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**ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT
IN SOCIAL DEFENCE**

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INTRODUCTION

1. The object of this paper is to consider how research might be organized so as best to help individual countries in the formulation and development of policy in social defence. This practical objective makes it necessary to ignore in this paper a number of deeper research issues which concern the scholar who has the opportunity to ponder and probe, but which cannot be expected to absorb the limited time of those who must act simply because they carry the responsibility for policy and are subject to the pressures for action.

2. It has been said, for example, that because studies of research into the allocation of resources for research have barely begun, the main questions of what procedures should or should not be used in organizing research for any purpose have either not yet been asked or have not yet been asked in a form permitting any reasonably definitive answers. This may be true; and it is doubtless time to begin framing and seeking the answers to such questions. Meanwhile, since resources are being allocated, research is being done and policy is being made; there is a need for the interim work on bringing research and policy together, with which this paper will be concerned. It is necessary to move pragmatically in this area, making any assumptions that may seem reasonable in order to improve what is being done.

3. This paper does not purport, therefore, to provide material for a discussion of the kinds of research that should be undertaken or given priority; nor does it attempt a detailed discussion of research methods. But in order to give point to and make more concrete the questions that arise when discussing the various shapes which the "organization of research" might take, both the methods and types of investigation have had to be brought into focus. For since both types and methods of research derive from, or have implications for, the policy which is being developed, they cannot be too cursorily dismissed even in a discussion like this of form and process rather than content.

A. Research for knowledge and application^{1/}

4. Research might be described as the pursuit of truth through the application of scientific procedures designed to reduce bias.^{2/} It is concerned primarily with posing the right kinds of questions and trying to answer them. It can be

^{1/} The few paragraphs under this heading are not intended to summarize the vast amount which has been written on the purpose of research, its role in society or its relevance for practice. Nor are the terms used necessarily better than, say, "fundamental" as often contrasted with "problem-solving" research. For instance, there is a sense in which all research, pure, fundamental or not may be legitimately called "applied" or "problem-solving". It is often a matter of emphasis and intention. See foot-note 3 below.

^{2/} See C. Sellitz, M. Jahoda, H. Deutsch, S.W. Cook: Research Methods in Social Relations (London, Methuen Co., Ltd., 1962), p. 2.

argued that there is no necessary relationship between research and public policy, therefore, and indeed that the interest to open and unfettered inquiry could be hampered by too close a tie between the two. There are many reasons advanced for research being independent, removed from the pressures of policy determination and at liberty to reach for the longer-term issues whether or not they may be "useful" to explore. This, together with the belief that some of the most valuable results may have been achieved by inspiration or even accident when the search was for something else, underlines the need to avoid restricting research. Although research in the area of social defence tends to be practical in purpose, the attempt to make government easier, more efficient or rational, by organized research should not be construed as an attempt to limit research to entirely practical issues.

5. The distinction between pure and applied or action-oriented research is therefore one of emphasis and perhaps of time. Action-oriented research seeks to put newly acquired knowledge into practice by meeting tangible problems, but may suffer from the limitations of its own perspective. ^{3/} It has been said that there is nothing as practical as a good theory. ^{4/} Whatever the merits of this difference in the kinds of research, this paper is primarily concerned with that which lends itself most directly to application. It need only be repeated that there is actually no meaningful distinction to be drawn between pure and applied research if such a distinction implies that the one excludes the other or that only one has relevance for practice. Rather is there a shading of the different types of research with some more specifically designed to aid policy-making than others.

6. All forms of inquiry need a process whereby the results can be interpreted for the layman and their policy implications clearly displayed. Too often, research not intended for policy-making and recondite in terminology has had a

^{3/} For discussion of this point, see, for example, Leslie Wilkins, Social Deviance: Social Policy, Action and Research (London, Tavistock Publications, 1965) p. 13.

^{4/} That is, for generating hypotheses. See "Report of United Nations Interregional Meeting on Research in Criminology, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, 12 July to 7 August 1965" (ST/TAO/SER.C/87) p. 9. Thorsten Sellin has distinguished the work of scientists aimed "at the discovery of constants in the relationships among certain defined facts" and "that of the technologist concerned with the adaptation of knowledge to the social needs of the moment". This is rather different from the distinction between pure and applied studies: but it is interesting and apposite that Hermann Mannheim thought it "both difficult and invidious to distinguish between the scientific and technological sides of criminology". Cf. Sir Leon Radzinowicz at the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders: "We should not allow ourselves to be intimidated by those who contrast with a supercilious air, so-called pure research with applied research. The latter, if well conducted, will bring with it a refinement in methods". This suggests that all criminological inquiry may be classified as "applied" when compared with "pure" research in other fields.

value not discovered until a great deal of time has been lost. There would thus seem to be a need for research on research: an investigation inter alia of the most effective ways of translating research results into policy and action. 5/ Conversely, with scholarly attention to the official routines for data-gathering, decision-making and implementation (and adequate evaluation of programmes), such policy and action could itself become a form of research of value in both the "pure" and "applied" areas of study.

B. The need for research as a basis
for policy development in social defence

7. Whilst it is obvious that non-scientific elements, irrational conviction and vested interests may enter legitimately into any process of policy formulation, the fact is that references to research in social defence may not be made even when it can help. Decision-making with implications for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders has too often been a well-intentioned but relatively haphazard or makeshift process aimed at providing immediate controls or palliatives for problems that have, at times, assumed alarming proportions. More considered and comprehensive planning to anticipate and forestall future crime has been rare.

8. Of course, in this area, as in any dealings with human behaviour or the conditions of society, knowledge is still imperfect despite the vast number of studies and research projects undertaken. The answers to many questions remain beyond the reach of the research techniques which have so far been developed. There may be a tendency among scrupulous scholars, therefore, to wait for the answers before proffering the advice. But viable policy formulation and effective planning cannot really await perfect knowledge or unchallengeable methods. Society's problems demand immediate decisions - so much so that not to make a decision is actually a decision in itself, since it has definite effects.

9. Research is always needed, then; but it may not always need to be new research. It has been pointed out that much information is already available that is not being used or not being used properly. Much of it may be of a negative kind, but it is still of value, for if it cannot show what should be done, it can at least be explicit on what should not be done.

10. Time is important for policy formation. Options lost today may not be retrievable tomorrow. Errors made today may not be correctible tomorrow. Those responsible for policy cannot usually wait for the results of long-term research, and decisions will often have to be made on the basis of reasonably informed opinion. But this is a process which can become much more systematic and effective than it now is.

11. Policy determination might best be regarded as an art rather than a science. Research should not be expected, therefore, to raise all policy-making to laboratory levels of control and prediction; it can only serve to inform the complex interplay of political, economic, social and administrative pressures out of which decisions emerge. But in its clarification of the issues and compilation of data, research offers a challenge to preconceptions and a more systematic framework for the decisions which have to be taken.

5/ Research on research has other aspects, of course. See below for evaluation of research activity.

I. SOME LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL DEFENCE

12. Research in social defence has certain implications and limits deriving from its very nature and the variety of approaches used. First of all, it encompasses a wide range of human behaviour and social phenomena, incorporating large areas of the other behavioural and social sciences. A problem of co-ordination exists, therefore. The research techniques developed in other sciences have to be brought into use as the occasion demands and in different combinations. This need for an interdisciplinary emphasis on comprehensiveness and integration is a factor which in itself poses problems and sets limits. 6/ It should be noted, however, that this is not a problem peculiar to social-defence research or even to social research in general. For in nearly all fields of inquiry the move into co-ordinated interdisciplinary work is very marked, and the need to organize and integrate the many interests is always a problem. 7/

13. Secondly, the subject matter of research in social defence imposes its own limitations. In fact, it is not really subject matter, for the subjects are human beings, not computers or impersonal chemical compounds. Experimental manipulation must take account of human rights and the effect on the individual. This has evident complications for any research project based on random selection and control groups.

14. But even if people could be "processed" without regard for their legitimate rights or interests, there would be other elements to interfere with objectivity: for example, the extent to which the offender's informed consent to certain inquiries influences his reactions, the underlying feeling of coercion or the possible effect of expectations of preferential treatment for co-operating in the research.

15. Furthermore, it has to be remembered that social science by its very nature can give only limited answers expressed in terms of probability and applicable only in the very clearly defined and often artificial circumstances in which the research data were secured. There would be evident danger to the raison d'être of social defence in any abandonment of the fundamental legal safeguards against undue interference in human lives, on the basis of some objectively established

6/ As well as opportunities, of course -- for the potential of such an approach is immense.

7/ Personal interests, disciplinary rivalries, hierarchical complications and difficulties of effective administration and direction are only a few of the problems which beset the efforts to promote effective interdisciplinary teams. Nevertheless, there have been some outstanding achievements where the aims were clear: for example, in wartime combinations of scientists and in the space programmes. Social defence is a long way from this kind of co-operation, but the direction is clear.

probability.^{8/} Legal and scientific safeguards should not constitute alternatives but should work in harmony, each recognizing the other's contribution to a common objective. But, of their nature, they are likely to become mutually restrictive.

16. Thirdly, there is the problem of goals. It has been noted that in criminology there is a lack of good theory which might generate hypotheses for testing by research.^{9/} This is linked with the eclectic nature of the subject and the uncertainty which still invests society's own objectives in dealing with crime and criminals. In this sense, the organization of policy for research development might be more pertinent than the organization of research to help develop policy. The problem can only be mentioned here, but it is evident that any country prepared to adopt unequivocal goals in its approach to crime (for example, to end or at least greatly reduce the existing vacillation between deterrence, reformation, retribution and some of the broader concepts) would be in a strong position to develop both policy and research in social defence at the same time.

17. While there has been, especially in the developed countries, a proliferation of research on various aspects of social defence, the number of significant studies has been more restricted. In some cases, the requirements for advanced academic degrees have been fulfilled by dissertations with no necessary relevance to society's need for more information for use. Personal versus national interest is a complication not confined to research in social defence, but it has been evident enough to provoke an objection from the African regional meeting against "ivory tower" research.^{10/} In a rather different vein, the Latin American regional meeting blamed the slow progress in social defence on a criminology having a "biological-anthropological orientation which did not adequately take into account modern sociological and socio-psychological frames of reference".^{11/}

^{8/} This point has been emphasized in a number of quarters, including the reform commissions and task forces recently appointed in the United States of America and Canada. See, for instance, Canadian Committee on Corrections, Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections (Ottawa, Queens Printer, 1969), p. 426.

^{9/} See "Report of the United Nations Interregional Meeting on Research in Criminology, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, 12 July to 7 August 1965" (ST/TAO/SER.C/87), p. 9.

^{10/} See report of African regional meeting (A/CONF.43/RM.3) p. 14. This was one of the meetings of experts convened by the United Nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean in 1969, in preparation for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The reports on these meetings have been issued as United Nations documents in the following series: African region (Addis Ababa), A/CONF.43/RM.1; Asia (Bangkok), A/CONF.43/RM.2; Latin America and the Caribbean (Buenos Aires), A/CONF.43/RM.3. A regional meeting for the Arab States was also convened by the United Nations with the co-operation of the League of Arab States at Kuwait in April 1970. The report on this meeting had not been issued by the time of the publication of the present working paper.

^{11/} See report of Latin America regional meeting (A/CONF.43/RM.3), p. 11.

In other areas, it may be that the clinical model has absorbed too much time of able research personnel. The fourth complication is, therefore, one of orientation - personal, clinical, bio-anthropological etc. Often, research in social defence will be limited in its contribution to policy development by being out of touch with social needs as these are currently perceived. 12/

18. Any attempt to link research with policy imposes some limitations. On the one hand, there may be such defensiveness about existing programmes on the part of those responsible for them that the necessary evaluative or even descriptive research will be difficult to carry out. On the other hand, policy-makers have been known to court research only when it can serve to vindicate or promote a policy already determined or desired: The cloak of scientific validity has a broad appeal.

19. The observation has been made that in the close association between researchers and practitioners the time factor may influence their roles. As pressure for action builds up, there may be a tendency to convert research workers into expert advisers. There are two possible approaches to this problem if one hopes to develop policy effectively. The roles can be kept rigidly separated; or the research model or design can be modified - or restructured completely - to bring both practitioner and researcher into a meaningful relationship in dealing with the problem to be solved.

20. Finally, in this short review of problems, it is not possible to evade the issues of cost and trained personnel, since these are the main limitations imposed upon research in social defence in the 'developing' countries. Often, they can only be solved by more money and more training of additional staff. It should be noted, however, that operational personnel can sometimes be trained for research and used to carry out simple projects or to gather basic data at little or no extra cost; there are forms of action which can advance knowledge whether or not they fit classical research designs; and the value of a research project may not depend upon its cost - some of the least effective schemes have cost the most. The main thing is to ensure that the shortage of means is not too convenient an excuse. There will rarely be a situation in any country where the resources for research will be unlimited. Ingenuity and an alertness to the opportunities, as well as an examination of the extent to which existing facilities or data have gone unused, may produce more information for policy than some of the most generously funded projects.

12/ Of course, some research will need to look beyond immediately felt needs, but we are concerned here with policy relationships, and these will certainly arise from needs as currently perceived.

II. THE BASIC DATA AND THEIR COLLECTION

21. It is a truism that research of any kind depends upon effective data collection. So does effective planning or policy determination. In considering the forging of any closer relationship between research and policy-making, therefore, the machinery which can be devised for the accumulation, processing and presentation of data becomes important.

22. Policy and research both require information which is accurate and either comprehensive or representative. Estimates of the nature and size of the crime problem, of the resources available to deal with it, of the costs to the economy of trends in criminality, of the relative success rates of different preventive measures of treatment - all are needed for rational policy determinations and for the selection of appropriate subjects for future research. All must draw on public accounts, official reports, statistical data and departmental or agency records and files.

23. Criminal records and statistics, taken together with population growth rates, literacy levels, educational statistics, morbidity figures and diverse information on urbanization, housing, employment, social mobility etc., provide not only the social indicators for forecasts for crime prevention but can, if properly used, provide national profiles for international comparisons.^{13/} All countries use statistics of this kind to some extent. Naturally, the quality varies with the expertise and resources available for the collection and interpretation of the data. The value also varies according to the system adopted.^{14/} Any consideration of how this might be better organized brings us to the heart of our subject, at least in its relation to data.

A. Criminal statistics

24. Criminal statistics can refer to different kinds of data - e.g., figures on arrest rates, court proceedings, the population of correctional institutions and those serving other sentences. And all depend upon the extent to which the

^{13/} Work on social indicators and their usefulness in planning is really just beginning, but it depends again on effective data collection. Social indicators have been defined as "quantitative data that serve as indexes to socially important conditions of society". See Raymond A. Bauer, Social Indicators (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1966), p. 69. The same concept can be applied to areas of particular concern in social defence. It should also be noted that the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development in Geneva has a programme dealing specifically with social indicators (see for example, UNRISD, "Contents and measurement of socio-economic development", Research Notes Nos. 1 (pp. 1-24) and (pp. 1-19)). For a discussion of national profiles, see ibid., and UNRISD Report No. 1, Aspects of Social and Economic Growth (Geneva 1965), pp. 1-2.

^{14/} For example, criminal statistics in some developed countries with ample expertise and resources have been the most criticized - often because of their lack of comprehensiveness or the inadequacy of the categories used - but such criticism is also a result of the experts being available to criticize.

public reports the crime which takes place, ^{15/} Since the laws and therefore the definitions and classifications of crime differ in the various parts of the world, criminal statistics are likely to have different meanings in each country or even in different parts of one country or system.

25. In addition to unreported offences, there are leakages from the records by (1) offences being reported to different authorities (e.g., direct to prosecutors and not to the police); (2) the police or prosecutor exercising a discretion not to proceed or not to classify a report; (3) records being lost or inefficiently handled, often due to a reliance on inadequately trained personnel. Further loss of data may derive from the inadequately controlled dispersion of the information function and lack of co-ordination within or between the ministries involved.

26. If statistics pose problems in the developed countries that have reasonably comprehensive and systematic recording procedures, the problems are all the more serious in the developing countries where many services are not nationwide, procedures are not uniform and data are unavailable or sketchy. Sometimes information of the most basic kind may be lacking. ^{16/} These problems of efficient recording may indicate the need for a better system, but too often they can be traced to the scarcity of trained personnel or to the difficulty of

^{15/} See, for example, Nils Christie, Johs. Andenaes and Sigurd Skirbekk, "A study of self-reported crime" in Scandinavian Studies in Criminology, (Oslo, Universitetsforlaget; London, Tavistock Publications), for Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology, 1965, pp. 86-116; W. Buikhuisen, R. W. Jongman and W. Oving, "Unrecorded delinquency among students", Nederland Tijdschrift voor Criminologie (Heppel, Netherlands), No. 11, June 1969, pp. 69-89; I. Anttila, "Unrecorded criminality in Finland. I. Recorded and unrecorded criminality," Kriminologinen Tutkimuslaitos, Helsinki, 1966, pp. 5-22; R. Jaakkola, "Unrecorded criminality in Finland. II. Social background and criminality". ibid., pp. 23-36; and Sophia Robison, "Hidden delinquency: a challenge to two social work concepts and programmes", paper presented before National Conference on Social Welfare, Atlantic City, N.J. 23-28 May 1965. The U.S. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice estimated the real extent of criminality as being several times that contained in the official FBI figures. A 1969 study comparing official and unofficial delinquency rates of three population subgroups in a large metropolitan area concluded that offence visibility, the bias of law enforcement agencies and the behaviour of the youth accounted for the rate and distribution of delinquency among the three groups and that official rates were a complete distortion of the actual incidence. Official statistics were found to reveal a good deal about the activities of the agencies responsible for generating statistics but very little about the distribution of criminal activities in the population. See W.J. Chambliss and R.H. Nagasawa, "On the validity of official statistics", Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency (New York, vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 71-77).

^{16/} There are areas where births, marriages and deaths are not registered; where people do not know their ages, where conditions are so isolated and remote that the only available literate officials might not wish to work there.

providing nation-wide coverage with limited resources. There are ways in which the methods of collecting data could be improved or better organized in these poorer regions, but it would be unrealistic to expect too much without more attention to the resources available for the work.

27. In spite of all the difficulties, criminal statistics are the essential basis of systematic knowledge about the nature and extent of crime in any part of the world. Because of their importance and special character, they must always be a government responsibility, and their collection requires a close liaison between the collecting authority, the courts and the police.

1. Problems in collection

28. In many countries, far more attention has been paid to the processing and interpretation of criminal statistics than to the mechanics and influence of the collection routines. The experts have concentrated upon devising the right forms or cards, seeking to discount possible human errors to a level of statistical insignificance. But the expert himself rarely collects, and the point of collection is extremely important. It is here that categories can be misunderstood, discretion improperly exercised or returns become misleading. In one developed country, policemen are reported to have written summonses to fictitious offenders because they had to show a record of prosecutions. Sometimes cards may not be completed at all because they form part of an excessively burdensome amount of paper work. Often, insufficient time is allowed for relatively inexperienced officials to make returns. It is well known that if there are delays, cards and records can get lost in transit. Adequate training, supervision and guidance at the collecting end seem to be essential if the conclusions drawn are not to mislead.

2. Confidentiality

29. Confidentiality is an increasing problem as statistical work increases and more extensive files are kept on people arrested or otherwise dealt with by the penal system.^{17/} Once on record, a person may suffer from prejudice or be exposed to blackmail, or he may find himself in difficulties in finding work or obtaining credit if files are not kept confidential and in official hands. As the volume of information grows and advanced electronics makes it easier to store, it becomes increasingly difficult for those "logged" to escape the stigma. Confidentiality may therefore become an extension of a human or civil right.^{18/} At the same time, records locked away may be useless. They must be available for use by courts, police, prisons and other official agencies - and in some form they need

^{17/} It will be observed that the discussion here is widened to include files, case records, school or institution reports and hospital records.

^{18/} It should be noted that with easy photo-copying, it is simple now to take multiple copies of a case file or case record for multiple research purposes. This has been recommended by Wilkins, but it again heightens the problem of how far and wide such information should spread, especially if it contains identifying material.

to be made available for use in research and general administration. How this dual object can best be attained will depend on the administrative organization and the data processing facilities in each country. It must be remembered, however, that a wider distribution means less confidentiality, and the organization chosen may have to be a balance between efficiency and security.

3. Centralization or decentralization

30. Any Government will have to decide at an early stage whether to centralize the collection of crime statistics with all other statistics in a single government office or to deal with them separately because of their special nature. Even if they are to be held by a separate authority, the question will still be whether this should be situated in the ministry of justice, ministry of the interior or ministry of security, or whether the task should be decentralized to the operative services - i.e., the police, prisons, social workers or courts. These services will collect the data anyway; the question is the extent to which they should be concerned with the co-ordination and reconciliation of the figures.

31. The answer will doubtless depend upon resources and equipment. In areas where little can be afforded, it may be necessary to form a small unit of representatives of those already collecting information to issue annually a reconciled publication of criminal statistics. Or the task could be entrusted to an existing statistical office which has so far been mostly concerned with vital statistics and the compilation of economic data. Where sophisticated equipment, such as computers or collating machines, is available, the argument for a strong centralized organization with qualified staff is greatly strengthened.

32. In the developed areas, it may soon be normal to rely on computers with very large capacity for the retention over many years of almost all statistical and research data and quick and convenient access to these data. This possibility raises a number of organizational and ethical problems. In developing areas, computers are being introduced for handling large salary systems but have rarely been used for criminal statistics. It may be a question of whether compiling the data available is worth the cost in computer time. Policy precedes research.^{19/} The developing countries are in a special position. Sometimes the policy for generalized data collection is still being formulated; in most countries still developing, the system of data collection remains highly malleable. If new patterns and classifications of a simplified nature are needed in developed areas, they are not merely needed in developing areas but could often provide a foundation and new initiatives for a sound social defence policy.

4. Improving statistics

33. There is a need for greater comprehensiveness, validity and uniformity of crime statistics. Reforms in current procedures for gathering and presenting data are essential, not only because official statistics are the principal means through which authorities can obtain information and guidance in formulating social defence policies and programmes, but also in order to increase the possibilities for carrying out relevant research which is often based initially or in part on this type of information.^{20/}

^{19/} This was emphasized by all the regional meetings held in preparation for the Congress.

^{20/} It should be noted, too, that if the decision is not to provide the finance for data collection and processing, there will always be a lack of sufficient data to justify the expenditure.

34. Proposals for improving criminal statistics have generally been directed towards improving the compilation of raw data, upgrading the processing of data and seeking better co-ordination and integration of statistical procedures. Before the different statistical elements can be analyzed and combined as useful guides for decision-making, a sifting of the different concepts they represent might be time-saving and more efficient. At present the systems usually identify: (1) the action or omission defined as crime (this is, of course, a definition provided by the law); (2) the perpetrator(s) of offences; (3) the decisions recorded by the police, courts etc.

35. But it has been demonstrated that the legal classifications of offences often fail to reflect their seriousness and may lead to overlapping and inadequate subdivisions and a proliferation of headings having little or no utility for estimates of the true extent and severity of the problem and hence for decision-making. It has been suggested, therefore, that offences reported to the police should be recorded on standard forms in sufficient detail to permit a classification of offences in terms of the events that occurred rather than only the legal description of the offence, thus providing a more reliable means of assessing trends in recorded crime.^{21/} It has also been recommended that an index of crime and delinquency should be devised on the basis of such reported events, weighted on a standard scale according to their seriousness.^{22/}

36. Other recommendations are that: (1) data on crime should be recorded before they are "denaturalized" by the judicial process - including hidden facts which never come to the courts or circumstances known to the officer which are never

^{21/} Proposed by Sellin and Wolfgang in Measuring Delinquency (New York, Wiley and Sons, 1964); adopted as a recommendation by the United Kingdom Departmental Committee on Criminal Statistics (HMSO, 1967), p. 62. See also M. E. Wolfgang, "International criminal statistics: a proposal", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, vol. 58, No. 1 (March 1967) pp. 65-69. The additional step of assigning monetary value to the weights, varying in accordance with cultural definitions of seriousness, could provide some estimate of the cost of crime. (It is only a simple linear transform which is lacking to convert the Sellin and Wolfgang seriousness scale for crimes into a scale of subjective social costing. It is then only a small step from subjective assignment of costs to more rigorous methods of ascertaining values. Leslie Wilkins, "New thinking in criminal statistics", paper submitted to the United Nations Interregional Meeting on Research in Criminology (Copenhagen) 1965 (mimeographed) p. 14).

^{22/} Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang, Constructing an Index of Delinquency (Philadelphia, 1963). This work has been replicated in Canada. See A. Normandeau, D. D. Akman and S. Turner, "The measurement of delinquency in Canada", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, (Chicago, Ill.) vol. 58, No. 3, 1967, pp. 330-337; "Replication of a delinquency and crime index in French Canada", Canadian Journal of Corrections, (Ottawa) vol. 8, No. 1, 1966, pp. 1-19; A. Normandeau, A Manual for Constructing a Crime and Delinquency Index in Canada (Montreal, 1956), p. 20.

made part of the official record;23/ (2) systems based on individual case reports (e.g., as in Scandinavian countries) are more adequate to the extent that they eliminate errors in the tabulations of criminal statistics;24/ (3) the emphasis be shifted from the concept of crime to the victim by measuring "damage done or injury sustained";25/ (4) there be a continuous review of unreported offences and the use of victim surveys to supplement official statistics;26/ (5) special crimes categories and separate classifications of personal and property crimes be established;27/ (6) crime data be related to age, sex, economic status etc.;28/ (7) criminal statistics be formulated to reflect the fact that they are mere records of the reactions of society;29/ (8) occurrence data be used on the index of crimes;30/ (9) crime measurement be extended to all sanctionable offences

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- 23/ Jean Susini, "La question d'un index policier de la criminalité française", Revue de science criminelle et de droit pénal comparé (Paris) vol. 20, No. 2, 1965, pp. 469-478.
- 24/ Thorsten Sellin, Systems of reporting "crimes known to the police" in selected foreign countries, submitted to the United States President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington, D.C., 1967), p. 60.
- 25/ United States, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Studies in crime and law enforcement in major metropolitan areas, by the University of Michigan as prepared by Albert J. Reiss (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967); Leslie Wilkins, "New thinking in criminal statistics", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, vol. 56, No. 3, 1965, pp. 277-284.
- 26/ United States, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967). Reiss, op. cit., Philip H. Ennis, "Crime, victims and the police", Trans-action (Fulton, Mo.) vol. 4, No. 7, 1967, pp. 36-44.
- 27/ J. D. Pittman and W. F. Handy, "Uniform crime statistics: suggested improvements", in A. Goulder and S. M. Miller, eds., Applied Sociology (New York, Free Press, 1965), pp. 180-188.
- 28/ Ibid.
- 29/ A. D. Biderman, "An overview of victim survey research". Paper for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association San Francisco, Calif. (Washington, D.C., 1967); Stanton Wheeler, "Criminal statistics: a reformulation of the problem", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science (Chicago, Ill.) vol. 58, No. 3, 1967, pp. 317-324.
- 30/ S. L. Boggs, "The ecology of crime occurrence in St. Louis: a reconceptualization of crime rates and patterns", University Microfilms (Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, 1964).

dealt with by administrative and regulatory agencies;^{31/} (10) crime statistics be maintained on the basis of census tracts to permit the matching of census records with those of delinquency-adjudicating agencies to facilitate comparisons.^{32/}

37. It will be seen that not all these proposals are reconcilable - another reminder of the extent to which policy decisions precede research by determining the kind of information which it is possible or desirable to gather.

38. There was an emphasis at one regional meeting on the preferability of limiting the volume of the data in the interest of validity, timeliness and analytical presentation.^{33/} The problem of selection of data to be gathered is, however, one of the most difficult. It is always easier to collect than it is to be selective.

39. The importance of having statistics that laymen can understand is often overlooked in the zeal for scientifically valuable information. Figures must not be allowed to become misleading, however, in the interest of a more informed public opinion and the policy-making decisions affected by public attitudes.^{34/}

B. Projections and prediction

40. To be truly effective, a social defence policy must anticipate future developments. This requires both short- and long-term perspectives. The development of a social defence profile that would highlight trends and emerging problems could be useful in this connexion.

^{31/} M. Shulman, "The measurement of crime in the United States", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science. (Chicago) vol. 57, No. 4, 1966, pp. 483-492.

^{32/} South California records matching project. For a discussion of some of the current proposals, see also Eugene Doleschal, "Criminal Statistics", Information Review on Crime and Delinquency (New York) vol. 1, No. 8, August 1969.

^{33/} Report of Latin American regional meeting (A/CONF.43/RM.3), p. 12.

^{34/} Report of the Asian regional meeting (A/CONF.43/RM.2), p. 29. Cf., too, the issuance by some Governments of occasional informative "white papers" on crime, e.g., Japan, the United Kingdom.

41. Forecasts will be based upon those factors (as revealed by social indicators or other methods) deemed to have special significance for crime - e.g., the prospective age distribution of the population, 35/ the rate of migration from villages to towns, education in relation to vocational opportunities, the effect of particular development programmes and of the social defence measures themselves etc.

42. Predictive studies as a provisional guide to planners may also be based on alternative future developments and courses of action. 36/ Projections of this kind still need the care in data collection and processing mentioned above; they have the advantage, however, that they do not always depend on the comprehensiveness of data collection. And there are sampling techniques and other ways of forecasting from incomplete but representative data 37/ which can yield results sometimes as reliable as more extensive compilations of statistics.

43. In social defence research, there are prediction tables based on the statistical probability that offenders with a number of behaviourally significant characteristics in common will act similarly in similar situations. On this supposition, it is held that the average future delinquency of a selected group can be predicted—and therefore probably forestalled if appropriate measures are taken. 38/ The policy implications are immense, but such tables have been criticized and their rationale questioned. Whatever the limitations, this is obviously an area in which policy could be effectively aided by research.

35/ A study based on projections of population growth, prospective age composition and expected delinquency over a five-year period in Poland has foreseen a disproportionate increase in the number and seriousness of offences committed by the 21-24 age group, calling for the adoption of concrete preventive measures for young adults that will fall into this category, with adequate material, technical and personnel preparations to ensure fruitful results. See Antoni Kobus, "Wyż demograficzny a przestępczość młodzieży" (Population growth and youthful crime), Przegląd Penitencjarny (Warsaw) vol. 5, No. 2 (14) 1967, pp. 43-53. See also J. Jepsen, "Forecasting the volume and structure of future criminality", report presented to Fourth European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research Institutes, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1969, pp. 25-212; and P. Törnudd, "Forecasting the trend of criminality: a preliminary investigation in Finland", ibid., pp. 213-241.

36/ Forecasts of this type were recommended by the regional meetings -e.g., see report of Latin American meeting (A/CONF.43/RM.3), p. 14.

37/ See, e.g., Manual for Methods of Estimating Basic Demographic Measures from Incomplete Data. Population Studies No. 42 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.67.XIII.2).

38/ See work of Burgess, the Gluecks, Mannheim, Wilkins, Ohlin, Frey and others.

III. POSSIBLE TYPES OF RESEARCH RELATED TO POLICY FORMATION

44. It is desirable to consider briefly what is to be understood by policy in social defence. Obviously, the purpose of the social defence policy in any country is to prevent crime, and this includes both controlling crime and rehabilitating offenders. Merely to express this is to indicate that the field to be covered is as wide as society itself. This is certainly the position if a developmental approach to crime prevention be adopted, for such an approach implies a kind of partnership between policy and research for a planned change in society.

A. Illustrative policy areas and related research

45. The areas in which policy has to be formed and developed suggest some of the associated research needs.^{39/} The five examples which follow illustrate this relationship between policy and research.

1. Definition of crime and delinquency

46. A policy for crime prevention presupposes an agreement, at least in principle, upon the types of behaviour to be regarded as criminal. Ideas on this subject change from age to age and sometimes from place to place, so that the law, which formally defines crime, is a central feature of both policy and research in social defence. In other words, there is a need for continuous review of the criminal law in the light of changing concepts of deviance. Studies of cross-cultural applications of frequently used concepts or categories in law, sociology, psychology and statistics are always needed.

47. Terms such as "crime" and "juvenile delinquency" cover a wide range of behaviour in any country in which they are used. It is often argued that legislation should be restricted to those types of antisocial conduct which involve harm or threats of harm, danger to personal safety or major deprivations of property. Administrative procedures would then be used to contain and control the form of conduct now often referred to as crimes without victims. But this kind of decision needs to be backed by considerable information about particular offences and their effects and by careful exploratory or follow-up inquiries on the new types of legislation and administrative controls being tried. This probing for feasible alternatives to established approaches is what policy-makers and planners (as well as social reformers) are looking for.

^{39/} It has been necessary to omit here any full discussion of the opposite perspective - i.e., the structure of research organization and its implications for policy, e.g., if teams are interdisciplinary, they may be used by several ministries on integrated projects. Even single discipline teams can be working on projects which straddle the interests of several ministries or of several sectors. The use of individuals with multidisciplinary training will also have implications for organization and policy.

48. The research required under this heading can be developed both by government and by non-governmental research bodies. There would be value in co-operation between them, however, on the development of models for new ways of tackling old problems. In this, an entirely governmental approach might not be sufficiently objective or self-critical, whilst a totally non-governmental approach may be over-facile and insufficiently apprised of the complications of carrying the responsibility. Together, they can be mutually supportive.

2. Planning affecting social conditions generally

49. This involves the efforts being made in the developed countries to adjust economic growth rates, tax systems and terms of trade to regulate inflation, reduce poverty, equalize opportunities and generally improve the human environment and the quality of life. It covers the tremendous drives for national growth which characterize the planning of developing countries with their population, natural resources and technical problems. The spectrum is almost all-embracing and there is no part of it without implications for crime prevention and control, a fact which has received too little appreciation so far.

50. Clearly, the concern of this paper is limited to the relevance of these activities for crime and delinquency. It is interesting that while criminology derives from the other social sciences, the criminological aspects of research in economics, social anthropology, politics and some related disciplines have not always been explored. It is not safe, however, to take for granted the irrelevance of studies apparently remote from crime if they deal at all with man and society. For instance, the implications of both full employment and unemployment are significant for crime; manpower studies are important in social defence and necessary for policy decisions on the future allocation of resources; the extent and relevancy of the educational system, the optimum work conditions for productivity, the effects of the employment of women on families, the forces determining attitudes and subcultural formations - all these are, inter alia, forms of crime research simply because they are concerned with behaviour and society.^{40/}

51. More particularly, there will be a need for deeper studies of the social, economic, biological, cultural and other factors most directly associated with crime and delinquency. It is the mutual feedback and sharing of results among the specifically criminological and more generally behavioural or more broadly based studies of society which will improve both and best serve the process of decision-making.

52. Such research demands the closest liaison with other bodies concerned with both the research and planning of the social and physical environment, education, health, employment, recreation and welfare. It is here that administration can make its best use of prediction techniques and evaluative research. It is here also that ordinary routines can become research-oriented and the opportunities for experiment can be grasped.

^{40/} It is not suggested that these have not been explored to some extent by criminologists - only that they have not been investigated sufficiently in relation to their implications for planning for crime prevention.

53. Governmental action for society on so wide a range usually involves legislation and implies a corresponding need for research at different levels of law, administration and response. This means not only studies of the behaviour to be regulated by law, but of the structure or efficacy of the legal system itself. Both policy-makers and research workers should know more about the effect of law-making on conduct, about the areas into which the law has been extended unnecessarily, about the problem of outdated laws; and they need a better understanding of the educational use of legislation.^{41/} This kind of socio-legal research could be extremely influential in bringing research and policy formulation together.

54. Crime is an outgrowth of the social structure, but the relationships involved are still only imperfectly understood: if the influence of social change, with the focus on delinquency, is to be appreciated, then these relationships will have to be more deeply explored. It is difficult to make policy decisions when the real social, cultural and economic pressures and conditions in each country (perhaps each province and locality) may not be known or are only partially understood; common changes can have divergent results according to the area and conditions.

55. Such studies might be most profitably directed to the changes accompanying urbanization, industrialization, social mobility, technological change, population growth, migration, spread of communications etc. All these changes are known to be associated in some way with crime and delinquency. To give more precise guidance to policy-makers, there is a need for a much fuller understanding of the effects of economic and social changes of this kind on the patterns of behaviour, in the production of frustration, anomie and cultural complications. Required, too, is a better appreciation of the factors involved in the development of new adaptive social norm systems and controls in areas of population concentration.

56. There is a particular need for research on infant and child development and on the process and content of education in relation to delinquency, maladjustment and the different forms of mental or educational retardation. Problems of this kind are usually present during the formative years in which the child can most easily be given the assistance and guidance of various family institutions or social agencies; more apposite is the relative lack of precise knowledge about the effects in a person's later years of particular types of child care in the different areas of the world.

57. There are variations and common features in child care in different cultures which need investigation if policy-making in this sphere is to be based more on facts than on personal experience and prescriptions derived from earlier generations. Children have not been neglected in modern research, but in relation to behaviour problems there is still much to be done to provide guides for administrators and those interested in their early recognition and prevention.

58. Experiments in educational methods (with social defence as well as improved academic attainment in mind), long-term studies of cohorts or generations of children (which permit early conditions and experiences to be related to later behaviour problems), experiments in the provision of social activities and (when a child has shown itself to be in need of special help) of more concentrated psychological and social work assistance - all these strongly suggest themselves as research activities for policy improvement to which greater resources could be devoted.

^{41/} See also subsection 5 below, paragraph 67.

59. Perhaps more global kinds of research, involving projections and in-depth studies of the present condition and future prospects of children and youths, are also needed to help safeguard this reservoir of valuable human resources, which represent a country's greatest capital (and in the developing countries often about three-fourths of the population). This will require an assessment of current needs and future requirements of this valuable but vulnerable age group, as these needs are related to opportunities in education, health, employment and participation in national life in the light of expected trends (including those set by the goals of development plans). Such studies should be made with a view to anticipating and forestalling possible imbalances and bottlenecks that might have a potentially criminogenic effect. Implied, too, is more attention to those changes accompanying development and urbanization that might have a very special significance for children and young persons (e.g., loosening of traditional family ties, effects of increasing mobility and migration to town, of the spread of communications etc.), with a view to providing policy-makers and planners with guidelines for action incorporating adequate social defence components.

3. Organized crime and related problems

60. It is not really possible to consider the broader planning and policy issues without referring to the kinds of crime which are often beyond the reach of the ordinary forces of law and order. Problems like crime syndicates, "white collar" crime, patronage, corruption and official venality have implications not only for social defence specialists but also for income distribution, equality of opportunity and national development and perhaps for policy-making itself.^{42/} Perhaps no progress will be possible until a firm policy for dealing with such illegal activity has been adopted by the authorities. On the other hand, it is often possible to store data for use when, in the future, such a policy is adopted.

61. Although this is admittedly a difficult area for research, it is necessary for criminologists to find ways of approaching and studying it if they are not to be thought preoccupied with the relative trivia of conventional crime while whole nations are being systematically suborned and sophisticatedly looted.

4. The efficacy of prevention and control

62. Administrators, planners and policy-makers need to know whether the instruments they are using are precise in their effect or diffuse, worthy of further investment or in need of change. Moreover, they need to know what the public really wants them to do, to what extent they should concentrate on one instrument of policy rather than another. This suggests evaluative research over a vast range, from economic planning techniques to child care, correctional treatment and social security.

^{42/} Consider the way in which organized crime has permeated Governments and suborned officials in some developed countries. The effect on development may be shown by the effects of inflation as prices rise due to the need for more security or insurance, and recently illegal syndicates have taken over legitimate businesses, expanding them by the unfair competition which profits from other illegal activities subsidize.

63. As regards the criminal justice system and the direct services to prevent crime, this approach includes: (1) research on the organization and operations of the police forces, criminal investigation and forensic science; (2) research on public attitudes to various types of crime and the criminal justice system, on the precautions which the public takes or could take against crime; and on victimology; (3) research on the different methods of treatment in use - different types or forms of imprisonment, parole, probation, fines and compensation.

64. This area of research implies, especially, studies of the costs of crime and cost-effective analyses of different methods in use. This is also the place to consider the relevance and usefulness of systems analysis for social defence where, so far, the lack of clarity in the goals has restricted the systems approach.

65. The treatment or rehabilitation of offenders implies inquiries into the rates of reconviction of different types of offenders subjected to the different forms of treatment, experiments with new or modified methods of penal or rehabilitative treatment for diverse offender groups (including juveniles) and interdisciplinary investigations of past and present methods. There should be attempts to understand and explain the phenomenon of general deterrence (the preventive effect of a penal system - or a particular aspect of it - on criminality in the population at large) and special deterrence (the inhibitive effect of a measure on an individual); analysing the results of the attempts to reduce recidivism and trying new approaches; examining the functioning of different kinds of correctional systems with specific reference to the roles played by different types of personnel, seeking the best location and most appropriate design of the several institutions; studying the effects of long-term and short-term imprisonment; probing the dynamics of the prison as a social control system; studying and perhaps experimenting with the development of the "inmate culture"; investigating the use of community resources in rehabilitating offenders; experimenting with and evaluating the integration of prisoners and their work into broader schemes of national development; comparing different combinations of institutional and extra-institutional measures etc. In general, and especially with developing countries in mind, there is a great need for systematic evaluation of on-going programmes, particularly where this might promote the development of imaginative alternatives to some of the older or more traditional patterns of treatment.

66. Finally, the research activities themselves need to be subjected to evaluation. Research uses national resources of money and trained manpower, and is in competition for these scarce resources not only with other physical or social sciences but with other interests of development in the government. The objectives, methods and results as well as the significance of the projects and the time spent on them need careful and continuous scrutiny. The criticism is often levelled that society spends too much time describing problems it ought to be doing something about. The justification for a close link between research and policy is the opportunity it gives to combine both study and action.

5. The machinery of justice

67. A great deal in both the prevention and control of crime depends upon efficiency or the lack of it in the administration of justice. Socio-legal research has already been mentioned, but it has other ramifications. Studies of the use of discretion in bringing proceedings by those whose duty it is to do so could be followed by studies of such subjects as the location, size and

operation of the courts; pleas and procedure as related to local needs; legal representation; the use of remand in custody or on bail; the extent to which personal recognizances are expected; the work and value of different kinds of juries.

68. The dispatch with which courts conduct their business or, alternatively, their delays and backlogs of work have a marked effect upon the cost-effectiveness of public policy - not to mention the consequences to accused persons. The use and enforcement of such penalties as fines, suspended sentences, extramural labour and other substitutes for imprisonment usually need study to show how the available system is being operated. There will be parts of the world where such inquiries would naturally include an investigation of the effectiveness of customary justice and other systems (especially indigenous institutions) for mobilizing public participation in the discouragement of non-conformity with group norms and local expectations.^{43/}

B. Research to improve or transform

69. Behind and, in a sense, above these practical aspects of policy formation and research for decision-making lie other fundamental questions that could profoundly affect the direction research should take and could help to determine the priorities to be accorded to different kinds of study. One such question might be put as follows: should research initially concentrate on formulating and testing hypotheses about crime and the penal system as it now is, with a view to proposing and exploring methods of making existing systems and institutions work better? Or should research concentrate, instead, on one of the following: (a) proposing and attempting to evaluate experimental changes based on ideas that have been put forward by theoreticians, whatever the relationship between these and the existing structure; or (b) making fundamental studies of society and behaviour that might suggest hypotheses about, for instance, the nature and control of deviance or ways of changing behaviour that have so far eluded the penal system?

70. This paper is about the "organization of research" rather than its nature and cannot, therefore, attempt any full discussion of fundamental questions of this kind; the following five propositions are advanced, however, as having a bearing on the answers and consequently on the way in which research should be organized.

(1) Any existing social and penal system generates a stream of questions that call for research answers and research advice. It would be difficult to ignore these completely in favour of research aimed, in the long run, at changing the present social and penal systems. It is a question of priorities, but it would seem reasonable to assume that, all other things being equal, the emphasis in a society will be on improving what exists, even if this sometimes involves radical change. It is unlikely that any existing régime will go much further and actually seek to promote its own replacement.

^{43/} Such institutions might be comradeship courts, local committees, kinship structures, professional associations, neighbourhood or community associations, religious affiliations or interfamily control groups.

(2) The easiest and most effective way of building up research organizations and getting support for them is to employ them in the first place on the study of existing systems and problems.

(3) Experimental changes of systems, if worked out as research experiments, can be much more efficient as a means of testing hypotheses than studies of static systems. They should, therefore, be an aim of a research organization; but it is seldom possible to arrange experimental changes with the desirable degree of research control except on the basis of a close relationship between research and administration that would take some time to build up.

(4) Evaluation research might be the most effective contribution that research can make to changing a system - or, on the other hand, to preserving one which is actually producing results. It provides a yardstick for achievement or the lack of it. Evaluative research, as the term is used here, means the application of scientific research methods and techniques to test the results of a process, technique or system against such criteria as: (a) its purpose, objectives or original plan; (b) the efficiency of its operation; (c) its unintended effects; (d) its significance in its context. An evaluation methodology is still being developed and there is a need for procedures and techniques capable of yielding evidence that can be regarded as objective, systematic and comprehensive.^{44/} Nevertheless, enough is known for evaluation to be applied profitably even whilst its methodology is being perfected.

(5) There should be arrangements for reviewing the general as well as the specific nature of a research programme. Programmes should be examined regularly to ensure that they are meaningful, relevant, timely and not submerged in detail to the exclusion of broader and longer-term problems. Advisory committees are one means for reviewing programmes but are not necessarily the best. The kinds of studies required could be the task or a by-product of special commissions or task forces on crime, law reform or research generally; or they may be undertaken as an individual academic exercise; or critical appraisals of particular programmes may become the subjects for regular meetings of research workers, practitioners and academic criminologists with different orientations.

71. Exchanges of research workers between countries and periods of field work in services responsible for programme implementation can be useful. Above all, there is a need for the sensitization of researchers to the broader issues of social defence policy within the context of national planning, especially in those countries in which national planning is a central feature of the development effort. There is a modern need for research personnel to look beyond the narrow perspectives traditionally imposed by the quest for validity and to experiment with new approaches to social issues. Conversely, there is an increasing need for planners to become accustomed to promoting studies of crime prevention and to using expertise in this field as readily as they already use it in agriculture, industry or commerce.

^{44/} See Herbert Hyman and Charles Wright, "Evaluating social action programmes", in Paul Lazarsfeld, William Sewell, Harold Wilensky, eds., Uses of Sociology (New York, Basic Books, 1967), p. 742.

C. Approaches and techniques

72. The approaches and techniques may vary. The statistical, historical, phenomenological, clinical and life-history approaches are all relevant, though perhaps not all at the same time. Sometimes they may all be needed to deal with a situation from many angles simultaneously. At other times, only one or two will be required. Often they will tend to succeed each other over a period of time, as resources become available. There are survey, analytic and evaluation techniques which, again, can be used together or separately, depending on the circumstances. There will usually be scope for model building: models can be developed for testing and replication.

73. More generally, one may differentiate between a macroscopic and a microscopic approach.^{45/} The need is for a veritable battery of methods suited to the national context and the different types of social defence problems, an integrated approach using research as a guide to and monitor of policy and practice. And this applies, though in varying measure, to all countries, whether or not they have yet been able to enter the field of social defence research. That a simple start may have to be made does not affect the principle. It is still better to adopt a multilateral approach in so far as possible.

74. The distinction between the time perspectives and levels of research is in itself not a pivotal question. Short- and long-term, depth and surface research are all needed for the different ranges of policy; each has its particular function. There are no clear-cut phasing or intensity limits.

75. The differences between research in general and research for the development of policy depend less on its length and nature than on why, when and how it is undertaken. Any research may (and if successful presumably should) have an ultimate bearing on policy; but research deliberately linked with, or intended for, policy development should be more concerned with the action that can be taken now.

^{45/} The former is a study of crime in its broader context, including institutional patterns of law and the penal system, and the effect upon criminality of over-all processes such as development, with its attendant changes; the microscopic attempts to measure significant differences between offenders and non-offenders and the criminal or non-criminal effect of different factors. Certain procedures, such as predictive methods, may be used with both types of approach (as projections in macrostudies and prediction scales for the study of individual cases). No hard-and-fast line can be drawn, since the cumulation of microstudies may be the basis of macroestimates.

IV. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICY AND RESEARCH

76. Thus far, attention has been paid to the technical aspects of a relationship between policy and research. This relationship has more than technical connotations, however. Indeed, it has been suggested that policy and research, properly conceived, are separate facets of a single process. For although there may be rarefied realms of research uncongenial to severely practical administrators, they may ultimately become part of a future policy. A highly technical study of drugs with no immediate relevance to policy for crime prevention and control can eventually contribute to a policy decision to use a drug as a more effective and less costly form of restraint or control - or to restrict its use because of its effect on human rights. Conversely, policy determinations on industrial estates, insurance, freight rates or agricultural development may eventually form part of research on criminogenic social situations.

77. Certainly, it is the more immediate and overlapping areas which are our chief concern. Nevertheless, the fundamental relationship between broader national policy issues and crime prevention research is more extensive than this. One developed nation has declared crime to be its third largest problem (domestic or foreign); developing countries may be more dependent than they yet know on solving the problems connected with urbanization (including crime), if they hope to achieve the higher living standard they seek; and some forms of research - for example, on corruption and organized crime - are possible only by carefully accumulating data and probing the underlying pressures which affect all types of policy-making.

78. Perhaps for such reasons, as well as the more technical concern with the smoothness of routine operations, it has been said that research for policy development needs not only resources and administrative backing, but a supportive ideology - a coincidence of objectives with, and an approval of, the means by the authorities determining policy.

79. It has been noted that in social defence there is still vacillation in most countries as to the goals of criminal justice systems. There is still doubt as to the appropriate combinations of deterrence, reformation and/or retribution.^{46/} Social defence research will investigate all three, but there will obviously be a waste of effort and resources if the choice is left completely open and there is no direction on policy at all.

80. On the other hand, the policy-maker could argue that his choice of direction or goals would be affected by the ease or difficulty of the course ahead and that he relies upon the research worker to chart this course for him and to provide alternatives. It would certainly be misleading to imply that social defence research is yet in a position to supply sophisticated guidance based on the predictable consequences of alternative decisions. It can go some way towards this, but to arrive at its own research answers it needs the involvement of policy-makers. It is only together that those responsible can improve both research and decision-making.

^{46/} It is appreciated, of course, that these three are not the only possible aims of a penal system. Vengeance, expiation or the protection of society are equally well known to students of the subject. The three chosen are considered the most relevant for the purpose of this paper.

A. Levels of policy and research interests

81. Throughout this paper the shift in the levels of policy under consideration will be evident. Unavoidably, the discussion has moved back and forth between the most extensive economic and social planning in development policy and the more restricted and immediate decisions on penal measures. There are several levels at which policy and research intersect.

82. It can be noted, first of all, that crime prevention policy obviously extends to the whole society and impinges on every other kind of government policy. It bears repeating that economists, politicians, planners, architects, doctors, teachers, parents and the general public are all involved. The solutions for crime may be linked with solutions of other wider problems, just as any valid theory of crime would also have to be a theory of human behaviour in general. This wider thinking is behind a modern contention that one serious research need is to study the development of strategies and machinery for creating change or for adapting to change introduced from the outside. Another such need is to extend the studies which have been done on the cost of crime or to trace more effectively the links between crime and development, or perhaps also to measure the tempo of change as related to social pathology. At this highest and broadest level, too, there is a need for research on the best strategies for effective intervention to prevent criminal situations from developing.

83. Secondly, there is that rather lower level of policy for those ministries or agencies responsible for taking action to prevent or control crime. These are the ones most interested in concepts of deviance, manpower and training, prediction, deterrence and evaluation. These authorities are looking for the kinds of research likely to help them discharge their responsibilities more satisfactorily.

84. Thirdly, there is the policy needed by correctional systems and by the courts, police and social work agencies responsible for the administration of the law and the treatment of offenders. Here, the circle of decision-making has become more restricted. Whilst some of the interests in research will be shared with those on the second level, there is a need for more research on such subjects as classifying offenders for different sanctions, the isolation of adequate criteria for assessing change in the group, the study and assessment of training programmes and analyses of the operation of the systems.

85. Finally, the particular ministry or authority or even the research institute or agency itself will be developing internal policy and, ideally, looking to research for help and guidance. Here, more direct studies related to the special problems of the particular authority will be required.

86. The examples given here cannot be more than illustrative. The scope of possible research at the several levels is both deeper and more extensive, and, obviously, the higher and lower levels will all benefit in some way from all research. ^{47/} The four-level concept is useful, however, in avoiding confusion.

^{47/} It should be noted that pilot projects and demonstration schemes have been popular devices for linking policy and research at all levels, since these enable policy-makers to move cautiously and with the help of researchers into relatively new areas of action on several levels at once.

B. Interest in research

87. Social defence research is itself relatively new, and it is significant that it has suffered more from the indifference of government than from being over-sponsored. Until very recently, policy making in the social defence field was based predominantly on broad a priori conceptions of order, justice and humanity, tempered sometimes by reformist zeal or by individual impressions gathered from working with people. There has been no necessary or regular reference to research. This has not been all the fault of the policy-makers. For a long time, there were few or no such studies to draw upon and many of the writings on this subject were impressionistic in character. More recently, the inconclusive nature of research in the social sciences, and especially in social defence, has sometimes generated impatience with its results and a reliance upon (apparent) common sense.^{48/}

88. The limited contribution of criminological research to policy development has itself been a result of disinterest or lack of opportunity. Not so very long ago, it would have been difficult for a criminologist to earn his living as such in many developed countries. He might conduct studies of crime, but he would have to depend for his earnings on an academic post in a related field, such as law, medicine, sociology or psychology.

89. Interestingly enough, this is still the position in developing areas, where there are usually no posts outside the regular social defence services. A student with a choice among fields of research or graduate work looks beyond to the career prospects, and in the developing countries the prospects are slim at the levels he may reasonably hope to attain. The best minds are, therefore, rarely attracted to social defence and under-development promotes under-development in the classical pattern.

90. In the years since the Second World War, criminological institutes have been established throughout the world, and the number of studies has grown, but still usually in developed areas, where there is more crime. It has been suggested that one reason for the new popularity of such studies is that, with the rise in education, they have taken over in modern society the function which the movement for penal reform fulfilled in an earlier age. Reforms in the latter half of the twentieth century are better achieved as scientific advances than as political arguments on policy, which create more resistance. Some reformers may have become researchers and vice versa. If this is true, the link between policy and research, with which this paper is concerned, is already made at a public, if not at an official, level. The recent history of capital punishment legislation would seem to support this alliance and at least partial merging of scientific and reformist interest. And if the reforms can indeed be justified by research, there is no reason why they should not be policy.

91. There is, of course, a great difference between this kind of unity for change and the regular and systematic collaboration between research and policy decision-making which is the objective for most with a professional or public interest in preventing and controlling crime. There can be little doubt that this type of collaboration is still rare.

^{48/} For the view that not only the general public but "specialist publics" fail to react to social defence findings, see S. Encel, "National policies for the social sciences", Social Science Information (Paris) vol. 7, No. 3 (1968), pp. 201-207, and comments on this paper by T. Brennan, Social Science Information, vol. 7, No. 6 (1968), p. 179.

V. ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

92. The term "organization" can refer to structure, arrangements or process as these might apply within the government, within the institutions responsible for research or as they subsist between the two. And the concept can be extended to individuals inside these bodies or working with them from outside.

93. It has been impossible to avoid the concept of organization in the discussion thus far. In one sense or another, it has arisen in nearly every section. The task now is to try to draw together these strands and to weave into them a more direct consideration of the relationships which might best serve a country seeking to make effective use of social defence research in policy-making. In a word, this means looking at organization as working machinery.

94. It would be simple to do this if research had evolved models for discussion. This has not been done, so that, on a world scale, it is difficult to pronounce, even very tentatively, on the best or most appropriate machinery to serve all the levels at which national policy is usually formulated. How to organize research to influence policy will obviously depend upon the size and complexity of the country concerned -- its population, resources, level of development. Relevant, too, will be the maturity of the country's administration, the level and efficiency of its communications and the degree of sophistication which a nation may have reached in its development of research in social defence and related fields.

95. In the general area of social defence, there is one dramatic and universal theme, however. There is a world-wide problem of severe under-development in crime prevention. No country has done enough. Few countries have allocated resources to crime prevention and control at all commensurate with their crime problems; hardly any have troubled to articulate publicly their social defence objectives and policies.

96. While it might be thought that this dearth of progress would be more conspicuous in the developing countries, it is really far more striking in the developed countries, some of which have already made relatively expensive efforts in this direction. But the concept of adequacy is relative, and there are many who believe that, for all their efforts, the developed countries may even have given proportionately less attention to their serious crime problems than some of the developing countries have given to theirs. Such comparisons are invidious, however, and certainly unhelpful at this stage of general neglect. The important thing is to unite for a more effective programme in every country. The fact is that crime will remain a serious problem until all countries do more. In considering the machinery, attention will be paid to schemes which are economical; but it is possible that half-measures may cost more in the long run.

97. In tracing this relative lack of development, it can be seen that research and official policy determination in social defence have yet to be brought into any effective juxtaposition. They are rarely found in the conjunction necessary for joint operations to prevent crime. Regardless, then, of the discrete levels of economic and social development throughout the world, there is a gap nearly everywhere between policy formulation and research. Just how wide this gap is may be gauged from the fact that bringing these subjects into contiguity is only a first step. The operation of the machinery depends upon the interflow and feedback between the two. This kind of bridge-building has really only just begun in a very few areas, some developed and some developing.

A. Small beginnings

98. As already shown, in many developing nations some essential parts of the mechanism do not yet exist. There may be no facilities at all for research in social defence. There will always be some systems for dealing with crime, however, and universities often exist even where they may not yet be teaching or studying criminology, so that, despite the obvious drawbacks, the prospects for promoting social defence research even in the poorer developing areas are usually good, provided too much is not expected too soon.

99. The prospects for research depend mainly upon the policy. If crime is not felt to be a serious problem -- or if, as is usually the case, it is not accorded any real priority in development planning -- then obviously resources will not be set aside for social defence studies. This does not mean that they will not take place. Most of the studies in Africa so far and many in Asia have been done by persons with a personal interest in the subject, using their official positions in the government or voluntary bodies or universities to conduct research. Sometimes they have obtained official approval of the time spent; sometimes the time has been their own. The research may have influenced policy because of the status or position of the researcher. ^{49/} Occasionally, he has been in a position to implement his own findings. More often, for want of local publication or international circulation, the research has gone unnoticed or, if well received, has had no obvious effect on government policy.

100. This suggests that, for countries where the parts of the essential organizational machinery may be lacking, it would be relatively simple to develop them by modest support given to those individuals in the social defence services (doctors, lawyers, teachers, police officers, correctional personnel, social workers, even students) with a special interest who would like to conduct studies on their own initiative, in their own time or partly in connexion with their regular work. Often, it is only the resources which are lacking to set in motion a sporadic movement of this kind and increase it by regular circulation of the inquiries made, however rudimentary these may be in the beginning. The wealthier countries could increase not only international understanding, but the international understanding of crime and its prevention by funding individual research of this kind. This is not to suggest, however, that outside aid should take the place of the necessary local reorientation of policy to foster such inquiries. Nor is it to overlook the possibility of such isolated researchers' getting the benefit of contact with teaching organizations. It will be recalled, however, that early work in criminology was done by persons from related fields who were not always professional criminologists.

^{49/} It is still to a great extent the dedicated workers who make the impact. T. C. N. Gibbens in a recent paper to the Council of Europe pointed out that in medical science the tendency was to support workers of talent who could advance knowledge, rather than the topics as such. Developing countries have their dedicated workers in this field. On the other hand, Governments are likely to be more concerned about topics (if they are paying) than are the large trusts supporting medical research.

101. It should be possible, if the funds are available, to organize these individual efforts on a national scale to the extent of subsidizing those surveys or studies considered likely to have value for national policy by offering university preparation in research techniques for those willing to devote their own time or by providing for regular meetings or consultations. Above all, some attention should be given to the publication of results, and this may mean establishing a simple journal of crime studies.

102. Another part of the machinery which may be deficient in developing countries or in large countries with undeveloped hinterlands is the basic structure for the regular collection of data for official purposes. This subject has already been discussed above, but we are concerned here with interrelationships. The tendency nearly everywhere is for Governments to have their own statistical bureaux issuing annual statistics of population, economic activity, education, health and employment. But means have to be found to collect the evidence from areas now uncovered or relatively uncovered. As has been indicated, a reasonable spread of the data-gathering personnel or information-collecting centres is essential for some kinds of research. However, it might even be valuable to begin with a research project to highlight the deficiencies and bring to public attention needs which exist, but now go unnoticed.

103. Only rarely do such central statistical offices in developing countries become involved in broader social surveys, the measuring or analysis of social problems or the identification and use of social indicators. There is often no reason why they should not. Obviously, to widen their perspectives and to do such extra work they will ultimately need extra staff and facilities. There have been **few, if any**, studies of the real capacities of central offices of statistics; before looking for more resources it might be advisable to initiate such capacity studies. There may be a great deal which could be done in a routine way but is now not even considered because of the general preoccupation with the economic data required for planning development.

104. Central statistical bureaux do not normally deal with criminal statistics. These are the responsibility of the services most directly concerned - the police, prisons, courts and social welfare agencies. But facilities and expertise may not exist to reconcile these figures or to provide basic or standard formulae for reporting which would make processing easier and enable computer time to be used where available. Here, the Government's own office for statistics could become involved with profit for all concerned.

105. Of course, the king-pin of any machinery for data collection is the supervision and training of those doing the reporting. A country has no escape from this responsibility if it hopes to develop both policy and research. A wider spread of services may be required or better transportation for the supervisors, but there is no reason why these functions could not be assumed by some of the government services already operating. For instance, the training of supervisors could be done by central bureaux of statistics, especially if these bureaux can become involved in collating and processing the returns. Presumably, the supervisors would be police officers or court officials, travelling for other duties than the supervision of records so that the transportation costs might be inevitable anyway. Finally, there may be a possibility of decentralizing much of the work to the local government offices in the provinces or districts.

106. It will have been apparent that the concern so far has been with the basic problem of obtaining research development where research does not presently exist; and with obtaining this with little or no additional expenditure. This is possible nearly everywhere, given an adequate research orientation. Regular police forces, correctional services and social-work agencies can advance the cause simply by taking a new, research-oriented look at their own regular and routine activities. It may not always be possible to achieve the independent, critical, unbiased approach which characterizes true research, but these first steps will produce valuable material which later and more sophisticated research can improve upon.

107. The developing countries will not be able to avoid for too long, however, the need to shift resources from other activities to support more professional and systematic types of research. They cannot postpone indefinitely the establishment of teaching and research facilities in this field at the university or ministry level. ^{50/} As they acquire a less economically biased and a more rounded concept of national development, they will begin shifting more of the available resources to crime prevention services and agencies.

B. Development policies and research organization

108. In a broader view, the poorer regions of the world are desperately involved in the struggle to raise their standards of living. The emphasis is necessarily on growth - especially economic growth - so that funds available to the authorities flow to agriculture, commerce and industry or, on the social side, to health and education. Other areas merit little developmental attention, and this has been particularly true of social defence, which is usually narrowly conceived as law and order (therefore as a necessary but not a developmental expense) or as a kind of holding expenditure for a problem which, it is hoped, will disappear with improved health, education and incomes. Only in recent years has it been appreciated that crime and delinquency can be aggravated as well as mitigated by the other types of developmental investment.

109. There is in these countries, therefore, a need for more attention to social defence policy at the higher planning levels, if only to avoid those mistakes which the developed countries have made and cannot unmake. This includes a need for more funds and personnel for the development of research within the universities or teaching bodies which may exist. Where universities do not exist, it may mean considering the establishment of a separate training facility, usually within the government, to provide the interest and studies needed for the different services concerned with crime prevention. It may mean introducing criminological studies and research projects into the work of a variety of other institutions conducting training programmes in health, education, law, social work or perhaps as field work for students of sociology, psychology or economics.

^{50/} A strong preference for departmental or institutional research was expressed at the African regional meeting (A/CCNF.43/RM.1), p. 14.

110. Of course, there are some developing countries with relatively extensive social defence services and with universities and/or emerging criminological institutes. Here, as in the developed areas, the great need is to involve the policy-makers in the studies so as to ensure that the results of projects are known in policy-making circles and to create the machinery for a free interflow of information and expertise. In the developing countries, it may become important to change the perspectives on crime, treating it less as a problem deserving attention in its own right than as a problem with such effects on national growth that it requires national developmental attention. Research organized to promote such changes in perspective is urgently needed, but it has attracted little attention so far.

111. Developing countries can link research work with policy formulation by using practically all the devices reviewed in this paper; they may already be in use in the developed and in some of the developing parts of the world. All can do more, however, by exploring the broader planning dimensions suggested here. Just to approach crime from this more comprehensive point of view means bringing together the planners, administrators and research personnel in the elaboration of a new developmental formula for dealing with an old social problem. It will involve specialists of many disciplines who might not previously have been fully aware of the relevance of their studies to crime prevention.

112. Finally, in developing countries, it is possible that the simple collection of elementary data on the amount of crime which can be observed and described, unsophisticated case studies of typical offenders and the published examples of the extent of the problem now existing, would do much to alert both policy-makers and researchers to the joint task before them. Often, the impression that there is no crime or not enough crime to warrant serious attention is due to lack of knowledge of the basic local facts. The relegation of social defence to a position of relatively minor importance in national planning may be due to the under-developed nature of the research. As with so many other things in developing areas, there is a vicious circle in the area of social defence: attention is not paid to crime prevention because of the lack of resources and expert personnel to deal with it; and, because the expertise is lacking, the knowledge of the subject remains rudimentary, the real significance of crime not understood. It is to break out of this circle that the collection of even simple data is really necessary.

C. More intricate machinery

113. Where a country is economically advanced, socially complex and both wealthy and industrial, it can be assumed that its crime problems will have reached major proportions. This implies two things. First, law and order is likely to be a preoccupation of the government; national expenditures on the courts, the police, the prisons and the social welfare and related services will be considerable; and there will probably be allocations of funds for research on crime problems to be carried out by the government itself or by local universities or institutes. Secondly, the social problem of crime and the public frustration engendered by its seeming intractability will have become important enough to have engaged the attention of scholars in criminology or the related academic fields, and penal or social reformers (scientifically inclined or not) will be active and ready with nostrums of one kind or another for the growing problem. In some countries, the control and prevention of crime may have become a political issue attracting opportunists as well as those genuinely concerned.

114. This is not to say that the institutes or university departments available for the studies required in developed countries will be either adequate or necessarily interested in seeking the answers to the problems which most concern the administrators or policy-makers. Since the interest in criminology research is so recent, one must also expect to find a number of research units of uneven quality set up within the universities, voluntary bodies or the government structure.^{51/} In these circumstances, whether or not the results of a particular research project will or can be fed back for policy development will probably depend upon the status and prestige of the institution conducting the study, on the extent of the publication of the results of the work (and the public reaction to it) and on the personal links which may subsist between the administrators responsible for policy and the researchers. It should not be overlooked that the surge of interest in research in some developed countries recently may contain its own contradictions and conflicts; protagonists of different programmes may seek to use research to justify their policies.

115. Commissioned research or research by paid officials may be subject to limitations in influencing policy not dissimilar to those which affect academic institutions. The advantage of being within the government could be offset by the disadvantages inevitable in the bureaucratic structure. Although work of this kind, being done officially and with access to all official records, might be expected to have a more direct effect on policy, it may suffer, by virtue of its position within the hierarchy, from its restricted access to politicians or public reaction. It may also be subject to administrative inaction or more subtle forms of evasion.^{52/}

116. It is by no means certain, therefore, that the status of being a government report will endow any document emerging from an official research project with any more influence on higher policy decisions than an outside, independently published study to which the public has already responded. Indeed, in some administrations the official document may run a greater risk of being shelved simply because it is not yet publicly known.

^{51/} It has been suggested that there may be a kind of fashion in the development of research units within administrative departments. Having a research unit lends prestige by indicating familiarity with a major technique for problem solving, new ideas and an ability to look beyond the routine work of the department.

^{52/} Researchers have complained of the suppression of their reports; research units have been used to justify the status quo. Research has sometimes been suspended because of its effect on a public agency's image or the likelihood of its results being embarrassing. Delaying tactics can hold up reports until they are dated and reinterpretation of results can hold up decisions pending further studies. See D. Glaser "Correctional research: an elusive paradise", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency (New York), vol. 2; No. 1, January 1965, pp. 5-6.

117. On the other hand, university institutes suffer from the shortcomings of their own structure when they are thought of as an aid to policy development. Studies for higher degrees do not necessarily relate to society's pressing needs. Even when they do, the research work, in order to satisfy higher criteria of validity, may narrow its field to limits no longer realistic for policy interests. Nor should it be ignored that good work within an academic setting can be opposed, evaded or deliberately ignored if it does not suit the prevailing academic trend. 53/

118. In the wealthier and more highly industrialized countries with their network of universities, local authorities and powerful institutions or corporations, the next step in the organization of research for policy development is to bring together all the relevant research institutes, the governmental research units and the range of administrators, professional staff and politicians at policy-making levels. The need is usually to provide the means, the opportunities and perhaps the institutional structure appropriate to the local culture so as to enable them to join in tackling common social problems.

119. This has been said before -- many times. There are countries in which such action has already been taken or is being taken. For example, the modern device of setting up special commissions or committees, working parties and task forces to concentrate public and expert attention on selected crime problems has often had the effect, inter alia, of bringing together the research and policy development interests in such a way that future co-ordination and collaboration is facilitated, if not exactly assured. There may still be differences as to the policy decisions taken, and there will still be questions as to how far the policy should be tightened or liberalized, but, at least, in these countries the research results can be made readily available to the politicians, economic advisers and planners responsible for the determination of policy.

120. While the higher commissions or committees are useful at the top levels, they may not solve the problem of linking and associating the large number of people in this field. Their co-ordination and interlinking could be the responsibility of one small unit in government or of a voluntary body subsidized for the purpose. At least one country has an example of a powerful non-governmental organization of this type staffed with full-time expert personnel occupied not only in bringing those with research interests together but in ensuring that they are brought into contact with politicians, administrators, local officials, leaders of industry and the general public. The setting up of criminological associations and professional interest groups might serve similar ends.

121. A possible question remaining in such circumstances is whether the results reach only those levels of government dealing with law and order or whether they also penetrate the higher financial and national policy levels where the priorities are determined. If a gap exists at this level between the specialist planners and broader policy-makers, there is still a need for methods and machinery to fill it. This is the area in which social planners can operate most effectively in linking sectoral and intersectoral interests.

53/ See M. Polanyi, The Logic of Liberty (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951) and many others on this theme.

122. There are industrial countries, however, where the close linking of interests described above is still very far from being achieved. Moreover, even in these wealthier countries the number of research institutions concerned directly or even indirectly with studies relevant to crime prevention is still limited and not often well endowed. Many of the programmes depend more on support from private foundations than on official budgetary allocations. This frequently means that the structure for communication with the policy levels of government is poor, fragmentary, haphazard or otherwise inefficient. It also shows how necessary it is that the policies of private trusts and foundations have some positive relationship with national objectives.

123. Nor is the organization of research for policy development in the developed countries simply a matter of effective communication and institution building on a national scale. ^{54/} There are provincial or local government levels to take into account, and the links between research organizations and local decision-makers need to be forged either by replicating locally the national pattern of special committees, commissions and contacts or by providing more informally for research institutes or individuals to come into more effective relationship with the officials or politicians concerned with local affairs.

124. Again, in developed countries, there is a large number of voluntary bodies and independent agencies either active in the field of crime prevention or with interests sufficiently related to it to draw together the prominent personalities in research and policy formulation. Some of these voluntary bodies have attracted a great deal of expertise and have raised funds to conduct campaigns which have had a profound effect on national policy, especially in the general areas of penal reform and child protection. These bodies cannot be ignored as a means, however indirect, of organizing research to serve policy determination. They have often been very effective in the past.

125. It has been assumed so far that social defence research will be carried out by special units, institutions or departments. This is the modern trend fostered by the type of society pervaded by industry and technology. Indeed, it has often been the very effective organization of research for policy development in the larger industries and corporations which has shown Governments what can be achieved by mobilizing research and executive potential.

126. But it will already be clear from the foregoing discussion of geographical areas where no research is being done that the individual contribution could be important. Such individuals may be found not only in academic circles but in voluntary or private organizations and within the government social defence services themselves. They can do a great deal to advance knowledge and, ultimately, to affect policy - although it must be admitted that alone they are unlikely to wield the influence normal to a specialized research unit or institution. In a complex society, they are perhaps more likely to get lost and to wield less influence than in a simple society where their interest in studying crime prevention might be unique.

^{54/} "Institution" is used here not in the sense of a structure or form of organization, but in the more sociological sense of a procedure or method which has been or should be established.

127. The development of professional institutes need not displace the earlier dependence upon individual initiative in crime prevention studies. Rather, it should foster and increase or extend such work weaving, as far as circumstances permit, a network of institutions and individuals engaged in work on different aspects of the common problem.^{55/} A Government may therefore wish to provide grants or facilities for persons in this category, whether or not they are already in government service. Some Governments of Europe have already made small funds available to their own officers in the correctional services, courts, the police or the relevant social services for individual studies; occasionally, trusts and private funds will support individual enterprises of this kind; but in a complex setting there is always a possibility of such persons being shut out by corporate interests. This would be regrettable.

128. From all these arrangements a large amount of material of varying degrees of usefulness may be expected to flow. To ensure the availability of all the existing material for consideration by those responsible for policy, clearing-houses are needed for studies under way or completed; or government libraries could ensure that all the work of this nature is collected and analysed for ready reference.

129. Two other aspects of this more complex machinery for policy development through appropriate arrangements for research deserve special mention: systems analysis and the use of computers. Both subjects are too involved for any substantial treatment here, but they are obviously relevant.

130. It will be apparent that organization in the sense used in this paper can be conceived as an amalgam of systems and subsystems for analysis of information and decision flow. System in this concept means a procedure or part of a procedure for doing something. It can be the arrangements in a small research office or the total operation of a ministry. Just how appropriate such studies are to social defence and policy-making in social defence is not yet clear. The lack of unequivocal goals, even in subsystems, would appear to present difficulties for any adequate analysis but this and the cost-benefit or cost-effectiveness approaches may serve to uncover a number of tacit assumptions on which social defence or parts of it are based.

^{55/} Although the trend is towards teamwork, Sir Leon Radzinowicz noted at the First European Conference of Directors of Criminological Research (Strasbourg, 9-12 December 1963) that it was still possible for an individual to conduct research himself using his own tools. In developing areas, it is not only possible - it is necessary.

Computers, as mentioned, are in use even in the developing countries. But there is a great shortage of trained personnel to operate, maintain and programme them. They structure, by their cost and the need for using them fully, the types of research organization. They favour research units or institutes rather than individuals, and they tend to centralize for electronic processing most of the information flows. Their progressively increasing storage potential should be a tremendous benefit for future research. On the other hand, they necessarily mechanize the concept of behaviour and favour predictability. There will always be other dimensions in criminology which should not be neglected because the information involved cannot be adapted to computer requirements. They should not be neglected, if only because policy itself, however efficient, might be less wholesome if entirely dependent on computers.

D. Internal arrangements

131. Assuming the existence of social defence research, there is the problem of its national role and status. Whether such research is large or small, complex or relatively simple, it is possible to classify the approach required. First, it must be clear that in every country government leadership will be required. Crime is a public responsibility, and its control and prevention must involve the public as well as the official services. This is a pattern of organization presupposing effective government leadership.

132. Given such leadership, research can be conceived as susceptible to planning on three levels: policy, strategy and tactics.^{56/}

(1) At the policy level, the direction of social defence research would be subject to the recommendations of the commissions or task forces mentioned. It could be the continuing concern of a national advisory body with representatives of the interests involved but with power to co-opt outstanding public figures or experts to provide new ideas and impetus for the work.^{57/} This advisory committee would be convened only infrequently to settle outstanding questions of policy and finance within the area of social defence. It would, nevertheless, maintain a continuing interest in the development and evaluation of research.

(2) At the strategy level would come a kind of small permanent secretariat for the advisory committee, staffed by experts and administrators whose task it would be to review in technical detail the activities of research units and research workers and to prepare long-term plans and programmes for the consideration of the advisory committee. This strategic unit would also follow up the implementation of the advisory committee's recommendations. Should a permanent unit not be feasible, it might be possible to have such a strategic unit of non-permanent people meeting monthly.

^{56/} For a similar approach see: Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, Design for Change: A Program for Correctional Management (Sacramento, Calif.), 1968, pp. 313-315.

^{57/} It is not disregarded here that some countries have social science research councils as part of yet wider research advisory bodies (the United Kingdom and India, for example), but more is needed if criminology is to receive adequate attention. It may be that the advisory council suggested here should be part of a wider body for other types of research, but care would need to be taken that it did not find itself regularly overruled by other interests.

(3) At the level of tactics come the separate research units, or institutes, and perhaps the individual workers in this field. These will develop their own interest systems for the work and their own links with the other levels.

133. Clearly, an arrangement of the type proposed here depends upon a free flow of information among all levels. It will depend, too, upon there being adequate resources and physical facilities for developing the work. Libraries, clearing-house facilities, regular meetings of those involved, the setting aside of buildings strategically placed to suit their purpose - all these need to be borne in mind.

134. With regard to the last-mentioned, the best place for even a university institute may not be in the university itself. Certainly, the library and other academic facilities will be there, but experiments might be made with institutes in shanty towns, bidonvilles or "ghettos", with study units staffed from outside established within the correctional or police services. One useful way of reducing resistance to this last proposal might be a unit within a service staffed by research workers who are really officers of a related service, specially trained for the job -- prison officers doing research on probation, probation officers studying the police, police officers studying prisons etc.

135. Finally, a real problem in the internal organization of a research institute is that of adequate and guaranteed financing. Typically, a university will provide premises and salaries for the basic staff, expecting the institute or department concerned to raise the funds for its research programmes, which are often to be conducted simultaneously with the teaching programme. If the institute is within government, this kind of regular funding of programmes is an official responsibility, but here there is often a tendency to avoid any long-term or overly ambitious projects, which may often be contracted out.

136. Either way, it is true that financing tends to be either ad hoc or annually voted. Many institutes cannot plan effectively or fit in their schemes with policy-making simply because of their inability to make financial forecasts. Sometimes neither researcher nor policy-maker knows what the financial position will be after the end of the year or after the present limited appropriation runs out.

137. Where a large trust, foundation or other grant-aiding agency is financing research, the term may be longer, but, even here, the period may be little more than a "guesstimate" of the time required. Furthermore, the very need to present a self-contained, viable and academically sound project, attractive to donors, may promote a facility in programme writing and a kind of professional fund-raising skill which may not lead to the best or most effective use of the institute and its staff.

138. Often, then, financing is disjointed, uncertain or distorting, with all that this means for the pattern and relevance of research. If research is to become a permanent ally of policy-making, the organization -- governmental, academic or private -- will require more continuity, and the institutes will need to be released from the necessity of angling projects in fund-raising directions so as to establish or preserve their status.

139. If this analysis seems to be in conflict with earlier suggestions that government can encourage work on research or policy problems by making funds available more readily for policy-oriented projects, it must be emphasized that these positions are not mutually exclusive. It should be possible to devise regular financing which would enable research bodies to plan and programme their projects without worry about their financial survival and, at the same time, the undertaking of policy research could be made more attractive. What is required is financial backing sufficient to lift the present distorting pressures from research while promoting the value of the concentration on studies to serve policy. It will be clear, however, that once again a situation arises in which it is policy decisions which tend to precede and make more realistic the research for policy development.

E. International organization

140. A great deal of the foregoing discussion can be lifted readily to an international plane. Since there exists such a grave and widespread problem of under-development internationally in work on crime prevention, and since it has escaped attention in development planning so far, there is a need to mobilize and share the resources available in the world for research and the promotion of a more effective social defence policy.

141. A listing of what has been achieved in this direction so far may seem impressive until it is compared with (1) the size and complexity of the world problem of crime and its apparent capacity to grow beyond control; (2) the efforts which are made internationally to deal with other world problems. Thus, from the massive resources for multilateral and bilateral technical assistance, hardly any advisers or technical experts are supplied for social defence. International training in this field probably affects tens rather than hundreds or thousands. And funds devoted to its study and control are only a fraction of the amounts spent in a single developed country for insurance against crime.

142. Nevertheless, some progress has been made towards an international linking of research and policy, as this series of United Nations Congresses demonstrates. Here, policy-makers, administrators, research specialists, international agencies, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental bodies and private individuals gather every five years to concentrate world attention on the crime problem, which the world has not only not solved but - to judge from the limited resources devoted to crime prevention - has apparently not yet become sufficiently concerned about.

143. The United Nations, through its Social Defence Section, has responsibility for organizing the Congresses and a number of smaller international meetings and for conducting relevant surveys of the world situation. It also operates a technical assistance programme, has developed a regional institute in Asia and the Far East and has given support to an existing centre in the Middle East. It also has the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute in Rome, which provides a measure of international co-ordination in research and has several studies under way.

144. The Council of Europe has a section for crime problems with a scientific committee which brings European criminologists together and provides policy guidance for member States. There is a Scandinavian Criminological Research Council, and recently the League of Arab States has co-operated with the United Nations and the Government of Kuwait in sponsoring a regional meeting in social defence. These regional forms of organization could be improved and extended to provide teaching and research facilities or a more integrated system, composed of the centres and facilities already existing in the areas concerned.

145. In some 'developed' countries, there are criminological departments or centres with international interests. These provide for overseas students who are in the process of linking their activities with research abroad. Important, too, are the non-governmental organizations, notably those which will be represented at this Congress. These serve to focus professional attention on the need to link research and policy-making. Interest is being shown in future data banks, and there are national and international journals on crime as well as a few publications of abstracts from the increasing number of crime publications.

146. When all this is compiled, however, it seems little more than a gesture in the direction of tackling the serious problem which crime poses to the world. In the first place, there are still many parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America..practically untouched by any of this activity. In addition, there is still a great dearth of knowledge about the true nature and extent of crime. Perhaps social defence needs a world network of data-collecting stations (analogous to meteorological stations) to collect and transmit information regarding social conditions and crime. 58/ This would provide a kind of world topology of crime on which projections could be made for policy determination. Regional training and research centres could then sample this kind of information for deeper studies of selected sub-regional areas — again feeding the world data banks. 59/

147. Moreover, there is a need to distil. the social defence elements from all the efforts now being made to improve the human environment, to raise living standards, to develop resources, to promote health and education and to increase the rate of economic and social growth. The crime preventive or crime-generating elements need to be identified and taken into account in planning and in the implementation of development programmes. This presupposes a more developed form of macro-criminology founded on greater international co-operation and co-ordination.

58/ Needless to say, these could be used for purposes wider than social defence.

59/ See K.E. Boulding, "A data-collecting network and the socio-sphere", Impact of Science in Society (UNESCO, Paris), vol. XVIII, No. 2, April-June 1968, pp. 97-101.

148. Furthermore, there is scope for world-wide research on selected problems. This has been attempted by the United Nations, but it has been hampered by the lack of trained research personnel. If even a part of the improvements suggested here could be effected, world studies of systems in social defence, of correctional institutions, of the treatment of certain types of offenders, of the use and improvement of statistics, of the operation of the police or court procedures etc., could all be undertaken with profit.

149. Finally, there is a great need internationally for a sharing of research resources and policy advice. Most of the resources for improving crime prevention in the world are in developed countries while most of the opportunities for long-term prevention lie in the developing areas. This situation should now be exploited to bring criminology into regions it has barely touched and to bring new ideas from the developing into the developed areas, where the progress in crime prevention and the anticipation of criminal side-effects in planning have proved so disappointing. In this way, it should be possible to move simultaneously, nationally and internationally into an era of more effective crime prevention and control by a closer linking of research and policy.

This archiving project is a collaborative effort between United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and American Society of Criminology, Division of International Criminology. Any comments or questions should be directed to Cindy J. Smith at CJSmithphd@comcast.net or Emil Wandzilak at emil.wandzilak@unodc.org.