaard* (1989) has studied the living conditions and circumstances of those who have been sentenced to prison terms.

Conclusion

A sampling of this sort can be conducted in many different ways. My selection of the research projects mentioned above are naturally influenced by my own scientific perspective as well as the fact that I work at the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention. It should be clear from this report, however, that within the Nordic countries many extensive research projects are underway concerning those problems which are the subject of the Second International Conference on Urban Safety, Drugs and Crime Prevention. A considerable number of these research projects are aimed at those issues which

have direct implications for criminal policy. The national crime prevention councils can be regarded as having a significant influence on this orientation of implemented research projects.

Nordic criminologists, mostly in Sweden and Finland, have close contacts with the state legislative and executive authorities. Therefore, in this report I have taken the viewpoint that the work of these criminologists have direct implications for policy decisions. However, one must also keep in mind that numerous research programs currently are carried through in Scandinavian countries which focus on those topics taken up by the Second International Conference on Urban Safety, Drugs, and Crime Prevention. A considerable number of these research programs deal with questions which have immediate relevance for crime policy. The National Council of Crime Prevention may be regarded to have some influence on the tendency to carry through applied research.

Scandinavian criminologists, especially Swedish and Finish criminologists, keep very tight relationships with legislative bodies and governmental agencies. That is why I have written in this report that criminological research indeed has direct consequences on principal decisions. However, it has to be pointed out, that influence is not only a one-way process. Governmental bodies have also an influence on criminological research, on the one hand through those research programs which are carried through on demand of these bodies and funded, on the other hand, directly by inducing various policy issues. What may be regarded on the surface as research influencing policy may, if we go deeper, represent a complex retro-active mechanism or appear even as policy influencing research.

But as scientists and civil servants belonging to governmental bodies live in the very same society, they are all subject to the same basic conditions. The role of mass media should not be underestimated in this context. As far as crime policy is concerned the media play an extraordinary role because they attract the attention of the public to new problems. In the work "Nordiska kriminologer om 1990 - Talets Kriminalpolitik (Opinion of Scandinavian Criminologists on the Crime Policy in the 1990s, Viklund, 1990) which was recently published, several authors insist on the decisive role of mass media on criminal policy matters. The particular problem concerns an apparent capability of mass media to provoke immediate decision-making in the policy system which is not well founded. On the other hand, mass media play a positive role as far as they draw the attention of research on new questions which have been neglected. Problems such as sexual abuse of children, victimisation of women etc. did not attract that much attention because of

scientific activities or governmental action but because the media brought these topics up.

In small countries such as Scandinavian countries scientists keep themselves well informed on the international state of the art. This is done through the Scandinavian Criminological Research Council. International research may even have sometimes a direct impact on policy making. Labeling theory, for example, when coming up at the international level, has had a considerable impact on the way in Scandinavian countries juvenile delinquents were treated.

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The State of Knowledge in the United States

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Drugs

There is some evidence of progress in North America in the drug problem. Reports of hospital emergency room visits for cocaine-related treatment passed their peak in January, 1989, and have been trending downward since that time. National studies of self-reported drug use indicate that drug use has been trending down, most sharply among persons under 26 years of age and since 1985. However, there is also disturbing evidence that drug use has become even more concentrated among hard-core users, and that their levels of drug use have been increasing rather than decreasing. This has been paralleled by a large jump in the drug-related homicide count in many cities. Also, while self-reported drug use has declined among all racial groups since 1985, these declines recently have slowed for blacks. Drug use rates are also higher among blacks than whites, and perhaps as a result, drug **arrests** have become increasingly concentrated in black communities. In 1989, FBI figures indicate that 41 percent of those arrested on drug charges were black, up from 38 percent in 1988.

American research on drug policy has focused on two broad policy alternatives: demand reduction and supply reduction. **Demand reduction** strategies are aimed at reducing the size of the market for drugs by limiting the desire for drugs among potential consumers. **Supply reduction** strategies, on the other hand, are aimed at reducing the availability of drugs, driving up their cost and making it more difficult for potential users to find a market outlet.

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Demand Reduction: Primary Prevention

Demand reduction strategies can usefully be divided into two further subcategories: (a) those targeted at the general population of non-users ("primary prevention"), and (b) those aimed at rehabilitating known users.

Most research on primary prevention has focused on school-based programs. There are 3 major types of these programs. The first **disseminate information** on the harmful effects of involvement in drugs, and sometimes appeal to moral or religious objections to illicit drug use. These programs stress the health and social hazards of drug use. They are based on the assumption that if people know what the dangers of drug use are, they will act lawfully out of self-interest. Many of these programs aim at enhancing the fears of potential users by dramatizing the potential dangers of drug use. Some programs focus on moral objections to drug use, especially in schools organized along religious lines. Evaluations indicate that informational campaigns can be very successful at communicating new and accurate information; however, there is no evidence that they prevent or even reduce substance abuse. Knowledge has no impact on self-reports of drug use, nor on stated intentions to avoid drug use.

A second group of primary prevention programs involve **affective education**. They assume that substance abuse is encouraged by low self-esteem and poor personal decision-making skills. These programs attempt to enrich the personal lives of participants by helping them develop interpersonal skills, self-understanding, and supportive friendships. They emphasize helping participants think about their own attitudes and values, and encouraging them to act upon these standards of personal conduct. Although they seem attractive, evaluations of these programs also indicate that they do not affect substance abuse. They can improve self-esteem, personal confidence, and knowledge about drug risks, but they do not change self-reported behavior patterns.

A third group of programs focus on a factor that research indicates lies at the heart of drug-related activity, peer groups. These **social pressures competence** programs teach participants how to evaluate peer and media pressures to become involved in drugs, the importance of building friendship networks of like-minded people, how to recognize situations in which they will be expected by peers to use drugs, and how to counter those social pressures. These have been the most successful programs. Evaluations indicate that they can reduce levels of participation in drug use and that those effects persist over time. They have also proved effective among special groups of particularly high-risk youths.

Demand Reduction: Rehabilitation

Programs in this area are aimed at identifying drug users and intervening in this behavior pattern. They have been thoroughly evaluated in terms of their success in treating heroin addiction, and a number of successful approaches have been identified. **Drug detoxification** programs medically manage the initial withdrawal of addicts. Their effects are short term if they are not combined with further treatment, but they are a first step in any heroin program. **Drug education and counselling** programs are best used in combination with other efforts; they are inexpensive and easy to organize, but have no evaluated effectiveness on their own. **Methadone maintenance** programs distribute this controlled opiate as a substitute for heroin. This is the most common way of treating addicts. **Therapeutic residential centers** are community-based facilities where addicts engage in group and individual treatment exercises aimed at building their self-control. These centers are increasingly popular, and are being used to deal with cocaine addiction.

Combinations of these programs have been shown to inhibit drug use, reduce the likelihood that participants will be rearrested, and increase their ability to find and hold a job. The longer patients are involved in these programs the more successful they are, but the programs are plagued by high drop-out rates. Later relapse into drug use is common, but both methadone maintenance (in conjunction with drug education, counselling, and other social services) and residential treatment is more successful than traditional incarceration in treating underlying addiction problems.

Supply Reduction: Enforcement Strategies

There are a number of specific enforcement strategies that can be brought to bear on drug markets, but is useful to categorize them by their role in the "program theory" underlying the enforcement approach. One element of the program theory is that enforcement may **increase the real and perceived risk of punishment** that is associated with involvement in drugs; another is that enforcement may **increase the price and decrease the availability of drugs**. Finally, enforcement may play a role in **breaking the cycle of peer and role-model support** for drug involvement that plagues too many communities.

The **real and perceived risk** associated with drug involvement can be enhanced by several enforcement tactics. One tactic is **high visibility patrol**. In addition to frequent motor and foot patrols, police conduct sweeping stop-and-search operations, set up car-research roadblocks, vigorously en-

force nuisance ordinances (for example, laws against blocking the sidewalk), and make disorderly conduct arrests. Highly visible drug arrests during raids on apartments involved in dealing and by "jump-out" teams also help communicate that drug dealing is a risky enterprise. The stakes involved may be further enhanced by a program of vigorous prosecution of drug arrestees.

Drug involvement also is presumably made more expensive and difficult by enforcement programs that **increase the price and decrease the availability** of illicit drugs. This can be partially accomplished by an aggressive campaign against street-level drug retailers. It can be accomplished via "buy-bust" arrests by undercover officers, "controlled buys" by informants, and by residential searches made on the basis of evidence gathered in these operations. In addition to making drugs more expensive, enforcement presumably increase the aggravation and time involved in finding suppliers; this is most likely to deter casual users without deep roots in the drug culture. Finally, the police can make efforts to assemble intelligence files on suspected drug traffickers, in order to identify their place of residence, sources of supply, and mode of doing business.

The **cycle of support for drug involvement** touches upon the cultural and peer group norms that characterize a community. Research on adolescent involvement in drugs suggests the importance of intervening in local cultures which appear to support drug involvement. This research suggest several conclusions. The onset of drug use is "contagious"; that is, it flows through the community via social contacts with current users. Patterns of substance abuse onset (for example, how youths may move from cigarettes and alcohol to marijuana or cocaine) depend upon the structure of local drug markets. The perceived standards and behaviors of other youths are the strongest predictor of the nature and extent of drug involvement. Youths mimic behavior that they see being rewarded in others, both peers and adults.

These findings all suggest that aggressive enforcement efforts may help break the self-reinforcing cycle by which apparently rewarding involvement with drugs begets further abuse. This will not be easy, for the drug economy can permeate a community. The most affluent adult males may be involved with drugs. Mothers lend their apartment to shelter dealers. Youths find it easy to make money as order-takers, runners and drug holders. Dealers distribute sports jackets and athletic shoes to younger children, to build popularity and cooperation. Finally, the threat of retaliation holds back potential informants and witnesses, and makes people fearful of cooperating with the authorities. To be sure, most efforts to break this self-reinforcing cycle probably will not involve the police at all; they are more properly the domain of schools, families, youth and treatment programs, and social welfare agencies.

Supply Reduction: Research Findings

Research on the efficacy of these enforcement tactics is mixed. In general, research on police "crackdowns" suggests that they can successfully deter target behaviors during the special enforcement period; there is also some evidence of residual deterrence which persists after the program ends or those special efforts are shifted elsewhere. However, evaluations of drug crackdowns suggest that they have some limits. At first drug sweeps generally push up arrest rates and lower crime rates in target areas. However, there is evidence that the initial deterrent effect of drug crackdowns subsides fairly rapidly, even while the programs are still in operation. Where levels of street sale continue to be low, it is not clear whether this is because there is less drug activity, or if it is because dealers and their potential customers have adapted successfully to new conditions. Second, it appears that drug activity quickly reverts to normal at the conclusion of special enforcement programs, and the strength of the drug market is such that there is no apparent residual deterrence.

There is also evidence that drug crackdowns may increase levels of predatory crime. This is one foreseeable effect of successfully increasing the market price of drugs, for very large proportions of those arrested for predatory street crimes are drug users. An increase in burglary and robbery rates has been observed in several evaluations of drug crackdowns, while others have found the opposite. In addition, police disruption of established distribution systems may have sparked some of the wave of drug-related homicide that has swept many large cities; some of the most visible of these killings reflect wars between drug dealers to recapture control of lucrative sales areas.

Police departments historically have wavered between aggressive campaigns against sales and long-term investigations aimed at wholesale and importer-level operators. However, it appears that the drug business is much more heterogeneous and decentralized than past policies assumed; the business is not dominated by drug czars whose arrest would cause large scale distribution networks to fall apart. Most drugs are supplied by numerous, small, and transitory groups. It is very difficult to conduct the kind of extensive (and expensive) surveillance operations that would be required to prosecute them successfully. Many local police departments find attempts to penetrate higher-level drug operations expensive, time consuming, and not very productive of arrest.

This implies that enforcement operations should be aimed at street-level dealers. Enforcement work at this level can generate large numbers of easy arrests. However, street dealers are very numerous and quick-moving, and hope to temporarily disrupt local supply lines, end perhaps largely by displac-

ing sales elsewhere. Some researchers argue that aggressive street-level enforcement do increase the expense and inconvenience involved in the business sufficiently to deter casual users, and that drug enforcement programs may have "spill-over" effects that help reduce on other kinds of street crime and disorder. *Mark Kleiman* has argued that targeting drug networks may reduce other kinds of crime as a side-effect of incapacitating high-rate property criminals, although this runs counter to some evaluation findings. The mixed results of evaluations of enforcement programs to date do not enable us to make firm judgments about any of these claims.

It is also clear that the operation of the rest of the criminal justice system plays an important role in enhancing or limiting the impact of special crackdowns. In many American jurisdictions prosecutors are overwhelmed with cases, and the jails are so full that arrestees for non-violent offenses cannot be held until their case is disposed of. These factors also limit the effectiveness of the "arrest-prosecute-convict" model of deterrence which underlies crackdown strategies for controlling drug markets. Drug treatment programs are at least as overloaded as the criminal justice system, and it is unlikely that large numbers of arrestees produced by enforcement programs will be diverted there, whatever their real needs. In addition, the issue of corruption plagues drug enforcement efforts. Plainclothes operations draw police officers into close and potentially corrupting association with drug distributors. The business is awash with cash, and some of the most vigorous arguments of the proponents of a policy of drug legalization have focused on the corrosive effects of corruption on law enforcement and the political system.

Finally, police drug enforcement in poor neighborhoods takes place in an emotionally charged and potentially volatile environment. Even if they are conducted in strictly legal fashion, street sweeps, aggressive stop-and-frisk operations, car stops, apartment searches, and other enforcement tactics involve abrasive contacts between area residents and police. They take place in an environment where people too frequently believe that they are already not getting fair treatment by police, and where the police often come expecting trouble. Tactics like these triggered riots in American cities during the 1970s, and in Britain in the 1980s. A balance must be maintained between the apparent law abidingness that the police can hope to impose on a community and the disturbance they may create while doing so.

Community Mobilization

During the 1980s, there has been increased interest in the role that voluntary efforts can play in dealing with crime problems. The community approach to

crime prevention emphasizes collaboration between the criminal justice system and community organizations. It assumes that the police and other elements of the criminal justice system cannot effectively deal with crime and fear on their own. In this view, voluntary, organized community efforts to control crime and alleviate excessive levels of fear must parallel government action if safety is to be achieved within realistic budgetary constraints and without sacrificing civil liberties.

Types of Activities and Organizations

These organizing efforts range from narrow, technical approaches to prevention to broader, social change strategies for rebuilding communities. Some efforts involve collective action (activities carried out by groups), while others call for individual initiative, which can also be encouraged and facilitated by groups. Some programs aim at reducing opportunities for crime; they encourage people to install window bars and alarms and stronger doors and locks. Groups also offer escort services to older persons, and produce and distribute newsletters identifying actions that individuals can take to protect themselves from harm. Other programs focus on collective surveillance and crime reporting. Groups attempt to mobilize neighbors to watch one another's homes or be alert from suspicious circumstances, and to call the police when problem arise. Thoroughgoing surveillance programs can also involve active citizen patrols, which are frequently tied together by citizen's band (CB) radios. Organizations also push for the sanctioning of offenders through crime-tip hotlines that help to identify troublemakers and by court watch programs that attempt to ensure that offenders get tough treatment from judges. Finally, organizations mount programs aimed at attacking the causes of crime. What these causes are perceived to be varies from area to area, but the programs frequently involve recreational activities for youths, anti-drug and anti-gang efforts, and campaigns to improve neighborhood conditions and foster youth employment.

Many kinds of organizations are involved in these anti-crime activities. In addition to traditional community organizations, they include condominium associations and community development corporations, groups of neighborhood business owners, and "umbrella" organizations that serve other organizations rather than individuals or neighborhoods. In almost every case groups do something else as well. Community studies suggest that few groups initially form around crime, and those that attempt to get started by addressing crime problems have neither long lives nor much success at recruiting members; further, anti-crime groups that survive do so by adopting other issues or

changing their function entirely, and most strong community organizations have complex, multi-issue agendas. Many successful groups are "preservationist" in character. They are concerned with maintenance of established local interests, customs, and values. Such groups typically arise in stable, better-off areas. They represent the interests of long-term residents, home owners, small business, and local institutions in preserving the status quo. Insurgent groups representing poor neighborhoods, by contrast, have a stake in upsetting the current distribution of status and property. Leaders of insurgent groups necessarily are critical of society's institutions.

There is a great deal of evidence that neighborhood organizations emerge and endure more easily in better-off areas, and that voluntary participation cannot as easily be initiated or sustained in poorer, higher-crime areas. This lends a substantial "preservationist bias" to the benefits of voluntary action. Surveys indicate that better off, more educated, home-owning, and long-term community residents more frequently know of opportunities to participate in anti-crime organizations and are more likely to participate in them when they have the opportunity. Studies of the geographical distribution of community organizations focusing on crime problems indicate that they are less common in poorer, renting, high-turnover, high-crime areas. The irony, of course, is that better-off, racially dominant city neighborhoods usually enjoy the lowest rates of crime, and crime drops off even more substantially in the suburbs. Affluent areas are not those that are beset with the worst crime problems.

Successful neighborhood organizations also are more common in homogeneous areas. Neighborhoods featuring a mix of life-styles may need organizations in order to identify residents' common interests, but more frequently they do not have them. In racially and culturally homogeneous areas, residents more readily share a definition of what their problems are and who is responsible for them. They share similar experiences and living conditions, and they have the same broad conception of their public and private responsibilities. The empirical evidence is that in homogeneous areas, residents exercise more informal control and are more likely to intervene when they see problems, more residents feel positively about their neighbors and feel personally responsible for events and conditions in the area, and there are more active crime-prevention programs. In multi-cultural areas, by contrast they often are conflicting views of both the causes of crime and the solutions to it. Where neighborhoods are divided by race and class, concern about crime can be an expression of conflict between groups.

Faced with crime problems, the first resource to which organizations lay claim is policing. They demand more policing in the form of more intensive patrols in high crime locations. They often want foot patrols as well, and

perhaps recognition in the form of a new or reactivated precinct station house or store-front office. Preservationist groups are likely to form civilian patrols and Neighborhood Watch groups, and post signs indicating their new watchfulness, for they are trying to promote the image that theirs is "defended" area. The constituents of insurgent groups often fear the police and resent the way they exercise their authority, so they may be as interested in monitoring police misconduct and pressing for police accountability as they are in increasing police presence on the streets. The problem for American cities is that residents of poor and minority neighborhoods with serious crime problems often have antagonistic relationships with the police. The police are another of their problems; they frequently are perceived to be arrogant, brutal, racist, and corrupt. Groups representing these neighborhoods will not automatically look to the police for legitimacy and guidance. Their constituents typically are concerned about a host of pressing problems, including unemployment, housing, health care, and discrimination. However, researchers have noted that crime-focused groups begin and persist more easily when they operate in cooperation with the police. The police provided training, information, technical support, and equipment. They also can lend visibility and apparent legitimacy to organizing efforts, depending upon the neighborhood.

Evidence of Impact

There is little solid evidence concerning the effects of any of these efforts on changes in neighborhood crime. Research on neighborhood development concludes that positive effects of programs attacking the economic roots of crime have yet to be demonstrated. Several summaries of community crime prevention have concluded that target hardening, Neighborhood Watch, and other tactics pursued by local organizations **probably** can have an effect on crime. This conclusion is suggested by the sheer weight of dozens of studies (usually lacking even a control area) showing declines in official crime counts, testimonials by activists, the enthusiasm of grant proposal writers, and a few statistical studies suggesting that crime is lower in organized areas even when numerous demographic and economic factors are taken into account. However, more sophisticated evaluations of community crime-prevention efforts do not support this optimistic assessment. Evaluation that meet high standards by and large have failed to find clear-cut evidence of the effectiveness of community crime-prevention programs.

There is also little evidence that formal programs can enhance the informal social control capacity of communities. Groups have tried initiating and supporting activities that should enhance residents' feelings of efficacy about

individual and collective action, as well as increase their sense of personal responsibility for these actions. These programs hoped to stimulate attempts to regulate social behavior by enhancing residents' feelings of territoriality and willingness to intervene in suspicious circumstances, and to facilitate neighboring, social interaction, and mutual helpfulness to enhance solidarity and build commitment to the community. However, there is only a very tenuous link between the processes and levels of area crime and disorder. Such behaviors activate very subtle social processes; they exert control by spreading norms about appropriate behavior and teaching new residents how to behave; their sanctions are gossip, social exclusion, and, at most, embarrassing threats. It appears that these aspects of social life are too causally distant and difficult to measure for researchers to link them with measures of crime. They may also be causally distant from crime for governments to sponsor. Whatever the reason, research does not suggest that theories emphasizing informal social control will steer crime-prevention programs in the right direction.

Crime, Fear and Mass Media

Systematic analyses of the image of crime presented by newspapers and television suggest that the effects of the media could lead to excessive levels of fear. Crime is more often in the news when it involves white and better-off victims, and when it occurs in locations that usually are low in crime. Crimes featuring bizarre motives or perverse family relationships are overrepresented as well. There is an inverse relationship between the true frequency of victimization and the extent to which it is presented to the public, focusing attention on violent crime. Further, there are many examples of how the media create local "crime waves" that are unrelated to actual fluctuation in the rate of victimization. On the other hand, the police are presented as **more** effective than they actually are, for crimes that are solved by arrest (or the death of the offender) are far more likely to be reported.

There is some evidence that the version of crime presented in the mass media (known as "TV Reality") shapes the impression the public has of the reality of crime. Heavy consumers of television systematically misperceive many facts about everyday life that err in the direction of TV Reality, and they think the police are more effective than they really are. However, a large body of research on the relationship between media consumption and fear of crime indicate that the impact of television and newspapers on people's views of the world are complex.

It appears that heavy consumers of mass media (including both television and newspapers) are more likely to take the general view of society that is

presented in the media - that it is a "mean world" - but that their views of their own behavior and their personal risk of victimization are not affected. The media have "impersonal impact". For example, heavy exposure to television leads people to believe that crime rates for the nation as a whole, and in other cities, are high and rising rapidly. On the other hand, media exposure is not related to their beliefs about crime in their immediate neighborhood, and is not related to their perceived vulnerability to crime. It is also not related to many behaviors that reflect fear, such as avoiding particular places near home because of the risk of crime. Media involvement is linked to the stereotypes that people hold about the causes of crime and who commits crime, but these factors are not related to fear of crime.

The evidence is that, instead, people differentiate between judgments about the world. The more direct, personal experience they have with a subject, the less their opinions are influenced by the media; when they have first-hand knowledge about a topic, their experiences prevail. Newspapers and television affect judgments they make about general conditions and far-away places. These impersonal effects are important, for most people do not **have** recent, direct experiences with crime, so they have to rely on media messages. However, they do not necessarily make inferences about their personal situation from these general judgments.

These findings are reinforced by specific exceptions to them. For example, in experiments in which news stories concern **local** crime, people's judgments about their own risks are affected. Likewise, they are more likely to be affected when they hear about victims who are **like** them in terms of gender, age, and social background. In these cases, information from the media is germane to their own situation, and their views of their own risk of victimization are affected. In addition, there is some evidence that residents of particularly high-crime areas are especially affected by media reports of crime, perhaps because the bad news on television is in accord with their own experiences.

Does mass media have any effects? Research on media effects suggest that its most powerful effect in terms of social is a political one. Media coverage has an "agenda-setting" effect on the public. People's rating of how **important** various issues are, and even which issues they have heard of, is strongly affected by the extent to which they are covered in the newspapers and on television. Even in this case, however, the effects of the media are limited; **what** people think about the issues is not affected, only ranking of their importance.

There is evidence that the media can be used to stimulate involvement in crime prevention, but that the campaign must be carefully planned. A number of studies have found that attempts to frighten people into taking steps to

protect their homes from crime will fail, and that simple information campaigns do not stimulate involvement. Successful campaigns must deliver a **plausible, positive message**. They must tell people what they can do that will actually reduce their risk of victimization, and what its benefits will be. These messages must be practical, and believable. In this regard, research findings on the role of the media in stimulating crime prevention are similar to studies of smoking and other health-related behaviors, the use of safety seat belts, and contraception. Like crime prevention, these behaviors are more easily influenced by social communications from friends, family and neighbors, and there are important "modeling" effects when people learn about others adopting these precautions.

Communities and Recidivism

Linkages between offenders and the community play an important role in understanding patterns of recidivism. Studies of recidivism among individuals paroled early from prison indicate that community ties are among the most important predictor of who gets in trouble again. Controlling for evidence of past patterns of criminal activity (which is the most important factor), recidivists typically have less stable marital arrangements, move a great deal, have few friends, are unlikely to join organizations, and break their ties with their relatives. Community linkages are also related to the bail-setting process, because they have been found to be highly related to the willingness of released offenders to appear for trial. In the United States, persons who have been charged with a crime can be released while they wait for trial if they deposit an appropriate amount of bail money with the court. Bail setting typically is done on the basis of a rating system based on research on past patterns of appearance in court for trial. Among the strongest predictors of dependability (following measures of past criminal involvement) also turn out to be family attachment, residential stability, and employment. As a result, persons who are tightly linked to the community on these dimensions are allowed to deposit a smaller money bond.

In light of these findings, it is easy to speculate that the **kind of community** to which offenders are released also will make a difference in their rehabilitation. Some kinds of communities reinforce deviance, by facilitating contact with other trouble-makers and association with drug cultures; others may speed the successful readjustment of ex-offenders. For example, *Stephen Gottfredson* and *Ralph Taylor* examined three hypotheses in this regard. They expected that neighborhoods characterized by stronger informal social networks and dense ties among community residents would provide a

more successful home for ex-offenders (note, for example, that in the US fully one-half of all job seekers find a position through family members and friends). They also hypothesized that recidivism would be lower among former offenders in communities where residents felt responsible for local events, intervened in suspicious situations, and exercised more informal social control. Finally, they thought that the extent and nature of local services (such health clinics), organizations (churches), and other community institutions would be related to the frequency of recidivism among released offenders.

While these expectations all seem reasonable, research to date has produced no support for them. Once individual factors that predict recidivism are controlled for, there is no evidence that "community" makes a difference in the chances that former offenders will get into trouble again. *Gottfredson* and *Taylor* found some support for the conclusion that releasing individuals into communities where there are already **concentrations** of former offenders is a bad idea, but otherwise only individual criminal histories and personal background factors seem to make a difference. However, there is only a limited amount of research on community factors in controlling recidivism. In contrast to individual-level studies of recidivism (of which there are hundreds), we know relatively little about this topic. The proposition that "community makes a difference" remains an appealing one, and it should be investigated more thoroughly.

Community-Based Corrections

There is also a great deal of interest in the United States in a related issue, community-based corrections. The US faces a crisis - there now are well over 1,000,000 persons in prisons and jails, and that number is increasing each week. We cannot afford to maintain this current rate of prisonization, and neither is it a desirably social policy. A number of experiments are now being conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of alternatives to incarceration, most of which involve maintaining the linkage between offenders and the community. These are known as "intermediate sanctions", and research and policy innovation in this field is one of the most important criminological issues of the early 1990s.

The most extreme example of this is **home detention**. Everywhere, states are experimenting with procedures and technological devices that punish offenders by making them stay at home. Some programs require that they never leave home, and remain close to an electronic device in a telephone that senses their presence. More programs allow offenders to go to work each day, and impose a home curfew. Most states are now using some form of **intensive**

supervision probation as an alternative to incarceration as well. These programs involve frequent (sometimes daily) checks by probation workers, mandatory attendance of therapy or training sessions, and continual urine testing. There is also renewed interest in **residential treatment facilities**, especially for dealing with offenders whose principal problem is drug addiction. These offer opportunities for supervised living and day-time-work-release. Finally, sentencing to **community service** or **restitution** programs require the smallest break between offenders and the community.

Some of these programs have been adopted because they are inexpensive yet politically palatable alternatives to incarceration. However, they are also widely applauded because they promise to provide humane and less severe forms of punishment that are more appropriate for many kinds of offenses and offenders. They are also less likely to lead to a permanent break between offenders and their families, and most are compatible with keeping or finding a job, or being enrolled in a job training program. This is particularly important, for among the "community linkage" factors that predict recidivism, employment clearly is the one most suited to government intervention. While officially it is hard to even encourage people to get married, jobs and job training are clearly the objects of government policy. The Eisenhower Foundation (located in Washington, DC) is but one example of private groups in the US which have focused on this issue. The Eisenhower Foundation supports community organizing and community economic development programs aimed at increasing the employability of poor, inner-city residents **and** bringing new jobs into their communities. Randomized experiments have demonstrated that these kinds of job training and other job-related interventions can significantly reduce the extent of recidivism, as well as being related to patterns of first-time offending.

Delinquency Prevention

To achieve the maximum impact on crime, special delinquency programs need to be carefully targeted at high-risk populations. There is good reason for focusing on youths and young adults, for they are responsible for a large proportion of all criminal offenses - perhaps one-third of the total. In the US, the typical age of arrest lies between 15 and 21, depending upon the type of crime; those arrested for theft are most frequently 16 years of age, and for serious assault the most at-risk group is males who are 18 years of age. Even among youths, there is still a great deal of variation in criminal involvement. The 1945 Philadelphia birth cohort study found that only 6 percent of boys contributed 53 percent of all arrests of that age group. A follow-up study of

Philadelphians born in 1958 indicates that the total contribution of the highest-rate youthful offenders has since increased. In addition, when they got into trouble, males in the 1958 birth cohort committed more serious violent offenses, their use of guns in crime increased, and they were more likely to harm or kill their victims.

The best evidence is that some of this is predictable at a very early age. If at age 7 or 8, children are asked to rate the aggressiveness of their playmates, those ratings are highly predictive of later offending; the same holds true of predictions from ratings of aggressive play made by adults conducting concealed observations. Further, later criminality is highly related to poor performance in school among children not much older. *David Farrington's* London study identified seven variables that at age 10 successfully predicted later heavy criminal involvement.

Many of the factors that predict later misfortune are school or family related. They include poverty and child abuse. Parental factors are very important; later criminality is related to neglect and lack of parental supervision, poor nurturing, family disruption and marital discord, and having criminal parents. Doing badly and misbehaving in school is also symptomatic of later difficulties.

The policy implications of these findings are both fairly clear and untested. All of them call for an emphasis on primary prevention rather than later intervention by the criminal justice system. An incomes policy aimed at ensuring a basic level of support for children's families could alleviate some of the risk factors. It would be especially important to combine this with parenthood education programs targeted at families with poor child rearing skills. Counseling to assist parents who are experiencing crises with their children could be important. Likewise, special schooling programs aimed at large groups of high risk youths could - without seemingly selecting for special attention "the criminally inclined" - have positive benefits. None of these approaches have been rigorously validated in terms of their impact on later criminal offending. Further experimentation is needed to evaluate the feasibility and effectiveness of interventions in parenting practices, in particular, however, their general social benefits seem clear enough that impediments to them in the United States clearly are political rather than substantive. Findings like these on the consequences - and predictability - of youthful deprivation of have been available for years.

The State of Knowledge in the Netherlands

*J.J.M. van Dijk**

In this paper I will try to give an overview on developments in crime prevention policies and research in the Netherlands. In a separate paragraph some information is given about the Dutch drug policy.

Crime and Victimization Rates

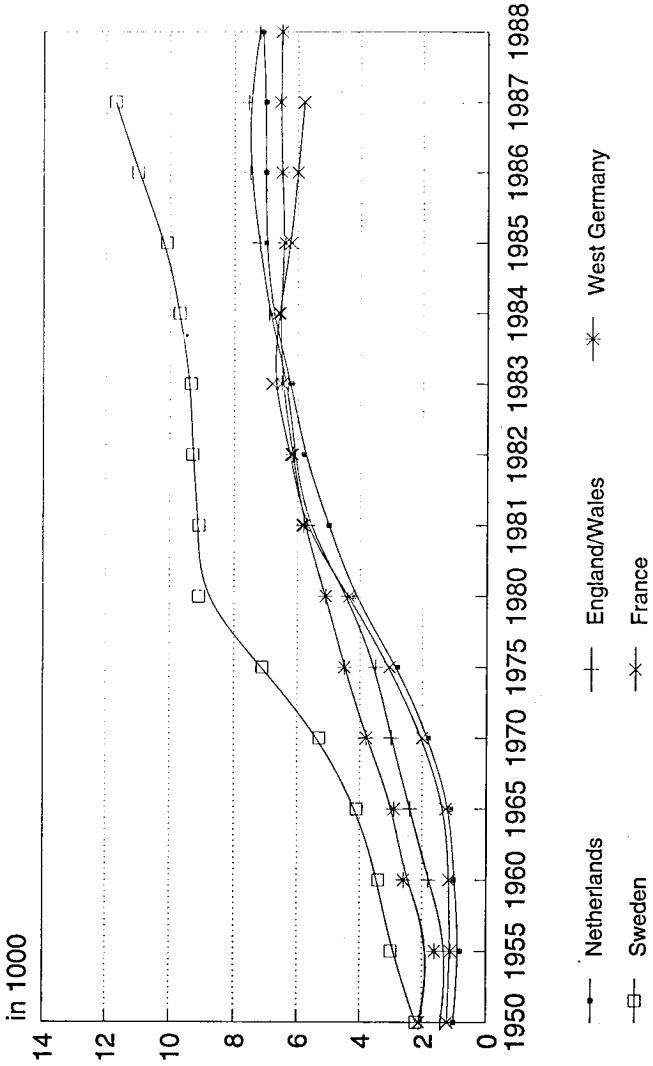
In order to put the crime policies in Europe in a proper perspective, it is essential to look at national crime figures first. Many inhabitants of European and other industrialized countries tend to see rising crime rates as a sort of national curse. This opinion is not borne out by the facts, as can readily be seen from a survey of the statistics on recorded crime of five European countries since 1950 (see figure 1).

Registered Crime in five European Countries per 100,000 Inhabitants

It goes without saying that police statistics do not reflect the true volume of crime. A large proportion of crime is never reported or recorded. These dark numbers may differ considerably across countries. For this reason, no firm conclusions can be drawn from these figures concerning the crime situation in the various countries. The only way to find out what is really going on in terms of crime in Scandinavia and other countries is by mounting a fully standardized victimization survey amongst cross sections of the populations of all European countries.

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Figure 1: Registered crime in five European countries per 100.000



In the beginning of 1989 such a survey has actually been conducted in fifteen different countries nationwide and in two other countries locally (Warsaw and Surabaya) (*van Dijk, Mayhew, Killias* 1990). In figure 2 and 3 we present the key findings of the survey.

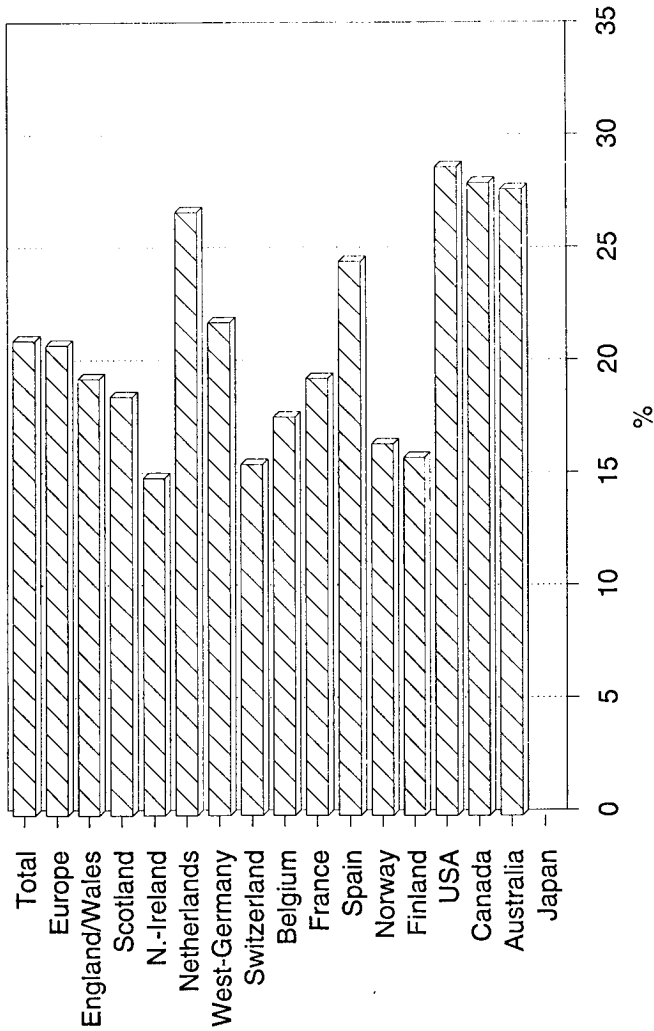
The percentage of persons 16 years and over who had been victimized in 1988 at least once by one of the eleven types of crime covered by the study was the highest in the USA, Canada and Australia (approx. 30%).

Countries with overall victimization rates of about 25% were the Netherlands, Spain and the FRG. The high rate in the Netherlands is partly due to an exceptionally high rate of bicycle thefts. A victimization rate of about 20% was found in Scotland, England and Wales, France and Belgium. Rates in the neighborhood of 15% were found amongst the public of Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Norway and Finland. Japan has a rate below ten percent. The rates in Warsaw (Poland) resemble West-European city rates, although thefts of personal property - in particular pickpocketing - seem more common.

With the exception of Japan, countries with the lowest rates are characterized by a relatively low level of urbanization, e.g. many of their inhabitants live in small villages and few in cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more. Crimes of violence appeared to be the highest in Australia and the USA. Moderately high victimization rates for violence were found in Finland, the Netherlands, the FRG and Canada. In England and Wales the rates were significantly lower than elsewhere.

The ranking of countries on the basis of victimization rates is not vastly different from the picture shown by police figures for car theft and burglary. The rankings for robbery, assault and sexual assault are quite different. However, correspondence was fairly strong, if victimizations which have not been reported to the police are not considered for the rating. The victimization rates for violent crime in England and Wales are, for instance, somewhat lower than was to be expected on the basis of Interpol statistics. This is accounted for by a significantly higher percentage of crimes reported to the police in the United Kingdom. These findings confirm the thesis of criminologists that police statistics cannot be used for comparative purposes, due to differences in reporting and recording across countries.

Figure 2: Percentages of the population victimized by any crime in fifteen countries



Source: van Dijk, Mayhew and Killias
1989

Figure 3: Victimization rates for fourteen different types of crime in seventeen countries

	Total Europe ¹		England & Wales		Scotland		Ireland		Northern Ireland		Nether-lands		West-Germany		Switzer-land		Belgium		France		Spain		Norway		Finland		USA		Canada		Australia		Warsaw		Surabaja		Japan		
	A bis	B bis	C bis	D bis	E bis	F bis	G bis	H bis	I bis	J bis	K bis	L bis	M bis	N bis	O bis	P bis	Q bis	R bis	S bis																				
Theft of car	1.2	1.3	1.8	0.8	1.6	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.8	2.3	1.3	1.1	0.4	2.1	0.8	2.3	2.2	0.2																					
Theft from car	5.3	5.8	5.6	5.3	4.0	5.3	4.7	1.9	2.7	6.0	9.9	2.8	2.7	9.3	7.2	6.9	10.2	4.7																					
Car vandalism	6.7	7.0	6.8	6.5	4.5	8.2	8.7	4.1	6.6	6.5	6.3	4.6	4.0	8.9	9.8	8.7	7.6	2.7																					
Theft of motorcycle ³	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.8																					
Theft of bicycle	2.6	2.2	1.0	1.0	1.6	7.6	3.3	3.2	2.7	1.4	1.0	2.8	3.1	3.1	3.4	1.9	1.0	2.7																					
Burglary with entry	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.0	1.1	2.4	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.4	1.7	0.8	0.6	3.8	3.0	4.4	2.6	3.8																					
Attempted burglary	2.0	1.9	1.7	2.1	0.9	2.6	1.8	0.2	2.3	2.3	1.9	0.4	0.4	5.4	2.7	3.8	2.8	1.7																					
Robbery	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.4	2.8	0.5	0.8	1.9	1.1	0.9	1.2	0.5																					
Personal theft	4.0	3.9	3.1	2.6	2.2	4.5	3.9	4.5	4.0	3.6	5.0	3.2	4.3	4.5	5.4	5.0	13.4	5.2																					
- pickpocketing	1.5	1.8	1.5	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.8	0.5	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.0	13.0	3.3																					
Sexual incidents	2.5	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.8	2.6	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.2	2.4	2.1	0.6	4.5	4.0	7.3	3.6	6.3																					
- sexual assault	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.6	0.2	2.3	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.7																					
Assault/threat	2.9	2.5	1.9	1.8	1.8	3.4	3.1	1.2	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.9	5.4	4.0	5.2	3.0	0.8																					
- with force	1.5	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.1	2.0	1.5	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.2	1.4	2.0	2.3	1.5	3.0	1.4	0.3																					
All crimes ⁵	21.1	20.9	19.4	18.6	15.0	26.8	21.9	15.6	17.7	19.4	24.6	16.5	15.9	28.8	28.1	27.8	34.4	20.0																					

1. Total figure treats each country as of equal statistical importance, with an assumed sample of 2000 (excl. Japan)

2. European totals have been calculated by weighting individual country results by population size (excl. Warsaw/Surabaja)

3. 'Motorcycles' include mopeds and scooters

4. Asked of women only

5. Percentage of sample victimized by at least one crime of any type

Source: Van Dijk, Mayhew, Killias, Experiences of Crime across the World, Kluwer, Deventer, 1990

This overview of registered crime rates and victimization rates leads to the conclusion that crime has gone up starkly from 1955 onwards across Western-Europe. In the seventies, victimizations by crime reached a level where crime became an important political issue in most European countries.

The Organization of Social Crime Prevention in the Netherland

At National Level

In 1985, in order to facilitate execution of the prevention policy, the Interdepartmental Committee for Social Crime Prevention was set up under the chairmanship of the Director General (of the Directorate) for Police and Immigration of the Ministry of Justice. The task of the Committee was to coordinate and stimulate implementation of the policy of prevention which is to be carried out by the relevant Ministries.

In order to encourage public authorities at a local level to develop social crime prevention policies, the Government set up a fund of 25 million dollars from which subsidies could be paid, during the period 1986 to 1990, for promising local authority projects. The Committee's task is to advise the Ministers of Justice and Home Affairs on the allocation of these subsidies. The criteria governing selection for subsidies is a continuing subject of discussion between the Committee and a special committee from the Association of Netherlands Municipalities. One of the criteria used is that the municipality in question must be willing to continue the project at its own expense if it should prove effective.

In principle, the objective is that every local crime prevention project should be carried out under the guidance of a member of the secretariat and scientifically evaluated (*Junger-Tas* 1989). Approximately ten percent of the budget is reserved for evaluation. In order to give the policy additional support, the management group publishes a quarterly magazine on crime prevention initiatives, with a circulation of 18,000. This magazine, under the title SEC, is distributed to municipal bodies, schools, sports associations etc. The magazine awards an annual prize in the form of an extra subsidy granted to the best crime prevention initiative of the year (the Roethof Award).

At Local Level

In a municipality, primary responsibility for social crime prevention rests with the burgomaster. Many of the larger municipalities have set up crime preven-

tion committees comprising the appropriate civil servants and aldermen, e.g. those with responsibility for youth and town planning, representatives from the police such as crime prevention officers and the public prosecutor.

A Survey of Projects

More than a hundred local authorities have applied to the Interdepartmental Committee for funding for local crime prevention programmes. The Committee has selected about 200 different projects for support.

Eighty projects are specifically directed towards the prevention of vandalism, a common element being special courses for schoolchildren. A standardized teaching package has been provided by the State for this purpose. Evaluation studies have observed positive changes in both attitudes and (self-reported) behaviour as well as in repair costs. In some cities training courses are part of a wider package of measures to deal with vandalism. In several cities special programmes have been launched for the prevention of thefts of bicycles, including the provision of bicycles sheds manned by formerly unemployed persons. It was found that in the short term Dutch cyclists are unwilling to pay more than a symbolic price for such services. In other cities prevention of shoplifting has been assisted by joint action on the part of retail stores, the police and the prosecutor's office. The take up rate of training courses for owners of small shops was generally rather low. Those who took part in the courses reported lower rates of victimization.

The Committee has also decided to fund several crime prevention oriented urban renewal programmes. In most cases these initiatives combine improved design with strengthening informal social control. Elsewhere, neighborhood watch projects are sponsored as separate ventures. A preliminary evaluation study in three cities showed that crime levels were indeed reduced after the introduction of neighborhood watch programmes.

In three other cities the Committee supports comprehensive programmes aimed at preventing truancy and dropping-out from secondary schools. Some new street-corner work projects which provide educational and work facilities are also being sponsored. Many of these projects assist in the implementation of community service orders.

At last can be mentioned the financial support for documentation. A central computerized databank within the Directorate of Crime Prevention collects national and international literature, now totalling to more than 8,000 entries. This centre functions also as the collection and distribution point for the International Crime Prevention Information Network (ICPN). This body

of information is growing steadily and made available to interested parties across the world.

Other ministries have taken their share of the cost of prevention projects. For example, the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture has launched some 25 local projects aimed at the social integration of high-risk groups. These involve the use of integrated street-corner work with an emphasis on work and education facilities. Six additional projects are geared to youngsters belonging to ethnic minorities. Also 6 million ECU is spent every year on special work projects for permanently unemployed youngsters. The government has set itself the objective of providing training facilities or jobs for all persons between the ages of 16 and 21 in the coming years.

Five Cases of Dutch Prevention

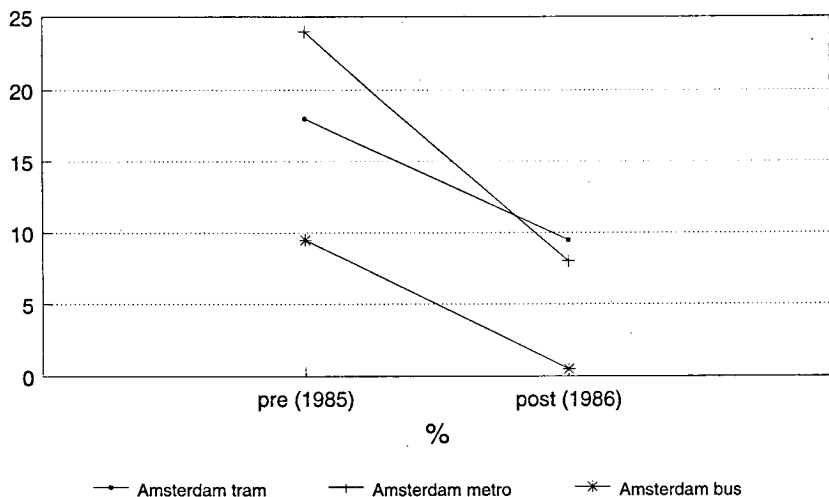
In order to give a more concrete impression of what is done in practice, some of the successful projects will be described. They concern public transport, schools, diversion, public housing and retail stores.

Surveillance Officers in Public Transport

The Dutch public transport system experienced since the seventies a steep rise in the number of travellers who do not pay their fares. Also vandalism and aggressive behaviour has increased sharply. To curb these phenomena, a new kind of officers was introduced on tramways and the underground system: the VIC's. VIC is the acronym from the Dutch for Security, Information and Surveillance. In the buses the entry system was modified so that everybody had to pass the busdriver and present a ticket. The system was introduced in the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague.

It is clear from the evaluation study that the percentage of fare dodgers (passengers without a valid ticket), fell in all three cities after the introduction of the 1,300 VIC's and the change in boarding procedure. The case of Amsterdam is illustrative for this effect (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Introduction of surveillance officers in Amsterdam public transport
% fare dodgers



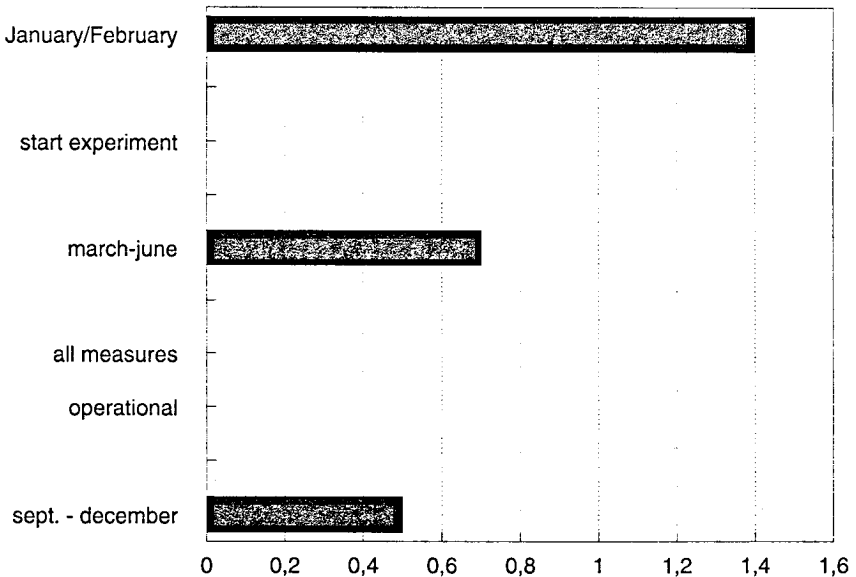
Schools: The Truancy Project

Truancy is chosen as an approach to the crime prevention of youngsters for two reasons. First, truancy as such is a form of deviance deserving attention as such. Second, spotting truants gives an opportunity to reach predelinquents and early starting delinquents in a rather unobtrusive, non-stigmatizing way. For it is a well-established research finding that school failure, truancy and school drop-out are strongly related to delinquent behaviour (e.g. *Rutter et al.* 1979; *Junger-Tas et al.* 1985).

In this particular project, three lower vocational schools were selected, as truancy and drop-out is relatively high in this type of schools. The first measure was the introduction in the school of a computerized truancy registration system. Using this system, parents were called the same morning or afternoon to report to them the absence of their child. This was supposed to work in a preventive way for incidental and non-serious truants, for whom the lack of control by the school or the parents was too inviting. The second measure was the appointment of an educational worker, who was responsible for the

registration of truancy, disciplinary problems and imminent school drop-out. The educational worker discussed with the regular teachers youngsters at risk and advised and trained them in handling them. The third measure was referral by the educational worker to a special class, managed by a remedial teacher, qualified as an educationalist, and a teacher of technical skills. The special program offered in this class was at maximum three months, in order to make re-entrance in the regular curriculum as smoothly as possible. The effect on truancy is as follows.

Figure 5: Average number of hours of truancy per student per week (n=535)



After the introduction of the registration and warning scheme, a considerable reduction of truancy took place. Opportunity reduction by a simple increase in supervision and control appeared to be successful. About the success of the other measures, aiming at the reinforcement of the bond between school and problematic pupils, can be said more when the evaluation study is completed. The Ministry of Education has issued recently new regulations on truancy registration. The Ministry also modified the regulations

on truancy registration and replacing teaching staff on sick leave, in order to prevent delinquency during school hours. Secondary schools are being offered financial incentives to introduce measures to prevent vandalism.

Diversion: The HALT-Project

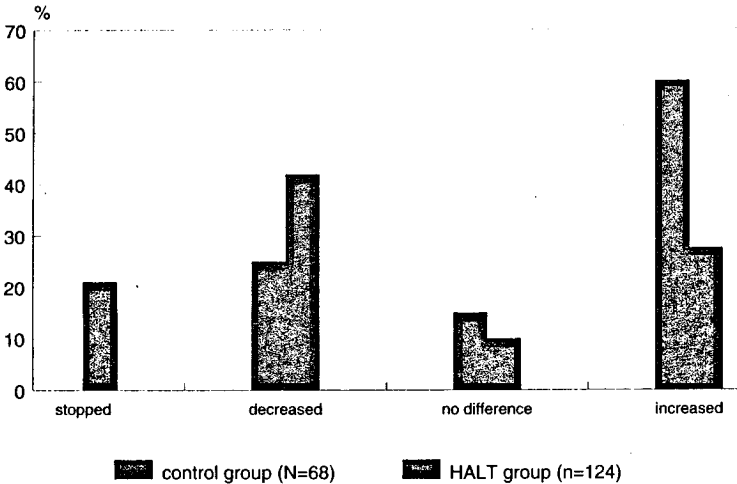
HALT, an acronym of "the alternative", is meant as an alternative for prosecution of young offenders in cases of petty crimes, mainly vandalism. In the average case, a youngster caught for damaging or destroying property and referred by the police to the HALT-Bureau is made to clean up or repair the damaged object during his or her free time. Eventually, this task is combined with paying for damages. If the boy or girl does not accept the offer by the HALT-bureau or does not fulfil the obligations as agreed upon in a contract, the informal police report is changed into an official report which is then submitted to the prosecutor. The advantage of the HALT-procedure is that a quick and informal action can be taken and that registration in the judicial documentation system is avoided. At the same time the necessary control function of the public prosecutor is maintained. An essential feature is that the intervention is community based, the juveniles are not excluded from society. From a psychological point of view an additional benefit can be mentioned: the kind of punishment is educative in itself. The responsibility of the youngster is emphasized, both by being held clearly accountable for the act and by working on the basis of an agreement. About 50 HALT-bureaus are now in operation, some as local other as regional institutions. To check if no unwanted net-widening would take place, an investigation was done about the kind of juveniles that ended up in the program. It appeared that the group involved did not consist of just ordinary but unlucky kids who happen to run into a policeman. Self-report data revealed them as far more delinquent than average Dutch youth, not only in terms of vandalism but also in relation to shoplifting, arson and burglary (*Junger-Tas* 1989): apparently a selection of youngsters for whom a clear reaction to their behaviour is appropriate.

What are the effects of the HALT-intervention?

Compared to a control group of youngsters having committed similar offenses in a city where no HALT-scheme was operating, the HALT-group showed, according to self-report measures, a significant greater decrease in offending after intervention. A positive change in behaviour took place in more than 60% of the HALT-cases, compared to only 25% after a traditional handling by the police. Of the latter group, no one stopped offending. The effect is

independent of age, school situation, family situation and the use of alcohol and soft drugs. From interviews it appeared that the boys and girls were very well aware of the moral element in the intervention, the fact that they are held responsible and have to "make good" to the individual victims and the community. The Ministry of Justice subsidises now diversion projects for young vandals of this type in about 60 municipalities on a permanent basis.

Figure 5a: Effects of HALT intervention on vandalism



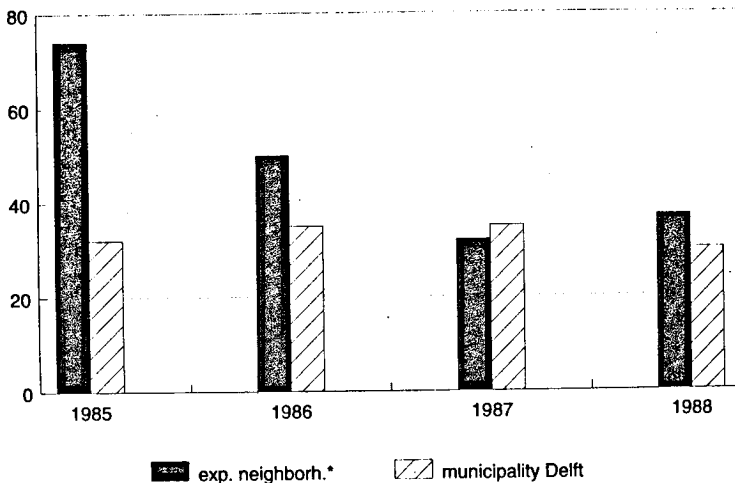
Public housing: A Neighborhood Project

Since the *Shaw* and *Mckay* research in the 40s on the spatial distribution of crime in American cities, deprived neighborhoods characterized by social disorganization and high crime levels have drawn a lot of attention by researchers and practitioners alike. Recent studies like those of *Bottoms* and *Wiles* (1986) and *Skogan* (1986) point to direct parallels with the Dutch housing related crime problems. Some of the subsidized, low rent houses, often in high-rise buildings, are extremely problematic: decay, crime, poor technical quality and back rents are some of the problems for the managers and residents of these estates. The often applied "target hardening" and environmental design approach appears to have a limited effect. Therefore, new projects were started that in which social, supervisory and administrative measures were added. For the management of the project local and neighborhood administrative structures were integrated. As an example, in Delft a project consisted of the following measures:

- new recreational facilities for youthful persons were arranged in cooperation with a streetcorner worker;
- seven caretakers were appointed to intensify supervision, to give information, advice and warnings and to keep the buildings clean;
- by redesigning parks and streets were made more surveyable and the buildings more vandalism-proof; entrances of the buildings were made less accessible;
- units were redesigned for one-and-two-person families, so to decrease the disproportionate number of youngsters in the neighborhood; and last but not least:
- no plans were executed without consultation of the residents.

These measures were in total very successful: the appearance of the buildings is back to a very acceptable level; residents, municipal authorities and the estate management work together in a structural way; the caretakers are able to maintain order and cleanliness; all parties involved are happy with the result. The development of the level of crime is in accordance with this picture.

Figure 6: Number of offences reported per 100 housing units



* ca. 550 units

Nevertheless, some unexpected negative side effects can be observed. The important one-and-two-person families did not integrate well in the existing population: most of them see their home as temporary and are not much interested in the neighborhood. Their somewhat different lifestyles give rise to complaints of the original inhabitants. Although the caretakers are very well accepted, part of the residents is not able or willing to pay their financial part for this work. A last effect is the not increased tendency of the residents to keep the building clean: littering and pollution is seen as the responsibility of the caretaker and not of the residents themselves (*Hesseling 1990*). Still, as a prevention measure the project was highly successful. As a consequence, the Ministry of Justice is contributing during three years, in a decreasing percentage, to the cost of 150 caretakers introduced into high-rise flats owned by housing estates and experiencing serious social problems.

Retail Stores: An Utrecht Shopping Centre

In Utrecht a comprehensive crime prevention project was introduced consisting of among others the following measures:

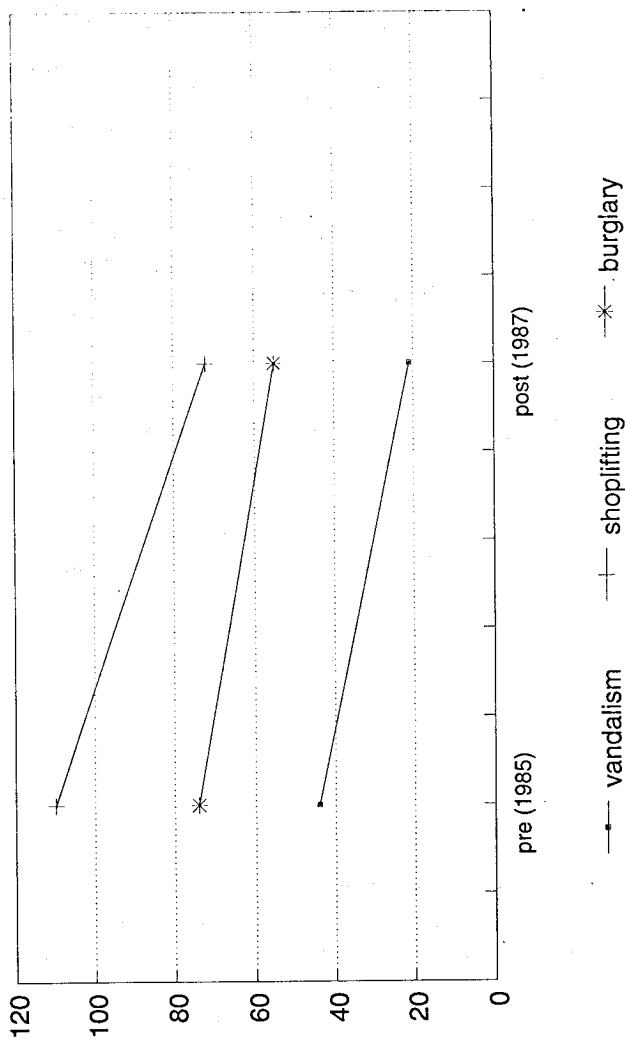
- provision of instruction for personnel and managers of shops concerning shoplifting;
- installation of an electronic alarm system for retailers enabling them to warn each other and the security officer;
- appointment of two security officers for the dual purpose of being consulted by and giving assistance to public and retailers;
- "alternative" penalties for vandals and collective court sessions for shoplifters;
- a press and publicity campaign in support of the project.

As can be seen from this figure, the total cost of damage suffered by the retailers as a result of crime dropped considerably. Victim surveys among the shopping public indicated that crimes against the public had been reduced by 50% (*Colder 1988*) to continue the project at its own expense. Also for this kind of problems national measures are initiated.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs has set up a national centre for information on the prevention of shoplifting. In anticipation of an alteration in the law on this matter, the Ministry of Justice has carried out experiments in five municipalities whereby the police may offer first offenders suspected of shoplifting the option of paying a spot fine and thereby avoid being brought

to court. Evaluation has shown that approximately 80% of the suspects take up the offer. In this way, shoplifting can be dealt with far more quickly and efficiently.

Figure 7: Effects of crime prevention in 2 shopping centers in ECUs Total losses in 1000 ECU



Conclusions

On a national scale, since 1984, no fall has as yet been observed in police figures for reported crimes. The level of registered crime has remained constant. Both from the victim surveys carried out and from self-report studies among young people, it shows that the real level of crime has fallen. There has been an accompanying rise in readiness to report crimes. One particularly favourable factor is the stabilization or even fall in the numbers of drug addicts (estimated at 15,000 throughout the country). In Netherlands municipalities there are almost no addicts under the age of 21.

From evaluation reports at present available it would appear that it is particularly those prevention projects in which official surveillance is intensified that are effective in the short term. This is true for surveillance in public transport, in shopping centres and housing estates. A winning combination seems to be to have clear rules and surveillance with a human face carried out by officers who not only maintain the order but also give assistance to the public (*Colder* 1988).

Schools also provide an excellent field for crime prevention projects. Much can be done in primary education in the way of information about vandalism. In secondary education, keeping track of truancy and holding special classes for potential drop-outs can act as a brake on the slide towards a criminal lifestyle.

Less successful in the short term have been projects aimed at integrating or reintegrating young delinquents using recreative facilities, schooling and work. The ever-present danger in such projects is that extra facilities will be offered to groups of young people who are not only guilty of serious crime but also continue in such activity. Against this, positive results have been achieved in the context of community service order for criminals under 25 years of age (*Bol* 1985; *van der Laan* 1988).

Drug Policy

In its drug policy the Dutch government tries to pursue a realistic and pragmatic course instead of dramatising the issue or moralising about it. This policy has been characterized as one of "normalization". Demythologizing and deglamourizing drug use means decriminalizing it as much as possible, id est defining simple possession of cannabis as a misdemeanour instead of as a crime.

The primary aim is to protect health and social well-being in general and to improve the health of addicts. The government therefore takes the view that

drug abuse is not primarily a problem for the police and the courts, but a matter of health and social well-being. In the Opium Act, which conforms to the Single Convention on Narcotic Substances and the Convention on Psychotropic Substances, and in guidelines for the Public Prosecutions Department, a distinction is made between cannabis products and other more harmful drugs as regards the penalties laid down. A strict distinction in enforcement policies is made between drug users and drug traffickers. The latter face imprisonment for up to 16 years for a multiple offence. In general, the role of the criminal justice authorities is a supportive one: to combat national and international illicit drug trafficking. It is also directed towards the suppression of drug-related crime. While it is realized in this respect that penalties imposed on drug addicts must not be such as to aggravate their drug problem, they are still held responsible for the crimes they committed to maintain their habit.

Policies directed towards drug users provide for easily accessible "street-corner help", help in hospitals and jails, open-door centres for addicts who are prostitutes, the supply of methadon, a medically prescribed heroin substitute, and the widespread needle exchange programmes.

The results of this policy are carefully monitored by the agencies involved. On the negative side, the policy has made the drugs scene in several Dutch cities more public, and therefore more visible, than is the case elsewhere. The burden this places upon the inhabitants of neighborhoods where groups of dealers or users temporarily congregate is heavy.

In many other respects, however, the policy appears to be fairly successful. The prevalence of cannabis use in the Netherlands has decreased and is at present rather low. Only 2.5% of young people below the age of 19 have ever used cannabis. The number of daily users appears to be one in a thousand. The number of heroin addicts has stabilized at between 15,000 and 20,000 out of a population of 14,7 million. Cocaine use has grown since the South American drug mafia began to conquer the European market, but so far the rise has not been dramatic. "Crack" is a rarity. The use of amphetamines and LSD has dropped almost to zero. In 1987 only 64 people died in the Netherlands as a result of drug abuse. Recent statistics indicate a downward trend. Cases of drug-related homicides are few, at most 10 to 20 a year. On the positive side, one of the unexpected side effects of the policy is the low prevalence of AIDS among Dutch drug users. Drug addicts account for only 8 percent of AIDS patients in the Netherlands, as against 23 percent in Europe and 26 percent in the USA.

In the past, drug policy in the Netherlands was not always been viewed as favourably by the governments of other countries. However, the US-ambassador to The Hague made the following comments with regard to the Dutch

drug policy in the course of a speech given in Amsterdam. "Since my arrival in the Netherlands, I have been very interested in the policies adopted here to try to deal with the problems of the individual drug abuser. Five facts seem to stand out from the Dutch experience:

- the addict population has stabilized;
- the vast majority of young people are not interested in drugs;
- addicts who want treatment get it quickly;
- the drug culture has been brought above ground;
- the incidence of AIDS is astonishingly low among addicts and other at-risk groups.

Whether this experience is transferable to other countries, I don't know. But I think there are many success stories here that are worth bringing to the attention of people in the U.S. and elsewhere struggling against this common foe".

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**Seminar of the scientific committee
Paris, May 30-31, 1991
Summary of the debates ***

It was the intention of the second international conference to define some lines of action and reflexion for the appeasement of urban violence. Short-term responses spurred by emergencies are intrinsically insufficient. The real issue is the long-term accompaniment of the deep-seated changes in urban life.

Following a reminder of the state of knowledge as shown in the reports established by the different experts, the scientific committee, convened in Paris on May 30-31, 1991, reviewed the themes of the conference:

- prevention policies,
- prevention policies specially aimed at youth,
- prevention policies and drug abuse,
- local responses to recidivism,
- prevention, insecurity, mass media.

From now on, it seems, prevention will be a three-sided affair, with local dynamics in the forefront, political responsibilities as yet ill-defined, and a reservoir of expertise, in great demand. The definition of each party and their interconnections are complex and still uncertain. They lead to a reexamination of the links between public authorities and private operators, between different levels of government, and between practitioners and scientists involved in research.

Two major issues occupied the committee's discussions: the advent of the "local" dimension, and the evaluation of prevention policies. These cross all five themes, and constitute the first two chapters of the summary. The third chapter deals with issues that are more specific to each of the themes of the conference.

* By *Catherine Vourch*

I. The Advent of The "Local" Dimension

The local dimension is now in the forefront of prevention, including prevention of recidivism. This is a relative novelty in a field which, touching on law and order, is therefore mostly in the hands of the State and relies on the professional nature of its actors. This may be viewed as the result of governmental disarray in the face of uncontrollable acts of violence and a system of repression which essentially affects the poorest strata of society.

1. *"Local" as a Scale for Conceptualizing Public Action*

As a concept, "local" is far from homogeneous, and the international character of the Paris conference may well compound the misunderstandings that are already visible in the work of the scientific committee. Sometimes it designates an echelon of government (municipalities), at others the scale of everyday life (a district or neighborhood), a social, ethnic or cultural community or again, agencies or networks acting at grass-roots level.

At the very least, the committee recommends guarding against the a priori notion that "local" is inherently connected with a definite social group.

There is one constant, however: "local" tends to be referred to as a scale (variously defined) on which public action may again be conceptualized rather than as the miniaturization of comprehensive or national action. The purpose is the enunciation of the problems requiring solving, as they are encountered in people's everyday life. In other words, it is a return to social expectations with respect to urban security.

Over and above any disagreements over methods, and the economic and social disparities - often enormous - between countries (or continents), this approach seems to be a unifying factor in international exchanges and in the relations between managerial action and research. This is truly the motor of public action with respect to the prevention of crime at the present time.

This approach is based on a number of postulates, and one major line of research in coming years will be the verification of their solidity:

- first postulate: it is locally, with the people involved, that the concrete problems underlying the legal terms in which offences and crimes are couched can be described;
- second postulate: it is locally that what is acceptable (or tolerable) can be redefined, and whence, the question of norms can be reexamined so as to determine the extent to which physical or symbolic violence must be reduced:

- third postulate: it is locally that effective prevention can begin, with people and not only for them;
- fourth postulate: it is locally that the impact of programs on society (on criminals and on the population) can be evaluated.

In other words, the "local" dimension, as a scale on which to define problems to be solved, seems to be a good operator of change and a good operator for the prevention of crime.

2. ... *Provided it is Coupled with Others*

This is the second important point brought up by the scientific committee: to be an operator of change (and even so, a closer look must be taken) the "local" sphere must be coupled with other scales and other types of knowledge. This solicits institutions and research in a new way.

Social demand is neither homogeneous nor immediately explicit. It is composed of a multitude of often contradictory "voices", some boisterous, others practically unheard. In any case, it takes shape in a back-and-forth movement between the sphere of daily life and the managerial echelon of the commonwealth, and between direct actors (local or other) and the understanding of facts and history eventually yielded by research. A back-and-forth movement between the "reasons" (technical, social, financial or other) of one or another party, involving descriptions, proposals, reworking, resolving, evaluating etc. When time is not taken for this process, the public scene echoes with partial, borrowed statements, vulnerable to rumors and fears.

Local operators must be provided with information if they are to succeed in their work:

- information coming from institutions. One of the projects for the coming years is to make feasible the territorialization of official data for which, at present, serious reinterpretation is required in order to resituate them on a specific territory (and thus, in local projects);
- information collected by the operators themselves. One method now under study - the computerized mapping of crime¹ - seems promising, but its cost and the amount of knowledge it requires may limit its use. The devising of simple, economical data-collection methods is on the agenda

1 In Sweden, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom.

in most countries.² However, the committee was divided on them: what is the relevance of the split whereby complex methods are applied to evaluation and data-collection is left to simple methods, the reliability of which has not been ascertained and whose value is limited since they are difficult to exploit for prevention programs, and therefore are unable to measure the impact of these?

It is essential that data-collection methods should be standardized, at least for key issues. Barring this, and particularly in contexts where responsibilities are fragmented, decision-makers would deprive themselves of any serious evaluation of programs (cf. chapter 2). The information does exist,³ but it is scattered, hard to get to and poorly or not at all structured. Now, an isolated source of information says nothing: it is comparison which is informative. Whence the idea of creating crime-watches, with access to the information possessed by competing agencies.

The committee once again issued a reminder of the rules governing the organization of collaboration between research and practitioners, in all cases:

- the findings of research conducted at the request of any government should be made public;
- in investigating social demand, its full range as well as the time element should be taken into account;
- when evaluating programs, their side effects or perverse effects - with which the authorities are constantly playing hide and seek - should be included;
- it should be kept in mind that the field of possibilities defined by the political sphere is only one of the many that may be carved out. It is up to research to cast light on aspects that are not in the political/administrative limelight;

2 Particularly in the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom; telephone survey (cost: 15% of a conventional survey); use of key informers in close contact with communities or neighborhoods (school principals, doctors, custodians). The validity of the information collected is considered as good as in conventional surveys: door-to-door surveys by police workers (trainees or on the job) in a neighborhood (with non-negligible side effects as to the quality of subsequent relations between the police and the population), local, regional and national surveys through the press (free of charge).

3 There is widespread underexploitation of data from institutions (from the police in particular) as well as from surveys (victimization, self-reported crime, attitudes and opinion) and from research findings. The wealth of these unexploited reserves is more visible when compared with the lack of data in recently constituted countries.

- a place must be reserved for long-term, fundamental research through which new hypotheses may be developed, the ideological substratum of control or prevention agencies may be analysed, new ways of thinking may be advanced and programs sounded.

3. *Levels of Government, the Question of Responsibility*

The many ways in which the "local" dimension enters the prevention scene generates some confusion, or at the least, a fragmentation of responsibility. The committee draws attention to three points:

First point: should responsibilities be clarified? One more pragmatic trend would put aside the question of who is in charge, provided local operators are given adequate information and means of evaluation, and are left sufficient freedom in running programs.

However, the committee points out that criminal policy is a field in which the effective solutions (and not only the apparent ones) to people's problems are partially regulated by political rivalries. Lack of conviction on the part of anyone who is responsible, feels responsible or is held responsible for criminal policy may be an obstacle to the most solid prevention program. Can we really do without a clarification of responsibilities? The committee points to three reasons for answering "no":

- the usual sedimentation of structures (a structure that does not work is rarely eliminated, another one is created), which complicates both responsible action and comprehension of it;
- the increasingly predominant, multiform role of the rising numbers of private security agencies, which are still underestimated and insufficiently studied. It would be a good idea for research to delve more into the private forms of security and the private security services. Particular attention should be paid to the role of insurance companies, the financial policies of which receive more governmental surveillance than the direct security requirements written into contracts or the franchise policy, all of which are actually decisive in determining popular feelings of insecurity and exasperation;
- the fact that ethnic communities (some of which, it is reminded, have suffered a form of quasi-colonization and are now experiencing serious problems with delinquency) are extremely reluctant to accept any contact with governmental agencies. How can prevention be organized among them? Can they be granted a specific relationship with norms?

Second point: what can be said about the wager on the ability of municipalities to play a major role in social and possibly even grass-roots prevention?⁴ Here, the uses of research are threefold, at the least (and these are vast, only very partially explored fields):

- local data-collection on social demand,
- program evaluation,
- analysis of the links between local policies and all of the factors affecting them, including the national or even European or international levels. The main instances of such interference are international diplomacy, the codification of deviance, the institutional aspects of the criminal justice system, criminal policies, financing, professional networks (police, medicine, firms, trade unions, etc.).

Last, how can the issue of civil rights be solved? It arises with the idea of providing local operators with reliable data, and helping them to do some of the collecting themselves:

- who is responsible for maintaining the confidential nature of personal (discriminatory) information collected in the framework of prevention programs?
- what protection may be afforded against the risk of interference in the life of a neighborhood or of a community (there has been talk of the "private life of a neighborhood")?

Does involvement of people from the neighborhood in the programs suffice to make this question irrelevant? And does the fact that national legislation generally hinders access to what is considered crucial information constitute a sufficient response? The committee feels that several points require clarification:

- should the collection and circulation of information be entrusted to independent, specially empowered agencies?
- should the circulation of information pertaining to a place (neighborhood or community) be confined to the group concerned with life in that place? If so, how can this group be defined?

4 The African report emphasizes the importance, in all cases, of maintaining a clear national policy in which the administration shoulders its responsibilities.

- to what extent can the police be allowed to handle personal records without restricting civil rights?
- how can the special problem of ethnically mixed settings, with their language barriers, refusal to collaborate and the (possibly) discriminatory nature of ethnic data, be handled?

The experts expressed a subtle variety of opinions on this point, ranging from rejection of any collection of ethnic data (which collection would in fact go against the written law in some countries) to hopes for the end of a taboo which, by preventing the collection and circulation of certain data, gives rein to biased or incomplete information.

II. The Evaluation of Prevention Policies

The evaluation of prevention policies is on the agenda in many countries. Research is strongly implicated in it.

1. *Serious Gaps*

The committee notes the existence of serious gaps in evaluation policies.

Those in charge rarely provide for the evaluation of programs.

There is a tendency to analyse effects of programs on structural arrangements (on the relations between municipalities and national administration, for instance) rather than their effects on the population.

There is a shortage of specialities capable of performing evaluation. Little or nothing is known of the specific literature on evaluation. Too much research concentrates on instruments and too little on evaluation.

2. *The Conditions for Proper Evaluation*

The technical difficulties involved in evaluating correlations between several programs should by no means be underestimated. A satisfactory evaluation policy should make use of several tools:

- indications of ... the effectiveness of the program; it is not always feasible to determine this elementary fact, owing to the frequent lack of any written trace;
- data from the police and criminal justice system, but these should not be the main yardstick;

- standardization of data-collection systems;⁵
- least for key issues, so as to establish comparisons between different sources, on the one hand, and with the goals of prevention, on the other. Cf. chapter 1, paragraph 12.
- on work long-term (five or ten years) with control groups, and not simply in the atmosphere of early enthusiasm or political urgency;
- integration of the side effects of actions, such as the fallout from any breakdown of the problem once it has been tackled.

3. *Intervention of an Independent Outside Agency*

Three points should be taken into consideration:

- evaluations dependent on institutional logic are inadequate. They may hardly be anything but a managerial check (whence the ambiguity of indicators of products or productivity baptized indicators of results);
- outside, independent evaluation is necessary. But the naturally authoritarian nature of this set-up may be poorly accepted by local structures. Is the establishment of a contractual relationship in prevention policies enough to eliminate this difficulty?
- are there several levels of evaluation? The question is debated. The committee discussed two distinctions:
- the first would differentiate two broad models in prevention. First, the centralized model, run by an administration and working with clear definitions of crimes, specific tools and definite policies, of which independent evaluation is an integral part. Secondly, the local model in which the "community" takes care of its own problems, and which does not require as comprehensive an evaluation.
- a second distinction may be operated between a managerial type evaluation and a more complete, scientifically oriented one.

5 At least as far as the question of how different sources of information on the one hand can be related to the aims of prevention on the other hand. See section 1, phr.12

III. On the Themes of the Conference

1. *Prevention Policies (Theme 1)*

The committee points out the difficulty involved, for any scientist, in dealing with so imprecise an object and with such diversity of forms.

From the categorization of types of prevention ...

One way of structuring the situation would be to class tendential types of crime prevention:

- two distinctions are observed: the first is between action aimed mostly at offenders (discouragement of acts) and more victim-related action (encouragement to improve protection of one's person and belongings), and a second distinction between overall prevention aimed at the socio-economic context, and more specific prevention concentrating on crime-related problems;
- combinations of these four elements yield two models for prevention: one known as situational⁶ is presently more victim-oriented and rather specific, whereas the second, known as social prevention,⁷ tends to be comprehensive and, in the past decade or so, more victim-oriented;
- a third model is taking shape: prevention of excessive institutional intervention, of which tendencies to diversion and decriminalization, and more generally the trend toward deregulation and the designation of police action in some communities or poor neighborhoods as one of the problems to be solved, are a part;

Prevention as conceived in the 1960s - specific and offender-oriented - is now relatively on the decline, then, and is replaced by social and economic development programs with a local basis, eventually supported by the national or regional authorities. This change, which the committee regrets, should be reconsidered. It is my no means a necessary implication of development programs.

... to assessment of social expectations.

There are some drawbacks to these classification systems, since they adopt the institutional viewpoint:

6 Of Anglo-American origin, and observed essentially in the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries.

7 Mostly illustrated by French preventive policies in the 1980s and those inspired by them.

- they limit themselves to the conventional objects of prevention programs (thefts, burglaries, physical assault) and overlook the less visible forms of crime, and those that are closer to the centers of economic and political power;⁸
- they are mainly concerned with action aimed at people who have already been in trouble with the law, to the detriment of more comprehensive interventions;
- and last but not least, they do not account for incivilities which, although not necessarily criminal, weigh heavily on people's fears and concerns.

To avoid uniform, catch-all prevention the goals of which become unclear and the evaluation of which is uncertain, the committee feels it is essential to take a new look at social expectations. Three fields, in particular, should be given priority:

- the informal, non-institutional way - varying with local norms, contexts, etc. - in which problems are identified and categorized, the need for prevention is defined, and the "acceptable degree of violence", beyond which the police is called in, is experienced;
- the primordial notion of incivility, which is less formal than criminal classifications and around which some countries are now beginning to center prevention;
- the organization of institutional agencies (the police force in particular) so that they do not hinder the local formulation of what problems require solving (cf. chapter 1), and so that they may act as partners with local operators once the problems have been identified.

2. *Youth-oriented Prevention Policies (Theme 2)*

There is a startling contrast here between programs in the most industrialized countries and those in certain African and Latin American countries. The former are setting up individualized programs to prevent deviants from dropping out of school, whereas the latter are often still unable to build

8 The committee does not intend to elude these austere, "ordinary" problems submitted to it by the Paris Conference by taking a tangent such as the subject of crimes committed by States or banks (which are indeed crucial problems as well, and clearly connected with everyday crime, but which will certainly not be broached in the near future by any international colloquium).

schools. The former concentrate on families, whereas the latter must deal with cities full of children left to themselves... And yet, the general conceptual frameworks have much in common.

Refusal to relegate unemployed youth to a "ghetto".

If the experts were to formulate one central recommendation, it would be not to put problem youth "up against a wall"; not to view people who are also victims of their acts as a threat. Three points:

- situations in which they would feel protected from violence can be defined **with** them and not only for them;
- the idea that certain offences are intrinsically linked with youth should be handled with extreme caution;
- there is disproportionate concern with the question of ethnic minority groups as well as with the question of "persevering" juvenile delinquents, with the risk, for the latter, of labelling what is actually a delinquent "period" a "career" in crime.

Police directed at youth are deeply conflictual:

- conflict between the search for a solution involving diversion and the legalistic trend (concerned with obtaining the same formal guarantees for children as for adults). In the latter perspective, the question is whether the application to juveniles of the idea that criminal justice is the "last resort" is enough?⁹
- conflict between specific prevention programs (for which good old street work remains a time-tested model) and more recent programs for non-specialized social prevention which split their attention between schools, homes, leisure activities, transportation, etc. ...
- conflict between programs (especially preschool programs, now extensively used in some countries) relying heavily on the family, and the large number of children born without a family in the most underprivileged communities. One expert expressed concern over the tendency to address children at an increasingly early age, and the hope that we will not witness a revival of the concept of the innate character of delinquency.

9 In Spain, there was reason to fear that the debate on removal of judiciary guardianship of endangered minors might result in increased repression for young people labelled delinquents; sentences were in fact higher.

3. *Prevention Policies and Drug Abuse (Theme 3)*

The Committee voiced its reticence at seeing the conference drawn into a debate on such treacherous ground. Is it appropriate for it to be a sounding-board for the most alarmist attitudes towards the problem drug abuse? And to confine itself to the problem of illegal drugs, without considering substance abuse in general?

Drug abuse is a highly political and emotional subject. It is sustained by police and journalistic statements which too often replace evaluation. The committee is therefore sceptical as to whether prevention policies - the intention of which remain unclear - are founded.

There are still some questions as to incidence itself. Global stabilization of intake (saying nothing of the use of other substances) are recently been recorded, specially affecting the Netherlands, the United States and Scandinavia, irrespective of the strategies adopted. It is as if programs as a whole have some impact, although none of them, taken separately, can be said to be successful. In this hypothesis, the question would be less to seek effectiveness for each program than to create a social control movement covering a sufficient period of time. However, other explanations may be postulated: this stabilization may simply be the fruit of poor evaluation or again, it may have causes other than prevention programs.

The links between delinquency and drug abuse have been insufficiently explored, and the cliché according to which "drugs cause crime" remains to be proved. Two points are still unclear:

- some countries seem to have noticed that crime actually precedes use of drugs: young delinquents meet up with drugs some time thereafter (in prison, for instance);
- if theft were the only source of income for drug users, a lifetime of theft would not be enough to cover their drug needs.

The connection between drug abuse and immigration also remains to be proved, bearing in mind the fact that drug prevention policies concentrate on those groups toward which all other types of control already converge.

Prevention programs are caught up in a number of contradictions, or potential contradictions:

- between a policy of decriminalization and zero tolerance;
- between a policy of zero tolerance and prevention of AIDS;
- between a repressive policy and management of overcrowded prisons;

- between liberalization of correctional regimes and controlling the smuggling of drugs into prisons.¹⁰

Research on drug abuse should be extended, in the opinion of the committee, to those elements that command institutional responses, and to the following issues:

- why do drugs remain a high priority problem although only a small minority of the age groups involved are affected? An examination of how substances come to the labelled "dangerous", as well as of the political and administrative context within which messages about drugs are circulated by different agencies, would be worthwhile;¹¹
- why continue repressive policies? Three trails should be followed: a study of the division of labor, which links the career of certain professionals to their repression-related productivity; a study of the means available to decision-makers (the main tool in the hands of mayors in the USA is the police, which represents 50% of the city budget, with 90% of the remaining 50% devoted to technical services); examination of the effects of international diplomacy;
- how is the traffic organized? In the producer countries, the issue of abuse is secondary to the problems of corruption, economic warfare and the organization of the labor market.¹²

The committee also deems it necessary to direct attention to the meaning of substance abuse (including those prescribed by doctors):

- who resorts to substance abuse, and why (this requires work on entire social groups)?
- but also: who ceases substance abuse and why?
- what about non-deviant drug abusers?

10 In Spain, where prisons are relatively open, 60 to 70% of prisoners are drug abusers.

11 Cf. Belgium: in the early 1970s, alarmist statements by the police led to repressive legislation (1977) - in 1978, a scandal involving trafficking by the "gendarmerie"; no fraction of the police force any longer claimed that drugs were a priority - 1989-1990, more alarmist statements, but centred around the connection between the rising use of drugs and an increase in crime, and between drugs and immigration this time: since then these groups are under quasi-military surveillance.

12 What else is there to propose to the young Latin Americans who eke out a (meager) living by trafficking (as others, elsewhere, would be taxi drivers)?

4. *Local Responses to Recidivism (Theme 4)*

This title is somewhat ambiguous. The committee interprets it as follows: how can the local level of government or how can the community (which is another matter) complete or replace the criminal justice system in the prevention of recidivism? As pointed out earlier, in many countries this perspective entails a break with the tradition according to which it is the State that handles crime (cf chapter 1).

"Local responses" may cover a great variety of programs. In their written reports, the experts cite initiatives tending toward diversion, correctional practices (sentences or provisional measures) other than imprisonment,¹³ as well as interventions by local communities affecting prisons (action on prison authorities or through their social services). If responses to recidivism only begin at the prison gates, or relegate prisons far from cities, their effectiveness does indeed seem questionable.

The effectiveness of these programs has not yet been determined. Although some measures seem to be functioning well (independently of their effects, which are not known), the little research available shows that not much is known for sure, and that the results are chaotic and mostly superficial. These programs often implement several measures concomitantly, thus complicating the task of research.

Like research on treatment, research on recidivism should be resumed within the next decade. Will it corroborate the fact that the sanctions adopted (prison or other) have no effect on recidivism? Can it be that the question is not one of a wider range of sanctions, but of the need to persuade political authorities to redefine the criteria for the meeting out of punishment (cf chapter 1)?

5. *Prevention, Insecurity, Mass Media (Theme 5)*

This is an enormous subject. The committee suggests some points of reference.

The public has mistaken ideas about data pertaining to crime. On the whole, it overestimates the extent of violent crime. The only legitimate assertions are the following:

13 The committee suggests that terms such as "substitute" or "alternative" to prison be dropped, since they seem to imply "second best", and maintain prison as the yardstick. It also recommends wariness of expression such as "community sentences", which strongly connote exclusion.

- feelings of insecurity have two facets: fear and concern, the latter being more ideological;
- feelings of insecurity and direct experience with crime or risk cannot be superposed (policy-makers should therefore dispose of information and evaluations of both feelings of insecurity and direct experience);
- messages circulated via the media do not influence behavior and attitudes as strongly as personal experience with crime or risk;
- there is an attraction to sensational news which is one form of current-day social communication, somewhat like popular romances in the 19th century.

There is much controversy over the role of the mass media, which are designated as both:

- a factor of dramatization which then limits the lawmaker's possibilities;¹⁴ or, in some crises, as a direct actor (a stake, a hostage, a witness, etc.) complicating the outcome;
- a rival when the cost of campaigns seem disproportionate in comparison with the resources available for prevention programs themselves;
- a positive factor in social engineering (campaign against smoking, for schools or seat belts, etc.), informing people about risks and what can be done.

Are the relations between the criminal justice system and the media now changing?

- despite their awkwardness, institutions are now making an effort to inform the press more regularly, through its specialised correspondants, on questions of urban security;
- there are claims that the press is "maturing", that discussion of crime issues is now feasible, and that its coverage of recent urban violence shows its intention to provide more in-depth information;
- officials seem to be increasingly aware of the risk that an information campaign from which the police is excluded will be ruined by more alarmist messages from the police.

14 An interesting controlled experiment was conducted in Canada: a selected group was to "judge" a criminal on the sole basis of reports in the press. The sentence was heavier than the one actually pronounced by the court. The same group called for a lighter sentence once it was given the same information the court had.

Research on feelings of insecurity should be developed:

- improved standardization of questionnaires is necessary, here too, if cumulative findings are to be achieved;
- indicators of crime are insufficient, inasmuch as feelings of insecurity exceed crime. The understanding of attitudes, expectations and the various dimensions of fear is a field in its own right;
- victimization surveys should be taken into consideration, not so much as a measure of crime as of social demand. It should be remembered, however, that these may well overlook the expectations of the most ostracized social groups.

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